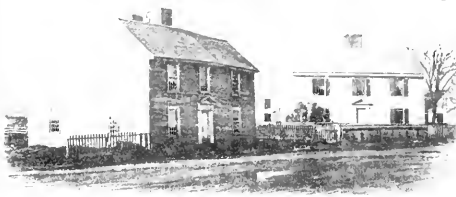




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A
COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
CONNECTICUT,
CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL,
FROM THE
EMIGRATION OF ITS FIRST PLANTERS

FROM
ENGLAND,

IN MDCXXX, TO MDCXCIII.

BY BENJAMIN TRUMBULL, D. D.

V O L. I.

PUBLISHED IN CONFORMITY TO ACT OF CONGRESS.

HARTFORD:

HUDSON & GOODWIN.

1797.

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P R E F A C E.

AUTHENTIC history is of great utility ; especially, to the countries and people whose affairs it relates. It teaches human nature, politics and morals : forms the head and heart for usefulness, and is an important part of the instruction and literature of states and nations. While it instructs, it affords an exalted pleasure. No man of genius and curiosity can read accounts of the origin of nations, the discovery, settlement and progress of new countries, without a high degree of entertainment. But in the settlement of his own country, in the lives of his ancestors, in their adventures, morals, jurisprudence and heroism he feels himself particularly interested. He at once becomes a party in their affairs, and travels and converses with them, with a kind of filial delight. While he beholds them braving the horrors of the desert, the terrors of the savage, the distresses of famine and war, he admires their courage, and is pleased with all their escapes from danger, and all their progress in settlement, population, opulence, literature and happiness. While he contemplates their self-denial and perseverance in surmounting all dangers and enduring all hardships to form new churches, and lay the foundations of new colonies and empires, and the immensely happy consequences of their conduct in turning the wilderness into gardens and fruitful fields, and in transmitting liberty and religion to posterity, he is struck with a pleasing astonishment. The pious man views a divine hand conducting the whole, gives thanks, adores and loves. No history is better calculated to produce these happy effects, than that of New-England and Connecticut.

CONNECTICUT originally consisting of two colonies, replete with Indians, and connected as it was with the neighbouring colonies, affords much interesting matter for history. An authentic and impartial account of the af-

fairs of the colony had long been an object of the wishes of the legislature, and of many gentlemen of principal character both in church and commonwealth.

IN these views the writer, many years since, determined to attempt the compilation of the history which is presented to the public in the following sheets. He wished for the improvement which such a work might afford him, and for the pleasure of contributing his mite to the service of the community in which he received his birth and education, and has enjoyed such distinguished liberty and immunities.

IN pursuance of his design, he collected all books and manuscripts from which he could expect assistance. He read the records of Connecticut, New-Haven and the United Colonies; and extracted whatever he judged important. He made a journey to Boston, examined the collection of the Reverend Mr. Prince, and minuted every thing which he could find relative to Connecticut. To him, at the time he was about writing the Chronological History of New-England, the ancient ministers, and other principal gentlemen, in Connecticut, had transmitted accounts of the settlement of the towns and churches to which they respectively belonged. In this collection important information was found which could have been obtained from no other source. The author visited most of the principal towns and places of burial, and obtained from records, monuments and men of intelligence, whatever they could communicate on the subject. The ministers and clerks of the respective towns, and other gentlemen of character, assisted him in his researches. The honorable legislature having been made acquainted with his design, passed a generous resolve which gave him access to their records and papers on file.

HIS excellency Governor Trumbull, than whom no man had a more thorough acquaintance with the history of the colony, employed his influence and friendship for his assistance, and furnished him with many important papers. In a letter to him on the subject he expresses himself in this manner, " I wish you success, and to afford
 " you all the assistance in my power. I imagine the ear-
 " liest times of the colony will be attended with the most
 " difficulty, to collect the facts with sufficient certainty.
 " Wherein the great excellency of a history consists.
 " Such an one I have long desired to see. It must be a

“ work of time and indefatigable labor and industry, since
“ it has been so long neglected, and the materials, many
“ of them, almost lost, and others scattered, and all need
“ so much care in collecting, time in comparing, and
“ judgment in compiling.” The truth of these observations, the author hath fully experienced ; how far he hath acted upon them must be determined by the public opinion.

THE honorable George Wylls, Esquire, late secretary of the State was second to none in the assistance and encouragement which he afforded. From these various sources, the author, in 1774, found himself possessed of an ample and important collection ; and determined to write the first volume of the history, as soon as might be with convenience. But before he had entered upon the work, the war commenced between Great Britain and her colonies and the universal attention was turned to a very different object. It was conceived to be dangerous for any of the public papers to be kept so near the sea coast as the place of his residence. A great number of papers, therefore, which he had received from Governor Trumbull, others which had been taken out of the office, at Hartford, were returned to their respective offices.

FOR a number of years after the war, the state of the country was altogether unfavorable for publications of this kind. It was nevertheless still hoped that an opportunity would present for the publication of such a work to advantage, and the design of writing was not wholly given up.

HOWEVER, before the writer had entered upon the work, he was invited, by a vote of the General Association of the state, to compile a different history. Many objections presented themselves to his mind against engaging in the work proposed by that venerable body. But after these had been fully communicated, the solicitation was renewed. In consequence of which, and the opinion and advice of some principal gentlemen of the legislature, he was induced to undertake the writing of a general history of the United States of America, from the first discovery of this northern continent until the year 1792, including three complete centuries. In making collections for this, and in the compilation of it, all the leisure hours which he could possibly redeem, by early rising and an indefatigable attention to business, from the stated labors of his office, have been, for nearly ten years, employed.

IN the progress of this work it became necessary to have frequent recourse to his former collections, which, by this time, had been in a manner forgotten. By this means the ideas of the ample materials which had been prepared, for the history of Connecticut, were revived in his mind. When he contemplated the pains and expense at which they had been collected, the countenance which he had received from the legislature, and the general expectations which had been entertained with respect to a history of Connecticut, it appeared to him not very consistent with that respectful and generous treatment which he owed more particularly to his own state, to publish a large history of the United States, while he neglected theirs. It also appeared to be a duty, which he owed to himself and family, as well as the public, not to suffer all his former pains and expense, in his collections for the history of Connecticut to be lost. Upon a mature view of the case, and the advice of a number of his brethren in the ministry, he determined to suspend the writing of the history of the United States, until he should publish one volume, at least, of the history of Connecticut. If this should meet the public approbation, it might assist him in introducing a larger work, and render it more extensively useful. If the history of Connecticut should be unpopular, it would give him a profitable admonition, and prevent a greater misfortune, by a larger and more expensive publication.

ABOUT the middle of December 1796, he began to look over and arrange his papers and to compile the following history. Since that time he hath examined the papers on file in the secretary's office and taken out such as were necessary, composed and copied off with his own hands the history now published, besides preaching twice on every Lord's day, lectures on proper occasions, and attending the other duties of his office.

THE death of that truly worthy gentleman, the honorable George Wylls, the former secretary, considerably retarded the work, as more time has been employed in examining the files than otherwise would have been necessary.

IN compiling the history great pains have been taken to exhibit the state of the country when the first settlements commenced, to present every important transaction in a candid and clear view, and to make such an arrange-

ment of the whole, as that every preceding chapter might prepare the way for the next, and add perspicuity to the story.

As this is the first history of the colony, and as time effaces ancient records and papers, and eradicates from the mind of man the remembrance of former transactions, the compiler judged it expedient to make it more full and particular, than otherwise might have been necessary or proper. He imagined, that no person would, probably, hereafter have the same advantages which he has had, nor take the same pains which he has taken, to examine the ancient records, histories and manuscripts of the country. He wished to assist future historians, and that nothing useful and important, respecting church or state, might be lost. As he has aimed at information and usefulness, he has avoided all circumlocutions, reasonings and opinions of his own, and attempted to fill every page with history. The florid and pompous style has been avoided, as unnatural and improper in historic writings, and the easy and familiar has been attempted. The compiler has judged his time too precious, and the field of usefulness before him too extensive, to busy himself in rounding periods, and guarding against every little matter which might afford business for the critic. He has, however, aimed at authenticity, propriety, and perspicuity. He has wished to avoid the dull and dry manner, and to write with a becoming deference to the public.

THE account which has been given of the sources whence the compiler has obtained his information, the quotations in the body of the work, the references made in the marginal notes to authors, records and manuscripts, with the appendix, it is imagined, will be abundantly sufficient to authenticate what has been written. Indeed very little has been taken upon tradition.

HAD the history been written more leisurely and with fewer avocations it might have been more perfect; but, as it was desired to make as short a pause as possible in writing the history of the United States, it was judged inexpedient to employ more time upon it.

THE author is under great disadvantages for historic writing. He can command no time for himself. The work of the ministry, which is his chosen and beloved employment, after all his application, so engrosses his time, that sometimes for weeks and months, after all his

application, he cannot find a single day for the compilation of history. When he has attempted it, he has been able scarcely to write a page without interruption. Often he has been so fatigued with other studies, as to be in circumstances not the most favorable for composition.

IT may, possibly, be thought a great neglect, or matter of partiality, that no account is given of witchcraft in Connecticut. The only reason is, that after the most careful researches, no indictment of any person for that crime, nor any process relative to that affair can be found. The minute in Goff's journal, published by Governor Hutchinson, relative to the execution of Ann Coles, and an obscure tradition that one or two persons were executed at Stratford is all the information to be found relative to that unhappy affair.

THE countenance and assistance which the honorable legislature have given the writer, by allowing him a free access to the public records and papers, is most respectfully acknowledged.

THE attention and complaisance with which he has been treated by the secretaries of the state and their respective families, while he has had occasion to examine the public records and papers, challenge the warmest expressions of his gratitude.

To his brethren in the ministry, the gentlemen of the bar, and the towns who have so generously encouraged and supported the subscription, he returns his grateful acknowledgements.

THE labor of collecting the materials for the history and compilement has been almost incredible. The expense of publication will be great. However should it meet a favorable reception, assist the legislator or divine, the gentlemen of the bench or of the bar; should it afford instruction and pleasure to the sons and daughters of the state, and, in any degree, advance its morals or literature, it will be an ample compensation.

C O N T E N T S.



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THE
HISTORY
OF
CONNECTICUT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION. The discovery of North America and New-England. Captain Smith's discovery. The country is named New-England. New-Plimouth settled. The great patent of New-England, and patent of Massachusetts. The settlement of Salem, Charlestown, Boston, and other towns in Massachusetts. Mr. Warham, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Hooker, with others of the first planters of Connecticut, arrive and make settlements at Dorchester, Watertown and Newtown. Their churches are formed and they are ordained.

THE settlement of New-England, purely for the BOOK I.
purposes of Religion, and the propagation of civil and religious liberty, is an event which has no parallel in the history of modern ages. The piety, self denial, sufferings, patience, perseverance and magnanimity of the first settlers of the country are without a rival. The happy and extensive consequences of the settlements which they made, and of the sentiments which they were careful to propagate, to their posterity, to the church and to the world, admit of no description. They are still increasing, spreading wider and wider, and appear more and more important.

THE planters of Connecticut were among the illustrious characters, who first settled New-England, and twice made settlements, first in Massachusetts, and then.

BOOK I. in Connecticut on bare creation. In an age when the light of freedom was but just dawning, they, by voluntary compact, formed one of the most free and happy constitutions of government which mankind have ever adopted. Connecticut has ever been distinguished by the free spirit of its government, the mildness of its laws, and the general diffusion of knowledge, among all classes of its inhabitants. They have been no less distinguished by their industry, economy, purity of manners, population and spirit of enterprise. For more than a century and half, they have had no rival, as to the steadiness of their government, their internal peace and harmony, their love and high enjoyment of domestic, civil and religious order and happiness. They have ever stood among the most illuminated, first and boldest defenders of the civil and religious rights of mankind.

THE history of such a people must be curious, entertaining and important. It will exhibit the fairest models of civil government, of religious order, purity and human happiness. It is the design of the present work to lay this history before the public.

As the planters of Connecticut were among the first settlers of New-England, and interested in the first patents and settlements, sketches of the discovery of the country, of the patents by which it was conveyed and divided to the different colonies, and of the first settlements will be necessary to illustrate the history of Connecticut and be a natural preliminary to this work.

Oct 12,
1492.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, a Genoese, discovered the western isles, and first communicated to Europe the intelligence of a new world : but the Cabots had the honor of discovering the great continent of North America.

1494.

JOHN CABOT, a Venetian, born in England, in 1494, discovered Newfoundland and the island of St. Johns. In consequence of this discovery, king Henry the seventh of England, in whose service he was employed, conferred on him the honor of knighthood ; and gave him and his sons a commission to make further discoveries in the new world. John Cabot died soon after he received this commission. His son Sebastian, in 1497, sailed with the fleet, which had been preparing for his father, and directing his course by his journals, proceeded to the 67th degree of north latitude, and re-

turning to the southward, fell in with the continent in BOOK I.
 the 56th degree of north latitude; and thence explored
 the coast as far south as the Floridas. From these dis-
 coveries originated the claims of England to these parts
 of the northern continent. ~~~~~

IN 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold discovered some part
 of New-England. He first touched on its eastern coast, 1602.
 in about 43 degrees of north latitude; and, sailing to
 the southward, landed on the Elizabeth Islands. He
 made some discoveries of the adjacent parts and gave
 the name to Cape Cod and Marthas Vineyard.

CAPTAIN Henry Hudson, commissioned by King 1608.
 James I. in 1608, sailed, in the employment of several
 London Merchants, to North America. He came up-
 on the coast in about 40 degrees of north latitude, and
 made a discovery of Long Island and Hudson's river.
 He proceeded up the river as far as the latitude of 43,
 and called it by his own name.

ABOUT two years after he made a second voyage to 1610.
 the river, in the service of a number of Dutch mer-
 chants; and, some time after, made sale of his right to
 the Dutch. The right to the country however was an-
 tecedently in King James, by virtue of the discovery
 which Hudson had made under his commission. The
 English protested against the sale; but the Dutch, in
 1614, under the Amsterdam West India company,
 built a fort nearly on the same ground where the city of
 Albany now is, which they called fort Aurania. Sir
 Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, directly after dis-
 patched Captain Argale to dispossess the Dutch, and
 they submitted to the king of England, and under him
 to the governor of Virginia.*

THE same year captain John Smith, who some years 1614.
 before had been governor of Virginia, made a voyage
 to this part of the continent. He ranged the coast from
 Penobscot to Cape Cod; made a discovery of the river
 Pascataqua, and the Massachusetts Islands. On his re-
 turn to England, he published a description of the coun-
 try, with a map of the sea coast, and gave it the name
 of New-England.

IN 1620, a number of pious people, part of Mr. John New-
 Robinson's church and congregation, who, by the vio- Plymouth
 lence of persecution, had been driven from their pleas- settled
 ant seats and enjoyments in England, arrived on the 1620.

* Smith's history of New-York, p. 2.

Book I. coast; and, after braving every danger, and enduring almost every hardship and distress of which human nature is capable, effected a permanent settlement in this part of North America. They gave it the name of New Plymouth. By voluntary compact they formed themselves into a small commonwealth, and had a succession of governors. They settled all that part of Massachusetts included in the county of Plymouth. By making permanent settlements, to which others might resort, on their first arrival in New-England, or afterwards in times of distress; by making treaties with the Indians, by which the peace of the country was preserved; by their knowledge of it, and the experience which they had gained, they were of peculiar advantage to those who came over and made settlements after them. They were a pious, industrious people, and exhibited towards each other the most striking examples of fraternal affection. They continued a distinct colony for about seventy years, until their incorporation, by the charter of William and Mary, in 1691, with the colony of Massachusetts and the province of Main.

Patent of
New-
England
Nov. 3,
1620.

NOVEMBER 3d. 1620, just before the arrival of Mr. Robinson's people in New-England, King James the first, by letters patent, under the great seal of England, incorporated the duke of Lenox, the marquises of Buckingham and Hamilton, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and others, to the number of forty noblemen, knights and gentlemen, by the name "of the council established at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing of NEW-ENGLAND in America"—"and granted unto them, and their successors and assigns, all that part of America, lying and being in breadth from forty degrees of north latitude, from the Equinoctial line, to the forty eighth degree of said northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of, and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands from sea to sea." The patent ordained that this tract of country should be called New-England in America, and by that name have continuance for ever.

THIS grant is the broad basis on which stand all the other grants made to the colonies in New-England. This prepared the way for future grants and the immediate settlement of New-England.

ON the 19th of March 1628, the Plymouth company granted unto Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, knights, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry, John Endicott and Simon Whitcomb, their heirs and assigns forever, all that part of New-England in America, which lies and extends between Merrimack river and Charles river, in the bottom of Massachusetts bay, and three miles to the north and south of every part of Charles river, and three miles south of the southernmost part of said bay, and three miles to the northward of every part of Merrimack river, and "all lands and hereditaments whatsoever lying within the limits aforesaid north and south, in latitude and breadth; and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic sea and ocean on the east part, to the south sea on the west part."

Book I.

 Patent of
 Massachu-
 setts
 March 19,
 1628.

ON the 4th of March 1629, king Charles the first confirmed this patent under the great seal of England. This was the patent of Massachusetts bay, under which the settlement of that colony immediately commenced.

Confirm-
 ed March
 4, 1629.

AT this time liberty of conscience could not be enjoyed in the parent country. No indulgence was granted even to the most pious, loyal, and conscientious people, who would not strictly conform to the habits, ceremonies, and worship of the church of England. All non-conformists were exposed to fines, imprisonments, the ruin of their families, fortunes, and every thing which ought to be dear to men. The most learned, pious, orthodox and inoffensive people, who did not conform to the church of England, were treated, by the king and his bishops, with far greater severity, than drunkards, sabbath breakers, or even the most notorious debauchees. They were condemned, in the spiritual courts, without juries, without having the witnesses against them, brought into court, to depose face to face; and, sometimes, without knowing the crime alledged against them, or who were the witnesses by whom it was to be proved. Many of the pious people, in England, were so harassed and persecuted, for their non-conformity, that they determined, if possible, rather to make settlements in a dreary wilderness, at the distance of three thousand miles from their native country, than endure the persecution and sufferings, to which they were constantly exposed from the hands of those, who

No liberty
 of con-
 science in
 England.

1629.

BOOK I.



New Eng-
land set-
tled for
the pur-
poses of
religion.

ought to have cherished and defended them. This cruel treatment of our venerable ancestors was the cause of the settlement of the New-England colonies and churches. It will ever be the distinguishing glory of these colonies, That they were not originally formed for the advantages of trade and worldly emolument; but for the noble purposes of religion, the enjoyment of liberty of conscience in the worship and ordinances of God. The pious fathers of these colonies wished to enjoy the uncorrupted gospel, administered in all its ordinances in purity and power; and to transmit the invaluable blessings of civil and religious liberty to their remotest posterity. With these views they left their native country, their pleasant seats and enjoyments in Europe, and made settlements in the wilds of America.

Salem set-
tled, June
24.

THE same year in which the patent of Massachusetts received the royal confirmation, Mr. John Endicot was sent over with about three hundred people, by the patentees to prepare the way for the settlement of a permanent colony in that part of New-England. They arrived at Naumkeak in June, and began a settlement which they named Salem. This was the first town in Massachusetts and the second in New-England.

Charlestown set-
tled.

ABOUT a hundred of the planters who came over with Mr. Endicot, removed very soon to Mishawam and began a plantation at that place. Here they erected a very spacious house, and made other preparations for the accommodation of those, who were expected from England the next year. They called their settlement Charlestown.

AT a meeting of the company, for the planting of the Massachusetts, in England, August 29th it was voted, That the patent and government of the plantation be transferred to New-England.*

1630.

THE next year therefore, seventeen ships were prepared, with all necessaries for the settlement of a colony. Eleven or twelve of these ships made a safe arrival in New-England by the middle of July, and they all arrived before the close of the year.† In these came over governor Winthrop and the magistrates of the colony, who had been previously chosen in England. With

* Prince's Chron. p. 192. † Ibid. part II. p. 10.

them also came a number of ministers, to illuminate the infant churches and preach in the wilderness the glad tidings of salvation. Book I.

ON the 10th, or 12th of July, governor Winthrop arrived at Charlestown with about fifteen hundred people. They encamped in cottages, booths and tents, upon Charlestown hill. Their place of public worship was under a large, spreading tree. Here Messieurs Wilson and Phillips preached their first sermons to these pious pilgrims.† In the ships which arrived this year there came over about seventeen hundred people. In this and the last year there came into New-England two thousand planters. These settled about nine or ten towns or villages. A considerable number settled at Boston and Charlestown. Many of the principal characters fixed their abode in these towns. Governor Winthrop lived in the great house, which had been erected, the preceding year at Charlestown. Mr. Isaac Johnston, who married the lady Arabella, sister of the earl of Lincoln, and who had the best estate of any of the company, fixed his residence at Boston. He was the great promoter of the settlement of the capital of the Massachusetts.‡ Sir Richard Saltonstall, who was another of the magistrates, with his company, settled at Watertown. They made choice of Mr. Phillips for their pastor. Mr. Fyncheon, and another company, began a settlement at Roxbury, and the famous Mr. John Eliot and Mr. Weld, who came into New-England the next year, were elected their ministers. Other companies settled Medford and Weymouth. Boston and Charlestown, the first year, considered themselves as one company, and chose Mr. Wilson for their pastor.

IN one of the first ships, which arrived this year, came over the Reverend Mr. John Warham, Mr. John Maverick, Mr. Rossiter, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Henry Wolcott and others of Mr. Warham's church and congregation, who first settled the town of Windsor in Connecticut. Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow were magistrates. Mr. Wolcott had a fine estate, and was a man of superior abilities. This was an honourable company. Mr. Warham had been a famous minister in Exeter the capital of the county of Devonshire. The people who

Gov. Winthrop arrives at Charlestown July 10.

Towns settled in Massachusetts 1630.

1630.

† Prince's Chron. p. 249. § Ibid. part II. Section 2. p. 2.

BOOK I. came with him were from the three counties of Devonshire, Dorsetshire, and Somersetshire.

SOMETIME before the 20th of March just as they were about to embark for New-England, upon a day of solemn fasting and prayer they were formed into a congregational church, in the new hospital at Plymouth in England. They then made choice of Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick to be their pastor and teacher, and they were ordained, or reinstated to the care of this particular church. The famous Mr. White of Dorchester preached and assisted on this occasion.||

THEY sailed from Plymouth in England, on the 20th of March, in the ship Mary and John of 400 tons, and arrived at Nantaket on the Lord's day, May 30th. The next day captain Squeb, master of the ship, put them and their goods on shore at Nantasket point, and in this situation, left them to shift for themselves.¶ But, by the assistance of some of the old planters, they obtained a boat and proceeded up Charles river to the place since called Watertown. Here they landed their goods and erected a shelter to cover them; but as they had many cattle, and found a neck of land at Mattapan, affording good accommodations for them, they soon removed and began a settlement there. They named their town Dorchester.

Mr. Warham arrives May 30, with the first settlers of Windfor.

1630.

Planters of Wethersfield.

SIR Richard Saltonstall's people, who settled at Watertown, were the first settlers of Wethersfield, in Connecticut. Mr. Phillips, who was elected their pastor, at Watertown, had been minister at Boxford in the county of Essex. Most of them were, probably, the people of his former charge, and from the same county.

Mortality and losses of the first years.

THE emigrants who came into New-England with Mr. Endicot and governor Winthrop, soon after their arrival, were visited with uncommon sickness and mortality. Of the company who came with Mr. Endicot, the last year, eighty were in their graves, before governor Winthrop arrived. He found the colony in very miserable circumstances. Many of those who were yet living were in a weak and sickly condition. The people had scarcely a sufficiency of provision for their subsistence fourteen days. Besides, they had sustained a cap-

|| Prince's Chron. p. 200. ¶ Ibid. p. 207. Captain Squeb was afterwards obliged to pay damages for this conduct.

ital losſs in their ſervants. They brought over with them a hundred and eighty. Theſe coſt them more than three thouſand pounds ſterling. But they were ſo ſtraightened for proviſions, that they were neceſſitated to give all thoſe, who ſurvived the ſickneſs, their liberty, that they might ſhift for themſelves.*

BOOK I.

MANY of the ſhips which arrived this year had a long paſſage of ſeventeen or eighteen weeks ; in conſequence of which, numbers had the ſcurvy, and came on ſhore in a ſickly condition. By reaſon of wet lodgings, in cottages and miſerable huts, for the want of freſh food and other conveniences, this ſickneſs increaſed. Other diſeaſes alſo, ſoon attacked them with violence ; ſo that in a fortnight or three weeks, the ſickneſs became general. In a ſhort time ſo many fell ſick, that the well were not ſufficient properly to attend them, and bury the dead. Great numbers died and were buried on Charleſtown hill.† The ſickneſs and mortality greatly retarded the neceſſary labours and affairs of the colony ; ſo that many of the people were obliged to lie in tents, or miſerable huts during the winter. By the next ſpring a hundred and twenty or more were among the dead. Of this number were Mr. Johnſon and Mr. Roſſiter. The charming lady Arabella, celebrated for her many virtues; died before her huſband. She was ſiſter to the earl of Lincoln ; and, for the ſake of religion, came from a paradise of eaſe, plenty and delight, in the houſe of a renowned earl, into a wilderneſs of toil, diſaſter, and miſery.

1630.

ABOUT a hundred of the people were diſcouraged, and returned to England ; two hundred were dead, and ſome went to Piſcataqua. About ſeventeen hundred remained ; a little more than a hundred and eighty perſons, or thirty families, on an average, to each town. The greateſt numbers fixed themſelves at Boſton and Watertown. In theſe towns there were probably nearly ſixty families. In Charleſtown and Dorcheſter about forty, and in the other towns not more than fifteen or twenty families.‡

IN addition to all the other calamities with which theſe plantations had been viſited, they, this year, experienced

Famine
1631.

* Prince's Chron. p. 209, 210. † The ſame p. 242.

‡ Ibid. part II. p. 1 and 31.

BOOK I. the distress of famine. By the beginning of February, bread failed in every house, except the governor's, and even in this the family were reduced to the last loaves. Such were the necessities of the people, that they fed on clams, muscles, ground-nuts and acorns. Indeed, in the winter season, it was with great difficulty, that the people procured these poor articles of subsistence. The governors foreseeing, in the fall, that they should want provisions, dispatched a ship to Ireland to procure them a supply. Her happy arrival on the 5th of February prevented their perishing with famine. The return of health in the spring, the arrival of other vessels with provisions afterwards, and a plentiful harvest, gave the affairs of the colony a more prosperous appearance.

WHILE affairs were thus transacting in the colony, the violent persecution of the puritans in England, made great numbers look towards America as the only safe retreat from the impending storm. This, annually, occasioned a large accession of new planters, to the settlements in New-England.

IN 1630, the reverend Mr. Thomas Hooker, a gentleman of great abilities, and a famous preacher, at Chelmsford in the county of Essex, was silenced for non-conformity. To escape fines and imprisonment he fled into Holland. He was held in such high and universal esteem among his acquaintance, that forty-seven ministers in his vicinity petitioned the bishop of London in his favour. These were all conformists, and witnessed for Mr. Hooker, That they esteemed him, and knew him "to be, for doctrine orthodox, for life and conversation honest, for disposition peaceable and no wife turbulent or factious." However, as he was a non-conformist, no personal or acquired excellencies, no testimonials of his good conduct, nor prayers of his friends could save him from prosecutions and deposition.

HE was so esteemed as a preacher, that not only his own people, but others from all parts of the county of Essex flocked to hear him. The noble earl of Warwick, though he resided at a great distance from Chelmsford, was so delighted with his public performances, that he frequently attended them. Great numbers not only attended his ministry but experienced its salutary effects, and found themselves willing to emigrate into any part

of the world to enjoy the happiness of such a pastor. BOOK I.
 No sooner therefore was he driven from them, than they turned their eyes towards New-England. They hoped that if comfortable settlements could be made in this part of America, they might obtain him for their pastor. Therefore, in 1632, a large body of them came over and settled at Newtown, since called Cambridge, in Massachusetts. Numbers of them, it seems, came over at an earlier period and began to settle at Weymouth, but this year they all removed to Newtown. They had expressed their earnest desires to Mr. Hooker, that he would come over into New-England, and take the pastoral charge of them.

AT their desire he left Holland, and having obtained Mr. Samuel Stone, a lecturer at Torcester in Northamptonshire, for an assistant in the ministry, took his passage for America in the Griffin, a ship of 300 tons, and arrived at Boston September 4th 1633. With him came over the famous Mr. John Cotton, Mr. John Haynes, afterwards governor of Connecticut, Mr. Goff and two hundred other passengers of importance to the colony.

MR. HOOKER, soon after his arrival at Boston, proceeded to Newtown, where, finding himself in the midst of a joyful and affectionate people, he was filled with joy himself. He embraced them with open arms saying, in the language of the apostle, "Now I live if ye stand fast in the LORD."* These were the pious people, who afterwards settled the town of Hartford.

SOON after Mr. Hooker's arrival he was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher of the people at Newtown. On the 11th of October the church was gathered, and after solemn fasting and prayer, the pastor and teacher were ordained to their respective offices. The church at Watertown had been gathered before on the 27th of August 1630, and Mr. Phillips ordained pastor. Thus the three churches of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield were gathered antecedently to their settlement in Connecticut, and it does not appear that they were ever regathered afterwards.

* Magnalia B. III. The life of Hooker.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

THE patent of Connecticut. The situation, extent, boundaries and area of the settled part of the colony. The discovery of Connecticut river; a description of it, and the signification of its name. The colony derives its name from the river. Description of other rivers. Plymouth and Dutch houses. Prospects of trade upon the river.

THE great Plymouth company wished to make grants of their lands as fast as they could find purchasers, and conformity was so pressed and the times grew so difficult, in England, that men of quality, as well as others, were anxious to provide, for themselves and their friends, a retreat in America. Another patent therefore, containing a large tract of country, in New-England, soon succeeded that of Massachusetts.

Old patent of Connecticut, 1631.

ON the 19th of March 1631, Robert earl of Warwick, president of the council of Plymouth, under his hand and seal, did grant and confirm unto the honorable William Viscount Say and Seal, Robert Lord Brooks, Robert Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Esquire, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall and others, to the number of eleven, and to their heirs, assigns and associates for ever, “ All that part of New-England in America, which lies and extends itself from a river there
 “ called Narraganset river, the space of forty leagues
 “ upon a strait line near the sea shore, towards the
 “ southwest, west and by south, or west as the coast lieth towards Virginia, accounting three English miles
 “ to the league, and all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the
 “ lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and
 “ breadth, and in length and longitude of, and within
 “ all the breadth aforesaid, throughout all the main
 “ lands there, from the western ocean to the south seas;
 “ and all lands, grounds, soil, wood and wood lands,
 “ ground, havens, ports, creeks and rivers, waters, fishings and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the
 “ said space, and every part and parcel thereof; and also all islands lying in America aforesaid in the said
 “ seas, or either of them on the western or eastern coasts,
 “ or parts of the said tracts of land, by the presents to

“ be given or granted.” † The council of Plymouth, BOOK I.
 the preceding year, 1630, granted this whole tract to the earl of Warwick, and it had been confirmed to him by a patent from king Charles the first.

THIS is the original patent of Connecticut. The settlers of the two colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven were the patentees of Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook and their associates, to whom the patent was originally given.

PRESIDENT Clap describes the extent of the tract conveyed by this patent in the words following, “ All that part of New-England which lies west from Narraganset river a hundred and twenty miles on the sea coast; and from thence in latitude and breadth as far as said to the south sea. This grant extends from point Judith to New-York, and from thence a west line to the south sea: and if we take Narraganset river in its whole length, this tract will extend as far north as Worcester. It comprehends the whole of the colony of Connecticut and much more.” † Neal, Douglass, Hutchinsoⁿ, § and all ancient historians and writers have represented all the New-England grants as extending west from the Atlantic ocean to the south sea. Indeed the words of the patent are most express, declaring its extent to be south west or west, towards Virginia to be in length and longitude throughout all the main lands to the south seas. Extent of the Connecticut patent. 1631.

THE colony of the Massachusetts, and the commissioners of the United colonies of New-England, understood the patents in this light and hence extended their claims to the westward of the Dutch settlements. The Massachusetts, in the year 1659 made a grant of lands, opposite to fort Aurania, upon Hudson’s river, to a number of principal merchants, in the colony, who were planning to make settlements in those parts. || The same year, the commissioners of the united colonies asserted their claim of all the western lands to the south sea. In a letter to the Dutch governor, September 1st

† See this patent in the appendix No. 1.

† Manuscripts of president Clap.

§ Neal’s history N. E. vol. I. p. 148. Douglass vol. II. p. 90 and 160; and Hutchinsoⁿ vol. I. p. 64 and vol. II. p. 203.

|| Hutchinsoⁿ vol. I. p. 159.

BOOL I. 1659, they write, “ We presume you have heard from
 “ your people, of the fort of Aurania, that some of our
 “ people, the English, have been lately in those parts,
 “ upon discovery of some meet places for plantations,
 “ within the bounds of the patent of the Massachusetts
 “ colony ; which from the latitude of 42 degrees and
 “ a half, or 42 degrees and 33 and a half minutes, and
 “ so northerly extends itself from east to west, in lon-
 “ gitude through the main land of America, from the
 “ Atlantic ocean to the south or west sea.”

THE patents to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, have ever been understood to have the same westerly extension. In the same light have they always been viewed, by the British kings, and have been pleaded and acted upon, in treaties, between the court of Great Britain, and the French and Spanish monarchs. By virtue of this construction of patents and charters of the American colonies, it was, that all the western territories, as far as Mississippi, were, in the late peace with Great Britain, ceded to the states of America. From the same construction of the patents, congress have taken a formal surrender of the unappropriated western lands from particular states, and from Connecticut no less than from others.

Situation
 soil and
 area of
 Connecti-
 cut.

THE situation of the settled part of Connecticut is chiefly from 41 to 42 degrees of north latitude, and from 72 to 73 degrees and 45 minutes west longitude. It is bounded south by the sea shore about 90 miles, from Byram river, in the latitude of 40 degrees and 58 minutes, and longitude 72 degrees and 25 minutes, to Pawcatuck river, in latitude 41 degrees and 17 minutes, and in longitude 72 degrees and 25 minutes ; east on the colony of Rhode-Island 45 miles ; north on Massachusetts 72 miles, the line running nearly in the latitude of 42 degrees ; and west on New-York about 73 miles. It contains 4,730 square miles, and 3,020,000 acres. One twentieth part of the colony is water and high-ways.† Exclusive of these there are 2,869,000 acres. Of this about 2,640,000 are estimated improveable.

† To find the quantity of water and high ways, an accurate computation was made of the proportion of water and high ways in a particular town, which was supposed to contain an average with the towns in general.

The land is excellently watered and liberal to the husbandman. Though, in some places it is mountainous and broken, yet the greatest part of this is profitable either for wood or grazing. There are some thin lands, but these are profitable with proper manuring and cultivation.

Book I.

THE present population is more than fifty souls to every square mile, including land and water. It is about one person to every ten or twelve acres of land.

Degree of population.

THE first discoveries made of this part of New-England were of its principal river and the fine meadows lying upon its banks. Whether the Dutch at New-Netherlands, or the people of New-Plimouth were the first discoverers of the river is not certain. Both the English and Dutch claimed to be the first discoverers, and both purchased and made a settlement of the lands upon it nearly at the same time.


IN 1631, Wahquimacut, a sachem upon the river Connecticut, made a journey to Plimouth and Boston, earnestly soliciting the governors of each of the colonies to send men to make settlements upon the river. He represented the exceeding fruitfulness of the country, and promised that he would supply the English, if they would make a settlement there, with corn annually, and give them eighty beaver skins. He urged that two men might be sent to view the country. Had this invitation been accepted it might have prevented the Dutch claim to any part of the lands upon the river, and opened an extensive trade, in hemp, furs, and deer skins, with all the Indians upon it, and far into Canada.

Invitation to settle on the river.

THE governor of Massachusetts treated the sachem and his company with generosity, but paid no further attention to his proposal. Mr. Winslow, the governor of Plimouth, judged it worthy of more attention. It seems, that soon after he went to Connecticut, and discovered the river and the adjacent parts. The commissioners of the United colonies, in their declaration against the Dutch, in 1653, say, "Mr. Winslow, one of the commissioners for Plimouth, discovered the fresh river when the Dutch had neither trading house nor any pretence to a foot of land there."†

1631.

† Records of the United Colonies.

BOOK I.  It very soon appeared that the earnestness, with which the Indian sachem solicited the English to make settlements on the river, originated in the distressed state of the river Indians. Pekoath, at that time, the great sachem of the Pequims, or Pequots, was conquering them, and driving their sachems from that part of the country. The Indian king imagined, that if he could persuade the English to make settlements there, they would defend him from his too powerful enemies. †

1632. THE next year, the people of New-Plimouth made more particular discoveries, upon the river, and found a place near the mouth of the little river, in Windfor, at which they judged a trading house might be erected, which would be advantageous to the colony.

THE Indians represented that the river Connecticut extended so far north, and so near the great lake, that they passed their canoes from the lake into it; and that from the great swamps about the lake came most of the beaver in which they traded.

ONE of the branches of Onion river, in Vermont, is within ten miles of Connecticut river. This was anciently called the French river. The French and Indians from Canada came by this river, and from this into Connecticut, when they made their attacks on the northern frontiers of New-England and Connecticut.

DESCRIPTION of Connecticut river
CONNECTICUT river has its source in that grand ridge of mountains which divides the waters of New-England and Canada, and extends north-easterly to the gulph of St. Lawrence. The source of its highest branch is in about 45 degrees and a half, or 46 degrees of north latitude. Where it enters New-England, in 45 degrees of north latitude, it is ten rods in breadth, and in running sixty miles further, it becomes twenty-four rods wide. It forms the boundary line between New-Hampshire and Vermont about two hundred miles. Thence running through the states of Massachusetts and Connecticut, it disembogues its waters into Long-Island sound, between Saybrook and Lime. It runs with a gentle flow, as its course is, between three and four hundred miles. Its breadth through Connecticut, at a medium is between a hundred rods and half a mile. In the high spring floods it overflows its banks, and in

† Winthrop's Journal p. 25.

some places is nearly two miles in breadth. As its banks are generally low, it forms and fertilizes a vast tract of the finest meadow; feasible, fertile, and in which a stone is scarcely to be found. The general course of this beautiful river, above, and between the states of New-Hampshire and Vermont, is nearly south west; thence it turns and runs but a few degrees west of south to its mouth. At a small distance from its mouth is a bar of sand, apparently formed by the conflux of the river and tide. Upon this there is but ten feet of water, at full tide. The bar is at such a distance from the mouth of the river, that the greatest floods do not increase the depth of the water. This is some obstruction to navigation, but any vessel, which can pass the bar, may proceed, without obstruction as far as Middletown, thirty miles from the sound; and vessels of eighty, and a hundred tons go up to Hartford, fifty miles from the river's mouth. By means of locks and cuts, at the falls it is now navigable, for boats, more than three hundred miles.

Book I.


IN Connecticut, there is one exception to the lowness of the river's banks. About three miles below Middletown the river makes its way through two mountains, by which its breadth is contracted to about forty rods. This occasions the waters, sometimes, in the spring floods, to rise, even at Hartford, twenty feet above the common surface of the river. This, for the length of its course, its gentle flow, its excellent waters, the rich and extensive meadows which it forms, and the immense quantities of fish, with which it abounds, is one of the finest rivers in New-England.

NONE of the ancient adventurers, who discovered the great continent of North America, or New-England, made any discovery of this river. It does not appear that it was known to any civilized nation, until some years after the settlement of the English and Dutch, at Plymouth and New-Netherlands.

FROM this fine river, which the Indians called Quon-eh-tacut, or Connecticut; in English, the long river, the colony, originally took its name. Indeed this is one principal source of its wealth and convenience.

Connecticut named from its principal river.
 Description of rivers.

THE Housatonick and the little, or Farmington river, westward of it, and Pequot river, now called the

BOOK I. Thames, on the east are also considerable sources of its opulence and prosperity. The Housatonic, now commonly called Stratford river, has two principal branches. One rises in Lanesborough, and the other in Windsor, in the county of Berkshire, in Massachusetts. Where it enters Connecticut, between Salisbury and Canaan, it is about fifty rods wide, and running through the whole length of the colony, it empties into the sound between Milford and Stratford. It is navigable twelve miles to Derby. Between Milford and Stratford it is about eighty rods wide, and there is about four fathom of water. Were it not obstructed, by a bar of shells, at the mouth, it would admit large ships. Between Salisbury and Canaan is a cataract where the water of the whole river falls perpendicularly sixty feet. The fall produces a perfectly white sheet of water and a mist in which various floating rainbows are exhibited, forming a scene exquisitely grand and beautiful.

Of Housatonic.
Of Naugatuck. THE Naugatuck, or Waterbury river, is another considerable branch of the Housatonic. Its source is in Torrington, and running through Harwinton, Plimouth and Waterbury, it empties itself into said river at Derby.

Of the little river. THE little, or Farmington river, rises in Becket, in Massachusetts, crosses the boundary line between the colonies at Hartland, and passing through Barkhempsted and New-Hartford, runs south considerably below the centre of Farmington first society; then, making a remarkable turn, it runs back nearly a north course, twelve or fourteen miles into Symsbury; where it turns easterly, and running into Windsor, discharges its waters into Connecticut river nearly in the centre of the town. This formerly was replenished with all kinds of fish in as great a profusion as Connecticut. The numerous dams, which more lately have been erected upon it, have very greatly obstructed their passage.

Of Pequot. PEQUOT river, or the Thames, empties into the sound at New-London. It is navigable fourteen miles to Norwich landing. Here it loses its name, and branches into Shetuket on the east, and Norwich or little river on the west.

Description of the cataract at Norwich. ABOUT a mile from the mouth of the little river is a remarkably romantic cataract. A perpendicular rock about twelve feet high extends itself across the whole

channel. Over this the river pitches, in one entire sheet, on to a bed of rocks. Here it is compressed, by a very narrow and crooked passage, between two craggy cliffs, and for fifteen or twenty rods forces its way over numerous pointed rocks, with the most violent agitation. Thence it flows into a large basin, which spreads itself for its reception. The long and constant falling of the waters have excavated the rocks even to admiration. In some, cavities are made, of a circular form, not less than five or six feet deep. The smooth and gentle flow of the river above the fall, the regularity and beauty of its descent, the roughness and foam of the waters below, and the rugged towering cliff impending the whole, presents the spectator with a scene majestic and pleasing beyond description.

BOOK I.



THE Shetucket, which name it bears as far only, as the southern boundary of Windham, is formed by the Willamantick and Quenibaug rivers. The Willamantick has its source in Massachusetts, enters Connecticut at Stafford, and is the boundary line between Tolland and Willington, Coventry and Mansfield, and passing by Windham loses itself in the Shetucket. Quenibaug rises in Brimfield, in Massachusetts, and passing through Sturbridge and Dudley crosses the line, between that state and Connecticut at Thompson, and dividing Pomfret from Killingly, Canterbury from Plainfield, and Lisbon from Preston, flows into Shetucket.

Of Shetucket, Willamantick and Quenibaug.

THE colony is watered and fertilized by numerous other rivers of less extent and utility.

As the people at Plimouth had explored Connecticut river, and fixed upon a place convenient for building and commerce, and found the original proprietors of the soil desirous of their making settlements among them, they judged it an affair worthy of public and immediate attention.

IN July 1633 Mr. Winslow and Mr. Bradford therefore made a journey to Boston, to confer with governor Winthrop and his council on the subject. Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford proposed it to them, to join with Plimouth, in a trade, to Connecticut for hemp and beaver, and to erect a house for the purposes of commerce. It was represented, as necessary to prevent the Dutch from taking possession of that fine country, who it was reported were about to build upon the

Book I. river. But governor Winthrop declined the motion. He objected that it was not proper to make a plantation there, because there were three or four thousand warlike Indians upon the river; and because the bar at the mouth of it was such that small pinances only could enter it, at high water: and because that, seven months, in the year, no vessels could go into it, by reason of the ice and the violence of the stream.

1633.

THE Plymouth people therefore determined to undertake the enterprize at their own risk. Preparations were made for erecting a trading house and establishing a small company upon the river. In the mean time, the master of a vessel from Massachusetts, who was trading at New-Netherlands, shewed to Gualter Van Twilly, the Dutch governor, the commission which the English had to trade and settle in New-England; and, that his majesty the king of England had granted all these parts to his own subjects. He therefore desired that the Dutch would not build at Connecticut. This appears to have been done at the direction of governor Winthrop: for in consequence of it the Dutch governor wrote a very complaisant letter to him, in which he represented, that the lords, the States General, had granted the same country to the West India company. He requested therefore, that the English would make no settlements at Connecticut, until the affair should be determined, between the court of England and the States General.* This appears to have been a piece of policy, in the Dutch governor to keep the English still, until the Dutch had got a firm footing upon the river.

September.

SEVERAL vessels, this year, went into Connecticut river to trade. John Oldham, from Dorchester, and three men with him, also travelled through the wilderness to Connecticut, to view the country and trade with the Indians. The sachem upon the river made him most welcome, and gave him a present in beaver. He found that the Indian hemp grew spontaneously in the meadows, in great abundance. He purchased a quantity of it; and, upon trial, it appeared much to exceed the hemp which grew in England.

WILLIAM HOLMES, of Plymouth, with his company having prepared the frame of a house, with boards and

* Winthrop's Journal p. 55.

materials for covering it immediately, put them on board a vessel and sailed for Connecticut. Holmes had a commission from the governor of Plymouth, and a chosen company to accomplish his design. When he came into the river he found, that the Dutch had got in before him, made a light fort, and planted two pieces of cannon. This was erected at the place since called Hartford. The Dutch forbid Holmes's going up the river, stood by their cannon, ordered him to strike his colours, or they would fire upon him. But he was a man of spirit, assured them that he had a commission from the governor of Plymouth to go up the river, and that he must obey his orders. They poured out their threats, but he proceeded, and landing on the west side of the river, erected his house a little below the mouth of the little river, in Windsor.* The house was covered with the utmost dispatch, and fortified with palisadoes. The Sachems who were the original owners of the soil, had been driven from this part of the country, by the Pequots; and were now carried home on board Holmes's vessel. Of them, the Plymouth people purchased the land, on which they erected their house.† This, governor Wolcott says, was the first house erected in Connecticut.‡ The Dutch about the same time built a trading house at Hartford which they called the Hirse of good hope.§

Book I.
1633.

Plymouth house erected at Windsor Oct. 1633.

Dutch house at Hartford.

It was with great difficulty, that Holmes and his company erected and fortified their house, and kept it afterwards. The Indians were offended at their bringing home the original proprietors and lords of the country, and the Dutch, that they had settled there, and were about to rival them, in trade and in the possession of those excellent lands upon the river. They were obliged therefore to combat both, and to keep a constant watch upon them.

Troubles from the Dutch & Indians.

THE Dutch, before the Plymouth people took possession of the river, had invited them, in an amicable manner, to trade at Connecticut; but when they were apprized, that they were making preparations for a settle-

* Manuscripts of Gov. Wolcott.
 † Prince's Chron. part II. Sec. 2 p. 94, 95, 96.
 ‡ In his Manuscripts.
 § Smith represents this house as built ten years before it was. Hist. of New-York p. 2.

BOOK I. ment there, they repented of the invitation, and spared
 ~~~~~ no exertions to prevent them.

ON the 8th of June the Dutch had sent Jacob Van  
 Curter to purchase lands upon the river Connecticut.  
 He made a purchase of about twenty acres at Hartford  
 of Nepuquash, a Pequot captain. Of this the Dutch  
 took possession in October, and on the 25th of the month  
 Curter protested against William Holmes the builder  
 of the Plimouth house. Some time afterwards, the  
 Dutch governor, Walter Van Twiller, of fort Amsterdam,  
 dispatched a reinforcement to Connecticut, de-  
 signing to drive Holmes and his company from the riv-  
 er. A band of seventy men, under arms with banners  
 displayed, assaulted the Plimouth house, but they found  
 it so well fortified, and the men, who kept it, so vigi-  
 lant and determined, that it could not be taken without  
 bloodshed. They therefore came to a parley and finally  
 returned in peace.

Oct. 25.

Dec. 1634.

THE Dutch were always mere intruders. They had  
 no right to any part of this country. The English ever  
 denied their right, and when the Dutch placed a gov-  
 ernor at New-Netherlands, and the court of England  
 made complaint of it to the States General, they dis-  
 owned the affair, and said it was only a private under-  
 taking of an Amsterdam West-India company. King  
 James the first commissioned Edward Langdon to be  
 governor, at New-Netherlands, and named the country  
 New-Albion. The Dutch submitted to the English  
 government, until the troubles in England, under the  
 administrations of king Charles the first and the long  
 parliament.† Taking the advantage of the distraction  
 of those times, they again usurped and established their  
 government, until they were reduced by king Charles  
 the second in 1664. They gave great trouble to both  
 the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven.

Trade in  
fur.

THE people of New-Plimouth had carried on a trade  
 upon Connecticut river for nearly two years before they  
 erected a trading house. They found the country to  
 be excellent and the trade profitable; but that, were  
 there a house and company to receive the commodities  
 which were brought down from the inland country,  
 the profits would be much greater. The country a-

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† Doug. Vol. II. p. 222.

bounded with beaver. The Dutch purchased not less than ten thousand skins annually. Plymouth and Massachusetts people sometimes, sent, in a single ship, for England, a thousand pounds sterling worth of otter and beaver skins. The extent of Connecticut river, the numerous Indians upon it, and the easy communication which they had with the lakes, and natives of Canada, gave an extensive opening for a trade in furs, skins, corn, hemp and all kinds of commodities which the country afforded.

THIS was a year of great sickness at Plymouth. They lost twenty of their people. Some of them were their principal and most useful inhabitants.

IT was a dreadful year to the Indians in the Massachusetts. Two sachems with a great part of their Indians died. The small pox which spread among them, was the occasion of the mortality. The people of Massachusetts shewed them great kindness in their distress. Several towns received their children to prevent their taking the infection, and to nurse and save them if they had taken it; but the most of them died notwithstanding all the care and pains, which could be exercised towards them. When their own people forsook them, the English, who lived near them, went to their wigwams and ministered to them. Some families spent almost their whole time with them. One Englishman buried thirty of their dead in one day.\*

Mortality among the Indians in Nov. and Dec.

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### CHAPTER III.

*THE state of the country of Connecticut when the settlement of the colony began. Its trees and fruits. Its animals. Number, situation, genius, manners, arms, utensils and wars of the Indians.*

**W**HEN the English became first acquainted with that tract comprised within the settled part of Connecticut, it was a vast wilderness. There were no pleasant fields, nor gardens, no public roads, nor cleared plats. Except in places where the timber had been destroyed, and its growth prevented by frequent fires, the

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\* Winthrop's Journal, p. 59.

BOOK I. groves were thick and lofty. The Indians so often burned the country, to take deer and other wild game that in many of the plain, dry parts of it, there was but little small timber. Where lands were thus burned there grew bent grass, or as some called it, thatch, two, three, and four feet high, according to the strength of the land. This with other combustible matter, which the fields and groves produced, when dry, in the spring and fall, burned with violence and killed all the small trees. The large ones escaped and generally grew to a notable height and magitude. In this manner the natives so thinned the groves, that they were able to plant their corn and obtain a crop.

1635.

THE constant fall of foliage, with the numerous kinds of weeds and wild grass, which annually died and putrified on the lands, yielded a constant manure, and exceedingly enriched them. Vegetation was rapid and all the natural productions of the country luxuriant.

Trees.

It abounded with the finest oaks of all kinds, with chesnut, walnut and wild cherry trees, with all kinds of maple, beech, birch, ash and elm. The butternut tree, buttonwood, basswood, poplar and sassafras trees were to be found generally upon all tracts in Connecticut. White, yellow and pitch pine, white and red cedar, hemlock and spruce grew plenteously in many places. In the north and north western part of the colony were excellent groves of pine, with spruce and fir trees. The white wood tree also, notable for its height and magnitude, making excellent boards and clapboards, was the natural growth of the country. In some towns white wood trees have grown in great abundance. All other kinds of small trees, of less utility, common to New-England, flourish in Connecticut.

Natural  
fruits.

THE country abounded with a great variety of wild fruit. In the groves were walnuts, chesnuts, butternuts, hazlenuts and acorns in great abundance. Wild cherries, currants and plumbs were natural productions. In the low lands, on the banks of the rivers, by the brooks and gutters, there was a variety and plenty of grapes. The country also abounded with an almost endless variety of esculent and medicinal berries, herbs and roots. Among the principal and most delicious of these were strawberries, blackberries of various kinds, raspberries, dewberries, whortleberries, bilberries, blue-

berries and mulberries. Cranberries also grew plenteously in the meadows, which when well prepared furnish a rich and excellent fauce. Juniperberries, barberries and bayberries, which are of the medicinal kind grow spontaneously in Connecticut. The latter is an excellent and useful berry, producing a most valuable tallow. It is of a beautiful green and has a fine perfume. Beside these, there was a profusion of various other kinds of berries of less consideration. Some even of these, however, are very useful in various kinds, of dyes and in certain medicinal applications.

BOOK I.  
1633.

THE earth spontaneously produced ground nuts, artichokes, wild leeks, onions, garlicks, turnips, wild pease, plantain, radish and other esculent roots and herbs.

AMONG the principal medicinal vegetables of Connecticut are the blood root, feneca snakeroot, liquorish root, dragon root, pleurisy root†, spikenard, elecampane, solomon's seal, sarsaparilla, fenna, bitter-sweet, ginseng, angelica, masterwort, motherwort, lungwort, consumption root,‡ great and small canker weed, high and low centaury, sweet and blue flag, elder, maidenhair, pennyroyal, celandine, mallow, marsh mallow, slippery elm, adder's tongue and rattlesnake weed. Indeed a great proportion of the roots and plants of the country, with the bark, buds and roots of many of the trees are used medicinally. There is a great variety of plants and flowers, the names and virtues of which are not known.§

Medicinal  
vegeta-  
bles.

THE country was no less productive of animals, than of natural fruit. In the groves there was a plenty of deer, moose, fat bears, turkies, herons, partridges, quails, pigeons and other wild game, which were excellent for food. There were such incredible multitudes of pi-

Animals

† *Esclepias decumbens*.

‡ This is the *Genm Urbanum* of Linnæus. It is known in Britain by the name of *Herb Bennet*, or common *Arens*. Dr. Buchhave, from long experience, recommends it as much superior to the Peruvian bark, in the cure of periodical and other diseases. Medical commentaries by a society of Physicians in Edinburgh, vol. VII. p. 279 to 288. He represents three ounces of this root, as equal to a pound of the cortex.

§ The roots and flowers of America would be the most valuable addition to the works of the celebrated Linnæus which could be made.

BOOK I. geons, in New-England when the English became first  
 1633. acquainted with it, as filled them with a kind of aston-  
 ishment. Such numerous and extensive flocks would be  
 seen flying for some hours, in the morning, that they  
 would obscure the light. An American historian  
 writes, "It passeth credit, if but the truth should be  
 "written."\*

CONNECTICUT abounded in furs. Here were otters,  
 beaver, the black, grey and red fox, the racoon, mink,  
 muskrat and various other animals, of the fur kind.  
 The wolf, wild cat and other animals, common in New-  
 England, were equally so in Connecticut. Wolves  
 were numerous in all parts of New-England, when the  
 settlements commenced, and did great damage to the  
 planters, killing their sheep, calves and young cattle.

Fowl. THE country afforded an almost incredible plenty of  
 water-fowl. In the bays, creeks, rivers and ponds were  
 wild geese, and ducks of all kinds, wigeons, sheldraps,  
 broadbills, teal of various sorts, and other fowl, which  
 were both wholesome and palatable. In the waters, on  
 the shores, and in the sands, were lobsters, oysters, clams  
 and all kinds of shell fish in abundance. Most of these  
 are reckoned among the dainties of the table.

Fish. IN the seas, bays, rivers and ponds, there was a variety,  
 and an innumerable multitude of fish, Connecticut  
 river, in particular was distinguished for that plenty and  
 variety which it afforded in the proper season: especially  
 for those excellent salmon with which its waters were  
 replenished.

Indians numerous in Connecticut. AS Connecticut abounded in wild animals, so it did  
 also with wild and savage men. In no part of New-  
 England were the Indians so numerous, in proportion  
 to the extent of territory, as in Connecticut. The sea  
 coast, harbours, bays, numerous ponds and streams with  
 which the country abounded, the almost incredible  
 plenty of fish and fowl which it afforded, were exceed-  
 ingly adapted to their convenience and mode of living.  
 The exceeding fertility of the meadows, upon several  
 of its rivers, and in some other parts of it, the excellen-  
 cy of its waters, and the salubrity of the air, were all  
 circumstances, which naturally collected them in great

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\* Prince's Chron. part II. p. 21.

numbers to this tract. Neither wars, nor sickness had BOOK I.  
 so depopulated this, as they had some other parts of ~~~~~  
 New England. 1633.

FROM the accounts given of the Connecticut Indians, they cannot be estimated at less than twelve or sixteen thousands. They might possibly amount to twenty. Their numbers.  
 They could muster, at least three or four thousand warriors.\* It was supposed, in 1633, that the river Indians only could bring this number into the field.† These were principally included within the ancient limits of Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield and Middletown. Within the town of Windsor only, there were ten distinct tribes, or sovereignties. About the year 1670 their bowmen were reckoned at two thousands. At that time it was the general opinion, that there were nineteen Indians, in that town, to one Englishman. Situation.  
 There was a great body of them in the centre of the town. They had a large fort a little north of the plat on which the first meeting-house was erected. On the east side of the river, on the upper branches of the Podunk, they were very numerous. There were also a great number in Hartford. Besides those on the west side of the river there was a distinct tribe in East-Hartford. These were principally situated upon the Podunk, from the northern boundary of Hartford to its mouth, where it empties into Connecticut river. Totanimo, their first sachem with whom the English had any acquaintance, commanded two hundred bowmen. These were called the Podunk Indians.

AT Mattabesick, now Middletown, was the great sachem Sowheag. His fort, or castle, was on the high Forts.  
 ground facing the river, and the adjacent country on both sides of the river was his sachemdom. This was extensive comprehending the ancient boundaries of Wethersfield, then called Pyquaug, as well as Middletown. Sequin was sagamore at Pyquaug, under Sowheag, when the English began their settlements. On the east side of the river, in the tract since called Chatham was a considerable clan called the Wongung Indians. At Machemoodus, now called East-Haddam was a numerous tribe, famous for their pawaws and

\* Winthrop's Journal p. 51.

† Manuscripts from Windsor.

BOOK I. worshipping of evil spirits.‡ South of these, in the  
 1633. eastermost part of Lime, were the western Nehanticks. These were confederate with the Pequots. South and east of them, from Connecticut river to the eastern boundary line of the colony, and north east or north to its northern boundary line, lay the Pequot, and Moheagan country. This tract was nearly thirty miles square, including the counties of New-London, Windham and the principal part of the county of Tolland.§

Pequot  
and Mo-  
heagan  
country.

HISTORIANS have treated of the Pequots and Moheagans as two distinct tribes, and have described the Pequot country as lying principally within the three towns of New-London, Groton and Stonington. All the tract above this, as far north and east as has been described, they have represented as the Moheagan country. Most of the towns in this tract, if not all of them hold their lands by virtue of deeds from Uncas, or his successors, the Moheagan sachems. It is however much to be doubted whether the Moheagans were a distinct nation from the Pequots. They appear to have been a part of the same nation, named from the place of their situation. Uncas was evidently of the royal line of the Pequots, both by his father and mother; and his wife was daughter of Tatobam, one of the Pequot sachems.|| He appears to have been a captain or petty sachem under Saffacus the great prince of the nation. When the English first came to Connecticut, he was in a state of rebellion against him, in consequence of some misunderstanding between them; and of little power or consequence among the Indians.

Pequot  
sachems.

THE Pequots were by far the most warlike nation in Connecticut, or even in New-England. The tradition is, that they were originally an inland tribe; but, by their prowess, came down and settled themselves, in that fine country along the sea coast from Nehantick to Narraganset bay. When the English began their settlements at Connecticut, Saffacus had twenty-six sachems, or principal war captains under him. The next to himself, in dignity, was Mononottoh. The chief seat of

‡ Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Hofmore.

§ President Clap's manuscripts and Chandler's map of the Moheagan country.

|| Preface to captain Mason's history, and genealogy of Uncas upon the records of Connecticut.



these Indians was at New-London and Groton. New-London was their principal harbor, and called Pequot harbor. They had another small harbor at the mouth of Mistic river. Their principal fort was on a commanding and most beautiful eminence, in the town of Groton, a few miles south easterly from fort Griswold. It commanded one of the finest prospects of the sound and the adjacent country, which is to be found upon the coast. This was the royal fortrefs, where the chief sachem had his residence. He had another fort near Mistic river, a few miles to the eastward of this, called Mistic fort. This was also erected upon a beautiful hill, or eminence, gradually descending towards the south and southeast. The Pequots, Moheagans, and Nehanticks could, doubtless, muster a thousand bowmen. The Pequots only were estimated at seven hundred warriors. Upon the lowest computation we therefore find, at least three thousand warriors on the river Connecticut and in the eastern part of the colony. If we reckon every third person a Bowman, as some have imagined, then the whole number of Indians, in the town and tract mentioned would be nine thousands; but if there were but one to four or five, as is most probable, then there were twelve or fifteen thousands.

Book I  
1633.  
Forts and  
chief feat.

WEST of Connecticut river and the towns upon it, there were not only scattering families in almost every part, but in several places great bodies of Indians. At Symsbury and New-Hartford they were numerous; and upon those fine meadows, formed by the meanders of the little river, at Tunxis, now Farmington, and the lands adjacent was another very large clan. There was a small tribe at Guilford, under the sachem Squaw, or queen, of Menunkatuck. At Brandford and East-Haven there was another. They had a famous burying ground at East-Haven, which they visited and kept up, with much ceremony, for many years after the settlement of New-Haven.

AT Milford, Derby, Stratford, Norwalk, Stamford and Greenwich their numbers were formidable. Milford  
Indians.

AT Milford, the Indian name of which was Wopowage, there were great numbers; not only in the centre of the town, but south of it, at Milford point. In the fields there, the shells brought on by the original inhabitants, are said to be so deep, that they never have been plough-

BOOK I.

1633.

ed, or dug through even to this day. On the west part of the town was another party. They had a strong fortrefs with flankers at the four corners, about half a mile north of Stratford ferry. This was built as a defence againft the Mohawks. At Turkey hill, in the north-west part of Milford, there was another large settlement.

Pauguffet  
and Strat-  
ford In-  
dians.

IN Derby there were two large clans. There was one at Pauguffet. This clan erected a strong fort againft the Mohawks, fituated on the bank of the river nearly a mile above Derby ferry. At the falls of Naugatuk river, four or five miles above, was another tribe.

AT Stratford the Indians were equally if not more numerous. In that part of the town only, which is comprized within the limits of Huntington, their warriors after the English had knowledge of them, were estimated at three hundred; and, before this time they had been much wafte'd by the Mohawks.

Stamford  
Indians.

THE Indians at Stamford and Greenwich, and in that vicinity, probably, were not inferior in numbers to thofe at Stratford. There were two or three tribes of Indians in Stamford when the English began the fettlement of the town. In Norwalk were two petty fachemdoms; fo that within thefe towns there was a large and dangerous body of favages. Thefe, with the natives between them and Hudfon's river, gave extreme trouble to the Dutch. The Norwalk and Stamford Indians gave great alarm, and occafioned much expenfe to the English, after they made fettlements in that part of the colony.

IN the town of Woodbury there were alfo great numbers of Indians. The moft numerous body of them was in that part of the town, fince named South-Britain.

It would doubtlefs be a moderate computation to reckon all thefe different clans at a thoufand warriors, or four or five thoufand people. There muft therefore have been fixteen, and it may be twenty thoufand Indians in Connecticut when the fettlement of it commenced.

Narra-  
ganfet In-  
dians.

EAST of Connecticut were the Narraganfet Indians. Thefe were a numerous and powerful body. When the English fettled Plimouth their fighting men were reckoned at three or four thoufand.† Fifty years after

† Prince's Chron. p. 116.

this time, they were estimated at two thousand. The Pequots and Narragansets maintained perpetual war, and kept up an implacable animosity between them. The Narragansets were the only Indians, in the vicinity of the Pequots, which they had not conquered. To these their very name was dreadful. They said "Sas-facus was all one God; no man could kill him.†

ON the northeasterly and northern part of the colony were the Nipmuck Indians. Their principal seat was about the great ponds in Oxford, in Massachusetts, but their territory extended southward into Connecticut more than twenty miles. This was called the Wab-bequasset and Whetstone country: and sometimes, the Moheagan conquered country, as Uncas had conquered and added it to his sachenomdom.§

THE Connecticut, and indeed all the New-England Indians, were large, stait, well proportioned men. Their bodies were firm and active, capable of enduring the greatest fatigues and hardships. Their passive courage was almost incredible. When tortured in the most cruel manner; though flayed alive, though burnt with fire, cut or torn limb from limb, they would not groan, nor show any signs of distress. Nay in some instances they would glory over their tormentors, saying that their hearts would never be soft until they were cold, and representing their torments as sweet as Englishmen's sugar.|| When travelling in summer, or winter, they regarded neither heat nor cold. They were exceedingly light of foot, and would travel or run a very great distance in a day. Mr. Williams says, "I have known them run between eighty and a hundred miles in a summer's day and back again within two days." As they were accustomed to the woods, they ran in them nearly as well as on plain ground. They were exceedingly quick sighted, to discover their enemy, or their game, and equally artful to conceal themselves. Their features were tolerably regular. Their faces are generally full as broad as those of the English, but flatter; they have a small, dark coloured good eye, coarse black

Nipmuck  
Indians.

Descrip-  
tion of the  
Indians.

Passive  
courage.

Features.

† Major Mason's history of the Pequot war.

§ President Clap's manuscripts, and Chandler's map of the Moheagan country.

|| Hubbard's Narrative p. 130 and 172.

BOOK I. hair, and a fine white set of teeth. The Indian children when born, are nearly as white, as the English children; but as they grow up their skin grows darker and becomes nearly of a copper colour. The shapes both of the men and women, especially the latter are excellent. A crooked Indian is rarely if ever to be seen.

Genius. THE Indians in general were quick of apprehension, ingenious, and when pleased nothing could exceed their courtesy and friendship. Gravity and eloquence distinguished them in council, address and bravery in war. They were not more easily provoked than the English; but when once they had received an injury, it was never forgotten. In anger they were not, like the English, talkative and boisterous, but fullen and revengeful. Indeed, when they were exasperated nothing could exceed their revenge and cruelty. When they have fallen into the power of an enemy, they have not been known to beg for life, nor even to accept it when offered them. They have seemed rather to court death.\* They were exceedingly improvident. If they had a supply for the present, they gave themselves no trouble for the future. The men declined all labor, and spent their time in hunting, fishing, shooting, and warlike exercises. They were excellent marksmen, and rarely missed their game whether running or flying.

Treat- ment of the wo- men. THEY imposed all the drudgery upon their women. They gathered and brought home their wood, planted, dressed and gathered in their corn. They carried home the venison, fish and fowl, which the men took in hunting. When they travelled, the women carried the children, packs and provisions. The Indian women submitted patiently to such treatment, considering it as the hard lot of the woman. This ungenerous usage of their haughty lords, they repaid with smiles and good humour.

IT has been common among all heathen nations to treat their women as slaves, and their children in infancy, with little tenderness. The Indian men cared little for their children when young, and were supposed at certain times, to sacrifice them to the devil. Christianity only provides for that tender and honorable treat-

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\* Jefferson's notes p. 108, 109, and Hubbard's Narrative p. 130, 172.

ment of the woman, which is due to the sex formed of Book I. man. This alone provides for the tender care, nursing and education of her offspring, and is most favorable to domestic happiness, to the life and dignity of man. 1633.

THE Indian women were strong and masculine; and as they were more inured to exercise and hardship than the men, were even more firm and capable of fatigue and suffering than they. They endured the pains of child-bearing without a groan. It was not uncommon for them, soon after labor, to take their children upon their backs and travel as they had done before.†

THE clothing of the Indians in New-England, was the skins of wild beasts. The men threw a light mantle of skins over them, and wore a small flap which was called Indian breeches. They were not very careful however to conceal their nakedness. The women were much more modest. They wore a coat of skins, girt about their loins, which reached down to their hams.— They never put this off in company. If the husband chose to sell his wives beaver petticoat, she could not be persuaded to part with it, until he had provided another of some sort. Drefs.

IN the winter, their blanket of skins, which hung loose in the summer, was tied or wrapped more closely about them. The old men in the severe seasons also wore a sort of trowsers made of skins and fastened to their girdles. They wore shoes without heels, which they called mockassins. These were made generally of moose hide but sometimes of buck skin. They were shaped entirely to the foot, gathered at the toes and round the ankles, and made fast with strings.

THEIR ornaments were pendants in their ears and nose, carved of bone, shells and stone. These were in the form of birds, beasts and fishes. They also wore belts of wamponpeag upon their arms, over their shoulders and about their loins. They cut their hair into various antic forms and stuck them with feathers. They also by incisions into which they conveyed a black or blue, unchangeable ink, made on their cheeks, arms, and other parts of their bodies, the figures of moose, Ornaments.

† Woods's prospect of New-England, Neal and Hutchinson, Neal's Hist. N. E. vol. I. p. 45. Hutchinson vol. I. p. 462 to 467.

Book I. deer, bears, wolves, hawks, eagles and all such living  
 1633. creatures as were most agreeable to their fancies.—  
 These pictures were indelible and lasted during life.—  
 The sachems, on great days, when they designed to show  
 themselves in the full splendor of Majesty, not only covered  
 themselves with mantles of moose, or deer skins,  
 with various embroideries of white beads, and with  
 paintings of different kinds; but they wore the skin of a  
 bear, wild cat or some terrible creature upon their  
 shoulders and arms. They had also necklaces of fish  
 bones, and painting themselves in a frightful manner,  
 made a most ferocious and horrible appearance. The  
 warriors, who, on public occasions, dressed themselves  
 in the most wild and terrific forms were considered as the  
 best men.

Habitations. THE Indian houses or wigwams, were, at best, but  
 poor smoky cells. They were constructed generally  
 like arbours, of small young trees bent and twisted together,  
 and so curiously covered with mats or bark,  
 that they were tolerably dry and warm. The Indians  
 made their fire in the centre of the house, and  
 there was an opening at the top, which emitted the  
 smoke. For the convenience of wood and water, these  
 huts were commonly erected in groves; near some river,  
 brook or living spring. When the wood failed the  
 family removed to another place.

Food. THEY lived in a poor low manner. Their food was  
 coarse and simple, without any kind of seasoning. They  
 had neither spice, salt, nor bread. They had neither  
 butter, cheese, nor milk. They drank nothing better  
 than the water which ran in the brook or spouted from  
 the spring. They fed on the flesh and entrails of  
 moose, deer, bears, and all kinds of wild beasts and  
 fowls: on fish, eels and creeping things. They had  
 good stomachs and nothing came amiss. In the hunting  
 and fishing seasons, they had venison, moose, fat  
 bears, racoons, geese, turkies, ducks, and fish of all  
 kinds. In the summer they had green corn, beans,  
 squashes and the various fruits which the country naturally  
 produced. In the winter they subsisted on corn,  
 beans, fish, nuts, groundnuts, acorns, and the very  
 gleanings of the grove.

THEY had no set meals, but, like other wild creatures,  
 ate when they were hungry, and could find any thing

to satisfy the cravings of nature. Sometimes they had little or nothing, for several days; but when they had provisions, they feasted. If they fasted, for some time, they were sure at the next meal to make up for all they had lost before. They had but little food from the earth, except what it spontaneously produced. Indian corn, beans and squashes were the only eatables for which the natives in New-England labored. The earth was both their seat and their table. With trenchers, knives, and napkins they had no acquaintance.

THEIR household furniture was of small value. Their best bed was a mat or skin; they had neither chair nor stool. They ever sat upon the ground, commonly with their elbows upon their knees. This is the manner in which their great warriors and counsellors now sit, even in the most public treaties, with the English. A few wooden and stone vessels and instruments served all the purposes of domestic life. They had no steel nor iron instrument. Their knife was a sharp stone, shell, or kind of reed, which they sharpened in such a manner, as to cut their hair, make their bows and arrows, and served for all the purposes of a knife. They made them axes of stone. These they shaped somewhat similar to our axes; but with this difference, that they were made with a neck instead of an eye, and fastened with a withe, like a blacksmith's chissel. They had mortars, and stone pestles and chissels. Great numbers of these have been found in the country, and kept by the people, as curiosities. They dressed their corn with a clamshell, or with a stick made flat and sharp at one end. These were all the utensils which they had either for domestic use, or for husbandry.


THEIR arts and manufactures were confined to a very narrow compass. Their only weapons were bows and arrows, the tomahawk and the wooden sword or spear. Their bows were of the common construction. Their bowstrings were made of the sinews of deer, or of the Indian hemp. Their arrows were constructed of young elder sticks, or of other strait sticks and reeds. These were headed with a sharp flinty stone or with bones. The arrow was cleft at one end, and the stone or bone was put in and fastened with a small cord. The tomakawk was a stick of two or three feet in length, with a knob at the end. Sometimes it was a stone

Book I.  
1633.  
No set meals.

Household furniture.

Utensils.

Arts and manufactures.

Book I. hatchet, or a stick with a piece of deers horn at one end,  in the form of a pick 'axe. Their spear was a strait piece of wood, sharpened at one end and hardened in the fire, or headed with bone or stone.

1633.

WITH respect to navigation they had made no improvements beyond the construction and management of the hollow trough or canoe. They made their canoes of the chefnut, whitewood and pine trees. As these grew strait to a great length, and were exceedingly large as well as tall, they constructed some, which would carry sixty or eighty men.\* These were first rates; but commonly they were not more than twenty feet in length, and two in breadth. The Pequots had many of these, in which they passed over to the Islands, and warred against and plundered the Islanders. The Indians upon Long-Island had a great number of canoes, of the largest kind.

Indian canoes, constructed.

THE construction of these, with such miserable tools as the Indians possessed, was a great curiosity. The manner was this. When they had found a tree to their purpose; to fell it they made a fire at the root, and kept burning it and cutting it with their stone axe until it fell. Then they kindled a fire, at such a distance from the butt as they chose, and burned it off again. By burning and working with their axe and scraping with sharp stones and shells, they made it hollow and smooth. In the same manner they shaped the ends, and finished it to their wishes.

Nets and hooks.

THEY constructed nets, twenty and thirty feet in length, for fishing; especially for the purpose of catching sturgeon. These were wrought with cords of Indian hemp, twisted by the hands of the women. They had also hooks made of flexible bones, which they used for fishing.

Religion and morals.

WITH respect to religion and morals, the Indians in New-England were in the most deplorable condition. They believed that there was a great SPIRIT, or GOD, whom they called KITCHTAN. They imagined that he dwelt far away in the southwest, and that he was a good GOD. But they worshipped a great variety of gods. They paid homage to the fire and water, thunder and lightning, and to whatever they imagined to be superi-

\* Winthrop's Journal p. 54.



or to themselves, or capable of doing them an injury.† BOOK I.  
 They paid their principal homage to Hobbamocko. ~  
 They imagined that he was an evil spirit and did them 1633.  
 mischief; and so, from fear, they worshipped him, to  
 keep him in good humour. They appeared to have no  
 idea of a sabbath, and not to regard any particular day  
 more than another. But in times of uncommon distress,  
 by reason of pestilence, war or famine; and upon occa-  
 sion of great victories and triumph, and after the in-  
 gathering of the fruits, they assembled in great numbers,  
 for the celebration of their superstitious rites.‡ The  
 whole country, men women and children came together  
 upon these solemnities. The manner of their devotion  
 was to kindle large fires in their wigwams, or more  
 commonly in the open fields, and to sing and dance  
 round them in a wild and violent manner. Sometimes  
 they would all shout aloud with the most antic and hid-  
 eous notes. They made rattles of shells which they  
 shook, in a wild and violent manner, to fill up the con-  
 fused noise. After the English settled in Connecticut,  
 and they could purchase kettles of brass, they used to  
 strain skins over them and beat upon them to augment  
 their wretched music. They often continued these  
 wild and tumultuous exercises incessantly for four or five  
 hours, until they were worn down and spent with fa-  
 tigue. Their priests or powaws led in these exercises.  
 They were dressed in the most odd and surprising man-  
 ner, with skins of odious and frightful creatures about  
 their heads, faces, arms and bodies. They painted  
 themselves in the most ugly forms, which could be de-  
 vised. They sometimes sang, and then broke forth into  
 strong invocations, with starts, and strange motions and  
 passions. When these paused, the other Indians groan-  
 ed, making wild and doleful sounds. At these times  
 they sacrificed their skins, Indian money and the best of  
 their treasures. These were taken, by the powaws, and  
 all cast into the fires and consumed together. After  
 the English came into the country, and they had hatch-  
 ets and kettles, they sacrificed these in the same manner.  
 The English were also persuaded, that they, at some-  
 times, sacrificed their children, as well as their most

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† Magnalia B. III. p. 192.

‡ Ibid. ib.

Book I. valuable commodities. No Indians in Connecticut were  
 1633. more noted for these superstitions than those of Wop-  
 wage, and Machemoodus. Milford people observing an  
 Indian child, nearly at one of these times of their devo-  
 tion, dressed in an extraordinary manner, with all kinds  
 of Indian finery, had the curiosity to enquire what could  
 be the reason. The Indians answered, that it was to  
 be sacrificed, and the people supposed, that it was given  
 to the devil. The evil spirit, which the New-England  
 Indians called Hobbamocko, the Virginia Indians called  
 Okee. So deluded were these unhappy people, that  
 they believed these barbarous sacrifices to be absolutely  
 necessary. They imagined that unless they appeased  
 and conciliated their gods, in this manner, they would  
 neither suffer them to have peace, nor harvests, fish,  
 venison, fat bears, nor turkeys; but would visit them  
 with a general destruction.

Morals.

With respect to morals they were indeed miserably  
 depraved. Mr. Williams and Mr. Callender, who, at an  
 early period were acquainted with the Indians, in  
 Rhode-Island, Mr. Hooker and others have represented  
 them as sunk into the lowest state of moral turpitude,  
 and as the very dregs of human nature.\* Though the  
 character which they gave them was, in some respects  
 exaggerated and absurd, yet it cannot be denied, that  
 they were worshippers of evil spirits, liars, thieves and  
 murderers. They certainly were insidious and re-  
 vengeful almost without a parallel: and they wallowed  
 in all the filth of wantonness. Great pains were taken  
 with the Narraganset and Connecticut Indians to civil-  
 ize them and teach them christianity; but the sachems  
 rejected the gospel with indignation and contempt.  
 They would not suffer it to be preached to their subjects.  
 Indeed both made it a public interest to oppose its prop-  
 agation among them. Their policy, religion and man-  
 ners were directly opposed to its pure doctrines and  
 morals.

Courtship  
 and mar-  
 riage.

THE manner of their courtship and marriages mani-  
 fested their impurity. When a young Indian wished  
 for marriage, he presented the girl with whom he was  
 enamoured, with bracelets, belts and chains of wam-  
 pum. If she received his presents they cohabited to-

\* Williams's manuscripts, and Mr. Callender's sermon.

gether, for a time upon trial. If they pleased each other they were joined in marriage: but if after a few weeks, they were not suited, the man, leaving his presents, quitted the girl and sought another mistress, and she another lover.\* In this manner they courted until two met who were agreeable to each other. Before marriage the consent of the sachem was obtained, and he always joined the hands of the young pair in wedlock.

THE Indians in general kept many concubines, and never thought they had too many women.† This especially was the case with their sachems. They chose their concubines agreeably to their fancy, and put them away at pleasure. When a sachem grew weary of any of his women, he bestowed them upon some of his favourites, or chief men. The Indians however had one wife, who was the governess of the family, and whom they generally kept during life. In cases of adultery, the husband either put away the guilty wife, or satisfied himself by the infliction of some severe punishment. Husbands and wives, parents and children, lived together in the same wigwams, without any different apartment, and made no great privacy of such actions as the chaster animals keep from open view

THE Indian government generally was absolute monarchy. The will of the sachem was his law. The lives and interests of his subjects were at his disposal. But in all important affairs he consulted his counsellors. When they had given their opinions, they deferred the decision of every matter to him. Whatever his determinations were, they applauded his wisdom, and without hesitation obeyed his commands. In council the deportment of the sachems was grave and majestic to admiration. They appeared to be men of great discernment and policy. Their speeches were cautious and politic. The conduct of their counsellors and servants was profoundly respectful and submissive.

THE counsellors of the Indian kings, in New-England, were termed the paniefe. These were not only the wisest, but largest and bravest men to be found among their subjects. They were the immediate guard of their respective sachems, who made neither war nor

Plurality  
of wives.

Indian  
govern-  
ment.

The pani-  
eife.

\* Hutchinson vol. I. p. 461, 462.

† Neal's Hist. N. E. p. 38, 39.

BOOK I. peace, nor attempted any weighty affair without their  
 1633. advice. In war and all great enterprifes, dangers and  
 sufferings, these discovered a boldness, and firmness of  
 mind exceeding all the other warriors.

To preserve this order among the Indians, great pains were taken. The stoutest and most promising boys were chosen and trained up with peculiar care, in the observation of certain Indian rites and customs. They were kept from all delicious meats, trained to coarse fare, and made to drink the juice of bitter herbs, until it occasioned violent vomitings. They were beaten over their legs and shins with sticks, and made to run through brambles, and thickets, to make them hardy: and, as the Indians said, to render them more acceptable to Hobbamocko.

THESE paniese, or ministers of state, were in league with the priests, or powaws. To keep the people in awe, they pretended, as well as the priests, to have converse with the invisible world; and, that Hobbamocko often appeared to them.

The  
 crown he-  
 reditary.

AMONG the Connecticut Indians, and among all the Indians in New-England, the crown was hereditary always descending to the eldest son. When there was no male issue, the crown descended to the female. The blood royal was held in such veneration, that no one was considered as heir to the crown but such as were royally descended on both sides. When a female acceded to the crown she was called the *sunk squaw*, or *queen squaw*. There were many petty Sachems, tributary to other princes, on whom they were dependent for protection, and without whose consent they made neither peace, war, nor alliances with other nations.

Revenues  
 of the  
 prince.


THE revenues of the crown consisted in the contributions of the people. They carried corn and the first fruits of their harvest of all kinds, beans, squashes, roots, berries and nuts, and presented them to their sachem. They made him presents of flesh, fish, fowl, moose, bear, deer, beaver and other skins. One of the paniese was commonly appointed to receive the tribute. When the Indians brought it he gave notice to his sachem, who went out to them, and by good words and some small gifts expressed his gratitude. By these contributions his table was supplied; so that he kept open house for all strangers and travellers. Besides, the prince claimed an ab-

folute sovereignty over the seas within his dominion. BOOK I.  
 Whatever was stranded on the coast, all wrecks and  
 whales floating on the sea, and taken were his.† 1633.  
 In war the spoils of the enemy and all the women and  
 royalties of the prince conquered, belonged to him, who  
 made the conquest.

THE sachem was not only examiner, judge and executioner, in all criminal cases, but in all matters of justice between one man and another. In cases of dishonesty the Indians proportioned the punishment to the number of times in which the delinquent had been found guilty. For the first offence, he was reproached for his villainy in the most disgraceful manner; for the second he was beaten with a cudgel upon his naked back. If he still persisted in his dishonest practices and was found guilty a third time, he was sure, besides a sound drubbing, to have his nose slit, that all men might know and avoid him. Murder was in all cases punished with death. The sachem whipped the delinquent and slit his nose in cases which required these punishments; and he killed the murderer, unless he were at a great distance. In this case, in which execution could not be done with his own hands, he sent his knife, by which it was effected. The Indians would not receive any punishment, which was not capital, from the hands of any except their sachems. They would neither be beaten, whipped, nor slit by an officer: But their prince might inflict these punishments to the greatest extremity, and they would neither run, cry, nor flinch. Indeed neither the crimes nor the punishments are esteemed so infamous, among the Indians, as to groan or shrink under suffering. The sachems were so absolute in their government, that they contemned the limited authority of the English governors.

THE Indians had no kind of coin; but they had a sort of money, which they called wampum, or wampumpeag. It consisted of small beads, most curiously wrought out of shells, and perforated in the centre, so that they might be strung on belts, in chains and bracelets. These were of several sorts. The Indians in Connecticut, and in New-England in general, made

† Magnalia B. VI. p. 51.

Book I. black, blue and white wampum. Six of the white beads  
 1633.  passed for a penny, and three of the black, or blue ones  
 for the same. The five nations made another sort,  
 which were of a purple colour. The white beads were  
 wrought out of the inside of the great conchs, and the  
 purple out of the inside of the muscle shell. They  
 were made perfectly smooth, and the perforation was  
 done in the neatest manner. Indeed, considering that  
 the Indians had neither knife, drill, nor any steel or iron  
 instrument, the workmanship was admirable. After the  
 English settled in Connecticut, the Indians strung these  
 beads on belts of cloth, in a very curious manner. The  
 squaws made caps of cloth rising to a peak, over the top  
 of the head, and the fore part was beautified with wam-  
 pum, curiously wrought upon them. The six nations  
 now weave and string them in broad belts, which they  
 give in their treaties, as a confirmation of their speeches  
 and the seals of their friendship.\*

THE Indians of Connecticut and New-England, al-  
 though consisting of a great number of different nations  
 and clans, appear all to have spoken radically the same  
 language. From Piscataqua to Connecticut, it was so  
 Language. nearly the same, that the different tribes could tolerably  
 converse together.† The Mohegan or Pequot lan-  
 guage was essentially that of all the Indians in New-  
 England, and of a great part of the Indians in the Uni-  
 ted States.‡ The word Mohegans is a corruption of  
 Muhhekancew, in the singular, or of Muhhekaneok in  
 the plural number. Not only the natives of New-Eng-  
 land, but the Penobscots, bordering on Nova-Scotia,  
 the Indians of St. Francis, in Canada, the Delawares,  
 in Pennsylvania, the Shawanese on the Ohio, and the  
 Chippewaus, at the westward of lake Huron all spoke  
 the same radical language. The same appears evident  
 also with respect to the Ottowaus, Nanticooks, Mun-  
 sees, Menomonees, Missisaukas, Saukies, Otagaummies,  
 Killistinoes, Nipegons, Algonkins, Winnebagoes and  
 other Indians. The various tribes, who evidently spoke  
 the same original language had different dialects; yet,  
 perhaps, they differed little more from each other, than

\* Colden's history vol. I. page 3, 4, 71, 72.

† Hutchinson vol. I. page 479.

‡ Dr. Edwards's observations on the language of the Muhhekancew Indians.

the style of a Londoner now does from that of his great grandfather. The want of letters and of a sufficient correspondence between the several nations may well account for all the variations to be found among the natives in New-England, and between them and the other tribes which have been mentioned. All the New-England Indians expressed the pronouns both substantive and adjective by prefixes and suffixes, or by letters or syllables added at the beginnings or ends of their nouns. § In this respect there is a remarkable coincidence between this and the Hebrew language, in an instance in which the Hebrew entirely differs from all the ancient and modern languages of Europe.

FROM this affinity of the Indian language, with the Hebrew, from their anointing their heads with oil, their dancing in their devotions, their excessive howlings and mourning for their dead, their computing time by nights and moons, their giving dowries to their wives, and causing their women at certain seasons to dwell by themselves, and some other circumstances, the famous Mr. John Eliot, the Indian apostle, was led to imagine that the American Indians were the posterity of the dispersed Israelites.\* They used many figures and parables in their discourses, and some have reported, that at certain seasons, they used no knives, and never brake the bones of the creatures which they eat. It has also been reported, that in some of their songs the word Hallelujah might be distinguished. †

THE Indian language abounds with gutturals and strong aspirations, and their words are generally of a great length, ‡ which render it peculiarly bold and sonorous. The Indian speeches, like those of the eastern nations, generally were adorned with the most bold and striking figures, and have not been inferior to any which either the English, or French have been able to make to them. The Indians in general, throughout the con-

Affinity of the Indian and Hebrew language.

§ Dr. Edwards' observations on the Indian language.

\* Magnalia B. III. p. 192, 193.

† Hutchinson Vol. I. p. 478.

‡ Nummatchekodtantamoooganunonash was a single word, which, in English, signifies, Our lusts. Noowomantammoonkanunnonnash was another, signifying, Our loves. Kummogkodonattoottummooctiteaongannunnouash was another, expressing no more than, Our question. Magnalia B. III. p. 192.

Book I. 1633. ~
 continent, were much given to speech making. As eloquence and war were, with them, the foundations of all consequence, the whole force of their genius was directed to these acquisitions. In council, their opinions were always given in set speeches; and to persons whom they highly respected, it was not unusual, on meeting and parting, or on matters of more than common importance, to address their compliments and opinions in formal harangues. The Indians commonly spake with an unusual animation and vehemence.

L and R  
not used  
in the In-  
dian dia-  
lect of N.  
England.

THE Indians in New-England rarely if ever admitted the letters, L and R into their dialect; but the Mohawks, whose language was entirely different, used them both. Some of the western Indians, who speak the same language radically, with the Moheagans, use the L. The Moheagan language abounds with labials, but the Mohawk differs entirely from this, and perhaps from every other, in this respect, that it is wholly destitute of labials. The Mohawks esteemed it a laughable matter indeed for men to shut their mouths that they might speak.†

Burial of  
the dead.

THE Indians in Connecticut, and in all parts of New-England, made great lamentations at the burial of their dead. Their manner of burial was to dig holes in the ground with stakes which were made broad and sharpened at one end. Sticks were laid across the bottom, and the corpse, which was previously wrapped in skins and mats, was let down upon them. The arms, treasures, utensils, paint and ornaments of the dead were buried with them, and a mound of earth was raised upon the whole. In some instances the Indians appear to have used a kind of embalming, by wrapping the corpse in large quantities of a strong scented red powder.‡ In some parts of New-England the dead were buried in a sitting posture with their faces towards the east. The women on these occasions painted their faces with oil and char-coal, and while the burial was performing, they, with the relatives of the dead, made the most hideous shrieks, howlings and lamentations. Their mourning continued, by turns, at night and in the morning, for several days. During this term all the relatives united in bewailing the dead.

Mourning

† Colden's history vol. I. p. 16.

‡ Neal's history N. E. vol. I. p. 29.



WHEN the English began the settlement of Connecticut, all the Indians both east and west of Connecticut river were tributaries except the Pequots and some few tribes, which were in alliance with them. The Pequots had spread their conquests over all that part of the state east of the river. They had also subjugated the Indians on the sea coast as far eastward as Guilford. Uncas therefore, after the Pequots were conquered, extended his claims as far as Hammonasset in the eastern part of that township.† The Indians in these parts were therefore tributaries to the Pequots.

BOOK I.  
1633.  
Indians of  
Connecticut  
tributaries.

THE Mohawks had not only carried their conquests as far southward as Virginia, but eastward, as far as Connecticut river. The Indians therefore, in the western parts of Connecticut, were their tributaries. Two old Mohawks, every year or two, might be seen issuing their orders and collecting their tribute, with as much authority and haughtiness as a Roman dictator.

IT is indeed difficult to describe the fear of this terrible nation, which had fallen on all the Indians in the western parts of Connecticut. If they neglected to pay their tribute, the Mohawks would come down against them, plunder, destroy, and carry them captive at pleasure. When they made their appearance in the country, the Connecticut Indians would instantly raise a cry from hill to hill, A Mohawk! A Mohawk! and fly like sheep before wolves, without attempting the least resistance.‡ The Mohawks would cry out, in the most terrible manner, in their language, importing "We are come, we are come, to suck your blood."§ When the Connecticut Indians could not escape to their forts, they would immediately flee to the English houses for shelter, and sometimes the Mohawks would pursue them so closely as to enter with them, and kill them in the presence of the family. If there was time to shut the doors they never entered by force, nor did they upon any occasion, do the least injury to the English.

WHEN they came into this part of the country for war, they used their utmost art to keep themselves undiscovered. They would conceal themselves in swamps

† Manuscripts of Mrs. Ruggles.

‡ Colden's history vol. I. p. 3.

§ Wood's prospect of N. England.

BOOK I. and thickets, watching their opportunity, and all on a sudden, rise upon their enemy and kill or captivate them, before they had time to make any resistance.

1633.

Mohawks  
surprise  
Paugusset.

ABOUT the time when the settlement of New-Haven commenced, or not many years after, they came into Connecticut, and surpris'd the Indian fort at Paugusset. To prevent the Connecticut Indians from discovering them, and that not so much as a track of them might be seen, they march'd in the most secret manner, and when they came near the fort travel'd wholly in the river.— Secreting themselves near the fort they watch'd their opportunity and suddenly attacking it, with their dreadful yellings and violence, they soon took it by force, and killed and captivated whom they pleas'd. Having plundered and destroy'd, at their pleasure, they return'd to their castles, west of Albany.

Motives  
inducing  
the Indi-  
ans to  
permit the  
English  
settle-  
ments.

As all the Indians in Connecticut were slaughter'd and oppress'd, either by the Pequots or Mohawks, they were generally friendly to the settlement of the English among them. They expected, by their means, to be defend'd against their terrible and cruel oppressors. They also found themselves benefit'd by trading with them. They furnish'd themselves with knives, hatchets, axes, hoes, kettles and various instruments and utensils which highly contributed to their convenience. They could, with these, perform more labor in one hour or day, than they could in many days without them.— Besides, they found that they could exchange an old beaver coat, or blanket, for two or three new ones of English manufacture. They found a much better market for their furs, corn, peltry and all their vendible commodities.

THE English were also careful to treat them with justice and humanity, and to make such presents to their sachems and great captains, as should please and keep them in good humor.

By these means, the English liv'd in tolerable peace with all the Indians in Connecticut, and New-England, except the Pequots, for about forty years.

Indian  
kindness.

THE Indians at their first settlement perform'd many acts of kindness towards them. They instruct'd them in the manner of planting and dressing the Indian corn. They carried them upon their backs, through rivers and waters; and as occasion required, serv'd them in stead

of boats and bridges. They gave them much useful information respecting the country, and when the English or their children, were lost in the woods, and were in danger of perishing with hunger or cold, they conducted them to their wigwams, fed them, and restored them to their families and parents. By selling them corn, when pinched with famine, they relieved their distresses and prevented their perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness.

BOOK I.

1633.

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## CHAPTER IV.

*THE people at Dorchester, Watertown and Newtown finding themselves straitened in the Massachusetts determine to remove to Connecticut. Debates in Massachusetts relative to their removal. The general court at first prohibited it, but afterwards gave its consent. The people removed and settled the towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield. Hardships and losses of the first winters.*

**S**UCH numbers were constantly emigrating to New-England, in consequence of the persecution of the puritans, that the people at Dorchester, Watertown and Newtown began to be much straitened, by the accession of new planters. By those who had been at Connecticut, they had received intelligence of the excellent meadows upon the river, they therefore determined to remove, and once more brave the dangers and hardships of making settlements in a dreary wilderness.

UPON application to the general court for the enlargement of their boundaries, or for liberty to remove, they, at first, obtained consent for the latter. However, when it was afterwards discovered, that their determination was to plant a new colony at Connecticut, there arose a strong opposition; so that when the Court convened in September, there was a warm debate on the subject, and a great division between the houses. Indeed the whole colony was affected with the dispute.

MR. HOOKER, who was more engaged in the enterprise, than the other ministers, took up the affair and pleaded for the people. He urged, that they were so straitened for accommodations for their cattle, that they

BOOK I. could not support the ministry, neither receive, nor assist any more of their friends, who might come over to them. He insisted that the planting of towns so near together was a fundamental error in their policy. He pleaded the fertility and happy accommodations of Connecticut: That settlements upon the river were necessary to prevent the Dutch and others from possessing themselves of so fruitful and important a part of the country; and that the minds of the people were strongly inclined to plant themselves there, in preference to every other place, which had come to their knowledge.

1634.  
Arguments for removing to Connecticut.

Arguments against it.

ON the other side it was insisted, That in point of conscience they ought not to depart, as they were united to the Massachusetts as one body, and bound by oath to seek the good of that commonwealth: and that on principles of policy it could not, by any means, be granted. It was pleaded, that as the settlements in the Massachusetts were new and weak, they were in danger of an assault from their enemies: That the departure of Mr. Hooker and the people of those towns, would not only draw off many from the Massachusetts, but prevent others from settling in the colony. Besides, it was said, that the removing of a candlestick was a great judgment: That by suffering it they should expose their brethren to great danger, both from the Dutch and Indians. Indeed, it was affirmed that they might be accommodated by the enlargements offered them by the other towns.

The court divided.

AFTER a long and warm debate, the governor, two assistants and a majority of the representatives were for granting liberty for Mr. Hooker and the people to transplant themselves to Connecticut. The deputy-governor however and six of the assistants were in the negative, and so no vote could be obtained.†

THIS made a considerable ferment not only in the general court, but in the colony, so that Mr. Cotton was desired to preach on the subject to quiet the court and the people of the colony. This also retarded the commencement of the settlements upon the river. Individuals however, were determined to prosecute the business, and made preparations effectually to carry it into execution.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 70.

IT appears, that some of the Watertown people came this year to Connecticut, and erected a few huts at Pyquag, now Wethersfield, in which a small number of men made a shift to winter.\*

BOOK I.

1635.  
May 3.

WHILE the colonists were thus prosecuting the business of settlement, in New-England, the right honourable James, Marquis of Hamilton, obtained a grant from the council of Plymouth, April 20th, 1635, of all that tract of country which lies between Connecticut river and Narraganset river and harbour, and from the mouths of each of said rivers northward sixty miles into the country. However, by reason of its interference with the grant to the Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook, &c. or for some other reason, the deed was never executed. The Marquis made no settlement upon the land and the claim became obsolete.

THE next May the Newtown people determining to settle at Connecticut, renewed their application to the general court, and obtained liberty to remove to any place which they should choose, with this proviso, that they should continue under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts.†

A NUMBER of Mr. Warham's people came this summer into Connecticut, and made preparations to bring their families and make a permanent settlement on the river. The Watertown people gradually removed and prosecuted their settlement at Wethersfield. At the same time the planters at Newtown began to make preparations for removing to Hartford the next spring.

MEANWHILE twenty men arrived in Massachusetts, sent over by Sir Richard Saltonstall, to take possession of a great quantity of land in Connecticut, and to make settlements under the patent of Lord Say and Seal, with whom he was a principal associate. The vessel in which they came over, on her return to England, in the fall, was cast away on the isle Sable.†

As the Dorchester men had now set down at Connecticut, near the Plymouth trading house, governor August.

\* This is the tradition, and the Rev. Mr. Meeks of Wethersfield in his manuscripts says, Wethersfield is the eldest town on the river.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 82.

† The same p. 83 and 89.

BOOK I. Bradford wrote to them complaining of their conduct, as injurious to the people of Plimouth, who had made a fair purchase of the Indians, and taken a prior possession.\*

1635.

THE Dutch also alarmed by the settlements making in Connecticut wrote to Holland for instructions and aid to drive the English from their settlements upon the river.†

October 15, the planters on the river remove their families to Connecticut.

THE people at Connecticut having made such preparations, as were judged necessary to effect a permanent settlement, began to remove their families and property. On the 15th of October about sixty men, women and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine commenced their journey from the Massachusetts, through the wilderness, to Connecticut river. After a tedious and difficult journey through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough grounds, which were passed with great difficulty and fatigue, they arrived safely at the places of their respective destination. They were so long on their journey and so much time and pains were spent in passing the river, and in getting over their cattle, that after all their exertions, winter came upon them before they were prepared. This was an occasion of great distress and damage to the plantations.

October 8, Mr. Winthrop arrives at Boston.

NEARLY at the same time, Mr. John Winthrop, son of governor Winthrop of Massachusetts, arrived at Boston, with a commission from Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and other noblemen and gentlemen interested in the Connecticut patent, to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river. Their lordships sent over men, ordnance, ammunition, and £2,000 sterling for the accomplishment of their design.‡

His commission.

Mr. Winthrop was directed, by his commission, immediately on his arrival to repair to Connecticut, with fifty able men, and to erect the fortifications and to build houses for the garrison, and for gentlemen, who might come over into Connecticut. They were first to build houses for their then present accommodation, and after that such as should be suitable for the reception of men of quality. The latter were to be erected

\* Winthrop's Journal p. 86.

† The same p. 86.

‡ The same p. 88.

within the fort. It was required, that the planters, at the beginning, should settle themselves near the mouth of the river, and set down in bodies, that they might be in a situation for entrenching and defending themselves. The commission made provision for the reservation of a thousand or fifteen hundred acres of good land for the maintenance of the fort, as nearly adjoining to it as might be with convenience.\*

BOOK I.  
1635.

MR. WINTHROP having intelligence, that the Dutch were preparing to take possession of the mouth of the river, as soon as he could engage twenty men and furnish them with provisions, dispatched them, in a small vessel of about 30 tons, to prevent their getting the command of the river, and to accomplish the service to which he had been appointed.

Nov. 9th.  
Mr. Winthrop dispatched a vessel to Connecticut.

BUT a few days after the party, sent by Mr. Winthrop, arrived at the mouth of the river, a Dutch vessel appeared off the harbour, from New-Netherlands, sent on purpose to take possession of the entrance of the river and to erect fortifications. The English had, by this time, mounted two pieces of cannon, and prevented their landing.† Thus providentially, was this fine tract of country preserved for our venerable ancestors and their posterity.

Dutch not suffered to land.

MR. WINTHROP was appointed governor of the river Connecticut and the parts adjacent for the term of one year. He erected a fort, built houses and made a settlement according to his instructions. One David Gardiner an expert engineer assisted in the work, planned the fortifications and was appointed lieutenant of the fort.

MR DAVENPORT and others, who afterwards settled New-Haven were active in this affair, and hired Gardiner, in behalf of their lordships, to come into New-England and assist in this business.‡

As the settlement of the three towns on Connecticut river was begun before the arrival of Mr. Winthrop, and the design of their lordships to make plantations upon it was known, it was agreed, that the settlers on the river should either remove, upon full satisfaction made, by

Agree-  
ment re-  
specting  
the plan-  
ters at  
Connecti-  
cut.

\* Appendix No. II.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 90, 91,

‡ Manuscripts of Gardiner.

BOOK I. their lordships, or else sufficient room should be found  
 ~~~~~ for them and their companies at some other place.||

1635.

THE winter set in this year much sooner than usual, and the weather was stormy and severe. By the 15th of November, Connecticut river was frozen over and the snow was so deep, and the season so tempestuous, that a considerable number of the cattle which had been driven on from the Massachusetts could not be brought across the river. The people had so little time to prepare their huts and houses, and to erect sheds and shelters for their cattle, that the sufferings of man and beast were extreme. Indeed the hardships and distresses of the first planters of Connecticut scarcely admit of a description. To carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness was impracticable. Their principal provisions and household furniture were therefore put on board several small vessels, which, by reason of delays and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away or did not arrive. Several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of New-England, by the violence of the storms. Two shallops laden with goods, from Boston to Connecticut, in October, were cast away on Brown's island, near the Gurnets nose; and the men, with every thing on board were lost.* A vessel with six of the Connecticut people on board, which sailed from the river for Boston, early in November, was, about the middle of the month, cast away in Manamet bay. The men got on shore, and after wandering ten days in deep snow and a severe season, without meeting any human being, arrived, nearly spent with cold and fatigue, at New-Plimouth.

November.

Famine at
 Connecticut.
 16th.
 arrived in
 Massachusetts the
 26th.

By the last of November or beginning of December provision generally failed in the settlements on the river, and famine and death looked the inhabitants sternly in the face. Some of them driven by hunger attempted their way, in this severe season, through the wilderness, from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Of thirteen, in one company, who made this attempt, one in passing the rivers fell through the ice and was drowned. The other twelve were ten days on their journey and would

|| Winthrop's Journal p. 88.

* The same p. 87.

all have perished, had it not been for the assistance of BOOK I.
 the Indians.

INDEED such was the distress in general, that by the 1635.
 3d and 4th of December a considerable part of the new
 settlers were obliged to abandon their habitations.
 Seventy persons, men, women and children, were ne- December
 cessitated, in the extremity of winter, to go down to the 3d or 4th.
 mouth of the river to meet their provisions, as the only
 expedient to preserve their lives. Not meeting with
 the vessels which they expected, they all went on board
 the Rebecca, a vessel of about 60 tons. This, two days
 before, was frozen in twenty miles up the river; but by
 the falling of a small rain and the influence of the tide,
 the ice became so broken and was so far removed, that
 she made a shift to get out. She ran however upon the December
 bar, and the people were forced to unlade her to get her 10th.
 off. She was reladed, and, in five days, reached Bos-
 ton. Had it not been for these providential circumstan-
 ces the people must have perished with famine.

THE people who kept their stations on the river suf- The set-
 fered in an extreme degree. After all the help they tlers ate
 were able to obtain, by hunting, and from the Indians, acorns
 they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt and grains.† and grains

NUMBERS of the cattle which could not be got over
 the river before winter, lived through without any thing
 but what they found in the woods and meadows.
 They wintered as well, or better than those which were
 brought over, and for which all the provision was made,
 and pains taken of which the owners were capable.
 However, a great number of cattle perished. The Dor-
 chester, or Windfor people, lost in this single article a- Loss in
 bout two hundred pounds sterling. Their other losses cattle.
 were very considerable.

It is difficult to describe or even to conceive the ap-
 prehensions and distresses of a people, in the circum-
 stances of our venerable ancestors, during this doleful
 winter. All the horrors of a dreary wilderness spread
 themselves around them. They were compassed with
 numerous, fierce and cruel tribes of wild and savage
 men, who could have swallowed up parents and chil-
 dren, at pleasure, in their feeble and distressed condi-
 tion. They had neither bread for themselves, nor chil-
 dren, neither habitations nor clothing convenient for

† Winthrop's Journal p. 90, 91, to 98.

BOOK I. them. Whatever emergency might happen they were
 1636. cut off, both by land and water, from any succour or
 retreat. What self-denial, firmness, and magnanimity
 are necessary for such enterprizes? How distressful, in
 the beginning, was the condition of those now fair and
 opulent towns on Connecticut river!

FOR a few years after the settlements on the river
 commenced, they bore the same name with the towns
 in the Massachusetts whence the first settlers came.

THE Connecticut planters, at first settled under the
 general government of the Massachusetts, but they held
 courts of their own, which consisted of two principal
 men from each town; and, on great and extraordinary
 occasions, these were joined with committees, as they
 were called, consisting of three men from each town.
 These courts had power to transact all the common af-
 fairs of the colony, and with their committees, had the
 power of making war and peace, and treaties of alliance
 and friendship with the natives within the colony.

THE first Court in Connecticut was holden at New-
 town, April 26th, 1636. It consisted of Roger Ludlow
 Esquire, Mr. John Steel, Mr. William Swain, Mr.
 William Phelps, Mr. William Westwood, and Mr. An-
 drew Ward. Mr. Ludlow had been one of the magis-
 trates of Massachusetts in 1630, and in 1631 had been
 chosen lieutenant-governor of that colony. At this
 court it was ordered That the inhabitants should not
 sell arms, nor ammunition to the Indians. Various
 other affairs were also transacted relative to the good or-
 der, settlement and defence of these infant towns.*

SEVERAL of the principal gentlemen interested in the
 settlement of Connecticut, Mr. John Haynes, who at
 this time, was governor of Massachusetts, Mr. Henry
 Wolcott, Mr. Welles, the ministers of the churches, and
 others had not yet removed into the colony. As soon
 as the spring advanced and the travelling would admit,
 the hardy men began to return from the Massachusetts
 to their habitations on the river. No sooner were buds,
 leaves and grass so grown, that cattle could live in the
 woods, and obstructions removed from the river, so that
 vessels could go up with provisions and furniture, than
 the people began to return, in large companies, to Con-

* Records of Connecticut.

necticut. Many, who had not removed the last year, prepared, with all convenient dispatch, for a journey to the new settlements upon the river.

BOOK I.



1636.

ABOUT the beginning of June, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone and about a hundred men, women and children took their departure from Cambridge and travelled more than a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass; made their way over mountains, thro' swamps, thickets and rivers, which were not passable, but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them a hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way, subsisted on the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey.

Mr. Hooker removes to Connecticut in June.

THIS adventure was the more remarkable, as many of this company were persons of figure, who had lived, in England, in honor, affluence and delicacy, and were entire strangers to fatigue and danger.

THE famous Mr. Thomas Shepard, who, with his people, came into New-England the last summer, succeeded Mr. Hooker at Cambridge. The people of his congregation purchased the lands which Mr. Hooker and his company had previously possessed.

THE removal of Dorchester people to Windsor is said to have been disagreeable to their ministers, but as their whole church and congregation removed, it was necessary that they should go with them. However, Mr. Maverick died in March, before preparations were made for his removal. He expired in the 60th year of his age. He was characterized as a man of great meekness, and as laborious and faithful in promoting the welfare both of the church and commonwealth.

Mr. Maverick died March 3d.

MR. WARHAM removed to Windsor in September, but he did not judge it expedient to bring his family until better accommodations could be made for their reception. Soon after the removal of Mr. Warham from Dorchester, a new church was gathered in that town, and Mr. Mather was ordained their pastor.

MR. PHILLIPS, pastor of the church at Watertown, did not remove to Wethersfield. Whether it was a-

BOOK I. gainst his inclination, or whether the people did not
 invite him does not appear. They chose Mr. Henry
 1636. Smith for their minister, who came from England in
 office.

Plymouth
 people
 aggrieved. THE colony of New-Plimouth professed themselves to
 be greatly aggrieved at the conduct of the Dorchester
 people, in settling on the lands, where they had made a
 purchase, and where they had defended themselves and
 that part of the country against the Dutch. They rep-
 resented that it had been a hard matter that the Dutch
 and Indians had given them so much trouble as they
 had done, but that it was still more grievous to be sup-
 planted by their professed friends. Mr. Winslow of
 Plimouth made a journey to Boston, in the spring, before
 governor Haynes and some other principal characters
 removed to Connecticut, with a view to obtain compen-
 sation for the injury done to the Plimouth men, who
 had built the trading house upon the river. The Plim-
 outh people demanded a sixteenth part of the lands and
 £100 as a compensation; but the Dorchester people
 would not comply with their demands.† There how-
 ever appeared to be so much justice, in making them
 some compensation, for the purchase they had made,
 and the good services which they had done, that some-
 time after, the freeholders of Windsor gave them £50,
 forty acres of meadow and a large tract of upland for
 their satisfaction.‡

Court
 June 7th. AT a court holden at Dorchester it was ordered, that
 every town should keep a watch, and be well supplied with
 ammunition. The constables were directed to warn the
 watches in their turns and to make it their care, that
 they should be kept according to the direction of the
 court. They also were required to take care, that the
 inhabitants were well furnished with arms and ammuni-
 tion, and kept in a constant state of defence. As these
 infant settlements were filled and surrounded with nu-
 merous savages, the people conceived themselves in dan-
 ger when they lay down and when they rose up, when
 they went out and when they came in. Their circum-
 stances were such, that it was judged necessary for eve-
 ry man to be a soldier.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 96.

‡ Governor Wolcott's manuscripts compared with governor
 Winthrop's journal.

AT a third court therefore, holden at Watertown, an order was given, that the inhabitants of the several towns should train once a month, and the officers were authorized to train those who appeared very unskilful more frequently as circumstances should require. The courts were holden at each town by rotation, according to its turn.

Book I.
1636.
September 1st.

A SETTLEMENT was made, this year, at Springfield, by Mr. Pyncheon and his company from Roxbury. This for about two years was united in government with the towns in Connecticut. In November, Mr. Pyncheon for the first time appears among the members of the court.


Springfield settled.

ALL the powers of government, for nearly three years, seem to have been in the magistrates, of whom two were appointed in each town. These gave all orders, and directed all the affairs of the plantation. The freemen appear to have had no voice in making the laws, or in any part of the government, except in some instances of general and uncommon concern. In these instances committees were sent from the several towns. During this term it seems that juries were not employed in any case.

Government at first.

THIS was a summer and year of great and various labours, demanding the utmost exertion and diligence. Many of the planters had to remove themselves and effects from a distant colony. At the same time it was absolutely necessary that they should turn the wilderness into gardens and fields, that they should plant and cultivate the earth, and obtain some tolerable harvest, unless they would again experience the distresses and losses of the preceding year. These were too great, and too fresh in their memories, not to rouse all their exertion and forethought. It was necessary to erect and fortify their houses, and to make better preparations for the feeding and covering of their cattle. It was of equal importance to the planters not only to make roads for their particular convenience, but from town to town; that, on any emergency, they might fly immediately to each other's relief. It was with great difficulty that these businesses could be at first accomplished. The planters had not been accustomed to felling the groves, to clearing and cultivating new lands. They were

Labours of this year.

Book I. 1636.  strangers in the country, and knew not what kinds of grain would be most congenial with the soil, and produce the greatest profits, nor had they any experience how the ground must be cultivated, that it might yield a plentiful crop. They had few oxen, or instruments for husbandry. Every thing was to be prepared, or brought from a great distance, and procured at a dear rate. Besides all these labours and difficulties, much time was taken up in constant watchings, trainings and preparations for the defence of themselves and children. The Pequots had already murdered a number of the English; some of the Indians, in Connecticut, were their allies; and they had maintained a great influence over them all. They were a treacherous and designing people; so that there could be no safety but in a constant preparation for any emergency.

Fathers of
Connecti-
cut.

SOME of the principal characters, who undertook this great work of settling Connecticut, and were the civil and religious fathers of the colony were Mr. Haynes, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Warham, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Welles, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Webster, and captain Mason. These were of the first class of settlers, and all except the ministers were chosen magistrates or governors of the colony. Mr. Swain, Mr. Talcott, Mr. Steel, Mr. Mitchel, and others were capital men. Mr. John Haynes, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Stone, Mr. George Wyllys, Mr. Welles, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Thomas Webster, and Mr. John Talcott, were all of Hartford. Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Henry Wolcott, Mr. Warham, Mr. William Phelps, and captain John Mason, were some of the principal planters of Windsor. Mr. William Swain, Mr. Thurston Reyner, Mr. Henry Smith, Mr. Andrew Ward, Mr. Mitchel and Mr. John Deming, were some of the chief men, who settled the town of Wethersfield. These were the civil and religious fathers of the colony. They formed its free and happy constitution, were its legislators, and some of the chief pillars of the church and commonwealth. They, with many others of the same excellent character, employed their abilities and their estates for the prosperity of the colony.

WHILE the three plantations on the river were making the utmost exertions for a permanent settlement, Mr. Winthrop was no less active in erecting fortifications

and convenient buildings at its entrance. Though he had, the last year, sent on one company after another, yet the season was so far advanced, and the winter set in so early, and with such severity, that little more could be done than just to keep the station. When the spring advanced the works were therefore pressed on with engagedness. Mr. Winthrop and his people were induced, not only in faithfulness to their trust, but from fears of a visit from the Dutch, and from the state of that warlike people, the Pequots in the vicinity, to hasten and complete them, with the utmost dispatch. A good fort was erected and a number of houses were built. Some cattle were brought from the Massachusetts for the use of the garrison. Small parcels of ground were improved, and preparations made for a comfortable subsistence and good defence.

THERE were, at the close of this year, about two hundred and fifty men in the three towns on the river, and there were twenty men in the garrison at the entrance of it under the command of lieutenant Gardiner. The whole consisted, probably, of about 800 persons, or of a hundred and sixty or seventy families.

CHAPTER V.

THE war with the Pequots. The origin of it. The murder of Captains Stone and Norton, of Mr. Oldham and others. Mr. Endicot's expedition against them. The Pequots kill a number of the garrison at the mouth of the river and besiege the fort. Captain Mason is sent down from Connecticut with a reinforcement. The enemy make a descent on Wethersfield, torture and mock the English. The court at Connecticut declares war against them. Captain Mason takes Mystic fort. Sassacus destroys his royal fortrefs and flees to the westward. A second expedition is undertaken against the Pequots conjointly, by Massachusetts and Connecticut. The great swamp fight. The Pequots subdued. Sassacus flying to the Mohawks was beheaded. The captivated and surviving Pequots, after the war, were given to the Mobeagans and Narragansetts, and their name extinguished.

THE Indians in general were ever jealous of the English, from the first settlement of New-Eng-

BOOK I. land, and wished to drive them from the country. Various circumstances however combined to frustrate their designs. The English, on their first settlement, at New-
 1636. Plymouth, entered into such friendly treaties with some of the principal tribes, and conducted themselves with such justice, prudence and magnanimity towards them, and the Indians in general, as had the most happy influence to preserve the peace of the country. The animosities of the Indians among themselves, and their implacable hatred of each other, with their various separate interests, contributed to the same purpose. Some of them wished for the friendship and neighbourhood of the English, to guard them from one enemy, and others of them to protect them from another. All wished for the benefit of their trade; and it is probable, that they had no apprehensions, at first, that a handful of people would ever overrun and fill the country. It was therefore nearly sixteen years before they commenced open hostilities upon their English neighbours. But no sooner had they begun to trade and make settlements at Connecticut, than that great spirited and warlike nation, the Pequots, began to murder and plunder them, and to wound and kill their cattle.

Murder of
 captains
 Stone and
 Norton.
 1634. In 1634 a number of Indians, who were not native Pequots, but in confederacy with them, murdered captain Stone and captain Norton, with their whole crew, consisting of eight men. They then plundered and sunk the vessel. Captain Stone was from St. Christopher's, in the West-Indies, and came into Connecticut river, with a view of trading at the Dutch house. After he had entered the river, he engaged a number of Indians to pilot two of his men up the river to the Dutch. But night coming on, they went to sleep, and were both murdered by their Indian guides. The vessel, at night, was laid up to the shore. Twelve of those Indians, who had several times before been trading with the captain, apparently in an amicable manner, were on board. Watching their opportunity, when he was asleep and several of the crew on shore, they murdered him secretly in his cabin, and cast a covering over him, to conceal it from his men. They then fell upon them, and soon killed the whole company, except captain Norton. He had taken the cook-room, and for a long time, made a most brave and resolute defence. That he

might load and fire with the greatest expedition, he had placed powder in an open vessel just at hand, which in the hurry of the action took fire, and so burned and blinded him that he could make no further resistance. Thus, after all his gallantry, he fell with his hapless companions. Part of the plunder was received by the Pequots, and another part by the eastern Nehanticks. Sallacus and Ninigret, the sachems of those Indians, were both privy to the affair and shared in the goods and articles taken from the vessel. It was supposed, that the Indians had pre-concerted this massacre.*

THE November following, the Pequots sent a messenger to Boston to desire peace with the English. He made an offer of a great quantity of beaver skins and wampumpcag, to persuade the governor to enter into a league with them. The governor answered the messenger, that the Pequots must send men of greater quality than he was; and that he would then treat with them. The Pequots then sent two messengers to the governor, carrying a present and earnestly soliciting peace. The governor assured them, that the English were willing to be at peace with them; but insisted, that, as they had murdered captain Stone and his men, they must deliver up the murderers and make full compensation. The messengers pretended, That captain Stone had used the Indians ill and provoked them to kill him: That their sachem, who was concerned in the affair had been killed by the Dutch, and that the Indians who perpetrated the murder were all dead but two; and, that if they were guilty, they would desire their sachem to deliver them up to justice. They offered to concede all their right at Connecticut river if the English should desire to settle there, and engaged to assist them, as far as was in their power, in making their settlements. They also promised that they would give the English four hundred fathom of wampum, forty beaver and thirty otter skins. After long and mature deliberation the governor and his council entered into a treaty with them, on the conditions which they had proposed. The English were to send a vessel with cloths to trade with them fairly as with friends and allies.†

Book I.
1634.
The Pequots desire peace.

Treaty with the Pequots.

* Mason's history, and Hubbard's narrative.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 75. compared with Hubbard's narrative p. 15, 16, 17.

BOOK I. THE reasons of their so earnestly soliciting peace, at
 1635. this time, were, that the Narragansets were making war furiously upon them; and the Dutch, to revenge the injuries done them, had killed one of their sachems, with several of their men, and captivated a number more. They wished not at this critical time to increase the number of their enemies. They artfully suggested to their new allies, the governor and council of Massachusetts, their desire, that they would be mediators between them and the Narragansets. They also intimated their willingness, that part of the present which they were to send, might be given to them for the purpose of obtaining a reconciliation. Such was the pride and stoutness of their spirits, and so much did they stand upon a point of honor, that though they wished for peace with their enemy, yet they would not directly offer any thing for that purpose. This treaty was signed by the parties, but hostages were not taken to secure the performance of the articles, and the Pequots never performed one of them. Whatever their designs were at that time, they afterwards became more and more mischievous, hostile and bloody.

THE next year John Oldham who had been fairly trading at Connecticut was murdered near Block Island. He had with him only two boys and two Narraganset Indians. These were taken and carried off. One John Gallop, as he was going from Connecticut to Boston, discovered Mr. Oldham's vessel full of Indians, and he saw a canoe, having Indians on board, go from her laden with goods. Suspecting that they had murdered Mr. Oldham, he hailed them, but received no answer. Gallop was a bold man, and though he had with him but one man and two boys, he immediately bore down upon them and fired duck shot so thick among them, that he soon cleared the deck. The Indians all got under the hatches. He then stood off, and running down upon her quarter with a brisk gale, nearly overfet her; and so frightened the Indians, that six of them leaped into the sea, and were drowned. He then steered off again, and running down upon her a second time, bored her with his anchor, and raked her fore and aft with his shot. But the Indians kept themselves so close, he got loose from her; and running down a third time, upon the vessel, he gave her such a shock, that five more leap-

ed overboard, and perished as the former had done. He then boarded the vessel, and took two of the Indians and bound them. Two or three others, armed with swords, in a little room below, could not be driven from their retreat. Mr. Oldham's corpse was found on board; the head split and the body mangled in a barbarous manner. He was a Dorchester man, one of Mr. Warham's congregation. In these circumstances, Gallop, fearing that the Indians whom he had taken might get loose, especially if they were kept together, and having no place where he could keep them apart, threw one of them overboard. Gallop and his company, then, as decently as circumstances would permit, put the corpse into the sea. They stripped the vessel, and took her rigging, and the goods which had not been carried off, on board their own. She was then taken in tow with a view to carry her in, but the night coming on, and the wind rising, Gallop was obliged to let her go adrift, and she was lost. The Indians who perpetrated the murder, were principally the Block-Islanders, with a number of the Narragansets, to whom these Indians, at this time, were subject. Several of the Narraganset sachems were in the plot, and it was supposed that the Indians, whom Oldham had with him, were in the conspiracy. Several of the murderers fled to the Pequots and were protected by them. They were therefore considered as abettors of the murder.

BOOK I.

1636.

THE governor and council of Massachusetts therefore, the next year, dispatched captain Endicot with ninety volunteers to avenge these murders, unless the Indians should deliver up the murderers and make reparation for the injuries which they had done. The Narraganset sachems sent home Mr. Oldham's two boys, and made such satisfaction, and gave such assurances of their good conduct, for the future, as the English accepted; but the other Indians made no compensation. Captain Endicot was therefore instructed to proceed to Block-Island and put the men to the sword and take possession of the Island. The women and children were to be spared. Thence he was to sail to the Pequot country, and demand of the Pequots the murderers of captains Stone and Norton, and of the other Englishmen, who were of their company. He was also to demand a thousand fathom of wampum for damages, and a number of

Mr. Endicot's expedition.

BOOK I. their children for hostages, until the murderers should
 be delivered, and satisfaction made. If they refused to
 comply with these terms, he was directed to take it by
 force of arms. He had under him captains John Underhill and Nathaniel Turner. They sailed from Boston

1636.

Aug. 25. on the 25th of August. When he arrived at Block-Island, forty or fifty Indians appeared on the shore and opposed his landing; but his men soon landed and after a little skirmishing the Indians fled to the woods. The Indians secreted themselves in swamps, thickets and fastnesses, where they could not be found. There were two plantations on the island containing about sixty wigwams, some of which were very large and fair. The Indians had also about two hundred acres of corn. After the English had spent two days on the Island, burning the wigwams, destroying their corn, and staving their canoes, they sailed for the Pequot country.—When they had arrived in Pequot harbour, captain Endicot acquainted the Pequots with the design of his coming, demanded satisfaction for the murders which they had committed against the English, and compensation for the damages which they had done them. In a few hours nearly three hundred of the Pequots collected upon the shore, but soon after they were fully informed of his business they began to withdraw into the woods, and instead of treating answered him with their arrows, from the adjacent rocks and fastnesses. He landed his men on both sides of the harbour, burnt their wigwams, and destroyed their canoes; but made no spirited attack upon them, nor pursuit after them. As their corn was standing no pains were taken for its destruction. They killed an Indian or two, and then returned to Boston. They all arrived on the 14th of September unharmed either by sickness or the sword.* Enough indeed had been done to exasperate, but nothing to subdue a haughty and warlike enemy.

September, 14.

Views and feelings of Sassacus.

SASSACUS and his captains were men of great and independent spirits; they had conquered and governed the nations around them without controul. They viewed the English as strangers and mere intruders, who had no right to the country, nor to controul its original proprietors, independent princes and sovereigns. They

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 105, 106, 107.

had made settlements at Connecticut without their consent, and brought home the Indian kings, whom they had conquered, and restored to them their authority and lands. They had built a fort, and were making a settlement, without their approbation, in their very neighbourhood. Indeed they had now proceeded to attack and ravage their country. They were now therefore all kindled into resentment and rage; they determined upon, and breathed nothing but war and revenge. They determined to extirpate, or drive all the English from New-England.

FOR this purpose they conceived the plan of uniting the Indians generally against them. They spared no art nor pains to make peace with the Narragansets, and to engage them in the war against the English. They represented, that the English, who were merely foreigners, were overspreading the country, and depriving the original inhabitants of their ancient rights and possessions: That unless effectual measures were immediately taken to prevent it, they would soon entirely dispossess the original proprietors and become the lords of the continent. They insisted, that, by a general combination, they could either destroy, or drive them from the country. With great advantage did they represent the facility with which it might be effected. They said there would be no necessity of coming to open battles: That by killing their cattle, firing their houses, laying ambushes on the roads, in the fields, and wherever they could surprize and destroy them, they might accomplish their wishes. They represented, that if the English should effect the destruction of the Pequots, they would also soon destroy the Narragansets. So just and politic were these representations, that nothing, but that thirst for revenge, which inflames the savage heart, could have resisted their influence. Indeed it is said, that for a time the Narragansets hesitated.

THE governor of Massachusetts, to prevent an union between these savage nations, and to strengthen the peace between the Narraganset Indians and the colony, sent for Miantonimoh their chief sachem, inviting him to come to Boston. Upon this Miantonimoh, with another of the Narraganset sachems, two of the sons of Canonicus, with a number of their men, went to Boston and entered into the following treaty.

BOOK I. THAT there should be a firm peace between them and the English, and their posterity: That neither party should make peace with the Pequots, without the consent of the other: That they should not harbour the Pequots, and that they should return all fugitive servants, and deliver over to the English, or put to death all murderers. The English were to give them notice when they went out against the Pequots, and they were to furnish them with guides. It was also stipulated, that a free trade should be maintained between the parties.

Pequots fight in their own defence. CAPTAIN Underhill and twenty men appointed to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook, lying wind bound off Pequot harbour, after Mr. Endicot's departure, a party of them went on shore to plunder the Pequots and bring off their corn. After they had plundered a short time and brought off some quantity of corn, the Pequots attacked them, and they fought a considerable part of the afternoon. At length the enemy retired and they returned to their boats. They had one man wounded, and imagined they killed and wounded several of the Indians.

Surprise the English. October. ABOUT the beginning of October the enemy, concealing themselves in the high grass, in the meadows, surprised five of the garrison at Saybrook, as they were carrying home their hay. One Butterfield was taken and tortured to death. The rest made their escape, but one of them had five arrows shot into him. From this disaster the place received the name of Butterfield's meadow.

October. J. Tilly taken and tortured. EIGHT or ten days after Joseph Tilly, a master of a small vessel, was captivated by the enemy, as he was going down Connecticut river. He came to anchor two or three miles above the fort, and taking a canoe, and one man with him, went a fowling. No sooner had he discharged his piece, than a large number of Pequots arising from their concealment took him, and killed his companion. Tilly was a man of a great spirit and understanding, and determined to show himself a man. The Indians used him in the most barbarous manner, first cutting off his hands, and then his feet, and so gradually torturing him to death. But as all their cruelties could not effect a groan, they pronounced him a stout man.

THE enemy now kept a constant watch upon the river and upon the people at Saybrook. A house had been erected about two miles from the fort, and six of the garrison were sent to keep it. As three of them were fowling, at a small distance from the house, they were suddenly attacked, by nearly a hundred Pequots. Two of them were taken. The other cut his way through them, sword in hand, and made his escape ; but he was wounded with two arrows.†

BOOK I.
1636.

BEFORE winter, the garrison were so pressed by the enemy, that they were obliged to keep almost wholly within the reach of their guns. The Pequots razed all the out houses, burnt the stacks of hay, and destroyed almost every thing which was not within the command of the fort. The cattle which belonged to the garrison were killed and wounded. Some of them came home with the arrows of the enemy sticking in them. Indeed the fort was but little better than in a state of siege, a great part of the winter. The enemy so compassed it about, and watched all the motions of the garrison, that it was dangerous, at any time, to go out of the reach of the cannon.

The fort is compassed with Indians.


WHEN the spring came on they became still more mischievous and troublesome. They kept such a constant watch upon the river that men could not pass up and down, with any safety, without a strong guard.— They waylaid the roads and fields, and kept Connecticut in a state of constant fear and alarm.

IN March lieutenant Gardiner, who commanded the fort, at Saybrook, going out with ten or twelve men to burn the marshes, was waylaid by a narrow neck of land, and as soon as he had passed the narrow part of the neck, the enemy rose upon him and killed three of his men. The rest made their escape to the fort ; but one of them was mortally wounded, so that he died the next day. The lieutenant did not escape without a slight wound. The enemy pursued them in great numbers, to the very fort, and compassed it on all sides. They challenged the English to come out and fight, and mocked them, in the groans, pious invocations and dying language of their friends, whom they had captivated

March 1637. Men killed at Saybrook.

† Hubbard's Narrative, Winthrop's journal, and Mason's history of the Pequot war.

BOOK I. when they were torturing them to death. They boasted, That they could kill English men "all one flies." The cannon loaded with grape shot were fired upon them and they retired.

1637.  SOME time after, the enemy in a number of canoes beset a shallop, which was going down the river with three men on board. The men fought bravely, but were overpowered with numbers. The enemy shot one through the head with an arrow, and he fell overboard; the other two were taken. The Indians ripped them up, from the bottom of their bellies to their throats, and cleft them down their backs. They then hung them up by their necks upon trees by the side of the river, that as the English passed by, they might see those miserable objects of their vengeance.

Killed going down the river.

THE Pequots tortured the captives to death in the most cruel manner. In some, they cut large gashes in their flesh, and then poured embers and live coals into the wounds. When, in their distress, they groaned, and in a pious manner committed their departing spirits to their REDEEMER, these barbarians would insult and mock them in their dying agonies and prayers.

Feb. 21st. Court at Hartford.

ON the 21st of February, the court met at Newtown, and letters were written to the governor of Massachusetts representing the dissatisfaction of the court with Mr. Endicot's expedition, the consequences of which had been so distressful to Connecticut. The court expressed their desires that the colony of Massachusetts would more effectually prosecute the war with the Pequots.† It was also represented to be the design of Connecticut to send a force against them.

AT this court it was decreed, That the plantation called Newtown should be named Hartford, and that Watertown should be called Wethersfield. It was soon after decreed, That Dorchester should be called Windsor. Hartford was named in honor to Mr. Stone, who was born at Hartford in England.

March.

CAPTAIN Mafon was soon after dispatched with twenty men to reinforce the garrison at Saybrook, and to keep the enemy at a greater distance. After his arrival at the fort the enemy made no more attacks upon it, but appeared very much to withdraw from that quarter.

† Winthrop's journal p. 123.

A PARTY of them took a different route, and, in April, waylaid the people at Wethersfield, as they were going into their fields to labour, and killed six men and three women. Two maids were taken captive. Besides, they killed twenty cows, and did other damages to the inhabitants.

BOOK I.
1037.
April.
damage at
Wethers-
field.

SOON after this captain Underhill, who had been appointed in the fall preceding to keep garrison at Saybrook, was sent from the Massachusetts with twenty men to reinforce the garrison. Upon their arrival at Saybrook, captain Mason and his men immediately returned to Hartford.

THE affairs of Connecticut, at this time wore a most gloomy aspect. They had sustained great losses in cattle and goods in the preceding years, and even this year they were unfortunate with respect to their cattle. They had no hay but what they cut from the spontaneous productions of an uncultivated country. To make good English meadow was a work of time. The wild, coarse grass which the people cut was often mowed too late and but poorly made. They did not always cut a sufficient quantity even of this poor hay. They had no corn or provender with which they could feed them; and amidst the multiplicity of affairs, which, at their first settlement, demanded their attention, they could not provide such shelters for them as were necessary during the long and severe winters of this northern climate. From an union of these circumstances, some of their cattle were lost, and those which lived through winter were commonly poor, and many of the cows lost their young. Notwithstanding all the exertions the people had made the preceding summer, they had not been able, in the multiplicity of their affairs, and under their inconveniencies, to raise a sufficiency of provision. Their provisions were not only very coarse, but very dear and scanty. The people were not only unexperienced in the husbandry of the country, but they had but few oxen or ploughs.† They performed almost the whole culture of the earth with their hoes. This rendered it both exceedingly slow and laborious

Gloomy
circum-
stances of
the colo-
ny.

† It seems that at this period there were but thirty ploughs in the whole colony of Massachusetts. Winthrop's journal p. 114. It is not probable that there were ten, perhaps not five, in Connecticut.

BOOK I. EVERY article bore a high price. Valuable as money was, at that day, a good cow could not be purchased under £30, a pair of bulls or oxen not under £40. A mare from England or Flanders sold at £30, and Indian corn at about five shillings a bushel. Labour, and other articles, bore a proportionable price.

1637.

IN addition to all these difficulties a most insidious and dreadful enemy were now destroying the lives and property of the colonists, attempting to raise the numerous Indian tribes of the country against them, and threatened the utter ruin of the whole colony. The inhabitants were in a feeble state and few in number. They wanted all their men at home, to prosecute the necessary business of the plantations. They had not a sufficiency of provisions for themselves, there would therefore be the greatest difficulty in furnishing a small army, with provisions abroad. They could neither hunt, fish, nor cultivate their fields, nor travel at home, or abroad, but at the peril of their lives. They were obliged to keep a constant watch by night and day; to go armed to their daily labours, and to the public worship. They were obliged to keep a constant watch and guard at their houses of worship, on the Lord's day, and at other seasons, whenever they convened for the public worship. They lay down and rose up in fear and danger. If they should raise a party of men and send them to fight the enemy on their own ground, it would render the settlements proportionably weak at home, in case of an assault from the enemy. Every thing indeed appeared dark and threatening. But nothing could discourage men, who had an unshaken confidence in the divine government, and were determined to sacrifice every other consideration, for the enjoyment of the uncorrupted gospel, and the propagation of religion and liberty in America.

Court
May 1st.

IN this important crisis, a court was summoned, at Hartford, on Monday the 1st of May. As they were to deliberate on matters in which the lives of the subjects and the very existence of the colony were concerned, the towns for the first time, sent committees. The spirited measures adopted by this court render the names of the members worthy of perpetuation. The magistrates were Roger Ludlow, Esquire, Mr. Welles, Mr. Swain, Mr. Steel, Mr. Phelps and Mr. Ward. The committees were Mr. Whiting, Mr. Webster, Mr.

Williams, Mr. Hull, Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Talcott, Mr. Geffords, Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Sherman. BOOK I.

THE court on mature deliberation, considering that the Pequots had killed nearly thirty of the English; that they had tortured and insulted their captives, in the most horrible manner; that they were attempting to engage all the Indians to unite for the purpose of extirpating the English; and the danger the whole colony was in, unless some capital blow could be immediately given their enemies, determined, that an offensive war should be carried on against them, by the three towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield. They voted, that 90 men should be raised forthwith; 42 from Hartford, 30 from Windsor, and 18 from Wethersfield. Notwithstanding the necessities and poverty of the people, all necessary supplies were voted for this little army.† No sooner was this resolution adopted, than the people prosecuted the most vigorous measures, to carry it into immediate and effectual execution.

1637.
Determine on War against the Pequots

THE report of the slaughter and horrid cruelties practised by the Pequots, against the people of Connecticut, roused the other colonies to harmonious and spirited exertions against the common enemy. Massachusetts determined to send 200, and Plymouth 40 men to assist Connecticut in prosecuting the war. Captain Patrick with 40 men, was sent forward, before the other troops, from Massachusetts and Plymouth, could be ready to march, with a view, that he might seasonably form a junction with the party from Connecticut.

Massachusetts and Plymouth agree to assist Connecticut.

ON Wednesday the 10th of May the troops from Connecticut fell down the river, for the fort at Saybrook. They consisted of 90 Englishmen and about 70 Moheagans and river Indians. They embarked on board a pink, a pinnace and a shallop. The Indians were commanded by Uncas, sachem of the Moheagans. The whole was commanded by captain John Mason, who had been bred a soldier in the old countries. The Reverend Mr. Stone of Hartford went their chaplain. On Monday the 15th the troops arrived at Saybrook fort. As the water was low, this little fleet several times ran a ground. The Indians impatient of delays, desired to be set on shore, promising to join the English

May 10th. the troops fall down the river.
May 15.

† Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I. at Saybrook. The captain therefore granted their request. On their march, they fell in with about forty of the enemy, near the fort, killed seven and took one prisoner.

1637.

Success of
Uncas.

His barbarous
treatment of
his prisoner.

THE prisoner had been a perfidious villain. He had lived in the fort, some time before, and could speak English well. But after the Pequots commenced hostilities against the English, he became a constant spy upon the garrison, and acquainted Sassacus with every thing he could discover. He had been present at the slaughter of all the English, who had been killed at Saybrook. Uncas and his men insisted upon executing him according to the manner of their ancestors; and the English, in the circumstances in which they then were, did not judge it prudent to interpose. The Indians, kindling a large fire, violently tore him limb from limb. Barbarously cutting his flesh in pieces, they handed it round from one to another, eating it, singing and dancing round the fire, in their violent and tumultuous manner. The bones and such parts of their captive, as were not consumed in this dreadful repast, were committed to the flames and consumed to ashes.

Capt. Mason and his council divided in opinion.

THIS success was matter of joy, not only as it was a check upon the enemy, but as it was an evidence of the fidelity of Uncas and his Indians, of which the English had been before in doubt. There were other circumstances however which more than counterbalanced this joy. The army lay wind bound until Friday, and captain Mason and his officers were entirely divided in opinion, with respect to the manner of prosecuting their enterprise. The court, by the commission and instructions which it had given, enjoined the landing of the men at Pequot harbour, and that from thence they should advance upon the enemy. The captain was for passing by them, and sailing to the Narraganset country. He was fixed in this opinion, because he found, that expecting the army at Pequot harbour, they kept watch upon the river night and day. Their number of men greatly exceeded his: He was informed, at Saybrook, that they had sixteen fire arms with powder and shot. The harbour was compassed with rocks and thickets, affording the enemy every advantage.— They were upon the land and exceedingly light of foot. He was therefore of the opinion, that they would ren-

Debates in the Council of war.

der it very difficult and dangerous to land, and that he might sustain such loss, as would discourage his men and frustrate the design of the expedition. If they should make good their landing, he was sure, that while they directed their march through the country to the enemies forts, they would waylay and attack them, with their whole force, at every difficult pass. Beside, if they should find on trial, that they were not able to defeat the English, they would run off to swamps and fastnesses, where they could not be found; and they should not be able to effect any thing capital against them. He was not without hopes, that by going to Narraganset he might surprise them. There was also some prospect, that the Narragansets would join him in the expedition, and that he might fall in with some part of the troops from Massachusetts.

His officers and men in general were for attending their instructions, and going at all hazards directly to the forts. The necessity of their affairs at home, the danger of the Indians attacking their families and settlements, in their absence, made them wish, at once to dispatch the business, on which they had been sent. They did not relish a long march through the wilderness. They also imagined that they might be discovered, even should they determine to march from Narraganset to the attack of the enemy. In this division of opinion, Mr. Stone was desired by the officers most importunately to pray for them, That their way might be directed, and, that notwithstanding the present embarrassment, the enterprize might be crowned with success.

MR. STONE spent most of Thursday night in prayer, and the next morning visiting captain Mason assured him, that he had done as he was desired; adding, That he was entirely satisfied with his plan. The council was again called, and upon a full view of all the reasons, unanimously agreed to proceed to Narraganset. It was also determined, that twenty men should be sent back to Connecticut, to strengthen the infant settlements, while the rest of the troops were employed in service against the enemy; and, that captain Underhill, with nineteen men from the garrison at Saybrook fort should supply their places.

BOOK I.

1637.

May 19th
expedi-
tion a-
gainst the
Pequots.

ON Friday, May 19th the captain sailed for Narraganfet Bay, and arrived on Saturday at the desired port. Upon Monday captain Mason and captain Underhill marched with a guard to the plantation of Canonicus, and acquainted him with the design of their coming. A messenger was immediately dispatched to Miantonimoh, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, to acquaint him also with the expedition. The next day Miantonimoh met them, with his chief counsellors and warriors, consisting of about 200 men. Captain Mason certified him, that the occasion of his coming with armed men, into his country, was to avenge the intolerable injuries, which the Pequots, his as well as their enemies, had done the English: and, that he desired a free passage to the Pequot forts. After a solemn consultation in the Indian manner, Miantonimoh answered, That he highly approved of the expedition, and that he would send men. He observed however, That the English were not sufficient in number to fight with the enemy. He said the Pequots were great captains, skilled in war, and rather slighted the English. Captain Mason landed his men and marched just at night to the plantation of Canonicus, which was appointed to be the place of general rendezvous. That night there arrived an Indian runner in the camp, with a letter from captain Patrick, who had arrived with his party at Mr. Williams's plantation in Providence. Captain Patrick signified his desire, that captain Mason would wait until he could join him. Upon deliberation it was determined not to wait, though a junction was greatly desired. The men had already been detained much longer than was agreeable to their wishes. When they had absolutely resolved the preceding day to march the next morning, the Indians insisted, that they were but in jest; That Englishmen talked much, but would not fight. It was therefore feared, that any delay would have a bad effect upon them. It was also suspected, that if they did not proceed immediately, they should be discovered, as there were a number of squaws who maintained an intercourse between the Pequot and Narraganfet Indians. The army therefore, consisting of 77 Englishmen, 60 Moheagan and river Indians, and about 200 Narragansets, marched on Wednesday morning and that day reached the eastern Nihantick, about eighteen or twen-

ty miles, from the place of their rendezvous the night before. This was a frontier to the Pequots, and was the seat of one of the Narraganfet sachems. Here the army halted, at the close of the day. But the sachem and his Indians conducted themselves in a haughty manner toward the English, and would not suffer them to enter within their fort. Captain Mason therefore placed a strong guard round the fort; and as the Indians would not suffer him to enter it, he determined that none of them should come out. Knowing the perfidy of the Indians and that it was customary among them to reside with them, he judged it necessary to prevent their discovering him to the enemy.

IN the morning a considerable number of Miantonimoh's men came on and joined the English. This encouraged many of the Nihanticks also to join them. They soon formed a circle and made protestations, how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill. When the army marched, the next morning, the captain had with him nearly 500 Indians. He marched twelve miles to the ford in Pawcatuck river. The day was very hot and the men, through the great heat and a scarcity of provision, began to faint. The army therefore made a considerable halt, and refreshed themselves. Here the Narraganfet Indians began to manifest their dread of the Pequots, and to enquire of captain Mason with great anxiety what were his real designs. He assured them, that it was his design to attack the Pequots in their forts. At this they appeared to be panic-struck, and filled with amazement. Many of them drew off and returned to Narraganfet. The army marched on about three miles, and came to Indian corn-fields; and the captain imagining that he drew near the enemy made an halt; called his guides and council, and demanded of the Indians how far it was to the forts. They represented, That it was twelve miles to Saffacus's fort, and that both forts were in a manner impregnable. Wequash, a Pequot captain or petty sachem, who had revolted from Saffacus to the Narraganfets, was the principal guide, and he proved faithful. He gave such information respecting the distance of the forts from each other, and the distance which they were then at from the chief sachem's, as determined him

BOOK I.

1637.

Wednesday
May
24th.Thursday
25th.

BOOK I.



1637.

and his officers to alter the resolution, which they had before adopted of attacking them both at once; and to make a united attack upon that at Mistic. He found his men so fatigued, in marching through a pathless wilderness, with their provisions, arms and ammunition, and so affected with the heat, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. One of captain Underhill's men became lame, at the same time, and began to fail. The army therefore proceeded directly to Mistic, and continuing their march came to a small swamp between two hills just at the disappearing of the day light. The officers supposing that they were now near the fort, pitched their little camp, between, or near two large rocks, in Groton, since called Porter's rocks. The men were faint and weary, and though the rocks were their pillows, their rest was sweet. The guards and sentinels were considerably advanced, in the front of the army, and heard the enemy singing, at the fort, and continuing their rejoicings even until midnight. They had seen the vessels pass the harbour some days before, and had concluded, that the English were afraid, and had not courage to attack them. They were therefore rejoicing, singing, dancing, insulting them, and wearying themselves on this account.

THE night was serene and towards morning the moon shone clear. The important crisis was now come when the very existence of Connecticut, under providence, was to be determined, by the sword in a single action; and to be decided by the good conduct of less than eighty brave men. The Indians who remained were now sorely dismayed, and though, at first, they had led the van and boasted of great feats, yet were now all fallen back in the rear.

Attack on
Mistic
fort May
26th.

ABOUT two hours before day the men were roused with all expedition, and briefly commending themselves and their cause to God, advanced immediately towards the fort. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of a large hill where a fine country opened before them. The captain supposing that the fort could not be far distant, sent for the Indians in the rear to come up. Uncas and Wequash at length appeared. He demanded of them where the fort was. They answered on the top of the hill. He demanded of them where were the other Indians? They answered, that

they were much afraid. The captain sent to them not to fly, but to surround the fort, at any distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would fight. The day was nearly dawning and no time was now to be lost. The men pressed on, in two divisions, captain Mason to the north eastern, and captain Underhill to the western entrance. As the object which they had been so long seeking came into view, and while they reflected they were to fight not only for themselves, but their parents, wives, children and the whole colony, the martial spirit kindled in their bosoms, and they were wonderfully animated and assisted. As captain Mason advanced within a rod or two of the fort a dog barked, and an Indian roared out, Owanux! Owanux! That is, Englishmen! Englishmen! The troops pressed on and as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them, through the pallisadoes, a general discharge of their muskets, and then wheeling off to the principal entrance entered the fort sword in hand. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, the blaze and thunder of their arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance. Captain Mason and his party drove the Indians in the main street towards the west part of the fort, where some bold men, who had forced their way met them and made such slaughter among them, that the street was soon clear of the enemy. They secreted themselves in, and behind their wigwams, and taking advantage of every covert, maintained an obstinate defence. The captain and his men entered the wigwams, where they were beset with many Indians, who took every advantage to shoot them and lay hands upon them, so that it was with great difficulty that they could defend themselves with their swords. After a severe conflict, in which many of the Indians were slain, some of the English killed and others sorely wounded, the victory still hung in suspense. The captain finding himself much exhausted and out of breath, as well as his men, by the extraordinary exertions which they had made; in this critical state of the action, had recourse to a successful expedient. He cries out to his men, **WE MUST BURN THEM.** He immediately entering a wigwam took fire and put it into the mats, with which the wigwams were covered. The fire instantly kindling, spread with such violence, that all the Indian houses were soon

BOOK I.

1637.

Fort
burnt.

Book I. wrapped in one general flame. As the fire increased the English retired without the fort, and compassed it on every side. Uncas and his Indians with such of the Narragansets as yet remained, took courage, from the example of the English, and formed another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now seized with astonishment, and forced, by the flames, from their lurking places into open light, and became a fair mark for the English soldiers. Some climbed the pallisades and were instantly brought down by the fire of the English muskets. Others desperately falling forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut in pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run back from the English into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration.

1637.

600 Indians destroyed.

THE greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women and children in the fort, and the shoutings of the Indians without, just at the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In a little more than an hour this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword or in the flames.† A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on the evening before, who, that very morning, were to have gone forth against the English. Of these, and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient to obtain the victory, and save his men. Thus parents and children, the fannup and squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin.

Danger and distresses of the army.

THOUGH the victory was complete, yet the army were in great danger and distress. The men had been exceedingly fatigued, by the heat, and long marches through rough and difficult places; and by that constant watch and guard which they had been obliged to keep. They had now been greatly exhausted, by the sharpness of the action, and the exertions which they

† Captain Mason in his history says, 6 or 700. From the number of Wigwams and the reinforcement, the probability is that about 600 were destroyed.

had been necessitated to make. Their loss was very considerable. Two men were killed, nearly twenty wounded. This was more than one quarter of the English. Numbers fainted by reason of fatigue, the heat and want of necessaries. The Surgeon, their provisions, and the articles necessary for the wounded were on board the vessels, which had been ordered to sail from Narraganset bay, the night before, for Pequot harbour; but there was no appearance of them in the sound. They were sensible, that by the burning of the fort, and the noise of war, they had alarmed the country; and therefore were in constant expectation of an attack, by a fresh and numerous enemy, from the other fortresses, and from every quarter whence the Pequots might be collected.

Book I.

1637.

A NUMBER of the friendly Indians had been wounded, and they were so distracted with fear, that it was difficult even to speak with their guide and interpreter, or to know any thing what they designed. The English were in an enemies country, and entire strangers to the way, in which they must return. The enemy were far more numerous than themselves, and enraged to the highest degree. Another circumstance rendered their situation still more dangerous, their provisions and ammunition were both nearly expended. Four or five men were so wounded that it was necessary to carry them, and they were also obliged to bear about twenty fire arms, so that not more than forty men could be spared for action.

AFTER an interval of about an hour, while the officers were in consultation, what course they should take, their vessels, as though guided by the hand of providence, to serve the necessities of these brave men, came full in view; and, under a fair gale, were steering directly into the harbour. This, in the situation of the army, at that time, was a most joyful sight.

IMMEDIATELY upon the discovery of the vessels, about three hundred Indians came on from the other fort. Captain Mason, perceiving their approach, led out a chosen party to engage them and try their temper. He gave them such a warm reception as soon checked and put them to a stand. This gave him great encouragement, and he ordered the army to march for Pequot harbour. The enemy, upon this, immediately advanced to

The enemy stamp and tear their hair.

BOOK I. the hill where the fort stood; and viewing the destruction which had been made, stamped and tore their hair from their heads. After a short pause, and blowing themselves up to the highest transport of passion, they leaped down the hill after the army in the most violent manner, as though they were about to run over the English. Captain Underhill, who, with a number of the best men, was ordered to defend the rear, soon checked the eagerness of their pursuit, and taught them to keep at a more respectful distance. The friendly Indians, who had not deserted now kept close to the English, and it was believed, that after the enemy came on, they were afraid to leave them. The enemy pursued the army nearly six miles, sometimes shooting at a distance, from behind rocks and trees, and at other times pressing on more violently and desperately hazarding themselves in the open field.

1637.
Pursueth the English.

THAT the English might all be enabled to fight, captain Mason soon hired the Indians to carry the wounded men and their arms. The English killed several of the enemy while they pursued them but sustained no loss themselves. When they killed a Pequot, the other Indians would shout, run and fetch his head. At length the enemy finding, that they could make no impression upon the army, and that wounds and death attended their attempts, gave over the pursuit.

THE army then marched to the harbour with their colours flying, and were received on board the vessels with great mutual joy and congratulation.

IN about three weeks from the time the men embarked at Hartford they returned again to their respective habitations. They were received with the greatest exultation. As the people had been deeply affected with their danger, and full of anxiety for their friends, while nearly half the effective men in the colony were in service, upon so hazardous an enterprize, so sudden a change, in the great victory obtained, and in the safe return of so many of their children and neighbours, filled them with exceeding joy and thankfulness. Every family and every worshipping assembly spake the language of praise and thanksgiving.

Joy in Connecticut.

SEVERAL circumstances attending this enterprize were much noticed by the soldiers themselves, and especially by all the pious people. It was considered as

very providential, that the army should march nearly forty miles, and a considerable part of it in the enemies country, and not be discovered until the moment they were ready to commence the attack. It was judged remarkable, that the vessels should come into the harbour at the very hour in which they were most needed. The life of captain Mason was very signally preserved. As he entered a wigwam for fire to burn the fort, an Indian was drawing an arrow to the very head and would have killed him instantly, but Davis, one of his sergeants, cut the bowstring, with his cutlafs, and prevented the fatal shot.* Lieutenant Bull received an arrow into a hard piece of Cheese, which he had in his clothes, and by it was saved harmless. Two soldiers, John Dier and Thomas Stiles, both servants of one man, were shot in the knots of their neckcloths, and by them preserved from instant death.†

BOOK I.
1637.
Remarkable circumstances.

FEW enterprises have ever been achieved with more personal bravery or good conduct. In few have so great a proportion of the effective men of a whole colony, state, or nation been put to so great and immediate danger. In few, have a people been so deeply and immediately interested, as the whole colony of Connecticut was in this, in that uncommon crisis. In these respects even the great armaments and battles of Europe are comparatively of little importance. In this, under the divine conduct, by seventy-seven brave men, Connecticut was saved, and the most warlike and terrible Indian nation, in New-England, defeated and ruined.

Gallantry and good conduct.

THE body of the Pequots returning from the pursuit of captain Mason, repaired to Saffacus, at the royal fortress, and related the doleful story of their misfortunes. They charged them all to his haughtiness and misconduct, and threatened him, and his, with immediate destruction. His friends and chief counsellors interceded for him; and, at their intreaty, his men spared his life. Then upon consultation, they concluded, that they could not, with safety, remain any longer in the country. They were indeed so panic struck, that burning their wigwams and destroying their fort, they fled and

Pequots destroy their fort and flee.

* Hubbard's Narrative.

† Mason's History.

Book I. scattered into various parts of the country. Saffacus, Mononotto and seventy or eighty of their chief counsellors and warriors took their route towards Hudſon's river.

Captivated
maids
redeem-
ed.

JUST before captain Maſon went out upon the expedition againſt the Pequots, the Dutch performed a very neighbourly office for Connecticut. The two maids, who had been captivated at Wethersfield, had through the humanity and mediation of Mononotto's ſquaw, been ſpared from death, and kindly treated. The Dutch governor, receiving intelligence of their circumſtances, determined to redeem them, at any rate, and diſpatched a ſloop to Pequot harbour for that purpoſe. Upon its arrival, the Dutch made large offers for their redemption, but the Pequots would not accept them. Finally as the Dutch had a number of Pequots on board, whom they had taken, and finding that they could do no better, they offered the Pequots ſix of their own men for the two maids.* Theſe they accepted and the Dutch delivered the young women at Saybrook, juſt before captain Maſon and his party arrived. Of them he received particular information reſpecting the enemy.

AN Indian runner diſpatched by Mr. Williams, at Providence, ſoon carried the news of the ſucceſs of Connecticut againſt the Pequots, to the governor of Maſſachuſetts. The governor and his council judging, that the Pequots had received a capital blow, ſent forward but a hundred and twenty men. Theſe were commanded by Mr. Stoughton, and the reverend Mr. Wilſon of Boſton was ſent his chaplain.

June.

Pequots
taken.

THIS party arrived at Pequot harbour the latter part of June. By the aſſiſtance of the Narraganſet Indians, the party under captain Stoughton ſurrounded a large body of Pequots in a ſwamp. They took eighty captives. Thirty were men; the reſt were women and children. The men, except two ſachems, were killed, but the women and children were ſaved.† The ſachems promiſed to conduct the Engliſh to Saffacus, and for that purpoſe were ſpared for the preſent.

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 128.

† Hubbard's Narrative p. 34, and Winthrop's Journal page 130, 132.

THE court at Connecticut ordered that forty men should be raised forthwith for the further prosecution of the war against the Pequots, to be commanded by captain Mason. BOOK I.
1637.
June 26.

THE troops from Connecticut made a junction with the party, under the command of captain Stoughton at Pequot. Mr. Ludlow, with other principal gentlemen from Connecticut, went also with the army, to advise with respect to the measures to be adopted in the further prosecution of the war. Upon general consultation, it was concluded to pursue the Pequots, who had fled to the westward. The army marched immediately, and soon discovered the places, where the enemy had rendezvoused, at their several removes. As these were not far distant from each other, it appeared, that they moved slowly, having their women and children with them. They also were without provision, and were obliged to dig for clams, and to range the groves for such articles as they afforded. The English found some scattering Pequots, as they scoured the country, whom they captivated, and from whom they obtained intelligence relative to the Pequots whom they were pursuing. But finding, that the sachems, whom they had spared, would give them no information, they beheaded them, on their march, at a place called Menunkatuch, since Guilford; from which circumstance the spot on which the execution was done, bears the name of sachem's head. Origin of
sachem's
head. In three days they arrived at New-Haven harbour. The vessels sailed along the shore while the troops marched by land. At New-Haven, then called Quinnipiack, a great smoke, at a small distance, was discovered in the woods. The officers supposing, that they had now discovered the enemy, ordered the army immediately to advance upon them; but were soon informed that they were not in that vicinity. The Connecticut Indians had kindled the fires whence the smoke arose. The troops soon embarked on board the vessels. After staying several days at New-Haven, the officers received intelligence from a Pequot, whom they had previously sent to make discovery, that the enemy were at a considerable distance, in a great swamp, to the westward. Upon this information, the army marched with all possible dispatch to a great swamp, in Fairfield, where were

BOOK I. eighty or a hundred Pequot warriors, and nearly two
 hundred other Indians. The swamp was such a thick-
 et, so deep and boggy, that it was difficult to enter it,
 or make any movement without sinking in the mire.
 Lieutenant Davenport and others, rushing eagerly into
 it, were sorely wounded, and several were soon so deep in
 the mud, that they could not get out without assistance.
 The enemy pressed them so hard, that they were just
 ready to seize them by the hair of their head. A num-
 ber of brave men were obliged to rescue them sword
 in hand. Some of the Indians were slain and the men
 were drawn out of the mire. The swamp was sur-
 rounded, and after a considerable skirmish the Indians
 desired a parly. As the officers were not willing to
 make a promiscuous destruction of men, women and
 children, and as the sachem and Indians of the vicinity
 had fled into the swamp, though they had done the col-
 onies no injury, a parly was granted. Thomas Stan-
 ton, a man well acquainted with the manners and lan-
 guage of the Indians, was sent to treat with them. He
 was authorized to offer life to all the Indians who had
 shed no English blood. Upon this offer, the sachem
 of the place came out to the English, and one company
 of old men, women and children after another, to the
 number of about two hundred. The sachem of the
 place declared for himself and his Indians, that they had
 neither shed the blood of the English nor done them
 any harm. But the Pequot warriors had too great a
 spirit to accept of the offer of life, declaring, that they
 would fight it out. They shot their arrows at Stanton,
 and pressed so hard upon him, that the soldiers were ob-
 liged to fly to his rescue.† The fight was then renew-
 ed, the soldiers firing upon them when ever an opportu-
 nity presented. But by reason of an unhappy division
 among the officers a great part of the enemy escaped.
 Some were for forcing the swamp immediately, but
 this was opposed, as too dangerous. Others were for
 cutting it down, as they had taken many hatchets, with
 which they were of the opinion it might be effected.
 Some others were for making a pallisado and hedge
 round it, but neither of these measures could be adopt-
 ed.‡ As night came on, the English cut through a

Division
 among the
 officers.

† Hubbard's Narrative, p. 38.

‡ Mason's history.

narrow part of it, by which the circumference was greatly lessened; so that the soldiers, at twelve feet distance from each other, were able completely to compass the enemy. In this manner they enclosed and watched them until it was nearly morning. A thick fog arose just before day, and it became exceedingly dark. At this juncture the Indians took the opportunity to break through the English. They made their first attempt upon captain Patrick's quarters, yelling in their hideous manner and pressing on with violence, but they were several times driven back. As the noise and tumult of war increased, captain Mason sent a party to assist captain Patrick. Captain Trask also marched to reinforce him. As the battle greatly increased, the siege broke up. Captain Mason marched to give assistance in the action. Advancing to the turn of the swamp, he found that the enemy were pressing out upon him; but he gave them so warm a reception, that they were soon glad to retire. While he was expecting that they would make another attempt upon him, they faced about, and falling violently on captain Patrick, broke through his quarters and fled. These were their bravest warriors, sixty or seventy of whom made their escape. About twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty were taken prisoners. The English also took hatchets, wampum, kettles, trays and other Indian utensils.

BOOK I.
1637.

Enemy
escape.

THE Pequot women and children, who had been captivated were divided among the troops. Some were carried to Connecticut, and others to the Massachusetts. The people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West-Indies, and sold them for slaves. It was supposed, That about seven hundred Pequots were destroyed. The women who were captivated, reported, that thirteen sachems had been slain, and that thirteen yet survived. Among the latter were Sassacus and Mononotto, the two chief sachems. These with about twenty of their best men fled to the Mohawks. They carried off with them wampum to the amount of £500† The Mohawks surprised and slew them all except Mononotto. They wounded him, but he made his escape. The scalp of Sassacus was sent to Connecticut in the fall,

Captives
divided.

† Winthrop's Journal, p. 136.

BOOK I. and Mr. Ludlow and several other gentlemen, going
 into Massachusetts, in September, carried a lock of it to
 Boston, as a rare sight, and a sure demonstration of the
 death of their mortal enemy. †

1637.

Sachem's
 wife and
 children.

AMONG the Pequot captives was the wife and children of Mononotto. She was particularly noticed, by the English, for her great modesty, humanity and good sense. She made it as her only request, That she might not be injured either as to her offspring or personal honor. As a requital of her kindness to the captivated maids, her life and the lives of her children were not only spared, but they were particularly recommended to the care of governor Winthrop. He gave charge for their protection and kind treatment.

AFTER the swamp-fight the Pequots became so weak and scattered, that the Narragansets and Moheagans constantly killed them, and brought in their heads to Windsor and Hartford. Those who survived were so hunted and harassed, that a number of their chief men repaired to the English, at Hartford for relief. They offered, if their lives might be spared, that they would become the servants of the English and be disposed of at their pleasure. This was granted and the court interposed for their protection.

Covenant
 at Hart-
 ford,
 Septem-
 ber 21st,
 1638.

UNCAS and Miantonimoh with the Pequots, by the direction of the magistrates of Connecticut, met at Hartford; and it was demanded of them, How many of the Pequots were yet living? They answered, About two hundred besides women and children. The magistrates then entered into a firm covenant with them, to the following effect, That there should be perpetual peace between Miantonimoh and Uncas and their respective Indians, and that all past injuries should be remitted and for ever buried: That if any injuries should be done, in future, by one party to the other, that they should not immediately revenge it, but appeal to the English to do them justice. It was stipulated, that they should submit to their determination, and that if either party should be obstinate, that then they might enforce submission to their decisions. It was further agreed, That neither the Moheagans, nor Narragansets should conceal or entertain any of their enemies; but

† Winthrop's Journal, p. 134, 135, 136.

deliver up or destroy all such Indians as had murdered any English man or woman. The English then gave the Pequot Indians to the Narragansets and Moheagans : eighty to Miantonimoh, twenty to Ninnigret ; and the other hundred to Uncas ; to be received and treated as their men. It was also covenanted, That the Pequots should never more inhabit their native country, nor be called Pequots, but Narragansets and Moheagans. It was also further stipulated, That neither the Narragansets nor Moheagans should possess any part of the Pequot country without the consent of the English. The Pequots were to pay a tribute, at Connecticut annually, of a fathom of wampumpeag for every Sannop, of half a fathom for every young man and of a hand for every male papoose. On these conditions the magistrates, in behalf of the colony, stipulated a firm peace with all these Indians.*

THE conquest of the Pequots struck all the Indians in New-England with terror, and they were possessed with such fear of the displeasure and arms of the English, that they had no open war with them for nearly forty years.


THIS happy event gave great joy to the colonies. A day of public thanksgiving was appointed ; and, in all the churches of New-England, devout and animated praises were addressed to him, who giveth his people the victory, and causeth them to dwell safely.

CHAPTER VI.

EFFECTS of the war. Great scarcity in Connecticut, and means taken to relieve the necessities of the people. Settlement of New-Haven. Plantation covenant. Means for the defence of the colony. Captain Mason made major-general. Civil constitution of Connecticut, formed by voluntary compact. First general election at Connecticut. Governors and magistrates. General rights of the people, and principal laws of the colony. Constitution and laws of New-Haven. Purchase and settlement of several towns in Connecticut and New-Haven.

THOUGH the war with the Pequots was now happily terminated, yet the effects of it were se-

* Records of Connecticut.

Book I. verely felt by the inhabitants. The consequences were
 1637.  scarcity and a debt, which, in the low state of the colony, it was exceedingly difficult to pay. Almost every article of food, or clothing was purchased at the dearest rate. And the planters had not yet reaped any considerable advantage from their farms. Such a proportion of their labourers had been employed in the war, and the country was so uncultivated, that all the provision which had been raised, or imported, was in no measure proportionate to the wants of the people. The winter was uncommonly severe, which increased the distress of the colony.† The court at Connecticut foreseeing, that the people would be in great want of bread, contracted with Mr. Pyncheon for five hundred bushels of Indian corn, which he was to purchase of the Indians, and a greater quantity if it could be obtained. The inhabitants were prohibited to bargain for it privately, and limited to certain prices, lest it should raise the price, while he was making the purchase. A committee was also appointed by the court to send a vessel to Narraganset to buy of the natives in that quarter.‡ But notwithstanding every precaution which was taken, the scarcity became such, that corn arose, to the extraordinary price of twelve shillings by the bushel.* In this distressful situation a committee was sent to an Indian settlement called Poccomtock, since Deerfield, where they purchased such quantities, that the Indians came down to Windsor and Hartford with fifty canoes at one time, laden with Indian corn.§ The good people considered this as a great deliverance. Those, who, in England, had fed on the finest of the wheat, in the beginning of affairs in Connecticut, were thankful for such coarse fare as Indian bread for themselves and children.

Scarcity
in Con-
necticut.

Relieved.


IN this low state of the colony the court found it necessary to order the towns immediately to furnish themselves with magazines of powder, lead and shot, and ev-

† The snow lay from the 4th of November until the 23d of March. It was, at sometimes, three and four feet deep. Once in the winter it snowed for two hours together flakes as big as English shillings. Winthrop's Journal, p. 154.

‡ Records of Connecticut.

* Mason's History. Twelve shillings sterling at that time was doubtless equal to eighteen or twenty shillings lawful money.

§ Mason's History.

ery man to be completely armed and furnished with am- BOOK I.
munition. The court were also obliged to impose a tax of  1638.
£550, to be immediately collected, to defray the expen-
ses of the war. This appears to have been the first pub-
lic tax in Connecticut. Agawam, since named Springfield,
though it sent no men to the war, yet bore its propor-
tion of the expense.† The first secretary and treasurer February
appears to have been Mr. Clement Chaplin. He was 9th.
authorized to issue his warrants for gathering the tax
which had been imposed.

CAPTAIN John Mason was appointed major-general
of the militia of Connecticut. The reverend Mr. Hook-
er was desired to deliver him the military staff. This March
he doubtless performed with that propriety and dignity, 8th.
which was peculiar to himself, and best adapted to the
occasion. The general was directed to call out the mi-
litia of each town, ten times in a year, to instruct them
in military discipline. He received out of the public
treasury £40. annually for his services.

As it was of the highest importance to the colony to
cultivate peace and a good understanding with the Indians,
laws were enacted to prevent all persons from offering
them the least private insult or abuse.

WHILE the planters of Connecticut were thus exert-
ing themselves in prosecuting and regulating the affairs
of that colony, another was projected and settled at
Quinnipiack,‡ afterwards called New-Haven. On the
26th of July 1637, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Samuel
Eaton, Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, Esquires,
Mr. Thomas Gregson and many others of good charac-
ters and fortunes arrived at Boston. Mr. Davenport
had been a famous minister in the city of London, and
was a distinguished character for piety, learning and
good conduct. Many of his congregation, on the ac-
count of the esteem which they had for his person and
ministry, followed him into New-England. Mr. Eaton
and Mr. Hopkins had been merchants in London, pos-
sessed great estates, and were men of eminence for their
abilities and integrity. The fame of Mr. Davenport,
Mr. Davenport arrives at Boston.

† The tax was laid on the Towns in the proportions follow-
ing. Agawam £86:16:0. Windsor £158:2:0. Hartford
£251:2:0. And Wethersfield £124:0:0.

‡ This is sometimes spelt Quillipiack, and Qinnepioke.

Book I. the reputation and good estates of the principal gentlemen
 of this company, made the people of the Massachusetts
 1638. exceedingly desirous of their settlement in that com-
 monwealth. Great pains were taken not only by par-
 ticular persons and towns, but by the general court, to
 Offers to retain him in Massachusetts. fix them in the colony. Charlestown made them large
 offers; and Newbury proposed to give up the whole
 town to them. The general court offered them any
 place which they should choose.† But they were de-
 termined to plant a distinct colony. By the pursuit of
 the Pequots to the westward, the English became ac-
 quainted with that fine tract along the shore, from Say-
 brook to Fairfield, and with its several harbours. It
 was represented as fruitful, and happily situated for nav-
 igation and commerce. The company therefore pro-
 jected a settlement in that part of the country.

IN the fall of 1637, Mr. Eaton and others, who were
 of the company, made a journey to Connecticut, to ex-
 plore the lands and harbours on the sea coast. They
 pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settle-
 ment. They erected a poor hut in which a few men
 subsisted through the winter.

ON the 30th of March 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr.
 Prudden and Mr. Samuel Eaton, Theophilus Eaton
 Esquire, with the people of their company sailed from
 Boston for Quinnipiack. In about a fortnight they
 arrived at their desired port. On the 18th of April
 they kept their first Sabbath in the place. The peo-
 ple assembled under a large spreading oak, and Mr. Dav-
 enport preached to them from Matthew vi. 1. He in-
 sisted on the temptations of the wilderness, made such
 observations, and gave such directions and exhortations
 as were pertinent to the then present state of his hearers.
 He left this remark, That he enjoyed a good day.

April 18th
 the first
 sabbath
 kept at
 New-Ha-
 ven.

ONE of the principal reasons, which these colonists
 assigned for their removing from Massachusetts, was
 that they should be more out of the way and trouble of
 a general Governor of New-England, who at this time,
 was an object of great fear in all the plantations. What
 foundation there was for the hope of exemption from
 the control of a general governor, by this removal, had
 one been sent, does not appear. It is probable that the

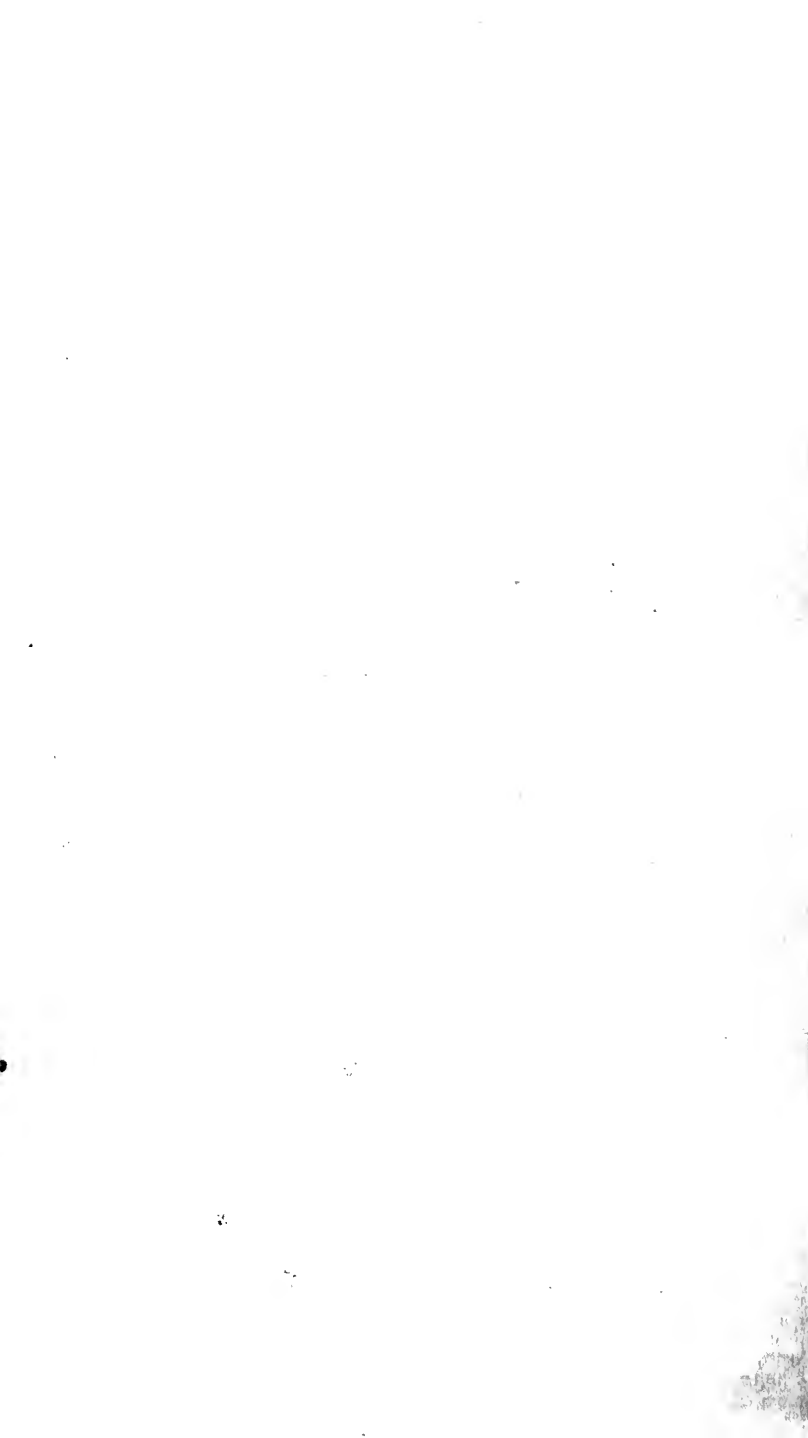
Reasons
 for remo-
 ving.

† Winthrop's Journal, p. 151.

Engraved for D^r Trumbull's History of
Connecticut, from an Original Painting
in the Museum at Yale College



The Rev. JOHN DEVENPORT, B.D.
The first Minister of New Haven C.
from 1638 until 1668.



motive which had the greatest influence with the principal men, was the desire of being at the head of a new government, modeled both in civil and religious matters agreeably to their own apprehensions. It had been an observation of Mr. Davenport's, That whenever a reformation had been effected in the church, in any part of the world, it had rested where it had been left by the reformers. It could not be advanced another step. He was now embarked in a design of forming a civil and religious constitution, as near as possible to scripture precept and example. The principal gentlemen, who had followed him into America, had the same views. In laying the foundations of a new colony, there was a fair probability, that they might accommodate all matters of church and commonwealth to their own feelings and sentiments. But in the Massachusetts the principal men were fixed in the chief seats of Government, which they were likely to keep, and their civil and religious polity was already formed. Besides the antinomian controversy and sentiments, which had taken such root at Boston; were exceedingly disagreeable to Mr. Davenport and the principal gentlemen of his company. He had taken a decided, though prudent, part against them. He, with his leading men, might judge, that the people, who came with them, would be much more out of danger of the corruption, and that they should be more entirely free from the trouble, of those sentiments, in a new plantation, than in the Massachusetts. These might all unite their influence, with Mr. Davenport and others, to determine them to remove and begin a new colony.

Soon after they arrived at Quinnipiack, in the close of a day of fasting and prayer, they entered into what they termed a plantation covenant. In this they solemnly bound themselves, "That as in matters, that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices which concern civil order; as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules, which the scripture held forth to them." This was adopted as a general agreement, until there should be time for the people to become more intimately acquainted with each other's religious

BOOK I.
1638.

Plantation covenant at Quinnipiack.

BOOK I. views, sentiments and moral conduct; which was supposed to be necessary to prepare the way for their covenanting together, as christians, in church state.

1638.

THE aspects of providence, on the country, about this time, were very gloomy; and especially unfavorable to new plantations. The spring, after a long and severe winter, was unusually backward. Scarcely any thing grew for several weeks. The planting season was so cold, that the corn rotted in the ground, and the people were obliged to replant two or three times.* This distressed man and beast, retarded all the affairs of the plantations. It rendered the gloom and horrors of the wilderness still more horrible. The colonists had terrible apprehensions of scarcity and famine. But at length the warm season came on, and vegetation exceeded all their expectations.

Great earthquake
June 1st.

ON the 1st of June, between the hours of three and four in the afternoon, there was a great and memorable earthquake, throughout New-England. It came with a report like continued thunder, or the rattling of numerous coaches upon a paved street. The shock was so great, that in many places, the tops of the chimnies were thrown down, and the pewter fell from the shelves. It shook the waters and ships in the harbours, and all the adjacent islands. The duration of the sound and tremor was about four minutes. The earth, at turns, was unquiet for nearly twenty days. The weather was clear, the wind westerly, and the course of the earthquake from west to east.

THE planters at Quinnipiack determined to make an extensive settlement; and, if possible, to maintain perpetual peace and friendship with the Indians. They therefore paid an early attention to the making of such purchases and amicable treaties, as might most effectually answer their designs.

The first purchase
at New-Haven
Nov. 24th
1638.

ON the 24th of November 1638, Theophilus Eaton Esquire, Mr. Davenport and other English planters, entered into an agreement with Momauguin, sachem of that part of the country, and his counsellors respecting the lands. The articles of agreement are to this effect.

THAT Momauguin is the sole sachem of Quinnipiack, and had an absolute power to aliene and dispose

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 155. Ibid. See also Morton and Hutchinson.

of the same: That in consequence of the protection which he had tasted, by the English, from the Pequots and Mohawks,* he yielded up all his right, title and interest to all the land, rivers, ponds and trees, with all the liberties and purtenances belonging to the same, unto Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport and others, their heirs and assigns forever. He covenanted, that neither he nor his Indians would terrify, nor disturb the English, nor injure them in any of their interests; but, that, in every respect, they would keep true faith with them.

Book I.
1638.

THE English covenanted to protect Momauguin and his Indians, when unreasonably assaulted and terrified, by other Indians: and that they should always have a sufficient quantity of land to plant on, upon the east side of the harbour, † between that and Saybrook fort. They also covenanted, that by way of free and thankful retribution, they gave unto the said sachem and his council and company, twelve coats of English cloth, twelve alchymy spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. ‡

THIS agreement was signed and legally executed, by Momauguin and his council on the one part, and Theophilus Eaton and John Davenport on the other. Thomas Stanton, who was the interpreter, declared in the presence of God, That he had faithfully acquainted the Indians with the said articles, and returned their answers.

IN December following they made another purchase of a large tract, which lay principally north of the former. This was of Montowese, son of the great sachem at Mattabeseck. This tract was ten miles in length, north and south, and thirteen miles in breadth. It extended eight miles east of the river Quinnipiack, and five miles west of it towards Hudson's river. It included all the lands within the ancient limits of the old

Second purchase
Dec. 11th
1638.
Tract purchased.

* The Indians of Quinnipiack, in this treaty, declared, That they still remembered the heavy taxes of the Pequots and Mohawks; and that, by reason of their fear of them, they could not stay in their own country; but had been obliged to flee. By these powerful enemies they had been reduced to about forty men.

† This was in the present town of East-Haven.

‡ Records of New-Haven.

BOOK I. towns of New-Haven, Branford and Wallingford, and
 1638. almost the whole contained in the present limits of those
 towns, and of the towns of East-Haven, Woodbridge,
 Cheshire, Hamden and North-Haven.* These have
 since been made out of the three old towns.

THE New-Haven adventurers were the most opulent company, which came into New-England; and they designed to plant a capital colony. They laid out their town plat in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city. In the centre was a large beautiful square. This was compassed with others, making nine in the whole.

THE first principal settlers were Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. Thomas Gregson, Mr. Robert Newman, Mr. Matthew Gilbert, Mr. Nathaniel Turner, Mr. Thomas Fugill, Mr. Francis Newman, Mr. Stephen Goodyear and Mr. Joshua Atwater.

MR. EATON had been deputy governor of the East-India company, was three years himself in the East-Indies. He served the company so well, that he received from them presents of great value. He had been on an embassy from the court of England to the king of Denmark. He was a London merchant who had for many years traded to the East-Indies, had obtained a great estate, and brought over a large sum of money into New-England.† Others were merchants of fair estates, and they designed to have been a great trading city.

THERE appears no act of civil, military, or ecclesiastical authority during the first year; nor is there any appearance, that this colony was ever straitened for bread, as the other colonies had been.

MR. PRUDDEN and his company, who came with Mr. Davenport, continued the first summer at Quinnipiack, and were making preparations for the settlement of another township.

WHEN Mr. Davenport removed to Quinnipiack, Mr.

* For this last tract of ten miles north and south, and thirteen east and west, the English gave thirteen coats, and allowed the Indians ground to plant, and liberty to hunt within the lands. Records of New-Haven.

† The tradition is that he brought to New-Haven a very great estate, in plate and money. The East-India company made his wife a present of a basin and ewer double gilt, and curiously wrought with gold, weighing more than sixty pounds.

Hopkins came to Hartford, and soon after incorporated with the settlers of Connecticut. Book I.
1638.

THE inhabitants of the three towns upon Connecticut river finding themselves without the limits of the Massachusetts' patent, conceived the plan of forming themselves, by voluntary compact, into a distinct commonwealth.

ON the 14th of January 1639,† all the free planters convened, at Hartford, and, on mature deliberation, adopted a constitution of government. They introduce their constitution with a declaration to this effect, That for the establishment of order and government, they associated and conjoined themselves to be one public state or commonwealth; and did for themselves and successors, and such as should be, at any time, joined to them, confederate together, to maintain the liberty and purity of the gospel, which they professed, and the discipline of the churches according to its institution; and in all civil affairs to be governed according to such laws as should be made agreeably to the constitution, which they were then about to adopt. The original constitution of Connecticut Jan. 14th 1639.

THE constitution, which then follows, ordains, That there shall be annually two general courts, or assemblies; one on the second Thursday in April, and the other on the second Thursday in September: That the first shall be the court of election, in which shall be annually chosen, at least, six magistrates, and all other public officers. It ordains, that a governor should be chosen distinct from the six magistrates, for one year and until another should be chosen and sworn: and that the governor and magistrates should be sworn to a faithful execution of the laws of the colony, and in cases in which there was no express law established, to be governed by the divine word. Agreeably to the constitution, the choice of these officers was to be made by the whole body of the freemen convened in general election. It provided that all persons, who had been received as members of the several townes, by a majority of the inhabitants, and had taken Two general assemblies annually.
How composed.
Officers how chosen.

† This stands on the records of the colony, January 14th, 1638, which is owing to the manner of dating at that time. The first settlers of the colony began their year on the 25th of March; and until this time, they dated 1638; but it was most evidently 1639, as the December preceding was 1638, and the April following 1639.

BOOK I.

1639.

Governor
and magis-
trates to
be sworn.

the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth, should be admitted freemen of the colony. It required that the governor and magistrates should be elected by ballot; the governor by the greatest number of votes, and the magistrates by a majority. However it provided, that if it should so happen, at any time, that six should not have a majority, that in such case those who had the greatest number of suffrages, should stand as duly elected for that year. No person might be governor unless he were a member of some regular church and had previously been a magistrate in the colony. Nor could any man be elected to the office more than once in two years. No one could be chosen into the magistracy, who was not a freeman of the colony, and had been nominated, either by the freemen or the general court. The Assembly were authorized to nominate, in cases, in which they judged it expedient. Neither the governor, nor magistrates might execute any part of their office until they had been publicly sworn in the face of the general Assembly.

Assemblies
how con-
voked.

THE constitution also ordained, that the several towns should send their respective deputies to the election; and that when it was finished, they should proceed to do any public service, as at any other courts: and, that the assembly, in September, should be for the enacting of laws and other public services. It authorized the governor either by himself or his secretary, to issue his warrants for calling the assemblies, one month at least, before the time of their appointed meetings. Upon particular emergencies, he might convene them in seven days, or even upon shorter notice, stating the reasons in his warrant. Upon the reception of the governor's warrants, in April and September, the constables of the respective towns were obliged to warn all the freemen to elect and send their deputies.

Number
of depu-
ties to be
sent.Powers of
the house
of repre-
sentatives.

THE constitution ordained, that the three towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield should each of them send four deputies to every general court; and, that the other towns, which should be added to the colony in future, should send such a number as the court should determine, proportionate to the body of their freemen. The constitution declared, the deputies to be vested with the whole power of the respective towns which they represented. It authorized them to meet

separately and determine their own elections, to fine any person, who should obtrude himself upon them, when he had not been duly chosen, and to fine any of their members, for disorderly conduct, when they were assembled. BOOK I.
1639.

FURTHER, the constitution provided, that in case the governor and the major part of the magistrates should, upon any urgent occasion neglect, or refuse to call an assembly, the freemen should petition them to summon one; and, if upon the petition of a major part of the freemen in the colony, they still refused or neglected, then the constables of the several towns should, upon the petition of the major part of the freemen, convoke an assembly. It also ordained that when this assembly was convened, it should have power of choosing a moderator, and when it was thus formed should exercise all the powers of any other general assembly. Particularly it was authorized to call any court, magistrate, or any other person before it, and to displace, or inflict penalties according to the nature of the offence. Constables to convoke a general assembly.

ALL general assemblies, called by the governor, were to consist of the governor, four magistrates and the major part of the deputies. When there was an equal vote, the governor had a casting voice. The constitution also provided, that no general court should be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of a major part of the members: and, that whenever a tax was laid upon the inhabitants, the sum to be paid by each town should be determined by a committee consisting of an equal number from each of the respective towns.

THE form of oaths to be administered to the governor and magistrates was also adopted in the general convention of the free planters. This, for substance, was the original constitution of Connecticut.*

WITH such wisdom did our venerable ancestors provide for the freedom and liberties of themselves and their posterity. Thus happily did they guard against every encroachment on the rights of the subject. This, probably, is one of the most free and happy constitutions of civil government which has ever been formed. The

* Appendix, No. III.

BOOK I. formation of it, at so early a period, when the light of liberty was wholly darkened in most parts of the earth, and the rights of men were so little understood in others, does great honor to their ability, integrity, and love to mankind. To posterity indeed, it exhibited a most benevolent regard. It has continued, with little alteration, to the present time. The happy consequences of it, which, for more than a century and half, the people of Connecticut have experienced, are without description.

General Election at Hartford the second Thursday in April.

AGREEABLY to the constitution, the freemen convened at Hartford on the second Thursday in April, and elected their officers for the year ensuing.

JOHN HAYNES, Esquire, was chosen governor, and Roger Ludlow, George Wyllys, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Welles, John Webster and William Phelps, Esquires, were chosen magistrates. Mr. Ludlow, the first of the six magistrates, was deputy governor. Mr. Hopkins was chosen secretary, and Mr. Welles treasurer.

THE deputies sent to this first general assembly, in Connecticut, were Mr. John Steele, Mr. Spencer, Mr. John Prat, Mr. Edward Stebbins, Mr. Gaylord, Mr. Henry Wolcott, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Ford, Mr. Thurston Rayner, Mr. James Boosy, Mr. George Hubbard, and Mr. Richard Crab.

First law, or bill of rights

THE general assembly proceeded as they had leisure, and as occasion required, to enact a system of laws. The laws at first were few, and time was taken to consider and digest them. The first statute in the Connecticut code is a kind of declaration, or bill of rights. It ordains, That no man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name be stained, no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any wife punished: That no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's goods or estate shall be taken away from him, nor any wife endamaged, under colour of law, or countenance of authority, unless it should be by the virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general court, and sufficiently published; or in case of the defect of such law, in any particular case, by some clear and plain rule of the word of God, in which the whole

court shall concur.† It was also ordained that all persons in the colony, whether inhabitants or not, should enjoy the same law and justice without partiality or delay. These general precepts bore the same aspect, and breathed the same spirit of liberty and safety, with respect to the subjects universally, which is exhibited in the constitution.

BOOK I.
1639.

THE planters at Quinnipiack continued more than a year without any civil or religious constitution, or compact further than had been expressed in their plantation covenant.

MEANWHILE Mr. Henry Whitfield, William Leet, Esquire, Samuel Delborough, Robert Kitchel, William Chittenden and others, who were part of Mr. Davenport's and Mr. Eaton's company, arrived to assist them in their new settlement. These were principally from Kent and Surrey in the vicinity of London. Mr. Whitfield's people, like Mr. Davenport's, followed him into New-England. There were now three ministers, with many of the members of their former churches and congregations, collected in this infant colony, and combined in the same general agreement.

ON the 4th of June all the free planters at Quinnipiack convened in a large barn of Mr. Newman's, and, in a very formal and solemn manner, proceeded to lay the foundations of their civil and religious polity.

June 4th, 1639 the planters at Quinnipiack, assemble to form a constitution.

MR. DAVENPORT introduced the business, by a sermon from the words of the royal preacher, "Wisdom hath builded her house, she hath hewn out her seven pillars." His design was to show, that the church, the house of GOD, should be formed of seven pillars, or principal brethren, to whom all the other members of the church should be added. After a solemn invocation of the DIVINE MAJESTY, he proceeded to represent to the planters, that they were met to consult respecting the settlement of civil government according to the will of GOD, and for the nomination of persons, who, by universal consent, were, in all respects the best qualified for the foundation work of a church. He enlarged on the great importance of the transactions before them, and desired, that no man would give his voice, in any matter, until he fully understood it; and, that all would

† Old code of Connecticut.

BOOK I. act, without respect to any man, but give their vote in
 1639. the fear of GOD. He then proposed a number of ques-
 tions in consequence of which the following resolutions
 were passed.

Its funda-
 mental
 articles.

I. THAT the scriptures hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to GOD and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church.

II. THAT as in matters which concerned the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public offices which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, they would all be governed by those rules, which the scripture held forth to them.

III. "THAT all those who had desired to be received as free planters, had settled in the plantation, with a purpose, resolution and desire, that they might be admitted into church fellowship according to Christ."

IV. "THAT all the free planters held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to GOD."

WHEN these resolutions had been passed and the people had bound themselves to settle civil government according to the divine word, Mr. Davenport proceeded to represent unto them what men they must choose for civil rulers according to the divine word, and that they might most effectually secure to them and their posterity a just, free and peaceable government. Time was then given to discuss and deliberate upon what he had proposed. After full discussion and deliberation it was determined—

V. "THAT church members only should be free burgeses; and that they only should choose magistrates among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of the plantation: Of making and repealing laws, dividing inheritances, deciding of differences, that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature."

THAT civil officers might be chosen and government proceed according to these resolutions, it was necessary that a church should be formed. Without this there

could be neither free men nor magistrates. Mr. Davenport therefore proceeded to make proposals relative to the formation of it, in such a manner, that no blemish might be left on the "beginnings of church work." It was then resolved to this effect

BOOK I.
1639.

VI. "THAT twelve men should be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work might be tried, and that it should be in the power of those twelve men, to choose seven to begin the church."

It was agreed that if seven men could not be found among the twelve qualified for the foundation work, that such other persons should be taken into the number, upon trial,* as should be judged most suitable.† The form of a solemn charge, or oath was drawn up and agreed upon at this meeting to be given to all the freemen.

FURTHER, it was ordered, that all persons, who should be received, as free planters of that corporation, should submit to the fundamental agreement above related, and in testimony of their submission should subscribe their names among the freemen.‡ After a proper term of trial, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Mr. John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderfon and Jeremiah Dixon were chosen for the seven pillars of the church.

August
22nd.

OCTOBER 25th, 1639, the court, as it is termed, consisting of these seven persons only, convened, and after a solemn address to the SUPREME MAJESTY, they proceeded to form the body of freemen and to elect their civil officers. The manner was indeed singular and curious.

General
election at
Quinnipi-
ack,
Oct. 25th,
1639.

IN the first place, all former trust, for managing the public affairs of the plantation was declared to cease, and be utterly abrogated. Then all those who had been admitted to the church after the gathering of it, in the choice of the seven pillars, and all the members of other approved churches, who desired it, and offered them-

Mode of
proceed-
ing.

* Appendix No. IV.

† The twelve persons chosen for trial, out of whom the seven pillars of the house were chosen, were Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Richard Malbon, Nathaniel Turner, Ezckiel Chevers, Thomas Fugill, John Punderfon, William Andrews and Jeremiah Dixon.

‡ Sixty-three subscribed on this 4th day of June, and there were added soon after about fifty other names.

BOOK I. selves, were admitted members of the court. A solemn charge was then publicly given them, to the same effect as the freemen's charge, or oath, which they had previously adopted. The purport of this was nearly the same, with the oath of fidelity, and with the freemen's administered at the present time. Mr. Davenport expounded several scriptures to them, describing the character of civil magistrates given in the sacred oracles. To this succeeded the election of officers. Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, was chosen governor, Mr. Robert Newman, Mr. Matthew Gilbert, Mr. Nathaniel Turner, and Mr. Thomas Fugill were chosen magistrates. Mr. Fugill was also chosen secretary, and Robert Seely, marshal.

MR. DAVENPORT gave governor Eaton a charge in open court, from Deut. i. 16, 17. "And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment, but ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's: and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it."

Charge to
Gov.
Eaton.

It was decreed, by the freemen, that there should be a general court annually, in the plantation, on the last week in October. This was ordained a court of election in which all the officers of the colony were to be chosen. This court determined, that the word of God should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of government in that commonwealth.

THIS was the original, fundamental constitution of the government of New-Haven. All government was originally in the church, and the members of the church elected the governor, magistrates and all other officers. The magistrates, at first, were no more than assistants of the governor, they might not act in any sentence or determination of the court.† No deputy governor was chosen, nor were any laws enacted except the general resolutions which have been noticed; but as the plantation enlarged, and new towns were settled, new orders were given; the general court received a new form, laws were enacted, and the civil polity of this jurisdic-

† Records of the colony of New-Haven.

tion gradually advanced, in its essential parts, to a near Book I. resemblance of the government of Connecticut.

WHILE these affairs were transacted at Quinnipiack, 1639. plantations commenced at Wopowage, and Menunkatuck. Wopowage was purchased February 12th, 1639, † Milford and Guilford purchased and settled. Davenport's; each consisting of seven principal men, or pillars. They appear to have been gathered at the same time. The planters were in the original agreement made in Mr. Newman's barn, on the 4th of June. The principal men, or pillars in the town of Wopowage were Mr. Peter Prudden, William Fowler, Edmund Tapp, Zechariah Whitman, Robert Treat, Alexander Bryan, and John Astwood. The principal planters of Menunkatuck were Henry Whitfield, Robert Kitchel, William Leet, Samuel Delborough, William Chittenden, John Bishop, and John Caffinge. The lands in Milford and Guilford, as well as in New-Haven, were purchased by these principal men, in trust, for all the inhabitants of the respective towns. Every planter after paying his proportionable part of the expenses, arising from laying out and settling the plantation, drew a lot or lots of land, in proportion to the money or estate which he had expended in the general purchase, and to the number of heads in his family. These principal men were judges in the respective towns, composing a court, to judge between man and man, divide inheritances and punish offences according to the written word, until a body of laws should be established. Aug. 22nd

MOST of the principal settlers of Milford were from Wethersfield. † They first purchased of the Indians all that tract, which lies between New-Haven and Stratford river, and between the sound on the south, and a stream called two mile brook on the north, which is the boundary line between Milford and Derby. This tract comprized all the lands within the old town of Milford, and a small part of the town of Woodbridge. The planters made other purchases which included a large

† On the records it was 1638, but according to the present mode of dating 1639.

† Mr. Prudden it seems preached at Wethersfield, the summer before the people removed to Milford.

BOOK I. tract on the west side of Stratford river, principally in the town of Huntington. In the first town meeting in Milford the number of free planters, or of church members, was forty four.

1639.

THE Indians were so numerous in this plantation, that the English judged it necessary for their own safety, to compass the whole town plat, including nearly a mile square, with a fortification. It was so closely inclosed with strong pallisadoes, as entirely to exclude the Indians from that part of the town.

THE purchasers of Guilford agreed with the Indians, that they should move off from the lands, which they had purchased. According to agreement they soon all removed from the plantation.

THE number of the first free planters appears to have been about forty. They were all husbandmen. There was not a merchant, nor scarcely a mechanic among them. It was at great expense and trouble, that they obtained even a blacksmith to settle in the plantation. As they were from Surrey and Kent, they took much pains to find a tract of land resembling that from which they had removed. They therefore finally pitched upon Guilford, which, toward the sea, where they made the principal settlement, was low, moist, rich land, liberal indeed to the husbandman. Especially the great plain south of the town. This had been already cleared and enriched by the natives. The vast quantities of shells and manure, which, in a course of ages, they had brought on upon it from the sea, had contributed much to the natural riches of the soil. There were also nearly adjoining to this, several necks, or points of land, near the sea, clear, rich and fertile, prepared for immediate improvement. These, with the industry of the inhabitants, soon afforded them a comfortable subsistence.†

AT the same time when these settlements commenced, two new ones were made under the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

MR. LUDLOW, who went with the troops, in pursuit of the Pequots, to Sasco,‡ the great swamp in Fairfield, was so pleased with that fine tract of country, that he

Mr. Ludlow and others settle Fairfield.

† Manuscripts of Mr. Ruggles.

‡ It has also been called Pequot swamp, on the account of the memorable battle fought in this place with the Pequots.

soon projected the scheme of a settlement in that part of the colony. This year, he, with a number of others, began a plantation at Unquowa, which was the Indian name of the town. At first there were but about eight or ten families. These, probably, removed from Windsor, with Mr. Ludlow, who was the principal planter. Very soon after, another company came from Watertown and united with Mr. Ludlow and the people from Windsor. A third company removed into the plantation from Concord; so that the inhabitants soon became numerous, and formed themselves into a distinct township, under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. The first adventurers purchased a large tract of land of the natives, and soon after Connecticut obtained charter privileges, the general assembly gave them a patent. The township comprises the four parishes of Fairfield, Greensfarms, Greenfield and Reading; and part of the parish of Stratfield. The lands in this tract are excellent, and at an early period the town became wealthy and respectable.

BOOK I.

1639.

SETTLEMENTS commenced the same year at Cupheag and Pughquonnuck, since named Stratford. That part which contains the town plat, and lies upon the river was called Cupheag, and the Western part bordering on Fairfield, Pughquonnuck. It appears that settlements were made in both these places at the same time. Mr. Fairchild, who was a principal planter, and the first gentleman in the town vested with civil authority, came directly from England. Mr. John and Mr. William Curtice, and Mr. Samuel Hawley, were from Roxbury, and Mr. Joseph Judson and Mr. Timothy Wilcoxon from Concord in Massachusetts. These were the first principal gentlemen in the town and church of Stratford. A few years after the settlement commenced Mr. John Birdsey removed from Milford, and became a man of eminence both in the town and church. There were also several of the chief planters from Boston, and Mr. Samuel Welles, with his three sons, John, Thomas and Samuel from Wethersfield. Mr. Adam Blackman, who had been episcopally ordained in England, and a preacher of some note, first at Leicester, and afterwards in Derbyshire, was their minister, and one of the first planters. It is said, that he

Settle-
ment of
Stratford,
or Cup-
heag.

BOOK I. was followed by a number of the faithful into this coun-
 try, to whom he was so dear, that they said to him in
 1639. the language of Ruth, "Intreat us not to leave thee,
 for whither thou goest we will go, thy people shall be
 our people and thy GOD our GOD." These doubtless
 collected about him in this infant settlement.

THE whole township was purchased of the natives ;
 but, at first, Cupheag and Pughquonnuck only, where
 the settlements began. The purchase was not com-
 pleted until 1672. There was a reservation of good
 lands, at Pughquonnuck, Golden hill and another place,
 called Coram, for the improvement of the Indians.

THE town is bounded upon the east by Houfatonick,
 or Stratford river, on the south by the sound, by Fair-
 field on the west, and Newtown on the north. It com-
 prises these four parishes, Stratford, Ripton, North-
 Stratford and New-Stratford ; and a considerable part
 of Stratfield. The lands in this town, like those in Fair-
 field, are good, and its situation is exceedingly beautiful
 and agreeable.

WHILE these plantations were forming in the south-
 western part of Connecticut, another commenced on
 the west side of the mouth of Connecticut river. A
 fort had been built here in 1635, and 1636, and prepa-
 rations had been made for the reception of gentlemen of
 quality ; but the war with the Pequots, the uncultiva-
 ted state of the country, and the low condition of the
 colony, prevented the coming of any principal charac-
 ter, from England, to take possession of a township and
 make settlements in this tract. Until this time there
 had been only a garrison of about twenty men in the
 place. They had made some small improvement of the
 lands, and erected a few buildings in the vicinity of the
 fort, but there had been no settlement of a plantation
 with civil privileges. But about midsummer, Mr.
 George Fenwick, with his lady and family, arrived in a
 ship of 250 tons. Another ship came in company with
 him. They were both for Quinipiack. Mr. Fenwick
 and others, came over with a view to take possession of
 a large tract upon the river, in behalf of their lordships,
 the original patentees, and to plant a town at the mouth
 of the river. A settlement was soon made and named
 Saybrook in honour to their lordships, Say and Seal and
 Brook. Mr. Fenwick, Mr. Thomas Peters, who was

the first minister in the plantation, captain Gardiner, Thomas Leffingwell, Thomas Tracy and captain John Mason were some of the principal planters. Indeed the Huntingtons, Baldwins, Raynolds's, Backus's, Blifs's, Watermans, Hides, Posts, Smiths, and almost all the names afterwards to be found at Norwich, were among the first inhabitants of Saybrook. The government of the town was entirely independent of Connecticut, for nearly ten years, until after the purchase made of Mr. Fenwick in 1644. It was first taxed by the colony in the October sessions 1645; and it appears by the tax imposed that the proportion of the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield were to this, as six to one. The plantation did not increase to any considerable degree until about the year 1646, when Mr. James Fitch a famous young gentleman, was ordained to the pastoral care of the church and congregation; and a considerable number of families, from Hartford and Windsor removed and made settlements in the town. Its original boundaries extended eastward five miles beyond the river, and from its mouth northward six miles; including a considerable part of the town of Lime. Westward they extended to Hammonasset, the Indian name of the tract comprised in the limits of Killingworth, and north eight miles from the sea. Mr. Fenwick and captain* Mason were magistrates and had the principal government of the town.

BOOK I.
1639.

GREAT difficulties had arisen the last year, between the English at Pyquaug, now Wethersfield, and Sowheag and his Indians. It was discovered, that some of the Indians at Pyquaug, under Sowheag, had been aiding the Pequots in the destruction which they had made there the preceding year, and were instrumental of bringing them against the town. Sowheag entertained the murderers and treated the people of Wethersfield with haughtiness and insult. The court at Connecticut, on hearing the differences, determined, that, as the English, at Wethersfield, had been the aggressors and gave the first provocation, the injuries which Sowheag had done should be forgiven, and that he should, on his

Troubles
at Wethersfield
with the
Indians.

* Though captain Mason was appointed major-general of the militia of the colony, yet he was always called captain or major, upon the records, in conformity to which I have uniformly given him those titles.

BOOK I. good conduct for the future, be restored to their friendship. Mr. Stone and Mr. Goodwin were appointed a committee to compromise all differences with him. *Mr. Stone and Mr. Goodwin were appointed a committee to compromise all differences with him.*

1639. *However as Sowheag could not by any arguments, or fair means, be persuaded to give up the murderers, but continued his outrages against the English, the court, this year, determined, that a hundred men should be sent down to Mattabesck to take the delinquents by force of arms. The court ordered, that their friends at Quinnipiack should be certified of this resolution, that they might adopt the measures necessary for the defence of the plantations. It was also determined to have their advice and consent in an affair of such general concernment.*

New-Haven objects, and dissuades from the design.

GOVERNOR Eaton and his council fully approved of the design of bringing the delinquents to condign punishment; but they disapproved of the manner proposed by Connecticut. They feared that it would be introductory to a new Indian war. This they represented would greatly endanger the new settlements, and be many ways injurious and distressing. They wanted peace, all their men and money, to prosecute the design of planting the country. They represented that a new war would not only injure the plantations in these respects, but would prevent the coming over of new planters, whom they expected from England. They were therefore determinately against seeking redress by an armed force. Connecticut, through their influence, receded from the resolution which they had formed with respect to Sowheag and Mattabesck.

Expedition against the Pequots. Sept.

NEVERTHELESS, as the Pequots had violated their covenant, and planted at Pawcatuck in the Pequot country, the court dispatched major Mason, with forty men, to drive them off, burn their wigwams, and bring away their corn.* Uncas with a hundred men and twenty canoes assisted in the enterprise. When they arrived at Pawcatuck bay, major Mason met with three of the Pequot Indians and sent them to inform the others of the design of his coming, and what he should do unless they would peaceably desert the place. They promised to give him an immediate answer, but never returned.

* Records of Connecticut.

THE major failed up a small river, landed and beset the wigwams so suddenly, that the Indians were unable to carry off either their corn or treasures. Some of the old men had not time to make their escape. As it was now Indian harvest, he found a great plenty of corn.

BOOK I.

1639.

Indian fighting.

WHILE Uncas's Indians were plundering the wigwams, about sixty others came rushing down a hill towards them. The Moheagans stood perfectly still, and spake not a word, until they came within about thirty yards of them, then shouting and yelling, in their terrible manner, they ran to meet them, and fell upon them striking with bows and cutting with knives and hatchets, in their mode of fighting. Indeed it scarcely deserved the name of fighting. It however afforded something new and amusing to the English, as they were now spectators of an Indian battle. The major made a movement to cut off their retreat, which they perceived and instantly fled. As it was not desired to kill, or irritate the Indians more than was absolutely necessary, the English made no fire upon them. Seven Indians were taken. They behaved so outrageously, that it was designed to take off their heads; but one Otash, a Narraganset sachem, brother to Miantonimoh, pleaded that they might be spared; because they were his brother's men, who was a friend to the English. He offered to deliver the heads of so many murderers in lieu of them. The English considering that no blood had been shed, and that the proposal tended both to mercy and peace, granted the request. The Indians were committed to the care of Uncas until the conditions should be performed.

THE light of the next morning no sooner appeared, than the English discovered three hundred Indians in arms, on the opposite side of the creek in which they lay.

UPON this the soldiers immediately stood to their arms. The Indians were alarmed at the appearance of the English; some fled and others secreted themselves behind rocks and trees so that a man of them could not be seen. The English called to them, representing their desire of speaking with them. Numbers of them rose up, and major Mason acquainted them with the Pequots breach of covenant with the English, as they were not to settle or plant in any part of their country. The Indians replied, that the Pequots were good men, and

BOOK I.

1639.

that they would fight for them and protect them. Major Mason told them it was not far to the head of the creek, that he would meet them there, and they might try what they could do at fighting. The Indians replied they would not fight with Englishmen; for they were spirits; but they would fight with Uncas. The major assured them, that he should spend the day in burning wigwams and carrying off the corn, and they might fight when they had an opportunity. The English beat up their drum and fired their wigwams, but they dared not to engage them. The English loaded their bark with Indian corn, and the Indians the twenty canoes in which they passed to Pawcatuck, and thirty more, which they took from the Indians there, with kettles, trays, mats and other Indian luggage, and returned in safety.*

Apprehensions
from the
Dutch.

DURING these transactions, in Connecticut, the Dutch at New-Netherlands were increasing in numbers and strength. A new governor, William Kieft, a man of ability and enterprise, had arrived at their seat of government. Kieft had prohibited the English trade at the fort of Good Hope, in Hartford, and protested against the settlement at Quinnipiack.† These circumstances gave some alarm to the English in Connecticut. The court at Hartford appointed a committee to go down to the mouth of the river to consult with Mr. Fenwick relative to a general confederation of the colonies, for mutual offence and defence. The deputy-governor, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Thomas Welles, and Mr. Hooker went upon this business. They were also instructed to confer with Mr. Fenwick relative to the patent. The court approved of the conduct of the committee, and with respect to the article of confederation, declared its willingness to enter into a mutual agreement of offence and defence, and of all offices of love between the colonies. Mr. Fenwick was in favor of an union of the New-England colonies. With respect to the patent of the river, it was agreed that the affair should rest until the minds of the noblemen and gentlemen particularly interested could be more fully known.

Aug. 15th.

Attempts
for a general
union.

GOVERNOR Haynes and Mr. Welles were appointed to repair to Pughquonnuck, and administer the oath of

* Mason's History. † Smith's Hist. N. York, p. 3.

fidelity to the inhabitants, to admit such of them as were Book I.
 qualified to the privileges of freemen, and to appoint of- 1639.
 ficers for the town both civil and military. They were
 also authorized to invite the freemen to send their depu-
 ties to the general courts at Hartford.*

AT an adjourned general assembly, the court incor-
 porated the several towns in the colonies, vesting them
 with full powers to transact their own affairs. It was
 enacted, that they should have power to choose from
 among themselves three, five, or seven of their principal
 men to be a court for each town. One of the three,
 five or seven was to be chosen moderator. The major
 part of them, always including him, constituted a quo-
 rum. A casting voice was allowed him, in cases, in
 which there was an equal division. He, or any two of
 the court, were authorized to summon the parties to ap-
 pear at the time and place appointed, and might grant
 execution against the party offending. They were au-
 thorized to determine all matters of trespass or debt,
 not exceeding forty shillings. An appeal might be
 made from this court, at any time, before execution was
 given out. This court was appointed to sit once in
 two months.

Oct. 10th
 towns in-
 corpora-
 ted.

Town
 courts in-
 stituted.

IT was ordained, that every town should keep a pub-
 lic ledger, in which every man's house and lands, with
 the boundaries and quantity, according to the nearest
 estimation, should be recorded. All lands also granted
 and measured to any man afterwards, and all bargains
 and mortgages of lands were to be put on record. Un-
 til this was done, they were to be of no validity. The
 towns were also empowered to dispose of their own
 lands. This was the origin of the privileges of particu-
 lar towns in Connecticut.

BESIDES the court in each town, there was the court
 of magistrates, termed the particular court. This held
 a session once in three months. To this lay all appeals
 from the other courts. In this were tried all criminal
 causes and actions of debt, exceeding forty shillings, and
 all titles of land. Indeed this court possessed all the au-

* It was not unusual for the general assembly to fine its mem-
 bers. Mr. Ludlow the deputy-governor was fined for absence,
 and for his conduct at Pughquonnuck. It was, probably, on
 the account of the displeasure of the court towards him, that
 this committee were appointed.

BOOK I. } thorty, and did all the buſineſs now poſſeſſed and done,
 1639. by the county and ſuperior courts. For a conſiderable
 time, they were veſted with ſuch diſcretionary powers,
 as none of the courts, at this day would venture to ex-
 erciſe.

NEPAUPUCK, a famous Pequot captain, who had fre-
 quently ſtained his hands in Engliſh blood, was con-
 demned by the general court at Quinnipiack, for mur-
 der. It appeared, that in the year 1637 he killed John
 Finch of Wethersfield and captivated one of Mr. Swain's
 daughters. He had alſo aſſiſted in killing the three
 men, who were going down Connecticut river in a ſhallop.
 His head was cut off and ſet upon a pole in the market
 place.

Oct. 30th.

IT will doubtleſs hardly be granted in this enlightened
 age, that the ſubjects of princes killing men, by their
 orders, in war, ought to be treated as murderers.
 Though the firſt planters of New-England and Connec-
 ticut, were men of eminent piety and ſtrict morals, yet
 like other good men they were ſubject to miſconception
 and the influence of paſſion. Their beheading ſachems
 whom they took in war, killing the male captives, and
 enſlaving the women and children of the Pequots after
 it was finiſhed, was treating them with a ſeverity,
 which, on the benevolent principles of chriſtianity, it
 will be difficult ever to juſtify. The executing of all
 thoſe as murderers, who were active in killing any of
 the Engliſh people, and obliging all the Indian nations
 to bring in ſuch perſons, or their heads, was an act of
 ſeverity unpraſtiſed, at this day, by civilized and chriſ-
 tian nations. The decapitation of their enemies, and
 the ſetting of their heads upon poles, was a kind of bar-
 barous triumph, too nearly ſymbolizing with the exam-
 ples of uncivilized and Pagan nations. The further we
 are removed from every reſemblance of theſe, and the
 more deeply we imbibe thoſe divine precepts, "Love
 your enemies. Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do
 to you, do ye even ſo to them," the greater will be our
 dignity and happineſs.

CHAPTER, VII.

1640.

THE progress of purchase, settlement and law in the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven. The effect of the conquest of the Pequots on the natives, and the manner in which they were treated. Purchases of them. Towns settled. Divisions at Wethersfield occasion the settlement of Stamford. Troubles with the Dutch and Indians. Capital laws of Connecticut. The confederation of the United Colonies. Further troubles with the Indians. Victory of Uncas over the Narragansets, and capture of their sachem. The advice of the commissioners respecting Miantonimoh. His execution. Precautions of the colonies to prevent war. The Dutch, harassed by an Indian war, apply to New-Haven for assistance.

ALTHOUGH the conquest of the Pequots extended the claim of Connecticut to a great proportion of the lands in the settled part of the colony, yet, to remove all grounds of complaint or uneasiness, the English planters made fair purchases of almost the whole tract of country, within the settled part of Connecticut.

AFTER the conquest of the Pequots, in consequence of the covenant made with Uncas, in 1638, and the gift of a hundred Pequots to him, he became important. A considerable number of Indians collected to him, so that he became one of the principal sachems in Connecticut, and even in New-England. At some times he was able to raise four or five hundred warriors. As the Pequots were now conquered, and as he assisted in the conquest, and was a Pequot himself, he laid claim to all that extensive tract called the Moheagan or Pequot country. Indeed it seems he claimed and was allowed to sell some part of that tract which was the principal seat of the Pequots. The sachems in other parts of Connecticut, who had been conquered by the Pequots and made their allies, or tributaries, considered themselves, by the conquest of this haughty nation, as restored to their former rights. They claimed to be independent sovereigns, and to have a title to all the lands

Claims of the Indians, and the manner in which the English treated them.

BOOK I. which they had at any time before possessed. The planters therefore, to show their justice to the heathen, and to maintain the peace of the country, from time to time, purchased of the respective sachems and their Indians, all the lands which they settled, excepting the towns of New-London, Groton and Stonington, which were considered as the peculiar seat of the Pequot nation. The inhabitants of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, either at the time of their settlement, or soon after, bought all these extensive tracts, which they settled, of the native, original proprietors of the country. Indeed Connecticut planters generally made repeated purchases of their lands. The colony not only bought the Moheagan country of Uncas, but afterwards all the particular towns were purchased again, either of him or his successors, when the settlements in them commenced. Besides, the colony was often obliged to renew its leagues with Uncas and his successors, the Moheagan sachems; and to make new presents and take new deeds, to keep friendship with the Indians and preserve the peace of the country. The colony was obliged to defend Uncas from his enemies, which was an occasion of no small trouble and expense. The laws obliged the inhabitants of the several towns to reserve unto the natives a sufficient quantity of planting ground. They were allowed to hunt and fish upon all the lands no less than the English.

THE colonies made laws for their protection from insult, fraud and violence.* The inhabitants suffered them to erect wigwams, and to live on the very lands which they had purchased of them; and to cut their fire wood on their uninclosed lands, for more than a whole century, after the settlements began. The lands therefore, though really worth nothing at that time, cost the planters very considerable sums, besides the purchase of their patents and the right of pre-emption.

IN purchasing the lands and making settlements, in a wilderness, the first planters of Connecticut expended great estates. It has been the opinion of the best judges, who have had the most perfect acquaintance with the ancient affairs of the colony, that many of the adven-

* These facts are fully ascertained by the records of the colonies, and of the respective towns.

turers expended more, in making settlements in Connecticut, than all the lands and buildings were worth, after all the improvements which they had made upon them.*

AT the general election in Connecticut, this year, Mr. Hopkins was chosen governor, and Mr. Haynes deputy governor. Mr. Ludlow was chosen magistrate in the place of Mr. Hopkins. The other magistrates were the same who were elected the last year. The same governor, deputy governor and magistrates, who were in office, at New-Haven, the last year, were re-elected for this.

As the colonists, both in Connecticut and New-Haven, were the patentees of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and the other gentlemen interested in the old Connecticut patent, and as that patent covered a large tract of country, both colonies were desirous of securing the native title to the lands, with all convenient dispatch. Several large purchases were made this year both by Connecticut and New-Haven.

CONNECTICUT made presents to Uncas, the Moheagan sachem, to his satisfaction, and on the 1st of September 1640, obtained of him a clear and ample deed of all his lands in Connecticut, except the lands which were then planted. These he reserved for himself and the Moheagans.

THE same year, Governor Haynes, in behalf of Hartford, made a purchase of Tunxis, including the towns of Farmington and Southington, and extending westward as far as the Mohawk country.

THE people of Connecticut, about the same time, purchased Waranoke and soon began a plantation there, since called Westfield. Governor Hopkins erected a trading house and had a considerable interest in the plantation.

MR. LUDLOW made a purchase of the eastern part of Norwalk, between Saugatuck and Norwalk rivers. Captain Patrick bought the middle part of the town. A few families seem to have planted themselves in the

* This was the general opinion among men of extensive knowledge, in Massachusetts, as well as in Connecticut. Governor Hutchinson, in a manuscript which he wrote against the stamp act, observed, that land in New-England, at the time of its settlement, was of no value.

BOOK I. town about the time of these purchases, but it was not properly settled until about the year 1651. The planters then made a purchase of the western part of the town.*

1640.

ABOUT the same time Robert Feaks and Daniel Patrick bought Greenwich. The purchase was made in behalf of New-Haven, but through the intrigue of the Dutch governor, and the treachery of the purchasers, the first inhabitants revolted to the Dutch. They were incorporated and vested with town privileges by Peter Stuyvesant, governor of New-Netherlands. The inhabitants were driven off by the Indians, in their war with the Dutch; and made no great progress in settlement until after Connecticut obtained the charter, and they were taken under the jurisdiction of this colony.

CAPTAIN HOWE and other Englishmen, in behalf of Connecticut, purchased a large tract of the Indians, the original proprietors, on Long-Island. This tract extended from the eastern part of Oyster bay to the Western part of Howe's or Holmes's bay to the middle of the great plain. It lay on the northern part of the island and extended southward about half its breadth. Settlements were immediately begun upon the lands; and by the year 1642, had made considerable advancement.

Purchases
of New-
Haven.

NEW-HAVEN made a purchase of all the lands at Ripowams. This purchase was made of Ponus and Toquamske, the two sachems of that tract, which contained the whole town of Stamford. A reservation of planting ground was made for the Indians.†

ANOTHER large purchase, sufficient for a number of plantations, was made by Captain Turner, agent for New-Haven, on both sides of Delaware bay or river. This purchase was made with a view to trade, and for the settlement of churches in gospel order and purity. The colony of New-Haven erected trading houses upon the lands, and sent nearly fifty families to make settlements upon them. The settlements were made under the ju-

* The first purchases were of the sachem, Mamechimoh. Mr. Ludlow's deed bears date Feb. 26th, 1640, and Capt. Patrick's April 20th, 1640. The western purchase was of a sachem called Buckingheage. It hence appears that there were two sachems in this town.

† The purchase was made by Captain Nathaniel Turner, agent for New-Haven. It cost about thirty pounds sterling.

jurisdiction of New-Haven, and in close combination with that colony in all their fundamental articles. Book I.

It also appears, that New-Haven, or their confederates, purchased and settled Yennycock, Southhold, on Long-Island. Mr. John Youngs, who had been a minister at Hingham in England, came over, with a considerable part of his church, and here fixed his residence. He gathered his church anew, on the 21st of October, and the planters united themselves with New-Haven. However they soon departed from the rule of appointing none to office, or of admitting none to be freemen, but members of the church. New-Haven insisted on this as a fundamental article of their constitution. They were therefore, for a number of years, obliged to conform to this law of the jurisdiction. Some of the principal men were the Reverend Mr. Youngs, Mr. William Welles, Mr. Barnabas Horton, Thomas Mapes, John Tuthill and Matthias Corwin. 1640.

Laws were enacted, both by Connecticut and New-Haven, prohibiting all purchases of the Indians, by private persons, or companies, without the consent of their respective general courts. These were to authorize and direct the manner of every purchase.

The general court, at New-Haven, this year, made a grant of Totoket to Mr. Samuel Eaton, brother of Governor Eaton, upon condition of his procuring a number of his friends, from England, to make a settlement in that tract of country. September 5th.

At this court it was decreed, that the plantation at Quinnipiak should be called New-Haven.

At the general election, this year, at Hartford, John Haynes, Esquire, was chosen governor, and George Wyllys, Esquire, deputy governor. Mr. Hopkins was chosen magistrate, and the other principal officers were re-elected. General election at Hartford April 6, 1641.

The brethren of the church at Wethersfield removed without their pastor the Reverend Mr. Phillips; and, having no settled minister at first, fell into unhappy contentions and animosities. These continued for a number of years, and divided the inhabitants of the town, as well as the brethren of the church. They were the means of scattering the inhabitants, and of the formation of new settlements and churches in other places. Great pains were taken, by the ministers on the river, to com- Divisions at Wethersfield.

BOOK I. pose the differences and unite the church and town ;
 1641. but they were unable to effect an union. Mr. Davenport and some of the brethren of the church at New-Haven were sent for, to advise and attempt a reconciliation. Mr. Davenport and his brethren gave advice somewhat different from that which had been given by the ministers and churches on the river ; and, it seems, suggested the expediency of one of the parties removing and making a new settlement, if they could not, by any means, be united among themselves. Some were pleased with the advice, others disliked it, and the parties could not agree which of them should remove. The church, which consisted of seven members only, was divided three against four. The three claimed to be the church, and therefore pleaded, that they ought not to remove. The four, as they were the majority, insisted that it was their right to stay.

THE church at Watertown, as they had not dismissed their brethren, at Wethersfield, from their watch, judged it their duty to make them a visit, and to attempt to heal the divisions which had sprung up among them. For this benevolent purpose, several of the brethren made a journey to Connecticut ; but they succeeded no better in their endeavours, than those who had been before them. It now appeared to be the opinion, that it was expedient for one of the parties to remove, but it could not be agreed which of them should be obliged again to make a new settlement. At length a number of principal men, who were the most pleased with the advice of Mr. Davenport and the New-Haven brethren, and to whom the government of that colony was most agreeable, determined to remove, and settle in combination with New-Haven.

THEREFORE, on the 30th of October 1640, Mr. Andrew Ward and Mr. Robert Coe of Wethersfield, in behalf of themselves and about twenty other planters, purchased Rippowams of New-Haven. The whole number obliged themselves to remove, with their families, the next year before the last of November. This spring the settlement commenced. The principal planters were the Reverend Mr. Richard Denton, Mr. Matthew Mitchel, Mr. Thurston Rayner, Mr. Andrew Ward, Mr. Robert Coe, and Mr. Richard Gildersleve. Mr. Denton was among the first planters of the town and continued

their minister about three or four years. After that time he removed with part of his church and congregation to Hempsted. They settled that town about the year 1643 or 1644.

BOOK I.

1641.

AT the general election, this year, in New-Haven, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, was chosen governor, and Mr. Stephen Goodyear, deputy governor. The magistrates were Mr. Gregson, Mr. Robert Newman, Mr. Matthew Gilbert and Mr. Wakeman. Thomas Fugill was appointed secretary, and Mr. Gregson treasurer.

Election at New-Haven Oct. 27, 1641.

UPON the general election, this year, at Hartford, there was a considerable change, with respect to civil officers. George Wylls, Esquire, was elected governor, and Roger Ludlow, Esquire, deputy governor. Eight magistrates were chosen for Connecticut. This is the first instance of more than six. The magistrates were John Haynes, Esquire, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Webster, Captain Mason, Mr. Welles, Mr. Whiting, Edward Hopkins, Esquire and Mr. William Hopkins.

1642.

Election at Hartford.

THE Indians were exceedingly troublesome this year. It was suspected, that they were forming a combination for a general war. All trading with them, in arms or any instruments of iron, was expressly prohibited, both by Connecticut and New-Haven. Each colony concerted all measures of defence. A constant watch was kept in all the plantations. Upon the sabbath a strong guard was set at the places of public worship.

The Indians are troublesome.

AT this court, the magistrates were desired to write to the Dutch, and, as far as possible, to prevent their vending arms and ammunition to the natives, and to settle all disputes between them and the colony with respect to claims. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, the Dutch behaved with great insolence, and did much damage to both the English colonies.

Damages by the Dutch.

THE Dutch, at Hartford, gave entertainment to fugitives from the English; helped them when confined to file off their irons; and persuaded servants to run from their masters and then gave them entertainment. They purchased goods which had been stolen from the English, and would not return them. They also assisted criminals in breaking gaol.

BESIDES these misdemeanors, at Hartford, the Dutch governor, William Kieft, caused the English settlements on Long-Island, which had now advanced, on

BOOK I. the lands purchased by captain Howe, as far as Oyster bay, to be broken up. Some of the English planters were forcibly seized and imprisoned, and others driven from their settlements. These were injuries done to Connecticut.

1642.

To the colony of New-Haven the Dutch were still more hostile and injurious. Notwithstanding the fair purchases which that colony had made, by their agents at Delaware, Governor Kieft, without any legal protest or warning, dispatched an armed force, and with great hostility, burned the English trading houses, violently seized and for a time detained their goods, and would not give them time to take an inventory of them. The Dutch also took the company's boat, and a number of the English planters, and kept them as prisoners. The damages done the English at Delaware, were estimated at a thousand pounds sterling.*

THE same year the Swedish governor and Dutch agent uniting in a crafty design against Mr. Lambertson, a principal gentleman of New-Haven, made an injurious attempt upon his life. They accused him of having joined in a plot with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch. They attempted, by giving his men strong drink, and by threatenings and allurements, to influence them to bear testimony against him. They proceeded so far as to imprison and try him for treason. When, notwithstanding these unfair means, and that they were both his accusers and judges, they could find no evidence against him, they arbitrarily imposed a fine upon him, for trading at Delaware, though within the limits of the purchase and jurisdiction of New-Haven.

AT another time, when Mr. Lambertson was occasionally at Manhatoes, in the capacity of an agent for New-Haven, the Dutch governor, Kieft, by force and threatenings, compelled him to give an account of all his beaver, within the limits of New-Haven, at Delaware, and to pay an impost upon the whole. The Dutch did other damages, and insulted the English in various other instances. Both Connecticut and New-Haven, from year to year, complained and remonstrated against them, but could obtain no redress.

WHILE the colonies were increasing in numbers and

* Records of the United colonies, and Smith's history of New-York p. 4.

settlements, progress in law and jurisprudence, in the regular establishment of courts and the times of their sessions, was also necessary, for the advancement, order and happiness of the respective jurisdictions. BOOK I.
1642.

THIS, so far as the numerous affairs of the colonies would permit, was an object of special attention. The capital laws of Connecticut were, this year, nearly completed, and put upon record. The several passages of scripture on which they were founded were particularly noticed in the statute. They were twelve in number, and to the following effect.

IF any man or woman shall have or worship any God, but the true God, he shall be put to death, Deut. xiii. 6. xvii. 21. Exodus xxii. 2. Capital
Laws of
Connecti-
cut April
2, 1642.

IF any person in this colony shall blaspheme the name of God the FATHER, SON or HOLY GHOST, with direct, express, presumptuous or high-handed blasphemy, or shall curse in like manner, he shall be put to death, Levit. xxiv. 15, 16.

IF any man or woman be a witch, that is hath or consulteth with a familiar spirit, they shall be put to death, Exodus xxii. 18. Levit. xx. 22. Deut. xviii. 10, 11.

IF any person shall commit wilful murder, upon malice, hatred or cruelty, not in a man's own defence, nor by casualty against his will, he shall be put to death, Exodus xxi. 12, 13, 14. Numb. xxxv. 30, 31.

IF any person shall slay another through guile, either by poisoning, or other such devilish practices, he shall be put to death, Exodus xxi. 14.

IF any man or woman shall lie with any beast or brute creature, by carnal copulation, they shall surely be put to death, and the beast shall be slain and buried, Levit. xx. 15, 16.

IF any man lieth with mankind as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed abomination, they both shall surely be put to death, except it appear that one of the parties was forced, or under fifteen years of age, Levit. xx. 13.

IF any man lie with his mother, or father's wife, or wife's mother, his daughter or daughter in law, having carnal copulation with them, both of them have committed abomination, they shall be put to death, except it

Book I. appear, that the woman was forced, or under fourteen
 years of age, Levit. xx. 11, 12, 14. and xviii. 7, 8.

1642.

If any man shall forcibly ravish any maid or woman, by carnal copulation against her consent, he shall be put to death, provided prosecution and complaint be made forthwith upon the rape, Deut. xxii. 25.

If any man steal a man, or mankind, and selleth him, or he be found in his hand, he shall be put to death, Exodus, xxi. 16.

If any person rise up by false witness wittingly and of purpose to take away man's life, he or she shall be put to death, Deut. xix. 16, 18, 19.

It was also enacted, that if any person should conspire against the commonwealth, attempt an insurrection, invasion or rebellion against it, he should be put to death.

WILFUL arson, the cursing and smiting of father or mother, and notorious stubbornness in children, after a certain age, were, soon after, made capital offences, by the laws of the colony, and added to the list of the capital laws.*

BEFORE this time, unchastity between single persons, and wanton behaviour had been punished with whipping at the tail of the cart, by fining, or obliging the delinquents to marry, at the discretion of the particular courts.

THE general court approved of what the particular courts had done, in these cases, and authorized them, in future, to punish such delinquents by fines, by committing them to the house of correction, or by corporal punishment, at the discretion of the court.

As some loose persons deserted the English settlements, and lived in a profane heathenish manner, a law was enacted, that all persons who should be convicted of this crime, should be punished with three years imprisonment, at least, in the house of correction, with fine or corporal punishment, as the particular court should direct.†

AT a general court in New-Haven, April 5, 1643, considerable progress was made in the laws and gov-

General
 court at
 New-Ha-
 ven, April
 5, 1643.

* Records of Connecticut, and the old Connecticut code.

† Records of Connecticut. When the Connecticut laws were printed, in 1672, this law was altered, and the term reduced from three, to one year's imprisonment.

ernment of that colony. Deputies were admitted to the court and an addition was made to the number of magistrates. Stamford for the first time, sent Captain John Underhill and Mr. Richard Gildersleve to represent the town. Mr. Mitchel and Mr. Rayner were nominated for magistrates in Stamford. Mr. Rayner was appointed by the court. Captain Underhill, Mr. Mitchel, Mr. Andrew Ward and Mr. Robert Coe were appointed assistant judges to Mr. Rayner. This court was vested with the same powers as the court at New-Haven, and was the first instituted in Stamford. Mr. William Leet and Mr. Desborough were admitted magistrates for Menunkatuck, and that plantation was named Guilford.

THIS year John Haynes, Esquire, was elected governor and Mr. Hopkins, deputy governor. Mr. Wolcott and Mr. Swain were chosen magistrates, and Mr. Phelps and Mr. William Hopkins were not elected.* Mr. Whiting was chosen treasurer, and Mr. Welles secretary. It appears to have been customary for a number of years to choose the secretary and treasurer among the magistrates.

BOOK I.
General election at Hartford, April 13, 1643.

JURIES appear to have attended the particular courts, in Connecticut, from their first institution. They seem to have been regularly enrolled about the year 1641, or 1642. But the particular courts found great difficulties with respect to their proceedings. There were no printed laws for the inhabitants to study, and many of the common people had attended very little to law and evidence. The jury therefore, very often, would be so divided, that they could not agree upon any verdict; and when they were agreed, it did not always appear to the court that they brought in a just one. A pretty extraordinary law therefore passed this court regulating the juries. The court decreed, that the jury should attend diligently to the case and to the evidence, and if they could not all agree in a verdict, they should offer their reasons upon the case to the court, and the court should answer them, and send out the jury again. If after de-

An act respecting juries.

* Mr. Phelps I suppose was now dead, as he appears no more upon the records. He was one of the principal planters of Windsor, and chosen into the magistracy from the first settlement of Connecticut. He appears to have been the ancestor of the Phelpses in this state.

BOOK I. liberating upon the case they could not bring in a joint verdict, it was decreed, that it should be determined by a major vote; and, that this should, to all intents and purposes, be deemed a full and sufficient verdict; upon which judgment should be entered, and execution and all other proceedings should be as though there had been a joint verdict of the jury. It was also provided, that if the jury should be equally divided, six and six, they should represent the case to the court, with their reasons, and a special verdict should be drawn, and a major vote of the court, or magistrates, should determine the cause, and all matters respecting it should be as though there had been a joint verdict of the jury.*

Grand jury to attend the courts. AT this court it was ordained, that a grand jury of twelve men should attend the particular courts, annually, in May and September, and as often as the governor and court should judge expedient. It was also enacted, that the grand jury should be warned to give their attendance. This is the first notice of a grand jury at any court.

Proposals for a general union of the N. England colonies. A GENERAL confederation of the New-England colonies had been proposed and in agitation for several years. In 1638, articles of union, for amity, offence and defence, mutual advice and assistance, upon all necessary occasions, were drawn, and for further consideration referred to 1639. Connecticut and Mr. Fenwick agreed to confederate for these purposes. From this time Connecticut had annually appointed some of her principal men to go into the Massachusetts to complete the designed confederacy. Governor Haynes and Mr. Hooker, in 1639, were nearly a month in Massachusetts, laboring to carry it into effect. New-Haven paid equal attention to an affair so important to the colonies. The circumstances of the English nation, and the state of the colonies, in New-England, at this time, made it a matter of urgent necessity. For the accommodation of particular companies, the colonies had extended their settlements upon the rivers and sea coasts much farther, and had made them in a more scattering manner, than was at first designed. No aid could be expected from the parent country, let emergencies be ever so pressing. The Dutch had so extended their claims, and were so powerful and hostile, as to afford a

Reasons for the union.

* Records of Connecticut.

just ground of general alarm. All the plantations were compassed with numerous tribes of savage men. The Narragansets appeared hostile, and there were the appearances of a general combination among the Indians, in New-England, to extirpate the English colonies. There were, notwithstanding, impediments in the way of effecting even so necessary and important an union. The Massachusetts was much more numerous and powerful than the other colonies. It was in various respects more respectable and important. It was therefore a matter of difficulty to form an union upon equal terms. The other colonies were not willing to unite upon such as were unequal. There were also disputes between Connecticut and Massachusetts. The colony of Massachusetts claimed part of the Pequot country, on the account of the assistance which they afforded in the Pequot war. There was also a difference with respect to the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Both colonies claimed the towns of Springfield and Westfield. These difficulties retarded the union.

BOOK I.
1643.

HOWEVER, Connecticut, New-Haven and Plimouth all dispatched commissioners to Boston, in May, at the time of the session of the general court. The commissioners from Connecticut were Governor Haynes and Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Fenwick from Saybrook, Governor Eaton and Mr. Gregson from New-Haven, Mr. Winflow and Mr. Collier from Plimouth. The general court of Massachusetts appointed Governor Winthrop, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Bradstreet of the magistrates, and of the deputies, Mr. Hawthorne, Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Tyng. There appeared at this time, a spirit of harmony and mutual condescension among the commissioners, and on the 19th of May, 1643, the articles were completed and signed. The commissioners were unanimous in adopting them, but those from Plimouth did not sign them, as they had not been authorized by the court.

The New-England colonies confederate May 19, 1643.

At the meeting of the commissioners in September, they came vested with plenary powers and signed them.

THE commissioners, in the introductory part, declare with respect to the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plimouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, and the plantations under their respective jurisdictions, that as they all came into these parts of America, with one and the same end and aim, to advance the kingdom of our LORD

Articles of confederation.

BOOK I. JESUS CHRIST, and enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace, they conceived it their bounden duty to enter into a present confederation among themselves, for mutual help and strength in all future concernments; that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects they be and continue one, and henceforth be called by the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW-ENGLAND.

1643.

THEY declare, That the said United colonies, for themselves and their posterities, did jointly and severally enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, of offence and defence, mutual aid and succour, upon all just occasions, both for preserving, and propagating the truth and liberty of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

THE articles reserved to each colony an entire and distinct jurisdiction. By them, no two colonies might be united in one, nor any other colony be received into the confederacy, without the consent of the whole.

EACH colony was authorized to send two commissioners annually, always to be church members, to meet on the first Monday in September, first at Boston, then at Hartford, New-Haven and Plimouth. This was to be the annual order, except that two meetings successively were always to be at Boston.

THE commissioners when met were authorized to choose a President from among themselves for the preservation of order. They were vested with plenary powers for making war and peace, laws and rules of a civil nature and of general concern. Especially, to regulate the conduct of the inhabitants towards the Indians, towards fugitives, for the general defence of the country, and for the encouragement and support of religion.

THE expense of all wars, offensive or defensive, was to be borne in proportion to the number of the male inhabitants in each colony, between sixteen and sixty years of age.

UPON notice from three magistrates of any of the colonies of an invasion, the colonies were immediately to send assistance, the Massachusetts a hundred, and each of the other colonies forty five men. If a greater number was necessary the commissioners were to meet and determine the number.

ALL determinations of the commissioners, in which six were agreed, were binding upon the whole. If there

were a majority, yet under six, the affair was to be re-ferred to the general court of each colony, and could not be obligatory unless the courts unanimously concurred. 1643. BOOK I.

No colony might engage in a war, without the consent of the whole union, unless upon some urgent and sudden occasion. Even in such case, it was to be avoided as far as possible, consistent with the general safety.

IF a meeting were summoned, upon any extraordinary occasion, and the whole number of commissioners did not attend, any four who were met, might, in cases which admitted of no delay, determine upon a war, and send to each colony for its proportion of men. A number however less than six could not determine the justice of a war, nor have power to settle a bill of charges, nor make levies.

IF either of the confederates should break any article of the confederation, or injure one of the other colonies, the affair was to be determined by the commissioners of the three other confederates.

THE articles also made provision, that all servants running from their masters, and criminals flying from justice, from one colony to another, should, upon demand and proper evidence of their character, as fugitives, be returned to their masters, and to the colonies whence they had made their escape; that, in all cases, law and justice might have their course.

THIS was an union of the highest consequence to the New-England colonies. It made them formidable to the Dutch and Indians, and respectable among their French neighbours. It was happily adapted to maintain a general harmony among themselves, and to secure the peace and rights of the country. It was one of the principal means of the preservation of the colonies, during the civil wars and unsettled state of affairs in England. It was the grand source of mutual defence in Philip's war, and of the most eminent service in civilizing the Indians and propagating the gospel among them. The union subsisted more than forty years, until the abrogation of the charters of the New-England colonies, by king James the second.

THIS union was very seasonable. The Indians were so tumultuous and hostile, that its whole influence was necessary to prevent a general war. The troubles originated in the ambitious and perfidious conduct of the Moh. The vexatious conduct of Miantoh.

BOOK I.

1643.

Miantonimoh, chief sachem of the Narragansets. After the Pequot war he attempted to set himself up, as universal sachem, over all the Indians in New-England. The old grudge and hatred, which had subsisted between him and the Pequots, he now suffered to embitter and enflame his rancorous heart, against Uncas and the Moheagans. Without any regard to the league made between him, the English and the Moheagans, at Hartford, in 1638, when the Pequots were divided between him and Uncas, he practised murder and war against him. At the same time he used all the arts of which he was master, by presents and intrigue, to inflame the Indians and excite a general insurrection against the English plantations. The Indians, through his influence, had been collecting arms and ammunition. There appeared among them a general preparation for war. The colonists were obliged to keep guards and watch every night, from the setting to the rising of the sun, and to guard their inhabitants, from town to town, and from one place to another.

CONNECTICUT was for making war immediately, and sent pressing letters to the court at Boston, urging that a hundred men might be sent to Saybrook fort, to assist against the enemy, as circumstances might require. But the court of Massachusetts pretended to doubt of the facts alledged, and would not consent.

IN the mean time Miantonimoh, in prosecution of his bloody designs, hired a Pequot, one of Uncas's men, to kill him. He made an attempt, in the spring, and shot Uncas through his arm. He then ran off to the Narragansets, reporting, through the Indian towns, that he had killed Uncas. But when it was known that Uncas was not dead, though wounded, Miantonimoh and the Pequot contrived together, and reported that Uncas had cut through his arm with a flint, and then charged the Pequot with shooting him. However, Miantonimoh soon after going to Boston, in company with the Pequot, who had wounded Uncas, the governor and magistrates, upon examination, found clear evidence, that the Pequot was guilty of the crime, with which he had been charged. They had designs of apprehending him and sending him to Uncas, that he might be punished; but Miantonimoh pleaded, that he might be suffered to return with him, and promised that he would send him

to Uncas. Indeed he so exculpated himself, and made such fair promises, that they gave up their designs, and permitted them to depart in peace. About two days after, Miantonimoh murdered the Pequot, on his return, that he might make no further discovery of his treacherous conduct. BOOK I.
1643.

ABOUT the same time much trouble arose from Sequassen, a sachem upon Connecticut river. Several of his men killed a principal Indian belonging to Uncas. He, or some of his warriors, had also waylaid Uncas himself, as he was going down the said river, and shot several arrows at him. Uncas made complaint to the governor and court at Connecticut, of these outrages. Governor Haynes and the court took great pains to make peace between Uncas and Sequassen. Upon hearing their several stories it appeared, that Uncas required, that six of Sequassen's men should be delivered to him, for the murder of his man, because he was a great man. Governor Haynes and the court laboured to dissuade Uncas from his demand of six men for one; and urged him to be satisfied upon Sequassen's delivering up the murderer. At length, with much persuasion and difficulty, Uncas consented to accept of the murderer only. But Sequassen would not agree to deliver him. He was nearly allied to Miantonimoh, and one of his peculiar favorites. Sequassen chose rather to fight, than to make Uncas any compensation, expressing, at the same time, his dependance on Miantonimoh for assistance. It is not improbable, that it was through the influence of Miantonimoh, that he came to this resolution. Uncas and Sequassen fought. Sequassen was overcome. Uncas killed a number of his men and burned his wigwams.

MIANTONIMOH, without consulting the English, according to agreement, without proclaiming war, or giving Uncas the least information, raised an army of nine hundred, or a thousand men, and marched against him. Uncas's spies discovered the army at some distance and gave him intelligence. He was unprepared, but rallying between four and five hundred of his bravest men, he told them they must by no means suffer Miantonimoh to come into their town; but must go and fight him on his way. Having marched three or four miles, the ar-

Miantonimoh wages war with Uncas.

BOOK I. mies met upon a large plain. When they had advanced within fair bow shot of each other, Uncas had recourse to a stratagem, with which he had previously acquainted his warriors. He desired a parley, and both armies halted in the face of each other. Uncas, gallantly advancing in the front of his men, addressed Miantonimoh to this effect, "You have a number of stout men with you, and so have I with me. It is a great pity that such brave warriors should be killed in a private quarrel between us only. Come like a man, as you profess to be, and let us fight it out. If you kill me, my men shall be yours; but if I kill you, your men shall be mine." Miantonimoh replied, "My men came to fight, and they shall fight." Uncas falling instantly upon the ground, his men discharged a shower of arrows upon the Narragansets; and, without a moment's interval, rushing upon them, in the most furious manner, with their hideous Indian yell, put them immediately to flight. The Mohegans pursued the enemy with the same fury and eagerness with which they commenced the action. The Narragansets were driven down rocks and precipices, and chased like a doe by the huntsman. Among others Miantonimoh was exceedingly pressed. Some of Uncas's bravest men, who were most light of foot, coming up with him, twitched him back, impeding his flight, and passed him, that Uncas might take him. Uncas was a stout man, and rushing forward, like a lion greedy of his prey, seized him by his shoulder. He knew Uncas, and saw that he was now in the power of the man whom he had hated, and by all means attempted to destroy; but he sat down sullen and spake not a word. Uncas gave the Indian whoop and called up his men, who were behind, to his assistance. The victory was complete. About thirty of the Narragansets were slain, and a much greater number wounded. Among the latter was a brother of Miantonimoh and two sons of Canonicus, a chief sachem of the Narraganset Indians. The brother of Miantonimoh was not only wounded, but armed with a coat of mail, both which retarded his flight. Two of Miantonimoh's captains, who formerly were Uncas's men, but had treacherously deserted him, discovering his situation, took him and carried him to Uncas, expecting in this way to reconcile themselves to their sachem. But Uncas and his men slew them. Mi-

1643.

Uncas's stratagem.

Miantonimoh defeated and taken prisoner.

antonimoh made no request either for himself or his men ; but continued in the same sullen, speechless mood. Uncas therefore demanded of him why he would not speak. Said he, " Had you taken me, I should have besought you for my life." Uncas, for the present, spared his life, though he would not ask it, and returned with great triumph to Moheagan, carrying the Narraganset sachem, as an illustrious trophy of his victory.†

BOOK I.
1643.

THE famous Samuel Gorton and his company had purchased lands of Miantonimoh, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts and Plymouth ; and expected to be vindicated in their claims, by him, against those colonies, and against the Massachusetts and Plymouth sachems, who were the original proprietors. Therefore when the news of Uncas's victory and of the capture of Miantonimoh arrived at Providence, they sent to Uncas to deliver Miantonimoh, threatening him, that the power of the English should be employed against him, if he refused a compliance. Uncas therefore carried his prisoner to Hartford, to advise with the Governor and Magistrates, with respect to his conduct in such a situation.

Uncas carries him to Hartford, and advises with the governor.

THE Governor and Magistrates were of the opinion, that as there was no open war between them and the Narragansets, it was not prudent for them to intermeddle with the quarrel ; but advised, that the whole affair should be referred to the commissioners of the United colonies at their meeting in September.

How long Miantonimoh continued speechless does not appear ; but it is certain, that when he came to Hartford, his mouth was opened. He most earnestly pleaded to be left in the custody of the English. He probably expected more safety and better treatment with them, than with Uncas. Uncas consented to leave him at Hartford, but insisted that he should be kept as his prisoner. He was therefore kept, under guard, at Hartford, until the meeting of the commissioners.

Miantonimoh is kept at Hartford.

† This account is taken from a manuscript of Mr. Hide of Norwich, from Governor Winthrop's Journal, and from the records of the United colonies, in one or other of which, all the facts are ascertained. The manuscript represents Miantonimoh as having 900, and Uncas 600 men. The records of the United colonies represent, that Miantonimoh had 900, or a 1000 men, and that Uncas had not half so many. Governor Winthrop's account is essentially the same.

BOOK I. ON the 7th of September the commissioners met at
 Boston. Governor Winthrop and Thomas Dudley,
 Esquires, were commissioners for Massachusetts, George
 Fenwick and Edward Hopkins, Esquires, for Connecticut,
 and Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson, Esquires, for
 New-Haven.* Governor Winthrop was chosen President.
 The whole affair of Uncas and Miantonimoh was
 laid before the commissioners, and the facts already related
 were, in their opinion, fully proved; not only his
 attempts upon the life of Uncas, but that he had been the
 principal author of inflaming and stirring up the Indians
 to a general confederacy against all the English plantations.
 It also appeared, that instead of delivering the
 Pequot, who had shot Uncas, as he promised in open
 court, he had murdered him on the road from Boston
 to Narraganset. It was also affirmed to the commissioners,
 that the Narragansets had sent for the Mohawks,
 and that they were come within a day's journey of the
 English settlements, and were kept back only by the
 capture of Miantonimoh: That they were waiting for
 his release, and then would prosecute their designs against
 the English, or Uncas, or against both, as the Indians
 should determine. The commissioners, having fully considered
 the premises, laid the affair before five or six of
 the principal ministers in Massachusetts, and took their
 advice relative to the lawfulness and justice of putting
 him to death. They gave it as their opinion, that he
 ought to be put to death. The commissioners finally
 resolved, "That as it was evident that Uncas could not
 be safe, while Miantonimoh lived; but that, either by
 secret treachery or open force, his life would be continually
 in danger, he might justly put such a false and
 blood-thirsty enemy to death." They determined Uncas
 should not do it in any of the English plantations,
 but in his own jurisdiction. At the same time they
 advised, that no torture or cruelty, but all mercy and
 moderation be exercised in the manner of his execution.

Determination of the commissioners concerning Miantonimoh.

THE commissioners also determined, that if the Narragansets, or any other Indians, should unjustly assault Uncas, on the account of the execution of Miantoni-

* The commissioners for Plymouth are not upon record this year. It is probable, that they did not arrive until after the commissioners had formed.

moh, the English should, upon his desire, assist him Book I.
against such violence.*

GOVERNOR Winthrop writes, "It was clearly discovered to us, that there was a general conspiracy among the Indians, to cut off all the English; and that Miantonimoh was the head and contriver of it: That he was of a turbulent and proud spirit and would never be at rest: and that he had killed the Pequot contrary to his promise."† 1643.

THE commissioners had received intimations, that the Narragansets had it in contemplation to capture one or more of them, with a view to the redemption of Miantonimoh. Their determination, respecting his execution, was therefore kept as a profound secret until after the return of the commissioners of Connecticut and New-Haven, lest it should inflame and engage them, in earnest, to make the attempt.


PREVIOUSLY to the meeting of the commissioners, the Dutch governor had written a letter to Governor Winthrop, containing high congratulations on the union of the colonies, and at the same time making grievous complaints of Connecticut and New-Haven, as having committed unsufferable injuries against the Dutch, and as having given misinformation respecting them to their agent in Europe. He desired a categorical answer from Governor Winthrop, whether he would aid or desert them, that he might know who were his friends, and who were his enemies. The governor, after consulting with some few of his council, who were at hand, wrote an answer in part, to the Dutch governor, reserving to himself one more full, at the session of the general court. He represented his sorrow for the differences which had arisen between the Dutch and his brethren at Hartford, suggesting that they might be settled by arbitrators, either in England, Holland, or America. He observed, that by the articles of confederation, each colony was obliged to seek the safety and welfare of the other colonies, no less than its own. He hoped however, that this would not interrupt the friendship, which had subsisted between them and the Dutch. The governor observed, that the controversy at Hartford was for a

July 20,
the Dutch
wrote to
Gov.
Winthrop

Gov.
Win.
throp's
reply.

* Records of the United colonies.

† Winthrop's Journal p. 305, 306.

BOOK I.  small piece of land only, which, in so vast a continent as this, was of too little value to make a breach between protestants so related in profession and religion, as the Dutch and English were. He therefore earnestly desired, that each party would carefully avoid all injuries, until the differences between them should be amicably accommodated, by an impartial hearing and adjudication, either in Europe or America.†

The inju-
rious con-
duct of
the Dutch
is laid be-
fore the
commis-
sioners.

THE affair was now brought before the commission-
ers. Governor Eaton and Mr. Gregson complained of the outrages which the Dutch had committed against the persons and property of the English, within the limits of New-Haven, at Delaware, and in other places, and made proof of the injuries of which they complained. The conduct of the Dutch towards Connecticut was also laid before the commissioners, by Governor Hopkins and Mr. Fenwick.

They de-
mand sat-
isfaction.

UPON which the president was directed to write a letter, in the name of the commissioners, to the Dutch governor, stating the particular injuries which the Dutch had done the English colonies, and to demand satisfaction. It was also directed, that, as Governor Winthrop had in part answered the Dutch governor's letter respecting Connecticut, he would now, in further answer to it, particularize the injuries done both to Connecticut and New-Haven, and demand an answer. He was also authorized to assure the Dutch, that as they would not wrong others, so neither would they desert their confederates in a just cause.*

THE Indians at this period were beginning to acquire the use of fire arms. The French, Dutch and others, for the sake of gain, were vending them arms and ammunition. The Indians were in such a tumultuous and hostile state as had the appearance of a general war. The commissioners therefore gave orders, that the militia, in the several colonies, should be frequently trained, and completely furnished with arms and ammunition. All the companies were to be mustered and reviewed four times in a year. It was ordered, that all the towns should prepare magazines, in proportion to the number of their militia.

THE commissioners, having given the necessary directions for the execution of Miantonimoh, and for the gen-

† Winthrop's Journal p. 303, 304, 305.

* Records of the United Colonies.

eral safety of the country, dispersed and returned to their respective colonies. Book I.

IMMEDIATELY upon the return of the commissioners of Connecticut and New-Haven, Uncas, with a competent number of his most trusty men, was ordered to repair forthwith to Hartford. He was made acquainted with the determination of the commissioners, and receiving his prisoner, marched with him, to the spot where he had been taken. At the instant they arrived on the ground, one of Uncas's men, who marched behind Miantonimoh, split his head with a hatchet, killing him at a single stroke. He was probably unacquainted with his fate, and knew not by what means he fell. Uncas cut out a large piece of his shoulder and ate it in savage triumph. He said, "It was the sweetest meat he ever ate, it made his heart strong."

1643.

Execution of Miantonimoh.

THE Moheagans, by the order of Uncas, buried him at the place of his execution, and erected a great heap, or pillar upon his grave. This memorable event gave the place the name of Sachem's Plain*. Two Englishmen were sent with Uncas, to witness that the execution was done, and to prevent all torture and cruelty in the manner of its performance. Connecticut and New-Haven, agreeably to the direction of the commissioners, sent a party of soldiers to Moheagan, to defend Uncas against any assault which might be made upon him, by the Narragansets, in consequence of the execution of their sachem.

GOVERNOR Winthrop at the same time, according to the orders which he had received from the commissioners, dispatched messengers to Canonicus, the Narraganset sachem, and the Narraganset Indians, to certify them, that the English had noticed their perfidy in violating the league between them and the English, from time to time, notwithstanding the English had treated them with love and integrity. They assured them, that they had discovered their mischievous plots, in joining with Miantonimoh, in purchasing aid of the Indians, and by gifts, threats and allurements, exciting them to a confederacy to root out the whole body of the English. They represented to them their treachery in wa-

Message to the Narragansets.

* Manuscript of Mr. Hide. This plain is in the eastern part of the town of Norwich.

BOOK I. ging war with Uncas, contrary to their exprefs cove-
 1643. nant with him, and with the English. They justified the
 execution of Miantonimoh, by Uncas, as he was his
 lawful captive, and as he had practised treachery and
 murder against him and his subjects. They insisted that
 it was both just and agreeable to the practice of the In-
 dians in similar cases. It was declared to be necessary
 for the safety of Uncas, the peace of the country, and
 even of the Narragansets themselves. While they firmly
 and fully represented these facts to them, they, in the
 name of the United colonies, tendered them peace and
 safety. They assured them, that they would defend
 Uncas and all their allies, whether English or Indians,
 in their just rights: That if they desired peace, they
 would exercise equal care and friendship towards them.*

THE commissioners gave orders, that Connecticut
 should provide for the defence of Uncas against any as-
 sault or fury of the Narragansets, or any other Indians.

Election
 at New-
 Haven,
 Oct. 26.

UPON the general election, at New-Haven, in Octo-
 ber, Governor Eaton and Mr. Stephen Goodyear were
 re-elected governor and deputy-governor. Mr. William
 Fowler and Mr. Edward Tapp were elected magistrates
 for Milford, and Thurston Rayner for Stamford. This
 year, for the first time, the general court, at New-Ha-
 ven, are distinctly recorded and distinguished by the
 names of governor, deputy-governor, magistrates and
 deputies.

Progress
 of law
 and liber-
 ty at
 New-
 Haven.

It appears, that the plantation at Yennycok, had not
 fully attended to the fundamental article of admitting
 none to be free burgeses, but members of the church.
 It was therefore, at this general court, decreed, "That
 none should be admitted free burgeses in any of the
 plantations, but such as were members of some ap-
 proved church in New-England: That such only
 should have any vote in elections; and that no power
 for ordering any civil affairs should be put into the
 hands of any but such."

Planta-
 tion
 courts.

It was enacted, that each town, in the jurisdiction,
 should choose their own judges, in ordinary cases.
 They were authorized to judge in civil cases, not ex-
 ceeding twenty shillings, and in criminal cases, in which
 the punishment did not exceed setting the delinquent

* Records of the United Colonies.

in the stocks, whipping him, or fining not exceeding five pounds. If there were a magistrate, or magistrates in the towns, in which these town courts were holden, then the magistrate, or magistrates were to sit in the court, and judgment was to be given with a due respect to their advice. From these courts there was liberty of appeal to the court of magistrates.

BOOK I.
1643.

It was granted, that all the free burgeses, in the plantations, should vote in the choice of governors, magistrates, secretary and treasurer. It was also granted, that each town should have a magistrate, if they desired it, chosen from among their own free burgeses.

Privileges of free-men.

At this general court a court of magistrates was appointed, consisting of all the magistrates in the jurisdiction. They were to meet twice annually at New-Haven, on the Mondays preceding the general courts in April and October. This court was authorized to receive appeals from the plantation courts, and to try all important causes, civil and criminal. Every magistrate was obliged, on penalty of a fine, to give his attendance. Four magistrates constituted a quorum. All judgments of the court were to be determined by a major vote. All trials were decided by the bench. It does not appear that juries were ever used in the colony of New-Haven.

Court of magistrates instituted.

The court enacted, that there should be two general courts for this colony, to meet, at New-Haven, on the first Wednesday in April and the last in October annually. It was decreed, that the general court should consist of a deputy governor, magistrates, and two deputies from each town. In the last of these general courts a governor, deputy governor, magistrates, secretary, treasurer and marshal, or high sheriff, were to be annually chosen. The governor, or in his absence, the deputy governor had power to call a general court upon pressing emergencies and whenever it might be necessary. All the members were obliged to attend, upon penalty of twenty shillings fine, in case of default. It was ordained, that in this court should subsist the supreme power of the commonwealth.

Act respecting the general courts.

It was particularly ordained, that the general court should, with all care and diligence, endeavour to maintain the purity of religion, and to suppress all irreligion,

General court to provide for the purity of religion.

BOOK I. according to the best light they could obtain from the
 1643. divine oracles, and by the advice of the elders and
 churches in the jurisdiction, so far as it might concern
 the civil power.*

The Dutch ap- THE Dutch were this year exceedingly harassed and
 ply to Govern- distressed by the Indians, and made application to Gov-
 New-Haven for ernor Eaton and the general court, soliciting that a hund-
 help a- red men might be raised in the plantations, for their as-
 gainst the sistance against such barbarous enemies.
 Indians.

Occasion of the war killed a Dutchman. The Dutch demanded the mur-
 between derer, but he was not to be found. They then made
 the Dutch application to their governor to avenge the murder. He,
 and In- judging it would be unjust or unsafe, considering the
 dians. numbers of the Indians, and the weak and scattered state
 of the Dutch settlements, neglected to comply with
 their repeated solicitations. In the mean time the Mo-
 hawks, as the report was, excited by the Dutch, fell sud-
 denly on the Indians, in the vicinity of the Dutch set-
 tlements, and killed nearly thirty of them. Others fled
 to the Dutch for protection. One Marine, a Dutch
 captain, getting intelligence of their state, made applica-
 tion to the Dutch governor, and obtained a commission
 to kill as many of them, as it should be in his power.
 Collecting a company of armed men, he fell suddenly
 upon the Indians, while they were unapprehensive of
 danger, and made a promiscuous slaughter of men, wo-
 men and children, to the number of seventy or eighty.
 This instantly roused the Indians, in that part of the
 country, to a furious, obstinate and bloody war. In
 the spring, and beginning of the summer, they burnt the
 Dutch out-houses; and driving their cattle into their
 barns, they burned the barns and cattle together. They
 killed twenty or more of the Dutch people and pressed
 so hard upon them, that they were obliged to take refuge
 in their fort, and to seek help of the English. The In-
 dians upon Long-Island united in the war with those on
 the main, and burned the Dutch houses and barns.
 The Dutch governor in this situation, invited Captain
 Underhill from Stamford to assist him in the war. Ma-
 rine, the Dutch captain, was so exasperated with this

* Records of New-Haven, Folio Vol. I. p 73, 74, 75.

proceeding that he presented his pistol at the governor, and would have shot him, but was prevented by one who stood by him. Upon this one of Marine's tenants discharged his musket at the governor, and the ball but just missed him. The governor's sentinel shot the tenant and killed him on the spot. The Dutch, who at first were so forward for a war with the Indians, were now, when they experienced the loss and dangers of it, so irritated at the governor, for the orders which he had given, that he could not trust himself among them. He was obliged to keep a constant guard of fifty Englishmen about his person. In the summer and fall the Indians killed fifteen more of the Dutch people, and drove in all the inhabitants of the English and Dutch settlements, west of Stamford.

BOOK I.
1643.

In prosecution of their works of destruction, they made a visit to the neighbourhood where Mrs. Hutchinson, who had been so famous, at Boston, for her Antinomian and familistical tenets, had made a settlement. The Indians, at first, appeared with the same friendship with which they used to frequent her house; but they murdered her and all her family, Mr. Collins, her son in law, and several other persons, belonging to other families in the neighbourhood. Eighteen persons were killed in the whole. The Indians, with an implacable fury, prosecuted the destruction of the Dutch, and of their property, in all that part of the country. They killed and burned their cattle, horses and barns without resistance. Having destroyed the settlements in the country, they passed over to the Dutch plantations on Long-Island, doing all the mischief of which they were capable. The Dutch, who escaped, were confined to their fort, and were obliged to kill and eat their cattle, for their subsistence. Their case was truly distressing.* It demanded succour as far as it could have been consistently given.

GOVERNOR Eaton and the general court, having maturely considered the purport of the Dutch governor's letter, rejected the proposal for raising men and assisting in the war against the Indians. Their principal reasons were, that joining separately in war, was prohibited by

* Winthrop's Journal, page 272, 273 and 308.

BOOK I. the articles of confederation; and that they were not
 satisfied that the Dutch war with the Indians was just.

1643.

NEVERTHELESS it was determined, that if the Dutch needed corn and provisions for men or cattle, by reason of the destruction which the Indians had made, the court would give them all the assistance in its power.†

THE war continued several years, and was bloody and destructive both to the Dutch and Indians. Captain Underhill had the principal management of it, and was of great service to the Dutch. He collected a flying army of a hundred and twenty, and sometimes of a hundred and fifty men, English and Dutch, by which he preserved the Dutch settlements from total destruction. It was supposed, that, upon Long-Island and on the main, he killed between four and five hundred Indians.‡

THE Indians at Stamford too much caught the spirit of the western Indians in their vicinity, who were at war with the Dutch. They appeared so tumultuous and hostile, that the people at Stamford were in great fear, that they should soon share the fate of the settlements at the westward of them. They wrote to the general court at New-Haven, that in their apprehensions there were just grounds of a war with those Indians, and that if their houses should be burned, because the other plantations would not consent to war, they ought to bear the damage.

THE Narraganset Indians were enraged at the death of their sachem. The English were universally armed. The strictest watch and guard was kept in all the plantations. In Connecticut, every family, in which there was a man capable of bearing arms, was obliged to send one complete in arms, every Lord's-day, to defend the places of public worship. Indeed all places wore the aspect of a general war.

† Records of New-Haven.

‡ Dr. Belknap's Hist. vol. I. p. 50.

CHAPTER VIII.

BOOK I.

1644.

PUBLIC fasts appointed. Indians continue hostile, and commit murder. Acts of the commissioners respecting them. Branford settled. Towns in Connecticut. Message of the commissioners to the Narragansets. Their agreement respecting Uncas. Long-Island Indians taken under the protection of the United Colonies. Massachusetts claim part of the Pequot country and Waranoke. Determination of the commissioners respecting said claim. Agreement with Mr. Fenwick relative to Saybrook fort and the adjacent country. Fortifications advanced. Extraordinary meeting of the commissioners to suppress the outrages of the Narragansets. War proclaimed and troops sent against them. They treat and prevent war. Fairfield object to a jury of six. Controversy with the Dutch. The Indians plot against the life of Governor Hopkins and other principal gentlemen at Hartford. Damages at Windsor. Battle between the Dutch and Indians. Losses of New-Haven. Dispute with Massachusetts relative to the impost at Saybrook. Mr. Winthrop's claim of the Nehantick country. Settlement of accounts between the colonies.

THE affairs both of Old and New-England, wore so gloomy an aspect, at this time, that the pious people, in the colonies, judged extraordinary fasting and prayer to be their indispensable duty. The flames of civil discord were kindled in England, and the tumultuous and hostile state of the natives, in the United Colonies, threatened them with a bloody and merciless Indian war. The general court of Connecticut therefore ordained a monthly fast, through the colony, to begin on Wednesday the 6th of January. New-Haven had before appointed a fast, at the same time, in all the plantations in that jurisdiction. Indeed this was practised, throughout the United Colonies, during the civil wars in England. The colonists sympathized with their brethren, in their native country, and conformed to them in their days of humiliation and prayer.

THE freemen of Connecticut and New-Haven exhibited a remarkable example of steadiness in the election of civil officers. Nearly the same persons were chosen annually into places of principal trust as long as they

BOOK I. lived. This year Edward Hopkins, Esquire, was chosen
 ~~~~~ governor, and John Haynes, Esquire, deputy governor.  
 1644. The other magistrates were the same as they had been  
 the last year, except Mr. William Swain, who was chosen  
 into the magistracy. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins  
 were generally elected, alternately governor and deputy  
 governor, during their respective lives. The reason of  
 this annual change of them, from governor to deputy  
 governor, was because the constitution prohibited the  
 choice of any man governor, more than once in two  
 years.

AT New-Haven, Governor Eaton was annually elected  
 to the office of governor during his life; and Mr.  
 Stephen Goodyear was generally chosen deputy gov-  
 ernor.

The In-  
 dians com-  
 mit murder.

THE Indians were no more peaceable this year, than  
 they were the last. Those in the western part of Con-  
 necticut still conducted themselves in a hostile manner.  
 In the spring they murdered a man belonging to Massa-  
 chusetts, between Fairfield and Stamford. About six  
 or eight weeks after the murder was discovered, the In-  
 dians promised to deliver the murderer, at Uncoway,  
 if Mr. Ludlow would appoint men to receive him. Mr.  
 Ludlow sent ten men for that purpose; but as soon as  
 the Indians came within sight of the town, they, by  
 general consent, unbound the prisoner and suffered him  
 to escape. The English were so exasperated at this in-  
 sult, that they immediately seized on eight or ten of  
 the Indians, and committed them to prison. There  
 was among them not less than one or two sachems.  
 Upon this the Indians arose in great numbers about the  
 town, and exceedingly alarmed the people, both at Fair-  
 field and Stamford. Mr. Ludlow wrote to New-Haven  
 for advice. The court desired him to keep the Indians  
 in durance, and assured him of immediate assistance,  
 should it be necessary and desired. A party of twenty  
 men were draughted forthwith, and prepared to march  
 to Stamford upon the shortest notice. The Indians  
 were held in custody until four sachems, in those parts,  
 appeared and interceded for them, promising, that if the  
 English would release them, they would, within a  
 month, deliver the murderer to justice.

May 12.

NOT more than a month after their release, an Indian  
 went boldly into the town of Stamford, and made a

murderous assault upon a woman in her house. Finding no man at home, he took up a lathing hammer, and approached her as though he were about to put it into her hand; but, as she was stooping down to take her child from the cradle, he struck her upon the head. She fell instantly with the blow; he then struck her twice with the sharp part of the hammer, which penetrated her skull. Supposing her to be dead, he plundered the house, and made his escape. Soon after the woman so far recovered as to describe the Indian and his manner of dress. Her wounds, which at first appeared to be mortal, were finally healed; but her brain was so affected that she lost her reason.

Book I.  
1644  
Woman wounded at Stamford in June.

At the same time the Indians rose, in those parts, with the most tumultuous and hostile appearances. They refused to come to the English, or to have any treaty with them. They appeared, in a very alarming manner, about several of the plantations, firing their pieces and exceedingly terrifying the inhabitants. They deserted their wigwams, and neglected to weed their corn. The English had intelligence that the Indians designed to cut them off. Most of the English judged it unsafe to travel by land, and some of the plantations were obliged to keep a strong guard and watch night and day. And as they had not numbers sufficient to defend themselves, they made application to Hartford and New-Haven for assistance. They both sent aid to the weaker parts of their respective colonies. New-Haven sent help to Fairfield and Stamford, as they were much nearer to them, than to Connecticut.

AFTER a great deal of alarm and trouble the Indian who had attempted the murder of the woman was delivered up and condemned to death. He was executed at New-Haven. The executioner cut off his head with a falchion: but it was cruelly done. He gave the Indian eight blows before he effected the execution. The Indian sat erect and motionless until his head was severed from his body.\*

Indian executed.

BOTH the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven were put to great expense, this year, in defending themselves, and they were obliged to bear the whole charge, as the measures adopted for their defence, were taken

\* Records of the colonies, and Winthrop's Journal, p. 352.

BOOK I. by the order of their respective legislatures, and not by  
 the direction of the commissioners.

1644.

THE unhappy divisions which continued at Wethersfield, occasioned another settlement under the jurisdiction of New-Haven. As Mr. Eaton, to whom Totoket had been granted in 1640, had not performed the conditions of the grant, New-Haven, for the accommodation of a number of people at Wethersfield, made a sale of it to Mr. William Swain and others of that town. They sold it at the price which it cost them, stipulating with Mr. Swain and his company, that they should unite with that colony in all the fundamental articles of government. The settlement of the town immediately commenced. At the same time Mr. Abraham Pierfon, with a part of his church and congregation, from Southampton, on Long-Island, removed and united with the people of Wethersfield in the settlement of the town. A regular church was soon formed, and Mr. Pierfon was chosen pastor. The town was named Branford. Mr. Swain was the principal planter, and a few years after, was chosen one of the magistrates of the colony of New-Haven, as he had previously been of the colony of Connecticut.

Sept. 5.

THE meeting of the commissioners, this year, was at Hartford. Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. William Hawthorne were commissioners from the Massachusetts, Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Brown from Plymouth, Governor Hopkins and Mr. George Fenwick for Connecticut, and Governor Eaton and Mr. Thomas Gregson from New-Haven.

Commissioners of  
 Massachusetts claim  
 precedence.

No sooner was the meeting opened than a proposal was made by the commissioners from Massachusetts, directed by their general court, that the commissioners from that colony should always have preference to the commissioners of the other colonies, and be allowed to subscribe first, in the same order in which the articles of confederation had been signed.

UPON consideration of the proposal, the commissioners were unanimously of the opinion, that no such thing had either been proposed, granted or practised, by the commissioners of the other jurisdictions, in any of their former meetings, though the articles had been subscribed in the presence of the general court of the Massachusetts. They resolved, that the commission was free,

and might not receive any thing, but what was express- ed by the articles of confederation, as imposed by any general court. Nevertheless, they determined, that, on account of their respect to the Massachusetts, they willingly granted, that their commissioners in that, and in all future meetings, should subscribe first, after the president, and the commissioners of the other colonies in such order as they were named in the articles; viz. Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven. BOOK I.  
1644.

THE Indians were this year almost every where troublesome; and, in some places, in a high state of hostility. In Virginia they generally rose and made a most horrible massacre of the English,† and it was imagined, that there was a general combination, among the southern and New-England Indians, to destroy all the colonies. The Narraganset Indians, regardless of all their covenants with the English and with Uncas, continued in acts of constant hostility against the latter, and so oppressed the sachems and Indians under the protection of the Massachusetts, that they were obliged to dispatch a party of men for their defence, and assistance in fortifying against these oppressors.

THE commissioners immediately sent Thomas Stanton, their interpreter, and Nathaniel Willet into the Narraganset and Moheagan countries, with particular instructions to their respective sachems. They were instructed to acquaint the sachems, that the commissioners were then met, at Hartford, and that, if they would appear and lay their respective grievances before them, they would judge impartially between them: That the commissioners had heard the report which they had spread abroad concerning Uncas, that he had taken a ransom, in part, for Miantonimoh, and afterwards had put him to death; and that he refused to return the ransom. They were directed to assure them, that Uncas utterly denied the charge: That nevertheless, if they would go themselves, or send some of their principal men to Hartford, the commissioners would impartially hear this, and all other differences subsisting between them and the Moheagans, and assist them in the settle-

Message from the commissioners to the Indians.

† In two days they massacred about 300 Virginians; many of them were killed so suddenly and unexpectedly, that they knew neither the hand nor weapon by which they fell.

BOOK I. ment of an amicable correspondence between the two  
 nations; and that the parties should have a safe passage  
 to and from Hartford, without any injury from the Eng-  
 1644. lish. According to their instructions, they demanded  
 of both parties, that they should commit no acts of hos-  
 tility against each other in their travels to Hartford, nor  
 on their return to their respective countries; and that all  
 hostilities against each other's plantations should cease,  
 during the hearing and treaty proposed. If either of the  
 parties should refuse to go or send to Hartford, the trea-  
 ty made in 1638, was to be urged against them, and  
 their engagements not to go to war with each other un-  
 til they had acquainted the English with their grievan-  
 ces, and taken their advice. Directions were given,  
 that it should be demanded of the party refusing, what  
 their designs were? Whether they were for peace or  
 war? Whether they designed to perform their treaties  
 made with the English of Massachusetts and Connecti-  
 cut? Or whether they considered them as all broken  
 and void? The interpreter was charged fully to state all  
 these articles to the Indians, and having taken their  
 answers in writing, to read them to the sachems, that  
 they might understand and acknowledge them to be the  
 very answers which they had given.

The In-  
 dians ap-  
 pear be-  
 fore the  
 commis-  
 sioners.

In consequence of this message the Narraganset In-  
 dians sent one of their sachems, with other chief men,  
 to prove their charge against Uncas, and to treat with  
 the English. They also bound themselves to confirm  
 what their deputies should do in their name. Uncas  
 also made his appearance, and the commissioners went  
 into a full hearing of all differences between the parties.  
 Upon hearing the case the commissioners found, that  
 there never had been any agreement between the Nar-  
 ragansets and Uncas, for the redemption of Miantoni-  
 moh, nor any thing paid, in whole or in part, for his ran-  
 som. Notwithstanding they declared, that if the Nar-  
 ragansets should hereafter be able to prove what they  
 had alledged against Uncas, that they would order  
 him to make full satisfaction. They also resolved,  
 that neither the Narragansets nor Nehanticks should  
 make any war or assault upon Uncas, or any of his men,  
 until they should make proof of the pretended ransom,  
 and that Uncas had refused to make them satisfaction.



THE Narraganfet sachem and his counsellors, upon consultation together, stipulated, in behalf of the Narraganfet and Nehantick Indians, that no hostility should be committed against Uncas, or any of his Indians, until after the next year's time of planting corn. They also covenanted, that before they began war, they would give thirty days notice, either to the governor of Massachusetts or Connecticut. Thus, for the present, by the vigorous and prudent exertions of the colonies and their commissioners, an Indian war was prevented.

BOOK I.  
1644.  
Agreement of the Narraganfets.

YONGCHS, Wiantanfe, Moughmatow and Weenaganinim, sachems of Monhaufet and its vicinity, on Long-Island, with their companies, appeared before the commissioners, and represented, that they and the Long-Island Indians had been tributaries to the English ever since the Pequot war, and that they had never injured the English nor the Dutch, but had been friendly to both. They therefore desired a certificate of their relation to the English, and to be taken under the protection of the United colonies. Upon this representation, the commissioners gave them a certificate, and declared, that it was their desire, while they continued peaceable, and did not intermeddle with the quarrels of other Indians, they and their companies might enjoy ample peace, without any disturbance from the English or any in connexion or friendship with them.

The Long Island and Indians taken under protection of the colonies.

IN this meeting, the commissioners of Massachusetts laid claim to part of the Pequot country, on the footing of joint conquest. They desired, that a division of the country might be made, or some way prescribed, by which the affair might be compromised.

Massachusetts claims the Pequot country.

MR. FENWICK, in behalf of himself and the noblemen and gentlemen in England, particularly interested in the lands in question, pleaded that nothing, in their absence, might be determined against their title. He insisted, that Pequot harbour, and the lands in the adjacent country, were of great consequence to the gentlemen interested in the Connecticut patent. He said they had a special respect to them, in their consultations, relative to a plantation in these parts.

THE commissioners judged, that a convenient time ought to be given to those noble personages to plead their right, and that all patents, of equal authority, ought

Determination of the commissioners.

BOOK I. to have the same construction, both with reference to propriety and jurisdiction.

1644. THE commissioners of Massachusetts also made claim to Waranoke, now Westfield, as lying within the limits of their patent. Mr. Fenwick, at the same time, claimed it as covered by the patent of Connecticut. However, as it appeared to the commissioners that Mr. Fenwick had promised, before this meeting, either to clear his title to Waranoke, or submit to the government of Massachusetts, they determined, that Waranoke with Mr. Hopkins's trading house, and the other houses and lands in that plantation, should be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, until it should be made evident to which colony they belonged; but that the propriety of the land should belong to the purchasers, provided it should not exceed two thousand acres.

Contribution for scholars at Cambridge. THE reverend Mr. Shepard wrote to the commissioners, representing the necessity of further assistance for the support of scholars at Cambridge, whose parents were needy, and desired them to encourage a general contribution through the colonies. The commissioners approved the motion; and, for the encouragement of literature, recommended it to the general courts in the respective colonies, to take it into their consideration, and to give it general encouragement. The general courts adopted the recommendation, and contributions of grain and provisions were annually made, through the United colonies, for the charitable end proposed.

AT this meeting a plan was concerted, by the commissioners, for a general trade with the Indians, by a joint stock. It was proposed to begin the trade with a stock of five or six thousand pounds, and to increase it to twenty thousand or more. It was designed, that each general court should approve and establish the trade, with peculiar privileges, for the term of twenty years. But it was never adopted. It seems it did not comport with the views of the general court of Massachusetts; and this, notwithstanding the confederation, rendered all the determinations of the commissioners void, which were not agreeable to their views and interests.

As the Indians were numerous, and began to learn the use of fire arms, all trading with them, in any of the United Colonies, in guns, ammunition, swords, or any warlike instruments, directly or indirectly, was prohibited, upon the penalty of a fine of twenty times the value

of the articles thus unlawfully sold. It was also recom- BOOK I.  
 mended to the several courts to prohibit all vending of 1644.  
 arms and ammunition to the French or Dutch; because  
 they immediately disposed of them to the Indians. Every  
 smith was forbidden to mend a gun or any warlike  
 instrument for an Indian, upon a severe penalty.†

SOUTH-HAMPTON on Long-Island was, by the advice  
 of the commissioners, taken under the jurisdiction of  
 Connecticut. This town was settled in 1640. The  
 inhabitants of Lynn, in Massachusetts, became so strait-  
 ned at home, that, about the year 1639, they contract-  
 ed, with the agent of Lord Sterling, for a tract of land  
 on the west end of Long-Island. They also made a  
 treaty with the Indians, and began a settlement, but the  
 Dutch gave them so much trouble, that they were ob-  
 liged to desert it and remove further eastward. They  
 collected nearly a hundred families and made a perma-  
 nent settlement at South-Hampton. By the advice of  
 the general court of Massachusetts they entered into a  
 combination, among themselves, to maintain civil  
 government. A number of them regularly formed  
 themselves into church state, before they removed to  
 the island, and called Mr. Abraham Pierſon to be their  
 pastor. He had been a minister in Yorkshire in Eng-  
 land. Upon his arrival in New-England he became a  
 member of the church at Boston, whence he was called  
 to the work of the ministry at South-Hampton.‡ This  
 year he removed with part of his church to Branford.  
 It seems that they were not pleased that the town had  
 put itself under the jurisdiction of Connecticut.

THIS year a committee, consisting of the govern- General  
 or, deputy governor and several other gentlemen, were court in  
 appointed, by the general court of Connecticut, to treat April.  
 with George Fenwick, Esquire, relative to the purchase  
 of Saybrook fort, and of all guns, buildings and lands  
 in the colony, which he, and the lords and gentlemen  
 interested in the patent of Connecticut, might claim.  
 The next December they came to an agreement with  
 Mr. Fenwick to the following effect.

“ ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded be-  
 “ twixt George Fenwick, Esquire, of Saybrook fort,

† Records of the United Colonies.  
 ‡ Magnalia B. III. p. 95.

BOOK I. “ on the one part, and Edward Hopkins, John Haynes,  
 “ John Mafon, John Steele and James Boofy, for and on  
 1644. “ the behalf of the jurisdiction of Connecticut river, on  
 Agree- “ the other part, the 5th of December 1644.”  
 ment with “ THE said George Fenwick, Esquire, doth make  
 George “ over to the use and behoof of the jurisdiction of Con-  
 Fenwick “ necticut river, to be enjoyed by them forever, the fort  
 Dec. 5, “ at Saybrook, with the appurtenances :—All the land  
 1644. “ upon the river Connecticut; and such lands as are  
 “ yet undisposed of shall be ordered and given out by a  
 “ committee of five, whereof George Fenwick, Esquire,  
 “ is always to be one. The said George Fenwick doth  
 “ also promise, that all the lands from Narraganset  
 “ river to the fort of Saybrook, mentioned in a patent  
 “ granted by the Earl of Warwick, to certain nobles  
 “ and gentlemen, shall fall in under the jurisdiction of  
 “ Connecticut, if it come into his power.”\*

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\* About this time died George Wyllys, Esquire, the venerable ancestor of the Wyllyses in Connecticut. He was possessed of a fair estate, at Knapton in the county of Warwick, worth £500 a year. In 1636, he sent over William Gibbons, the steward of his house, with twenty men, to prepare him a seat at Hartford. They purchased, and took possession of a fine tract of land, erected buildings and planted a garden upon that pleasant plat, which has ever since been the principal seat of the family. In 1638, he came over with his household; and, at the election in 1639, was chosen into the magistracy in which he continued, about five years, until his death. In 1641, he was chosen deputy governor, and in 1642, governor of the colony. It appears from the manuscripts of the family, that both he and Mrs. Wyllys were eminently pious, living with all the exactness of the Puritans of that day. From love to undefiled religion and purity in divine ordinances and worship they exchanged their pleasant seat and easy circumstances in England, for the dangers and hardships of a wilderness in America. He left one son, Samuel, about twelve years of age. He was educated at Cambridge, where he was graduated 1653; and the next year was chosen one of the magistrates for Connecticut, at about twenty two years of age. It appears by his manuscripts, that he became deeply impressed with the truths and importance of religion, at college, under the ministry of Mr. Shepard; and the spirit of his pious parents descended upon him. He married a daughter of Governor Haynes, who appeared equally to have imbibed the spirit of her SAVIOUR. In his manuscripts, he describes the excellent examples which their parents had exhibited, and the pious pains they employed in their education; teaching them, from childhood, to pray always in secret, private and public; to venerate the sabbath and the divine word; and to attend all christian institutions and duties.

ON the part of Connecticut it was stipulated, "That the said George Fenwick, Esquire, should enjoy all the housing† belonging to the fort for the space of ten years. —And that a certain duty on corn, biscuit, beaver and cattle, which should be exported from the river's mouth, should be paid to him during the said term."

BOOK I.  
1644.

UPON the 4th of February 1645, the general court of Connecticut confirmed this agreement with Mr. Fenwick, and passed an act imposing a duty of two pence per bushel upon all grain, six pence upon every hundred weight of biscuit, and a small duty upon all beaver exported from the mouth of the river, during the term of ten years, from the first day of March ensuing. It was also enacted, that an entry should be made of all grain laden on board any vessel, of the number of bushels, and of the weight of biscuit, and that a note of the same be delivered to Mr. Fenwick, upon the penalty of forfeiting the one half of all such grain and biscuit as should be put on board and not thus certified. The colony, on the whole, paid Mr. Fenwick £1,600 sterling, merely for the jurisdiction right, or for the old patent of Connecticut. The general court, the next July, ordered that a tax of two hundred pounds should be levied on the plantations in the colony, to defray the charge of advancing the fortifications at Saybrook fort. A committee was appointed, at the same time, to bargain with Mr. Griffin for that purpose, and to make provision for the immediate completion of the fortifications in view. A letter was also dispatched, from the court, to Mr. Fenwick, desiring him, if his circumstances would permit, to make a voyage to England, to obtain an enlargement of the patent, and to promote other interests of the colony.

The general court confirm the agreement with Mr. Fenwick, Feb. 4, 1645.

July 19th.

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After bearing testimony to the great advantages of such an education, and to the comfort which they had experienced in the duties, in which they had been educated, he warmly recommends them to his children and their posterity.

The family is ancient, and may be traced back to the reign of Edward the IV. more than three centuries. It has well supported its dignity to the present time. Some of the family have been magistrates or secretaries of the colony, for more than a century and an half. May the descendants ever inherit its virtues and honors!

† An old word, meaning the quantity of inhabited buildings.

## BOOK I.

1645.

Hostility  
of the  
Narragan-  
sets.

NOTWITHSTANDING the unwearied pains the commissioners of the colonies, and the colonies themselves, had taken to prevent hostilities among the Indians, and to preserve the peace of the country, the perfidious Narragansets were continually waging war. Pessacus and the Narraganset Indians, in violation of all their treaties, had repeatedly invaded the Moheagan country and assaulted Uncas in his fort. They had killed and taken numbers of his men, and so pressed him, that both Connecticut and New-Haven were obliged to dispatch parties of men to his assistance, to prevent the enemy from completely conquering him and his country.

Extraor-  
dinary  
meeting  
of the  
commis-  
sioners,  
June 28th.

GOVERNOR Winthrop therefore called a special meeting of the commissioners, at Boston, on the 28th of June 1645. Governor Winthrop and Mr. Herbert Pelham were commissioners for Massachusetts, Mr. Thomas Prince and Mr. John Brown for Plymouth, Edward Hopkins and George Fenwick, Esquires, for Connecticut, Governor Eaton and Mr. Stephen Goodyear for New-Haven.

Messen-  
gers, sent  
to the  
Narra-  
gansets,  
insulted.

IMMEDIATELY on the meeting of the commissioners, they dispatched messengers into the Narraganset and Moheagan countries. They were charged to acquaint the sachems and Indians of the respective tribes, that if they would go to Boston, the commissioners would impartially hear and determine all their differences; and that, however the treaty might end, they should be allowed to go and return in safety. The sachems, at first, seemed to give some fair speeches; but finally determined, that they would neither go nor send to Boston. The Narragansets insulted and abused the messengers, and uttered haughty and threatening speeches against the English. One of the sachems declared, that he would kill their cattle and pile them in heaps; and that an Englishman should no sooner step out at his doors than the Indians would kill him. He declared, that whoever began the war he would continue it; and that nothing should satisfy him but the head of Uncas. On the whole, the messengers were obliged to return without effecting any good purpose. By them Mr. Williams wrote to the commissioners, assuring them, that an Indian war would soon break out; and that, as a preparative, the Narragansets had concluded a neutrality with Providence and the towns upon Aquidney island.

THESE reports roused the English spirit. The commissioners, considering that the Narragansets had violated all their treaties, killed a number of the Moheagans, taken others captive, destroyed their corn, and, with great armies, besieged Uncas in his fort; and besides, that they had highly insulted the United colonies and abused their messengers, determined that an immediate war with them was both justifiable and necessary.


BOOK I.

1645.

HOWEVER, as they wished to act with prudence as well as spirit, and to give general satisfaction in an affair of such moment, they desired the advice of the magistrates, elders and a number of the principal military officers in the Massachusetts. These assembled, and were unanimously of the opinion, that their engagements obliged them to defend Uncas and the Moheagans: that the defence which they were obliged to give, according to the common acceptance of such engagements, extended not barely to the defence of Uncas and his men in their fort, but to his estate and liberties; and that the aid to be given must be immediate, or he would be totally ruined.

IT was therefore determined, that a war with the Indians was just, that the case should be stated in short, and war, with the reasons of it, be proclaimed. A day of fasting and prayer was appointed on the fourth of September. It was resolved, That three hundred men should be forthwith raised and sent against the enemy. Massachusetts were to furnish 190, Plymouth and Connecticut 40 each, and New-Haven 30. As the troops from Connecticut and New-Haven, who had assisted in defending Uncas, the former part of the summer, were about to return to their respective colonies, 40 men were impressed in the Massachusetts, and marched in three days, completely armed and victualled. These were commanded by Humphry Atherton. Orders were dispatched to the troops to be raised in Connecticut and New-Haven to join them at Moheagan. A commission was forwarded to Captain Mason to take the command of all the troops until the whole army should form a junction. The chief command of the army was given to Major Edward Gibbons of Massachusetts. He was instructed not only to defend Uncas, but to invade and distress the Narragansets and Nehanticks, with their

War with  
the Nar-  
ragansets  
determin-  
ed.

BOOK I. confederates. He had instructions to offer them peace.  If they would receive it upon honorable terms, he, with his officers, had power to make a treaty with them. If the enemy should flee from the army and would neither fight nor make peace, the commander had orders to build forts in the Nehantick and Narraganſet country; to which he might gather the enemy's corn and goods, as far as it ſhould be in his power.

1645.

THE Narraganſets had ſent a preſent to Governor Winthrop of Boſton, deſiring that they might have peace with the Engliſh, but wage war with Uncas, and avenge the death of Miantouimoh. The governor reſuſed to receive the preſent upon ſuch terms; but the meſſengers, by whom it was carried, urging that they might leave it until they could conſult their ſachems, he ſuffered it to be left with him. The commiſſioners ordered, that it ſhould be immediately returned. Captain Hurdington, Mr. Wilbore and Benediſt Arnold were ſent into the Narraganſet country, to return the preſent, and to aſſure Peſſacus, Canonicus, Janimo and the other ſachems of the Narraganſet and Nehantick Indians, that they would neither receive their preſents, nor give them peace, until they ſhould make ſatiſfaction for paſt injuries, and give ſecurity for their peaceable conduct for the future. They were to certify the Indians, that the Engliſh were ready for war; and that if war was their choice, they would direct their affairs for that purpoſe. At the ſame time, they had orders to aſſure them, that if they would make ſatiſfaction for the damages which they had done, and give ſecurity for their peaceable conduct, in time to come, they ſhould know, that the Engliſh were as deſirous of the peace, and as tender of the blood of the Narraganſets, as they had ever been.

THE meſſengers proſecuted their journey with great diſpatch and brought back word, that Peſſacus, chief ſachem of the Narraganſets, and others were coming to Boſton forthwith, veſted with full powers, to treat with the commiſſioners. The meſſengers, though ſent on purpoſe to carry back the preſent, and to aſſure the Indians that the Engliſh would not receive it, returned with it to Boſton. They alſo wrote to Captain Maſon acquainting him, that there were hopes of peace with the Indians.



THE commissioners therefore, while they acknowledged the pains and expedition with which they had accomplished their journey, censured them, for not attending to their instructions. Especially, they judged them worthy of censure for bringing back the present, and for writing to Captain Mafon. The latter they imagined could have no other effect than to retard his operations.

Book I.  
1645.

THE Indians, finding that an army was coming into the heart of their country, made haste to meet the commissioners and ward off the impending blow. A few days after the return of their messengers, Pessacus, Meeksamó, the eldest son of Canonicus, and Wytowash, three principal sachems of the Narragansets, and Awashequen, deputy of the Nehanticks, with a large train, arrived at Boston.

THEY, at first, denied and excused many particulars which the commissioners charged upon them. They insisted on the old story of the ransom, and proposed to make a truce with Uncas until the next planting time, or for a year. The commissioners assured them, that matters were now come to a crisis, and that they would accept of no such terms. They charged the Indian sachems with their perfidious breach of treaties, with the injuries they had done to Uncas, with their insults of the English, and with the great trouble and expense to which they had put them, to defend Uncas and maintain the peace of the country. The Indians finally, though with great reluctance, acknowledged their breach of treaties. One of the sachems presented the commissioners with a stick, signifying, by that token, that he submitted the terms of war and peace into their hands, and wished to know what they required of the Indians.

The Indians  
treat for  
peace.

THE commissioners represented to them, that the charge and trouble which they had brought on the colonies was very great, besides all the loss and damages which Uncas had sustained. They charged all these upon their infraction of the treaties which they had made with the colonies, and with Uncas. They assured the Indians, that though two thousand fathom of white wampum would by no means be equal to the expense to which they had put the colonies, entirely by their violation of their treaties; yet, to show their moderation,

BOOK I. they would accept of that sum for all past damages. It  
 was required, that they should restore to Uncas all the  
 captives and canoes which they had taken from him ;  
 that they should submit all matters of controversy, be-  
 tween them and Uncas, to the commissioners, at their  
 next meeting ; and that they should maintain perpetual  
 peace with the English, and all their subjects and allies.  
 Finally hostages were demanded, as a security for the  
 performance of the treaty.\* These indeed were hard  
 terms. The Indians made many exceptions to them ;  
 but as they knew the English were gone into their coun-  
 try, and were fearful that hostilities would be commen-  
 ced, even while the treaty was pending, they submitted  
 to them. Some abatement was made as to the times of  
 payment, at first proposed, and it was agreed, that Un-  
 cas should restore to the Narragansets all captives and  
 canoes which he had taken from them. This gave the  
 Narragansets and Nehanticks some ease ; but it was  
 with great reluctance that they finally signed the articles.  
 Nothing but the necessity of the case could have been a  
 sufficient inducement.

Articles  
 signed.

ON the 30th of August the articles were signed, and  
 the Indians left several of their number, as hostages, un-  
 til the children, who had been agreed upon for a per-  
 manent security, should be delivered.

THE troops which had been raised were disbanded,  
 and the day appointed for a general fast, was celebrated  
 as a day of general thanksgiving.

Designs to  
 obtain pa-  
 tents.

NEW-HAVEN, this year, appointed Mr. Gregson their  
 agent to the parliament in England, to procure a pa-  
 tent for the colony. The court at New-Haven voted,  
 that it was a proper time to join with Connecticut in  
 procuring a patent from parliament for these parts.† It  
 appears, that both Connecticut and New-Haven, at this  
 time, had it in contemplation to obtain charters from  
 parliament, for their respective jurisdictions ; but Mr.  
 Fenwick who had been desired to undertake a voyage,  
 for this purpose, in behalf of Connecticut, did not ac-  
 cept the appointment, and Mr. Gregson was lost at sea.  
 In consequence of these circumstances, and the state of  
 affairs in England afterwards, the business rested until  
 after the restoration.

\* Records of the United Colonies.

† Records of New-Haven.

THIS year Tunxis was named Farmington. At this time, there were in the colony of Connecticut eight taxable towns; Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Stratford, Fairfield, Saybrook, South-Hampton and Farmington. In the colony of New-Haven were six; New-Haven, Milford, Guilford, Southhold, Stamford and Branford.

BOOK I.  
1645.  
Towns in Connecticut and New-Haven.

IN 1646 there was an alteration in the act respecting juries. In 1644 an act passed authorizing the court of magistrates to increase or mitigate the damages given by verdict of the jury. It was now enacted, that whatever alterations should be made of this kind, at any time, should be made in open court, in the presence both of the plaintiff and defendant, or upon affidavit made, that they had been summoned to appear.

1646.  
April 6.

AT this court the town of Fairfield made objections to that part of the act passed in 1644 which admitted of a jury of six. They insisted on twelve jurymen in all cases, triable by a jury; but consented, that eight out of twelve should bring in a verdict. It does not appear, that a jury of six was ever empannelled, after this time. The laws were soon after revised, and ordained a jury of twelve in all cases, which required a jury.

THE commissioners of the United Colonies met, this year, at New-Haven. The Dutch continuing their injurious conduct against the English, complaints were made to the commissioners, of the recent and repeated insults and damages which they had received from them. Instead of making them the least satisfaction for past injuries, they proceeded to new instances of insolence and abuse. Kieft wrote a most imperious letter to Governor Eaton, charging him, and the people at New-Haven, with an insatiable desire of possessing that which belonged to the Dutch nation. He affirmed, that, contrary to ancient leagues, between the kings of England and the States General, contrary to the law of nations, and his protestations, they had, indirectly, entered upon the limits of New-Netherlands. He therefore protested against them, as breakers of the peace and disturbers of the public tranquillity. Indeed he proceeded so far as to threaten, that if the English, at New-Haven, did not restore the places which they had usurped, and repair the losses which the Dutch had sustained, that they would, by such means as GOD should afford, recover

Kieft's letter and protest.

BOOK I. them. He affirmed, that the Dutch would not view it as inconsistent with the public peace, but should impute all the evils, which might ensue, to the English.\*

1646.

Governor  
Eaton's  
reply.

GOVERNOR Eaton replied to this letter, that the colony under his government had never entered upon any land, to which the Dutch had any known title: That, notwithstanding all the injuries received from the Dutch, and the very unsatisfying answers which their governor had given, from time to time, the colony, in his apprehensions, had done nothing inconsistent with the law of GOD, the law of nations, nor with the ancient leagues subsisting between England and Holland. He therefore assured him, that the colony would cheerfully submit all differences, between them and the Dutch, to an impartial hearing and adjudication, either in Europe or America.

Misdemeanors  
of the  
Dutch at  
Hartford.

THE Dutch, at Hartford, maintained a distinct and independent government. They resisted the laws of the colony, and counteracted the natural rights of men. They inveigled an Indian woman who, having been liable to public punishment, fled from her master. It was supposed, that the Dutch kept her for the purpose of wantonness. Though her master demanded her, as his property, and the magistrates, as a criminal, on whom the law ought to have its course, yet they would not restore her. The Dutch agent at Hartford, in the height of disorder, resisted the guard. He drew his rapier upon the soldiers, and broke it upon their arms. He then escaped to the fort, and there defended himself with impunity.

Com-  
plaint to  
the com-  
mission-  
ers.

THE commissioners of Connecticut and New-Haven made complaint of these insults and misdemeanors to the commissioners of the United Colonies, and laid open the whole conduct of the Dutch towards them. They represented, that in answer to their complaints of past injuries, they had, instead of satisfaction, received nothing but injury and abuse.

The com-  
missioners  
write and  
send an

THE commissioners, upon a deliberate view of the case, wrote to the Dutch governor, stating how they had written to him from time to time; and, in consideration of the great worth of peace, had attempted to com-

\* Kieft's letter to Governor Eaton, on the records of the United Colonies.

promise the differences which had so long subsisted between the Dutch and their confederates. They observed to the governor, that he had returned nothing but an ignoramus with an offensive addition, which they left to his review and better consideration. They stated the affair at Hartford, and observed, that had the Dutch agent been slain, in the haughty affront which he had given, his blood would have been upon his own head. They assured him, that his agent and the company at Hartford had proceeded to an intolerable state of conduct: That they had forcibly taken away their cattle from authority, and made an assault upon a man, who had legally sought justice for damages, which he had sustained; that they struck him, and, in a hostile manner, took his team and loading from him. The commissioners noticed the letter of the Dutch governor to the colony of New-Haven, and manifested their approbation of the answer which Governor Eaton had given. They expressed their hopes, that it would give satisfaction. They concluded by observing, that, to prevent all inconveniences, which might arise from any part of the premises, they had sent an express, by whom they wished to receive such an answer as might satisfy them of his concurrence with them, to embrace and pursue righteousness and peace.

BOOK I.  
1646.  
expresses to the Dutch governor.

SEVERAL of the English, who had traded with the Dutch, had not been able to recover their just debts, and Governor Kieft would not afford them that assistance which was necessary for the obtaining of justice. Mr. Whiting of Connecticut complained, That an action had been carried against him, at Manhatoes, in his absence, and when he had no agent to exhibit his evidence or plead his cause. He also made complaint, that, upon demanding a just debt, long since due from the Dutch, the governor neglected to give him that assistance which was necessary for the recovery of his right.

THE commissioners wrote also to Governor Keift on this subject. They desired him to grant Mr. Whiting a review in the case specified, and proper assistance in the recovery of his debts, from the Dutch. They assured him, that all the colonies would grant similar favors to the Dutch in all their courts.

By their express, the commissioners received two letters from the Dutch governor, in answer to what they

Dutch letters and protest.

BOOK I. had written, expressed in the same haughty and offensive strain as his former letters. He denied, that the woman, who had been detained by the Dutch, at Hartford, was a servant, with many other facts which had been stated by the commissioners. Instead of submitting the affairs in dispute to a legal decision, either in Europe or America, he still threatened to avenge the injuries of which he complained, by force of arms. With respect to other matters, of special importance, he passed them without the least notice. He compared the commissioners to eagles which soar aloft, and always despise the little fly; but he assured them, that the Dutch, by their arms, would manfully pursue their rights. He then finished his letters in this remarkable manner. "We protest against all you commissioners, met at the red mount, † as against breakers of the common league, and also infringers of the rights of the Lords, the States, our superiors, in that you have dared, without our express and special consent, to hold your general meeting within the limits of New-Netherlands."

The commissioners reply.

THE commissioners made a short reply, assuring the Dutch governor, that they could prove the facts which they had stated to him in their letters; and that the woman, whom the Dutch had detained, was a servant, and an important part of her master's property; that she had fled from civil justice, and, by the confession of Mr. David Provost, Dutch agent at Hartford, had been defiled. They insisted, that the conduct of the Dutch, at Hartford, was intolerable, and complained, that he had given no orders to redress the grievances which they had mentioned. They also complained, that he had made no reply to so many important articles, concerning which they had written to him. With respect to the protest, with which he had closed his letter, they observed, that though it was offensive, yet it agreed with the general strain of his writing, and that he had no more reason to protest against their boldness in holding their session at New-Haven, than they had to protest against his boldness in the protest which he had sent them. After all the insult which the commissioners re-

† The Dutch called New-Haven, the Red Mount, and the Red Hills, from the appearance of the rocks West and North of the town.

ceived from the Dutch governor, their replies were cool and without threatening.‡

BOOK I.  
1646.


THIS year a horrid plot was concerted among the Indians, for the destruction of a number of the principal inhabitants of Hartford. Sequassen, a petty sachem upon the river, hired one of the Waranoke Indians to kill Governor Hopkins, and Governor Haynes, with Mr. Whiting, one of the magistrates. Sequassen's hatred of Uncas was unfatiable, and probably was directed against these gentlemen on the account of the just and faithful protection which they had afforded him. The plan was, that the Waranoke Indian should kill them, and charge the murder upon Uncas, and by that means engage the English against him to his ruin. After the massacre of these gentlemen, Sequassen and the murderer were to make their escape to the Mohawks. Watohibrough, the Indian hired to perpetrate the murder, after he had received several girdles of wampum, as part of his reward, considering how Bushheag, the Indian who attempted to kill the woman at Stamford, had been apprehended and executed at New-Haven, conceived that it would be dangerous to murder English sachems. He also revolved in his mind, that if the English should not apprehend and kill him, he should always be afraid of them, and have no comfort in his life. He also recollected, that the English gave a reward to the Indians who discovered and brought in Bushheag. He therefore determined, it would be better to discover the plot than to be guilty of so dangerous and bloody an action. In this mind he came to Hartford, a few days after he had received the girdles, and made known the plot. Nearly at the same time the Waranoke Indians did much damage to the people at Windsor, burning up their tar and turpentine, and destroying their tools and instruments, to the value of a hundred pounds or more. The magistrates at Hartford issued a warrant and apprehended the Indian, whom they supposed to be guilty; but the Indians rose and made an assault upon the officers, and rescued the criminal from justice.

Plot against Governor Hopkins, Haynes, &c.

Indians do damage at Windsor

UPON complaint and evidence of these misdemeanors, the commissioners sent messengers to Sequassen demanding his appearance at New-Haven, and they or-

‡ Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I.  dered, that, if he would not voluntarily appear, all  
 1646. means, consistent with the preservation of his life, should  
 be used to take him. Messengers were also sent to Waranoke, to the Indians who had done the mischief at Windsor, with orders to seize the delinquents, and bring them off, if they judged they could do it with safety. Sequassen had art enough to keep out of their hands, and those who had done the damage could not be found. The messengers were insulted at Waranoke. The Indians boasted of their arms, primed and cocked their pieces, in their presence, and threatened, that, if a man should be carried away, the Indians would generally rise and fight.

Resolution  
 respecting  
 the In-  
 dians.

THE commissioners, on the whole, judged it not expedient, in the state in which the Indians then were, to proceed any further than to resolve, that if any Indian or Indians, of what plantation soever, should do any damage to the English colonies, or to any of their inhabitants, that, upon due proof of it, they would, in a peaceable manner, demand satisfaction. But if any sagamore or plantation of Indians, should hide, convey away, entertain, or protect such offender or offenders, that then the English would demand satisfaction of such Indian sagamore or plantation, and do themselves justice, as they might, upon all such offenders. At the same time, they declared, that they would keep peace and amity with all other Indians. This resolution was to be made known to the Waranoke Indians in particular.

THE Indians, at particular times, were very mischievous, and gave much trouble to all the plantations. Sometime after the settlement of Milford, the Indians there set all the adjacent country on fire. It was supposed that their design was to burn the town. But the inhabitants were so fortunate as to stop the fires at the swamps and brooks which surround it on the west and north. By this means the town was preserved.

THE Mohawks, though not hostile to the English, by coming down, and murdering the Connecticut Indians, put the plantations in fear, and gave them not a little trouble. Some years after the settlement of Milford, they came into the town, and secreted themselves in a swamp,\* about half a mile east of Stratford ferry, with

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\* This is known by the name of Mohawk swamp to the present time.



a view to surprize the Indians at the fort. The English accidentally discovering them, gave notice of it to the Milford Indians. They at once set up the war whoop, and collected such numbers, that they ventured to attack them. The Mohawks were overpowered, and several of them taken. One stout captive, the Milford Indians determined to kill, by famine and torture. They stripped him naked and tied him up in the salt meadows for the moschettoes to eat and torment to death. An Englishman, one Hine, finding him in this piteous condition, loosed and fed him, and enabled him to make his escape. This very much conciliated the Mohawks towards the English; and especially towards the family of the Hines, whom, it is said, they ever afterwards particularly noticed, and treated with uncommon friendship.

BOOK I.  
1646.

THE Narraganset and Nehantick Indians neglected to perform any part of the treaty which they had made the last year. They neither paid the wampum stipulated, nor met the commissioners, at New-Haven, to settle the differences between them and Uncas. They neither restored the captives nor canoes taken from him, nor made him any compensation for the damages which they had done him. They had attempted to deceive the English with respect to the hostages. Instead of the children of their sachems and chief men, whom they agreed to deliver, they made an attempt to impose upon them children of the lowest rank. Even to this time, they had not brought those whom they had promised. They were still intriguing with the Mohawks; and, by presents and various arts, attempting to engage them against the English colonies. The commissioners judged, that they had just occasion to avenge the injuries which they had received, and to seek a recompence by force of arms. However, that they might shew their love of peace, and their forbearance towards these barbarians, they dispatched another message to them. In this a full representation was made of these particulars. They were assured, that the commissioners were apprized of their intrigues, and that, in the eyes of all the colonies, they had rendered themselves a perfidious people.

Perfidy of  
the Nar-  
ragansets.

THE war between the Dutch and Indians continuing, a great and general battle was fought between

**BOOK I.** them in that part of Horseneck commonly known by  
 the name of Strickland's plain. The action was long  
 and severe, both parties fighting with firmness and ob-  
 stinacy. The Dutch, with much difficulty, kept the  
 field, and the Indians withdrew. Great numbers were  
 slain on both sides, and the graves of the dead, for a cen-  
 tury or more, appeared like a number of small hills.†

1646.

Battle on  
 Strick-  
 land's  
 plain.

Losses of  
 New-Ha-  
 ven.

**NEW-HAVEN**, having been exceedingly disappointed  
 in trade, and sustained great damages at Delaware, and  
 the large estates which they brought into New-England  
 rapidly declining, this year, made uncommon exertions,  
 as far as possible, to retrieve their former losses. Com-  
 bining their money and labors, they built a ship, at  
 Rhode-Island, of 150 tons; and freighted her, for  
 England, with the best part of their commercial estates.  
 Mr. Gregson, Captain Turner, Mr. Lamberton and five  
 or six of their principal men embarked on board. They  
 sailed from New-Haven in January 1647. They  
 were obliged to cut through the ice to get out of the  
 harbour. The ship foundered at sea, and was never  
 heard of after she failed. The loss of this ship, with  
 the former losses which the company had sustained, broke  
 up all their expectation with respect to trade, and as  
 they conceived themselves disadvantageously situated for  
 husbandry, they adopted the design of leaving the coun-  
 try. They were invited to Jamaica in the West-Ind-  
 ies. They had also an invitation to Ireland. It seems  
 they entered into treaties for the city of Galloway,  
 which they designed to have settled, as a small province  
 for themselves ‡ Nevertheless they were disappointed  
 with respect to all these designs. Their posterity, who  
 they feared would be reduced to beggary, made respecta-  
 ble farmers, and flourished, with respect to worldly cir-  
 cumstances, no less than their neighbours.

Attempts  
 to re-  
 move.

Election  
 at Hart-  
 ford,  
 1647.

AT the election, this year, at Hartford, nine magis-  
 trates were chosen. Mr. Cosmore and Mr. Howe were  
 elected for the first time. The other magistrates were  
 the same as in the preceding years.

AT this session of the general court, an explanation  
 or addition was made to the tenth fundamental article.  
 By this article, as it stood, it was the opinion of some,

† Manuscripts of the Rev. Stephen Monson.

‡ Magnalia B. I. p. 25, 26.

that no particular court could be holden, unless the governor and four magistrates were present. It was therefore decreed,\* that the governor, or deputy governor, with two magistrates should have power to keep a particular court, according to the laws established; and, that in case neither the governor, nor deputy governor should be present, or able to sit, if three magistrates should meet, and choose one of themselves moderator, they might keep a particular court, which, to all intents and purposes, should be deemed as legal, as if the governor or deputy governor were present. All orders contrary to this were repealed.†

BOOK I.  
1647.

As tobacco, about this time, was coming into use, in the colony, a very curious law was made for its regulation, or suppression. It was ordered, that no person under twenty years of age, nor any other, who had not already accustomed himself to the use of it, should take any tobacco until he had obtained a certificate from under the hand of an approved physician, that it was useful for him, and until he had also obtained a licence from the court. All others, who had addicted themselves to the use of it, were prohibited from taking it, in any company, or at their labors, or in travelling, unless ten miles, at least, from any company; and though not in company, not more than once a day, upon pain of a fine of six-pence for every such offence. One substantial witness was to be a sufficient proof of the crime. The constables of the several towns were to make presentment to the particular courts, and it was ordered, that the fine should be paid without gainfaying.‡

Act  
against  
the use of  
tobacco.

AT a court in June, it was ordered, that the fort and guns at Saybrook should be delivered to Captain John Mason, and that he should give Mr. Fenwick a receipt for the premises. At the desire of the people there, Captain Mason was appointed to the chief command of the fort; and was authorized to govern all the soldiers and inhabitants of the town; to call them forth and put them in such array, as might be necessary for the general defence of the country. Orders were given, that

June 2.

\* The enacting stile, before the charter, was, It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed. Sometimes one of the words only was used.

† Records of Connecticut, Folio Vol. I. p. 162, 163.

‡ Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I. the fortifications should be repaired, and that the country rate of Saybrook, should be appropriated to that purpose.

1647.  
Soldiers  
may  
choose  
their  
officers.

July 26.  
Extraor-  
dinary  
meeting  
of the  
commis-  
sioners.

THIS court granted to the soldiers of the respective train bands in the colony the privilege of choosing their own officers, to be commissioned by the court.

THE conduct of the Narraganset and Nehantick Indians was so treacherous and hostile, that in midsummer, an extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was called at Boston. The commissioners were Thomas Dudley and John Endicot, Esquires, from Massachusetts, Mr. William Bradford and Mr. John Brown from Plimouth, Governor Hopkins and Captain John Mason from Connecticut, Governor Eaton and Mr. Goodyear from New-Haven. Thomas Dudley was chosen president.

THE Narraganset and Nehantick Indians had not only neglected the performance of every part of their treaties with the English, but were, by all their arts, plotting against them. By their wampum they were hiring all the Indian nations round about them to combine against the colonies. They had sent messengers and presents to the Mohawks to engage them in the general confederacy. As this faithless conduct was the occasion of the meeting, the commissioners immediately dispatched messengers to Pessacus, Ninigrate, Webetomaug, and all their confederates, to declare to them their breach of covenant, and to demand their attendance at Boston. The messengers were instructed to assure them, that if they did not appear, they would send to them no more. Pessacus owned, that he had broken covenant, and said it was the constant grief of his spirit. He pretended he would gladly go to Boston, but he was unwell and could not travel. This was a mere pretence, as there were no appearances of indisposition upon him. He excused himself for not keeping the treaty, because he was frightened into it by the sight of the English army which was about to invade his country. He represented, that he was in fear, if he did not make it, the English would follow him home and kill him. He declared however, that he would send his whole mind by Ninigrate, and that he would abide by whatever he should transact in the affair.

Narra-  
gansets  
sent for.

ON the 3d of August, Ninigrate, with two of Pessacus's men, and a number of the Nehantick Indians, arrived at Boston. When Ninigrate came before the commissioners, he pretended great ignorance of the treaties between the English and the Indians. He declared, that he knew no cause why the Narragansets should pay so much wampum. He said they owed nothing to the English. The commissioners acquainted him, that it was on account of their breach of treaty, and the great charge which, by that means, they had brought on the colonies, that the Narragansets engaged to pay such a quantity. Well knowing his deceit, they charged him as being the very man who had been the principal cause of all their trouble and expense relative to the Indians. They declared to him, that he was the sagem who had threatened to pile their cattle in heaps, and to kill every Englishman who should step out at his doors. At so home a charge, which he could not deny, he was not a little chagrined. However, he excused the matter with as much art as possible. With respect to the wampum, he declared, that the Narragansets had not a sufficiency to pay the sum required. The commissioners knew that the Narragansets were a great nation, and that they could, at any time, upon short notice, pay a greater amount than they demanded. They considered the demand not only as their just due, but as matter of policy, as far as was consistent with justice, to strip them of their wampum, to prevent their hiring the Mohawks and other Indians to join with them, in a general war, against the colonies. They therefore insisted, that the whole sum should be paid. They declared to him, that they were not satisfied with his answers. Ninigrate, after he had taken time to consult with his council, the other deputies who were with him, answered, that he was determined to give the colonies full satisfaction. He desired ten days to send messengers to Narraganset to collect the wampum due, and offered himself a hostage until their return. The messengers returned with no more than two hundred fathom. Ninigrate imputed this to his absence. He desired liberty to return, promising, that if the whole sum should not be paid by the next spring, the commissioners might take his head and seize his country. The commissioners agreed with him, that if within twenty days he would deliver a thousand fathom

Book I.

1647.

Ninigrate appears before the commissioners.

Book I. of wampum, and the remainder which was due, by the  
 1647. next planting time, they would dismiss him. They also, for his encouragement, acquainted him, that although they might justly put the hostages to death, for their delays and breach of covenant, yet they would forthwith deliver them to him; and if they should find him punctual to his engagements, they would charge former defects to Pessacus. These terms he gladly accepted.

THE commissioners from Connecticut, the last year, made complaint, that Mr. Pyncheon and the inhabitants at Springfield refused to pay the impost which had been imposed by Connecticut for the maintenance of the fort at Saybrook. The commissioners judged, that the fort was of great consequence to the towns on the river; but, as the affair of the impost had not been laid before the general court of Massachusetts, and as the commissioners of that colony had no instructions respecting it, a full hearing had been deferred to this meeting.

MEANWHILE the general court of the Massachusetts had taken up the affair, and passed a number of resolutions respecting the impost. These are a curiosity, exhibiting a lively picture of human nature, and in the course of conduct consequent upon them, will afford a general specimen of the manner in which the Massachusetts anciently treated her sister colonies. The resolutions were, at this meeting, laid before the commissioners, and were to the following effect.

Resolutions of the court of Massachusetts respecting the impost.

1. THAT the jurisdiction at Hartford had not a legal power to force any inhabitant of another jurisdiction, to purchase any fort or lands out of their jurisdiction.

2. THAT it was injurious to require custom for the maintenance of a fort which is not useful to those of whom it was demanded.

3. THAT it was unequal for Connecticut to impose a custom upon their friends and confederates, who have no more benefit of the river, by the exporting or importing of goods, than strangers of another nation, who, though they lived in Hartford, paid none.

4. THAT the propounding and standing upon an imposition of custom, to be paid at the river's mouth, by such as were of our jurisdiction, hindered our confederation ten years, and there was never any paid to this day, and that now to impose it upon them, after their confederation, would put them upon new thoughts.

5. THAT it appeared to them very hard, that any of their jurisdiction should be forced to such a disadvantage, as would necessarily enslave their posterity, by imposing such rates and customs, as would either constrain them to depart their habitations or weaken their estates; especially as they were with the first who took possession of the river, and were at great charge of building, &c. which if they had foreseen, they would not have made a plantation at that place.

BOOK I.  
1647.

6. IF Hartford jurisdiction shall make use of their power over any of ours, we have the same power to imitate them in the like kind, which they desired might be forborne on both sides. These resolutions were signed by the secretary of the colony.

MR. HOPKINS replied, in behalf of Connecticut, that the first article labored under a great mistake: That the imposition was neither to buy lands nor the fort. He observed also, that it was not material to what purpose an impost was applied, if it were lawful in itself, and did not exceed the bounds of moderation. With respect to the second article, he said, that it impeached all states and nations of injustice no less than Connecticut: That their practice, in all similar cases, warranted the impost. He urged, that, for twelve years, the fort at Saybrook had been of special service to Springfield; and that it was so still, and might be for a number of years to come. He therefore insisted, that it was strictly just, that the inhabitants of that town should pay the impost. He said he was willing to risk the case, and have it decided, on the principles of strict justice. The third article, he observed, was a mere presumption, and had no just foundation; besides if it were founded, he argued, that the comparison was not equal. The whole of the fourth article, he said, was a mistake: That the confederation was completed in about five years from the first mentioning of it, and that it was not retarded by the means suggested, nor were they ever mentioned. With reference to the fifth article, he replied, that all taxes weakened estates, and if this were a ground of objection against the impost, then no tax or impost could ever be laid. He insisted, that the impost was just and moderate, and therefore could not enslave the inhabitants of Springfield. The towns in Connecticut, he ob-

Governor  
Hopkins's  
reply to  
the reso-  
lutions.

BOOK I. served, were settled before Springfield, and that town had been at no expense in making settlements more than the towns in Connecticut. He said, if Connecticut, at any time, should become exorbitant in its impositions upon any of the colonies, they would find a remedy in the confederation. With reference to the last article, he declared his willingness, in all similar cases, to submit to the like imposition.

Determination of the commissioners.

THE commissioners, upon a full hearing, determined, that it was of weighty consideration to all the plantations upon the river, that the mouth of it should be secured, and a safe passage for goods, up and down the river, be maintained, though at some expense; and, that as Springfield enjoyed the benefit, the inhabitants should pay the impost of two pence per bushel for corn, and a penny on the pound for beaver, or twenty shillings upon every hoghead. Nevertheless, out of respect and tenderness to the Massachusetts, it was resolved, that Springfield, or the general court, might have the liberty of exhibiting further reasons against the impost, if any should occur.

Mr. Winthrop's claim to the Nehantick country.

AT this meeting Mr. John Winthrop of Pequot laid claim to the whole country of the western Nehanticks, including a considerable part of the town of Lime. He represented, that he obtained the title to this large tract, partly by purchase and partly by deed of gift, before the Pequot war. He petitioned the commissioners to this effect, "Whereas I had the land at Nehantick by deed of gift and purchase from the sachem, before the Pequot war, I desire the commissioners would confirm it unto me, and clear it of all claims of English and Indians, according to the equity of the case." As he had no deed nor writing respecting the land, he produced the testimony of three Nehantick Indians. They testified, that before the Pequot war, Sashions, their sachem, called all his men together and told them, that he was determined to give his country to the governor's son, who lived at Pattaquasset,\* and that his men gave their consent: That afterwards he went to Mr. Winthrop, at Pattaquasset, and when he came back, said, that he had granted all his country to the governor's son;

\* This is sometimes spelt Pamaquasset, and was, I suppose, the Indian name of Saybrook.



and also that he had received coats for it, which they saw him bring home. Three Englishmen also testified, that they had heard the Indians report the same concerning the grant of the Nehantick† country to Mr. Winthrop. Thomas Stanton deposed, that he remembered Sashions, sachem of the Nehanticks, did give his country to Mr. John Winthrop, before the Pequot war, and that he was interpreter in that business.

THE commissioners of Connecticut pleaded against the claim of Mr. Winthrop, that his purchase bore no date, that the tract pretended to be purchased or given, was not circumscribed within any limits, and that it did not appear, that the Indian, who granted the lands, had any right in them: That the grant was verbal and at most could be but a vague business. They also urged, that it did not appear, but that Mr. Winthrop purchased the lands for the noblemen and gentlemen, in whose service he was, at that time, employed; and, that as the lands had been conquered, at the hazard and expense of Connecticut, before Mr. Winthrop made known his claim, whatever it was, it was then dormant and of no validity. They further insisted, that, as they were not prepared to give a full answer, no decision might be made, until Connecticut should be fully heard with respect to the premises.

THE commissioners declined any decision of the controversy; but it does not appear, that Mr. Winthrop ever after prosecuted his claim. As it seems Mr. Winthrop, about this time, had a design of purchasing Long-Island, the commissioners took occasion to premonish him, that the Island was already under engagements, for considerable sums of money, to a number of persons, in Connecticut and New-Haven. They represented to him, that any title, which might be derived from Mr. Cope, would be very precarious, as he had confessed a short time before his death.‡

THE commissioners, this year, brought in the number of polls in the several colonies, and made a settlement of their accounts. The whole expenditure of the confederates was £ 1043 : 10 : 0. There was due to Connecticut £ 155 : 17 : 7, which the colony had expended in

† Some spelt it Neanticut.

‡ Records of the United Colonies.

BOOK I.  
1647.

Reply of Connecticut to his claim.

Settlement of accounts.

**BOOK I.** the general defence, more than its proportion. New-Haven had expended £7: 0: 0 more than its proportion. This was exclusive of all the expence, which these two colonies had borne in defending themselves against the Indians at Stamford and its vicinity, and in attempting to bring the murderers of the English to condign punishment. Massachusetts and Plymouth paid the balance to Connecticut and New-Haven.

**1647.** **Congratulatory letter to the Dutch governor.** ON the 27th of May, Peter Stuyvesant, who the last year had been appointed governor of New-Netherlands, arrived at Manhatoes and commenced his government of the Dutch settlements. The commissioners wrote him a long letter of congratulation. They complained also, that the Dutch sold arms and ammunition to the Indians, and even in the English plantations. They desired, that an immediate stop might be put to so dangerous a trade. They made complaint also, that the Dutch had laid so severe an impost upon all goods as greatly discouraged trading with them, while all the harbours in the United colonies were open and free to them. As the Dutch also imposed heavy fines or forfeitures for misentries, or defect in commissions, the commissioners desired to be made particularly acquainted with their customs.

**Saybrook fort burnt.** THIS winter, the fort and buildings at Saybrook unaccountably took fire, and, with some goods, were destroyed. Captain Mason, with his wife and child, narrowly escaped the conflagration. The damage was estimated at more than a thousand pounds.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*SETTLEMENT of New-London. Salaries first granted to civil officers. Troubles with the Narraganset Indians. Rhode-Island petitions to be united with the colonies in confederation. The Massachusetts resume the affair of the impost. Mr. Westerhouse complains of the seizure of his vessel by the Dutch, in the harbour of New-Haven. Murders committed by the Indians; resolutions respecting the murderers. Body of laws compiled. Debates relative to the settlement of Delaware. The Pequots revolt from Uncas, and petition the English.*

BOOK I.  
  
 1647.

*Resolution respecting them. Mr. Westerhouse petitions to make reprisals from the Dutch. Letter to the Dutch governor. Further altercations respecting the impost. Final issue of that affair. The conduct of the Massachusetts upon its decision, and the declaration of the commissioners respecting it. Their treatment of Connecticut respecting the line between the colonies. The court at Connecticut determine to avenge the death of John Whitmore, and detach men to take the murderer.*

**T**HE last year several persons began settlements at Pequot harbour. Lots were laid out to them, but part of them were soon discouraged, and left the plantation. This year Mr. Richard Blinman, who had been a minister in England, removed from Gloucester to this new settlement; in consequence of which a considerable addition was made to the number who had kept their station. By the next year, 1648, there was such an accession, that the inhabitants consisted of more than forty families. Some of the principal men were John Winthrop, Esquire, the Reverend Mr. Blinman, Thomas Minot, Samuel Lothrop, Robert Allyn and James Avery. For their encouragement, the general court granted them a three years exemption from all colonial taxation. Mr. Winthrop was authorized to superintend the affairs of the plantation. The next year a court was appointed for the trial of small causes. The judges were Mr. Winthrop, Thomas Minot and Samuel Lothrop. The Indian name of the place was Nameaug, alias Towawog. In 1654, the whole tract, now comprised within the towns of New-London and Groton, was called Pequot, from the name of the harbour and original inhabitants. By this it was known for about four years. On the 24th of March 1658, the assembly passed an act respecting it, which is so curious, and expressive of the feelings of our ancestors towards their native country, as renders it worthy of publication.

New-London settled. 1648.

“ WHEREAS it hath been the commendable practice  
 “ of the inhabitants of all the colonies of these parts,  
 “ that as this country hath its denomination from our  
 “ dear native country of England, and thence is called  
 “ New-England; so the planters, in their first settling  
 “ of most new plantations, have given names to those

The act of assembly respecting its name.

BOOK I. " plantations of some cities and towns in England,  
 1648. " thereby intending to keep up, and leave to posterity  
 " the memorial of several places of note there, as Bos-  
 " ton, Hartford, Windfor, York, Ipswich, Braintree,  
 " Exeter; this court considering, that there hath yet  
 " no place in any of the colonies, been named in mem-  
 " ory of the city of London, there being a new planta-  
 " tion within this jurisdiction of Connecticut, settled  
 " upon that fair river Mohegan, in the Pequot coun-  
 " try, being an excellent harbour and a fit and conven-  
 " ient place for future trade, it being also the only place  
 " which the English in these parts have possessed by con-  
 " quest, and that upon a very just war, upon that great  
 " and warlike people, the Pequots, that therefore they  
 " might thereby leave to posterity the memory of that  
 " renowned city of London, from whence we had our  
 " transportation, have thought fit, in honor to that fa-  
 " mous city to call the said plantation NEW-LONDON."  
 The name of the river was also changed and called the  
 Thames.†

Salary for  
 the govern-  
 nor.

UNTIL this time the governors and magistrates ap-  
 pear to have served the people for the honor of it, and  
 the public good. The general court took the affair in-  
 to their consideration, and granted the governor £30 an-  
 nually. The same sum was also voted for the deputy  
 governor, who had presided the preceding year. Those  
 appear to have been the first salaries given to any civil  
 officers in the colony, and to have been a compensation  
 for the expence of the office, rather than for the service  
 performed.

Election  
 at Hart-  
 ford May  
 18.

UPON the election at Hartford, Mr. Hopkins was  
 chosen governor and Mr. Ludlow, deputy governor.  
 Mr. Haynes supplied the vacancy made by the advance-  
 ment of Mr. Ludlow, and Mr. Cullick was elected ma-  
 gistrate and secretary in the place of Mr. Whiting.

Commis-  
 sioners  
 meet Sep-  
 tember 7.

IN September the commissioners of the United colo-  
 nies convened at Plymouth. They were John Endicot  
 and Simon Bradstreet, from Massachusetts; William  
 Bradford and Jown Brown from Plymouth; Governor  
 Hopkins and Roger Ludlow, from Connecticut; Gov-  
 ernor Eaton and William Astwood, from New-Haven.

† Records of Connecticut and New-London.

THE Indians, both in the Nehantick and Narragan-  
 set country, and in the western parts of Connecticut, had  
 been more perfidious and outrageous this year than at  
 any time since the Pequot war. The Narragansets and  
 Nehanticks, instead of performing the fair promises  
 which they had made, the last year, and of paying the  
 wampum, which had been so long due, hired the Mo-  
 hawks and the Pocomtock Indians to unite with them in  
 an expedition for the total destruction of Uncas and the  
 Mohegans. The Pocomtocks made preparations and  
 assembled for the purpose. They waited several days  
 for the arrival of the Mohawks who were to have join-  
 ed them at that place. The Narragansets and Nehan-  
 ticks removed their old men, women and children into  
 swamps and fastnesses, and prepared an army of 800  
 men, who were to form a junction with the Mohawks  
 and Pocomtock Indians, in Connecticut, near the Mo-  
 hegans.

BOOK I.  
 ~~~~~  
 1648.
 Perfidy of
 the Nar-
 raganset
 Indians.

THE governor and council, apprized of their designs,
 dispatched Thomas Stanton, their interpreter, and oth-
 ers to Pocomtock. They found the Pocomtocks actu-
 ally met in arms, and waiting for the arrival of the Mo-
 hawks. It was represented, that the Mohawks had
 four hundred fire arms, and a plenty of ammunition.
 The Pocomtocks acknowledged, that they had been hi-
 red by the Narragansets. Such a confederacy was
 alarming to the colony. What such an army of sava-
 ges might effect could not be determined. It was dan-
 gerous to suffer them to march through the colony and
 form a junction near the plantations. Several happy
 circumstances united their influence to frustrate this
 formidable combination. The early discovery of the
 designs of the enemy, by the people of Connecticut,
 and the precautions which were taken, had a great ef-
 fect. The Pocomtocks and Mohawks were assured,
 that the English would defend Uncas against all his en-
 emies, and would avenge all injuries which they should
 do him. The Mohawks had one or two of their sa-
 chems and a number of their men killed by the French.
 They therefore did not come on. The Pocomtock In-
 dians did not choose to march without them; and the
 Narragansets, thus deserted, were afraid to proceed.
 Thus the expedition failed.

BOOK I.

1648.

They harass the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, who petition for admittance to the confederation.

Reply of the commissioners.

THE Narragansets not only plotted against the United colonies, but committed many outrages against the people of Rhode-Island. They made forcible entries into their houses, struck and abused the owners, stole and purloined their goods. At Warwick especially, they were exceedingly troublesome. They killed, in that plantation, about a hundred cattle, exclusive of other injuries which they did to the inhabitants. Indeed the Rhode-Islanders were so harassed, that they made application, by their representatives, to the commissioners, to be admitted to the confederation of the United colonies.

THE commissioners replied, that they found their present state to be full of confusion and danger, and that they were desirous of giving them both advice and help. They however observed, that as the plantation, made at Rhode-Island, fell within the limits of the ancient patent granted to the colony of New-Plimouth, they could not receive them as a distinct confederate. They represented, that it was the design of the honorable committee of parliament, that the limits of that colony should not be abridged or infringed. They proposed, that if the Rhode-Islanders would acknowledge themselves to be within the limits of Plimouth colony, they would advise how they might be received, on equitable terms, with a tender regard for their convenience; and that they would afford them the same advice and protection, which they did the other plantations within the United colonies.

Messengers sent to the Narragansets.

THE commissioners sent messengers again to the Narraganset and Nehantick Indians to charge their treachery upon them, remonstrate against their conduct, and demand the arrearages of wampum which were yet unpaid. Their outrages against the inhabitants of Rhode-Island were particularly noticed, and the sachems were peremptorily charged to keep their men under better government. The colonies wished to exhibit all forbearance towards the Indians, and, if possible, to preserve the peace of the country. They chose rather to restrain the natives by policy and the arts of peace, than by the sword.

Further debate relative

THE general court of Massachusetts was, by no means, pleased with the determination of the commissioners, the last year, relative to the impost to be paid at Say-

brook. A committee was therefore appointed to draught an answer to the observations and pleadings of Governor Hopkins before the commissioners, at their former sessions.

Book I.
 1648.
 to the impost.

THE committee introduced their answer with a number of questions relative to the articles of confederation. Some were calculated to make nothing of them, and exhibit them in a point of light entirely contemptible. Others related to the power of the commissioners, and to the degree in which obedience was due to their determinations. They enquired whether a noncompliance with the orders of the commissioners would be a breach of the articles of confederation? They complained, that they had not a greater number of commissioners, as Massachusetts was much larger than the other colonies. They proposed, that they should have the privilege of sending three commissioners, and that the meetings of the confederates should be triennial. They then proceeded to a large reply to the arguments of Governor Hopkins; and attempted to vindicate the reasons which they had given before against the impost. In addition to what they had formerly offered, they endeavoured to show, that if Springfield was benefitted, by the fort at Saybrook, and ought to pay the impost on that account, that New-Haven, Stamford, and all the towns on that side of the river, ought to pay it no less; because they had been already benefitted and might be hereafter. Since this was the case, as they pleaded, they objected against the commissioners of New-Haven, as disqualified to judge in the cause. They also objected against the decision of the commissioners, because it was made, as they said, without a sight of the Connecticut patent. They insisted, that if the patent had been produced, there might have been some clause which would have helped their case. The committee pleaded a priority of possession. They affirmed, that the first possession of Saybrook fort was taken by Mr. John Winthrop, in November 1635; and our possession was before that: for those who went from Watertown, Cambridge, Roxbury and Dorchester, the summer before, took possession in our name and right; and had a commission of government from us, and some ordnance for their defence. And in this state they remained a good

Arguments
 against it.

BOOK I. space. In fine they urged, that if the impost were
 lawful it was not expedient; that they could view it in
 1648. no other light than as a bone of contention, to inter-
 rupt their happy union and brotherly love. Indeed
 they represented, that it laid them under temptations
 to help themselves in some other way. This was adopt-
 ed by the general court.

Reply of
 the com-
 missioners
 of Con-
 necticut.

GOVERNOR Hopkins and Mr. Ludlow insisted on the
 answers which had been given, the last year, to the ar-
 guments of the general court of the Massachusetts.
 They attempted to show, that, notwithstanding all
 which had been urged, the arguments in favor of the
 impost remained unanswered, and in their full force.
 They observed, that whatever propositions might have
 been made, by the Massachusetts, in 1638, with respect
 to the exemption of plantations under their government
 from an impost, nothing was ever granted upon that
 head: That affairs were now in a very different state
 from what they were at the time of the confederation.
 They urged, that now the charge of the fort and garri-
 son, at Saybrook, lay upon the colony; which was not
 the case at that time; and, that nothing could be fairly
 pleaded from the circumstances in which the colonies
 confederated.

WITH respect to priority of right, and the commis-
 sion which had been mentioned they observed, that the
 commission of government was taken *salvo jure* of the
 interest of the gentlemen who had the patent of Con-
 necticut, this commission taking rise from the desire of
 the people that removed, who judged it inexpedient to
 go away without any frame of government, not from
 any claim of the Massachusetts jurisdiction over them by
 virtue of patent.

WITH reference to the decision of the commissioners
 without seeing the Connecticut patent, they observed,
 that a copy of it was exhibited at the time of the con-
 federation, that it had been well known to many, and
 that the Massachusetts in particular knew, that it had re-
 cently been owned by the honorable committee of parli-
 ament, and that equal respect and power had been
 given by it to all within its limits, as had been either to
 Massachusetts or Plymouth, within the limits of their
 respective patents.

As to the inexpediency of the impost, as tending to disturb the peace and brotherly love subsisting between the colonies, they replied, that it was their hope and earnest desire, that in all the proceedings of the confederation, truth and peace might embrace each other. But they insisted, that pleading for truth and righteousness ought, by no means, to disturb peace or brotherly affection. Indeed they maintained, that things which were rational, and consistent with truth and righteousness, should never be an occasion of offence to any.

Book I.

1648.

THE commissioners of Connecticut, at this time, produced an authentic copy of their patent, and Governor Hopkins offered to attest it upon oath. As this was the third year since the affair of the impost had been litigated before the commissioners, it was urged, that it might have a final issue, agreeable to truth and righteousness. Governor Hopkins and Mr. Ludlow disputed the southern boundary of Massachusetts, and claimed Springfield as lying within the limits described in the patent of Connecticut.

THE commissioners judged, that the objections offered against the gentlemen from New-Haven were insufficient, and the commissioners from Massachusetts gave them up. Upon the whole, after a full hearing and mature deliberation, the former order, in favour of Connecticut, was confirmed.*


NOTWITHSTANDING the congratulatory letter, which the commissioners addressed to Stuyvesant, the governor, at their last sessions, he proved not the most comfortable neighbour. He gave no answer to the complaints which had been stated to him, in their letter. He transmitted no account of the customs laid upon the English merchants, nor of the cases in which the Dutch made seizures, so that it was extremely difficult to know on what terms they could trade, or how to escape fines, seizures, and confiscations.

Trouble with the Dutch.

By Stuyvesant's order, the Dutch seized a vessel of Mr. Westerhouse, a Dutch merchant and planter at New-Haven, while riding at anchor within the harbour. He preferred a complaint to the commissioners. He came in from Virginia, and gave evidence, that, when he sailed thence he made a full payment of all the cus-

Mr. Westerhouse complaining of the seizure of his ship.

* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I.  The commissioners wrote to the Dutch governor on the subject, and remonstrated against such a flagrant insult to the United colonies, and against the injustice done to Mr. Westerhouse. They protested against the Dutch claim to all the lands, rivers, and streams from Cape Hinlopen to Cape Cod; and asserted their claim to all the lands and plantations in the United colonies, as anciently granted by the kings of England to their subjects; and since purchased by them of the Indians, the original proprietors.

1648.

The commissioners remonstrate and protest.

AT the same time, they assured him, that they expected satisfaction both for the injury and affront in taking a ship out of one of their harbours, upon such a challenge and title to the place, unjustly claimed without purchase, possession, or any other considerable ground. They represented to him in strong terms, the absolute necessity of a meeting for the adjustment of the differences between the Dutch and the United colonies. They professed themselves to be inclined to pursue all proper counsels for that purpose. As his letters to them, as well as to the governors of Massachusetts and New-Haven, had been expressed in such indeterminate language on the subject, they wished him to be more explicit. They avowed their determination, that, until such time as the Dutch should come to an amicable settlement of the points in controversy, neither their merchants, nor mariners should enjoy any privilege, in any of the English plantations or harbours, either of anchoring, searching or seizures, more than the English did at the Manhadoes. They declared, that, if upon search they should find arms and ammunition on board any of the Dutch ships, for that mischievous purpose of vending them within the limits of the United colonies, to the Indians, they would seize them until further enquiry and satisfaction should be made. In short, they owned their purpose of treating the Dutch mariners and merchants in the English harbours and plantations, in the same manner, in which they treated the English. They declared, that, if the Dutch should proceed to seize any vessel or goods, within any of the harbours of the United colonies, whether of English, Dutch, or any other nation, admitted to be planters in any of the said colonies, they should be necessitated to

vindicate their rights and to repair the damages by all just means.*

SOON after the meeting of the commissioners, Mr. John Whitmore, of Stamford, was murdered by the Indians. He was a peaceable, worthy man, and one of the representatives of the town, in the general court at New-Haven. He fell, as he was seeking cattle in the woods. The sachem's son first carried the news into town, and reported, that one Toquattoes had killed him, and had some of his clothes, of which he gave a particular description. From this circumstance, it was suspected, that he was either a principal or an accomplice in the crime. No such evidence, however, could be obtained as would warrant the apprehending of him. The English took great pains to find the remains of Mr. Whitmore; but could make no discovery at that time. About two months after, Uncas, with several of his Indians, went to Stamford, and making enquiry concerning Mr. Whitmore's body, the sachem's son and one Kehoran, another of the natives, who had been suspected, led Uncas, with his men and a number of the English, directly to the place of his remains. Upon carrying them into town, the sachem's son and Kehoran fell a trembling, and manifested such signs of guilt, that the Moheagans declared, that they were guilty. But before they could be apprehended, they made their escape. The Indians at Stamford and its vicinity, either through fear of their sachem, or favor to his son, or from some other cause, charged the murder upon Toquattoes. But neither he, nor the other suspected persons were delivered up, nor could the English bring them to any examination respecting the subject.

ABOUT the same time it was reported, that the Indians, upon Long-Island, had, some years before, murdered a number of Englishmen, who were part of the crew of a vessel of one Mr. Cope, which had been cast away near the Island. These instances of bloodshed gave great alarm to Connecticut and New-Haven; especially to Stamford and the towns in that vicinity. Mrs. Whitmore, by letters and messengers, sued for justice against the murderers of her husband. The Indians grew haughty and insolent, and censured the con-

BOOK I.
1648.
Mr. Whitmore murdered in October.

* Records of the United colonies.

Book I. duct of the English. It was dangerous to suffer such
 1048. crimes to be unpunished, as it would embolden the natives to be constantly massacring the English. But as nothing could be done, in this case, except by an armed force, it was deferred to the consideration of the commissioners of the United colonies.

Election AT the general election, in Connecticut, Mr. Haynes
 May 17th was chosen governor, and Mr. Hopkins, deputy governor.
 1649. Mr. Ludlow took his place again among the magistrates. The other officers were as they had been the preceding year.

IN consequence of the burning of the old fort at Saybrook, a new one was begun, the last year, at a place called the New fort hill. At this session of the assembly, orders were given, for the erecting of a new dwelling house in the fort, and for completing the works and buildings at Saybrook. The magistrates were empowered to impress suitable hands for carrying the business into effect; and appropriations were made for that purpose.

Resolu- WHEREAS the commissioners of Massachusetts, in
 tions of the general court in the May sessions. their pleadings before the commissioners of the United colonies, at their last sessions, had expressed their doubts, whether the act of Connecticut, imposing a duty upon certain articles exported from Connecticut river, had any respect to the inhabitants of Springfield, the general court declared, that they had particular respect to them, as under the government of the Massachusetts. They also resolved, that, in their best apprehensions, nothing was imposed on them more than was strictly just, or than had been imposed on themselves; and that they ought to submit to the impost. They declared, that the execution of the act, with respect to their brethren at Springfield, had been deferred only that the judgment of the commissioners of the other colonies might be had on the premises. The assembly also resolved, that they were wholly unsatisfied, that Springfield did fall within the true limits of Massachusetts patent. They also expressed their earnest wishes, that the line might be speedily and fully settled in righteousness and peace. It was ordered, that these resolutions should be laid before the commissioners at their next meeting.

MR. LUDLOW had for several years successively been desired by the general court to make a collection of the

laws which had been enacted, and to revise, digest and prepare a body of laws for the colony. He had now finished the work, and at this session a code was established. BOOK I.
1649.

UNTIL this time punishments, in many instances, had been uncertain and arbitrary. They had been left wholly to the discretion of the court. Defamation had in some instances been punished by fine, repeated scourging and imprisonment.* For violation of the sabbath, there is an instance of imprisonment, during the pleasure of the court. Unchastity between single persons was sometimes punished by setting the delinquent in the pillory, and by whipping him from one town to another. But from this time the laws, in general, became fixed, and the punishment of particular crimes was specified, so that delinquents might know what to expect, when they had the temerity to transgress.

THE statute now required a jury of twelve men : That in cases in which they were doubtful with respect to law, they should bring in a *Non liquet*, or special verdict ; and that matter of law should be determined by the bench, as it is at the present time. But if, after the jury had been sent out repeatedly, the court judged they had mistaken the evidence, and brought in a wrong verdict, they were authorized, in civil cases, to impanel a new jury. The court also retained the power of lessening and increasing the damages given by the jury, as they judged most equitable.† All cases of life, limb, or banishment were determined by a special jury of twelve able men, and a verdict could not be accepted unless the whole jury were agreed. Connecticut now had the appearance of a well regulated commonwealth.

AN extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was holden this year at Boston. The members were Thomas Dudley, Esquire, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, William Bradford, Esquire, Mr. John Brown, Edward Hopkins, Commissioners
meet July 25.

* In 1646, one Robert Bartlet, for defamation, was sentenced to stand in the pillory during the public lecture, then to be whipped, pay £ 5, and suffer six months imprisonment. This year one Daniel Turner, for the same crime, was sentenced to be whipped, and then imprisoned a month ; at the month's end to go to the post again, and then to be bound to his good behavior.

† Old Connecticut code, p. 37.

BOOK I. Esquire, Mr. Thomas Welles, Governor Eaton and Mr. John Aftwood.

1649.

The settlement of Delaware bay urged.

GOVERNOR Eaton, in behalf of the colony of New-Haven, proposed that effectual measures might be immediately adopted for the settlement of Delaware-bay. The title which a number of merchants, at New-Haven, had to extensive tracts on both sides of the river, by virtue of fair purchases from the Indians, was laid before the commissioners. The fertility of the soil, the healthfulness of the country, the convenience of the several rivers, the great advantages of settlements, and a well regulated trade there, not only to New-Haven, but to all the New-England colonies, were strongly represented.

THE commissioners, after a full hearing and mature deliberation, were of the opinion, that the circumstances of the colonies were such, that it would not be prudent, at that time, by any public act, to encourage the settlement of those tracts. Besides the contest with the Dutch and the danger of involving the colonies in war, it was observed, that they had scarcely sufficient numbers of men at home for their own defence, and the prosecution of the necessary affairs of their respective plantations.

Advice of the commissioners respecting it.

It was therefore recommended to the merchants and gentlemen at New-Haven, either to settle or to make sale of the lands which they had, as should appear most expedient. The commissioners resolved, that if any persons in the United colonies should attempt, without their consent, to make settlements on the lands, or to do any thing injurious to the rights of the purchasers, that they would neither own nor protect them in their unjust attempts.*

Resolutions respecting Indian murders.

THE murder of Mr. Whitmore, and the other murders which the Indians had committed against the English, were fully considered. The commissioners therefore resolved, that the guilty should be delivered up; and if they were not, that the sachem, at Stamford, or his son, should be apprehended and kept in durance, until they should be secured, and justice have its course. They ordered, that search should be made with respect to the murders, said to be committed, at Long-Island,

* Records of the United colonies.

and, if evidence could be obtained, to apprehend the delinquents and bring them to justice. Book I.

SOMETIME before the meeting of the commissioners, the Indians upon Long-Island perpetrated murder at Southhold. They rose, in a hostile manner, for several days round the town. The inhabitants were obliged to arm and stand upon their defence against them for a considerable time; and afterwards to keep a strong and vigilant guard by night. The town was not only exceedingly alarmed and distressed, but put to great expense. They therefore made application to the commissioners for relief. But they would not consent, that the colonies in general should bear any of the charge, in such instances. They determined in this case, as they had done before with respect to other towns in the jurisdictions of Connecticut and New-Haven. The colonies and towns, which had suffered, had been obliged to bear all the expense of defending Stamford and other places, Uncas and the Moheagans, in all instances in which they had not been warranted, by the particular directions of the commissioners. 1649.
Murder at Southhold.

THE Narraganset and Nehantick Indians still persisted in their murderous designs against Uncas, and in their perfidious conduct towards the colonies. The alarming aspect of affairs, with respect to them, was the occasion of this extraordinary meeting. Narragansets and Nehanticks continue their plots.

AN Indian, hired by the Narraganset and Nehantick sachems to kill Uncas, going on board a vessel in the Thames, where he was, ran him through the breast with a sword. The wound, at first, was judged to be mortal; Uncas however finally recovered. At this meeting, he presented himself before the commissioners, and complained of the assault made upon him; and affirmed, that these sachems had hired the Mohawks and other Indians against him, as well as an assassin to kill him secretly. He complained also, that the Narragansets had neither restored his canoes nor his captives, as had been expressly demanded and stipulated. He prayed, that, as he had ever been friendly and faithful to the colonies, they would provide for his safety, avenge these outrages, and do him justice. Attempt to assassinate Uncas.

NINIGRATE was examined before the commissioners on these points; and it was proved, by the confession of the Mohawks themselves, that the Narragansets had hired them against Uncas. The Indian, who had wound-

Book I. ed Uncas, declared, that he had been hired by Pessacus
 and Ninigrate. Ninigrate made but a poor defence, ei-
 1649. ther of himself or Pessacus. The commissioners dismiss-
 ed him, entirely unsatisfied, and assured him, that unless
 he immediately complied with the terms on which they
 had formerly agreed, they should leave him to his own
 counsels.

THE colonies were alarmed with the report, that one
 of the brothers of Saffacus, or his son, was about to mar-
 ry the daughter of Ninigrate : and it was conjectured,
 that the Narraganset and Nehantick Indians were con-
 certing a plan to collect the scattered remains of the Pe-
 quots, and to set them up as a distinct nation with the
 son, or brother of Saffacus, at their head. The commis-
 sioners viewed the colonies as upon the commencement
 of an Indian war, and gave directions, that they should
 be immediately prepared for any emergency.

Petition
 of the Pe-
 quots.

THE Pequots, who had been given to Uncas, had now
 for more than two years revolted from him, and lived
 separately, as a distinct clan. In 1647, they complain-
 ed to the commissioners, that Uncas and the Moheagans
 had abused them. They represented, that, though they
 had submitted and been faithful to him, assisted him in
 his wars, been esteemed his men, and paid him tribute,
 he had nevertheless grossly injured them. They said,
 that he had required tribute of them, from time to time,
 upon mere pretences ; and that since they had been put
 under him, they paid him wampum forty times. They al-
 leged, that upon the death of one of his children, he
 gave his squaw presents, and ordered them to comfort
 her in the same way ; and that they presented her with a
 hundred fathom of wampum : That Uncas was pleased,
 and promised, that, for the future, he would esteem and
 treat them as Moheagans. They affirmed, that notwith-
 standing this engagement, the Moheagans wronged them
 in their plays, and deprived them of their just rights.
 Obachickquid, one of their chief men, complained that
 Uncas had taken away his wife and used her as his own.
 They proved, that Uncas had wounded some of them,
 and plundered the whole company. They prayed, that
 the English would interpose for their relief, and take
 them under their protection. The petition was present-
 ed in the behalf of more than sixty.

Determi-
 nation up-
 on it ; and

THE commissioners found these charges so well sup-
 ported, that they ordered Uncas to be reprov'd, and de-
 creed, that he should restore Obachickquid his wife, and

pay damages for the injuries he had done the Pequots. Book I.
 They also fined him a hundred fathom of wampum. 1649.
 Nevertheless, as it had been determined, by Connecticut, Uncas
 that the name of the Pequots should be extinguished, fined.
 and that they should not dwell in their own country, it
 was resolved, that they should return, and be in subjec-
 tion to Uncas. He was directed to receive them with-
 out revenge, and to govern them with moderation, in all
 respects, as he did the Moheagans. They did not how-
 ever return to Uncas; but annually presented their peti-
 tion to the commissioners to be taken under the protec-
 tion of the English, and to become their subjects. They
 pleaded, that though their tribe had done wrong, and
 were justly conquered, yet that they had killed no En-
 glish people; and that Wequash had promised them, if
 they would flee their country, and not injure the colonies,
 that they would do them no harm. To ease them, as
 far as might be consistent with former determinations,
 the commissioners recommended it to Connecticut to
 provide some place for them, which might not injure any
 particular town, where they might plant and dwell to-
 gether. At the same time, they were directed to be in
 subjection to Uncas; and it was again enjoined on him
 to govern them with impartiality and kindness.

MR. WESTERHOUSE renewed his complaint respecting Com-
 plaint and
 petition
 of Mr.
 Wester-
 house.
 the seizure of his vessel, in the harbour of New-Haven.
 He alledged, that, besides the loss of his vessel, and the
 advantages of trading, the prime cost of his goods was
 £2,000; and that, after repeated application to the
 Dutch governor, he had not been able to obtain the least
 compensation. He had therefore petitioned the govern-
 ment of New-Haven, that some Dutch vessel might be
 taken by way of reprisal. He now petitioned the com-
 missioners for liberty to make reprisals, by way of indem-
 nification, until he should obtain satisfaction.

THOUGH the commissioners declared against the injus- Commis-
 sion of re-
 prisals
 not grant-
 ed.
 tice of the seizure, and regretted both the insult done to
 the United colonies, and the damages sustained by Mr.
 Westerhouse, yet they declined granting him a commission
 to make reprisals. They judged it expedient first to
 negotiate.

THEY therefore wrote to the Dutch governor, that Commis-
 sioners
 write to
 the Dutch
 governor.
 Mr. Westerhouse had applied to them for a commission
 to make reprisals, and that they had not granted his peti-
 tion, as they wished first to acquaint him with the mo-
 tion, and to represent to him the equity of making retri-

BOOK I. fals, unless justice should be done him some other way.
 1649. They again avowed their claim to all parts of the United colonies. They asserted the right of New-Haven to Delaware bay, and assured him, that it would not be given up. They complained of his letter, the last year, that it was, in various respects, unsatisfying; and that with regard to that dangerous trade of arms and ammunition carried on with the Indians, at fort Aurania and in the English plantations, it was wholly silent. They observed, that all differences, between them and the Dutch, might have been amicably settled, had it pleased him to attend the meeting of the commissioners, at Boston, according to the invitation which they had given him. As that was not agreeable to him, they avowed their designs of making provision for their own safety.

Resolution
 against
 vending
 arms to
 the na-
 tives.

To prevent the vending of arms and ammunition to the Indians in the United colonies, they passed the following resolve: "That after due publication hereof, it shall not be lawful for any Frenchman, Dutchman, or person of any foreign nation, or any Englishman living among them, or under the government of any of them, to trade with any Indian or Indians within this jurisdiction, either directly or indirectly, by themselves or others, under the penalty of confiscation of all such goods and vessels, as shall be found so trading, or the true value thereof, upon just proof of any goods or vessels so traded or trading."

Further
 litigation
 respecting
 the im-
 post.

Objec-
 tions of
 Massachu-
 setts.

THE gentlemen from Massachusetts, at this meeting, again brought on the dispute between them and Connecticut relative to the impost. They pretended, that Mr. Fenwick, some years before, had promised to join with them, in running the line, but that as he had not done it, and it had now been done by them, at their own expense, and to their satisfaction, it ought to be satisfactory to all others, who could make no legal claim to the adjacent lands. This they insisted that Connecticut could not, because they had no patent.

Reply of
 Connecti-
 cut.

THE commissioners from Connecticut denied the facts which had been stated. They insisted, that Mr. Fenwick never had agreed to run the line with them; and that their running the line, at their own expense, was not owing to any defect of his, nor on the part of Connecticut; for they ran the line a year before the dispute with Mr. Fenwick respecting Waranoke. Besides, they said, what he promised at that time, was not to run the line, but to clear his claim to that plantation. With respect

to the patent, they acknowledged, they had not indeed exhibited the original, but a true copy, to the authenticity of which Mr. Hopkins could give oath. They observed, it was well known that they had a patent; that the original was in England, and could not then be exhibited; and that the Massachusetts insisting on this point was an entire bar to the amicable settlement of the line between the colonies. Mr. Hopkins insisted, that the southerly extent of the Massachusetts patent ought first to be mutually settled; then he proposed, that the line should be run by skilful men, mutually chosen, and at the mutual expense of the colonies. The commissioners from Connecticut indeed declared, that it was evident, beyond all doubt, that Springfield, at first, was settled in combination with Connecticut; and, that it had been acknowledged to be so even by the colony of Massachusetts. They affirmed, that when propositions were sent, by Governor Winthrop, to the plantations upon the river, in 1637, relative to a confederation of the New-England colonies, Mr. Pyncheon, in prosecution of that design, was, in 1638, chosen and sent as a commissioner from Connecticut, to act in their behalf: That it was at this time, and never before, he suggested his apprehensions, that Springfield would fall within the limits of Massachusetts; and that this was received as a fact without any evidence of what had been alledged. They expressed it, as their full persuasion, that Mr. Pyncheon's representations and motion, at that time, originated from a pang of discontent which had overtaken him, in consequence of a censure laid upon him, by the general court of Connecticut.* They concluded by expressing their earnest wishes, that both the government of the Massachusetts and their commissioners would consider, that they did not comply with the advice of the commissioners relative to the present dispute; and that they insisted upon what they knew could not, at that time, be obtained. They charged them, with an unwillingness to submit the differences, subsisting between them and Connecticut, to the mature and impartial judgment of the commissioners of the other colonies, according to the true intent of the confederation. In a very modest and respectful manner, they referred it to the serious consideration of their brethren of the Massachusetts, whether their conduct was not directly contrary to the articles and design of the con-

* It seems the court had blamed him for a particular instance of his conduct, in trading with the Indians.

BOOK I. federates, to which they all ought to pay a conscientious regard.†

1649.
Final de-
cision of
the com-
mission-
ers.
Act of
Massachu-
setts.

THE commissioners finally decided the controversy in favor of Connecticut. Upon this the gentlemen from Massachusetts produced an order of their general court, passed by way of retaliation, imposing a duty upon all goods belonging to any of the inhabitants of Plymouth, Connecticut or New-Haven, imported within the castle, or exported from any part of the bay.‡

THIS was very extraordinary indeed, as it was contrary to all the arguments from justice, liberty, expediency, or brotherly love, which they had pleaded against their sister colony. It was extravagant and unreasonable, as it respected Connecticut; as the impost at Saybrook affected the inhabitants of one of their towns only; and that solely upon the export of two or three articles; whereas their impost was upon the inhabitants of all the plantations in the colony; and upon all their imports, as well as exports. With respect to the other colonies, who had laid no kind of imposition on any of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, it was still more unjust and cruel.

THE commissioners from Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, in consequence of this extraordinary act, drew up the following declaration and remonstrance, addressed to the general court of Massachusetts.

Declara-
tion of the
commis-
sioners.

“ A DIFFERENCE between the Massachusetts and Con-
“ necticut, concerning an impost at Saybrook, required
“ of Springfield, having long depended, the commis-
“ sioners hoped, according to the advice at Plymouth,
“ might, at this meeting, have been satisfiably issued :
“ but upon the perusal of some late orders made by the
“ general court of the Massachusetts, they find, that the
“ line on the south side of the Massachusetts jurisdiction
“ is neither run; nor the place whence it should be run
“ agreed : That the original patent for Connecticut, or
“ an authentic exemplification thereof, (though Mr.
“ Hopkins hath offered upon oath to assert the truth of
“ the copy by himself presented,) is now required; and
“ that a burdensome custom, is, by the Massachusetts,
“ lately imposed not only upon Connecticut, interested
“ in the impost at Saybrook, but upon Plymouth and
“ New-Haven colonies, whose commissioners, as arbi-
“ trators, according to an article in the confederation,

† Records of the United colonies.

‡ Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 154, 155.

“ have been only exercised in the question, and that
 “ upon the desire of the Massachusetts, and have impar- BOOK I.
 “ tially, according to their best light, declared their ap- 1649.
 “ prehensions; which custom and burden, (grievous in
 “ itself) seems the more unsatisfying and heavy, because
 “ divers of the Massachusetts deputies, who had a hand
 “ in making the law, acknowledge, and the preface im-
 “ ports it, that it is a return, or retaliation upon the
 “ three colonies for Saybrook: and the law requires it of
 “ no other English, nor of any stranger of what nation
 “ soever. How far the premises agree with the law of
 “ love, and with the tenor and import of the articles of
 “ confederation, the commissioners tender and recom-
 “ mend to the serious consideration of the general court
 “ for the Massachusetts. And in the mean time desire
 “ to be spared in all future agitations respecting Spring-
 “ field.” †

GOVERNOR Hutchinson observes, that this law was produced to the dishonor of the colony: That had the Massachusetts imposed a duty upon goods from Connecticut only, they might, at least, have had a colour to justify them; but that extending their resentment to the other colonies, because their commissioners had given judgment against them, admitted of no excuse. It was a mere exertion of power, and a proof of their great superiority, which enabled them, in effect, to depart from the union, whenever they found it to be for their interest. If it had been done by a single magistrate, it would have been pronounced tyrannical and oppressive. He observes that, in all ages and countries, communities of men have done that, of which most of the individuals, of whom they consisted, would, acting separately, have been ashamed. †

THE Massachusetts treated Connecticut in the same ungenerous manner with respect to the line between the colonies. In 1642, they employed one Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffery, whom Douglass calls two obscure sailors, to run the line between them and Connecticut. They arbitrarily fixed a boundary, as the exact point to which three miles south of every part of Charles river would carry them. Thence by water they proceeded up Connecticut river, and setting up their compass in the same latitude, as they supposed, declared,

Manner of Massachusetts running the line.

† Records of the United colonies.

‡ Hutchinson vol. i. p. 155, 156.

BOOK I. that the line struck the chimney of one Bissell's house, the most northern building then in the town of Windsor. *1649.* This was a whole range of towns south of the true line between the colonies. Connecticut considered the boundary fixed, as entirely arbitrary, and six or eight miles further south than it ought to have been. They imagined, that the error, at Windsor, was still greater, as no proper allowance had been made for the variation of the needle. They viewed the manner in which this had been effected as contrary to all the rules of justice, and to the modes in which differences of that magnitude ought to be accommodated. The utmost extent of Narraganset river was their north line, and they were persuaded, that this would run so far north as to comprehend the town of Springfield, and other towns in the same latitude. Therefore, neither Connecticut nor the commissioners of the United colonies considered any boundary as properly settled, whence the line should be run, nor any line run between the colonies.

CONNECTICUT wished to have the southern boundary of Massachusetts mutually settled and the line run, at the joint expense of the two colonies; but Massachusetts would neither consent to this, nor even allow that the copy of the Connecticut patent was authentic. For nearly seventy years they encroached upon this colony, and settled whole towns within its proper limits.

THE general court of Connecticut adopted the recommendation of the commissioners, with respect to the prohibition of all trading of foreigners among the Indians of the United colonies. They made the penalty to be the confiscation of all vessels and goods employed in such trade.

The Assembly's determination to arrest murderers.

THE court also, after conferring with New-Haven, determined to avenge the blood of John Whitmore of Stamford; and, considering all its circumstances, and the conduct of the Indians in the town and bordering upon it, resolved, that it was lawful to make war upon them. It was ordered, that fifty men should be immediately draughted, armed and victualled for the purpose of bringing the murderers to condign punishment, or of arresting other Indians until the delinquents should be delivered to justice.* These spirited measures appear to have had the desired effect. The Indians at Stamford, it seems, became peaceable, and there is nothing further upon the records respecting any trouble with them.

* Records of Connecticut.

CHAPTER X.

BOOK I.

COURT of election at Hartford. Grants to Captain Mason. 1650.

The commissioners meet and dispatch Captain Atherton to the Narragansets. Their message to Ninigrate. The Dutch governor arrives at Hartford, and refers the differences between him and the colonies, to arbitrators. Their determination, and the line is fixed between the English and Dutch plantations. Agreements with Mr. Fenwick occasion general uneasiness. Committees are appointed to explain and ascertain them. Towns are invited to attend the committees, by their deputies, at Saybrook. An act for the encouragement of Mr. Winthrop in seeking and improving mines. Norwalk and Mattabesck settled and made towns. The colony of New-Haven make another attempt to settle at Delaware. The Dutch governor seizes the company, and frustrates the design. He pursues his former line of conduct towards the colonies. The resolutions of the commissioners relative to his conduct, to the settlement of Delaware, and the tribute to be paid by the Pequots. French commissioners from Canada. Their proposals. Reply to them. The Dutch governor and Indians concert a plan to extirpate the colonies. The commissioners meet, and dispatch agents to the Dutch governor. They determine upon war, unless he should manifest his innocence, and redress the grievances of the colonies. They determine on the number of men to be raised, and draw a declaration of the reasons of the war. The agents return unsuccessful. The commissioners meet again, and determine to make war upon the Dutch and Narraganset Indians. The general court of Massachusetts refuses to raise men, and prevents the war. Altercations between that general court and the commissioners, and between that and the general courts of Connecticut and New-Haven. The alarm and distress of the plantations in these colonies. Their general courts protest against the court of Massachusetts, as violators of the articles of confederation; and write to Cromwell and the parliament for assistance. The tumultuous state of the inhabitants in several of the towns.

UPON the election at Hartford Mr. Hopkins was chosen governor, and Mr. Haynes, deputy governor. Mr. Clark was added to the magistrates. The court consisted of thirty two members; the governors, ten assistants, and twenty deputies.

Election
May 16.

BOOK I.

1650.

Grant to
Capt. Ma-
son.

THE court had granted a thousand acres of land to Captain Mason for his good services in the Pequot war; five hundred to himself, and five hundred to be given to his five best officers and soldiers. It was now ordered, that the five hundred acres granted to the soldiers should be laid out for them at Pequot, or in the Neanticut country. The next year the court made a grant of Chippa-chauge island, in Mistic bay, and a hundred and ten acres of land at Mistic, to the captain.

Commis-
sioners
meet
Sept. 5.

THE commissioners met this year at Hartford. The meeting consisted of Mr. Simon Bradstreet and Mr. William Hawthorn, Mr. Thomas Prince and Mr. John Brown, and of Governors Hopkins and Haynes, Eaton and Goodyear. Governor Hopkins was chosen president.

Capt.
Atherton
sent to
Narra-
ganset.

As the Narragansets still neglected to pay the tribute which had been so many years due, the commissioners dispatched Captain Atherton of Massachusetts, with twenty men, to demand and collect the arrearages. He was authorized, if they should not be paid, upon demand, to seize on the best articles he could find, to the full amount of what was due; or on Pessacus, the chief sachem, or any of his children, and carry them off. Upon his arrival among the Narragansets, he found the sachem recurring to his former arts, putting him off with deceitful and dilatory answers, and not suffering him to approach his presence. In the mean time he was collecting his warriors about him. The captain therefore marched directly to the door of his wigwam, where posting his men, he entered himself with his pistol in his hand, and seizing Pessacus, by the hair of his head, drew him from the midst of his attendants, declaring, that if they should make the least resistance, he would dispatch him in an instant. This bold stroke gave him such an alarm, that he at once paid all the arrearages.

NINIGRATE, sachem of the Nehanticks, continuing his perfidious practices, began to lay claim to the Pequot country, and appeared to be concerting a plan to recover it from the English. Captain Atherton therefore made him a visit, and, according to his instructions, assured him, that the commissioners were no strangers to his intrigues, in marrying his daughter to the brother of Sassa-cus; in collecting the Pequots under him, as though he designed to become their head; and in his claims and attempts respecting the Pequot country. He remonstrated against his conduct, as directly opposite to all the covenants subsisting between him and the English colonies.

He protested to him, that the colonies would never suffer him to accomplish his designs; either to possess any part of the country, which they had conquered, or even to hunt within its limits. He demanded where the brother of Sassacus was? What numbers he had with him? And what were his designs? He insisted upon categorical answers, that the commissioners might order their affairs accordingly. Having, in this spirited manner, accomplished his business, he returned in safety.

Book I.
1650.

MEANWHILE, Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, arrived at Hartford. He had been often invited to attend the meeting of the commissioners, with a view to the accommodation of the difficulties subsisting between him and the English colonies. He chose to treat by writing, and on the 13th* day of September he introduced his correspondence with the commissioners. In his letter he complained of the encroachments made upon the West-India company, and the injuries done them both by Connecticut and New-Haven. He pretended, that the Dutch, in behalf of said company, had purchased the lands upon the river, of the native Americans, before any other nation had bought them, or laid any claim to them. He therefore demanded a full surrender of said lands, and such compensation as the nature of the case required. He also complained of the act prohibiting all foreigners to trade in the English colonies, and that the English sold goods so cheap to the natives, as to ruin the trade for other nations. He concluded with intimations of his willingness to settle a general provisional line between the Dutch and English plantations, by a joint writing to their superiors in England and Holland, or by the decision of agents, mutually chosen and empowered for that purpose.

Sept. 11.
Stuyvesant arrives.
Correspondence commences.

THE commissioners, observing, that his letter was dated at New-Netherlands, replied, that they would not treat, unless he would alter the name of the place where he wrote. He answered, that if they would not date at Hartford, he would not at New-Netherlands, but at Connecticut. They consented, that he should date at Connecticut, but claimed a right for themselves to date at Hartford. He gave up the right of dating at the Netherlands, and the treaty proceeded.

Dispute respecting the place of dating.

THE commissioners replied to his complaints to this effect; That their title to Connecticut river, and the ad-

Reply of the commissioners

* 23 old style as he dated.

BOOK I.

1650.

to the
Dutch
com-
plaints.

adjacent country, had been often asserted, and made sufficiently evident both to the Dutch and English; and that they hoped amply to prove their title to what they enjoyed, by patent, purchase, and possession. Consequently they insisted, that they had made no encroachments on the honorable West-India company, nor done them the least injury. They affirmed, that they knew not what the Dutch claimed, nor upon what grounds: That at some times they claimed all the lands upon the river, and at others, a part only: That their claim was founded sometimes upon one thing, and at other times upon another; and that it had been so various and uncertain as to involve the whole affair in obscurity.

WITH respect to trade, they observed, that they had the same right to regulate it, within their jurisdiction, which the Dutch, French and other nations had to regulate it, within their respective dominions: That their merchants had a right to deal with the natives on such terms as they pleased; and that they presumed they did not trade to their own disadvantage. They gave intimations, that, if the then present treaty should succeed agreeably to their wishes, they might reconsider the act of trade, and repeal the prohibition respecting foreigners.

Statement
of their
own
grievan-
ces.

THEY then proceeded to a large and particular statement of the grievances they suffered from the Dutch; particularly representing those which have been already noticed, in this history, with several other more recent injuries. Especially, that the Dutch agents had gone off, from Hartford, without paying for the goods which they had taken up: That their successors had refused to make any settlement of their accounts; and that the Dutch governor had not obliged them to make payment: That the Dutch bought stolen goods, and would make no compensation to the English, whose property they were: And that they had, not only formerly, helped criminals to file off their irons and make their escape; but that they had been guilty of a recent instance of similar conduct. They alledged, that a Dutch servant had, lately, assisted a criminal, committed for a capital offence, to break gaol and make his escape; and that the Dutch called him to no account, for so gross a misdemeanor.

Arbitra-
tors cho-
sen.

VARIOUS letters passed, and several days were spent, in these altercations. At length the commissioners chose Mr. Bradstreet of Massachusetts and Mr. Prince of Plymouth, as arbitrators to hear and compose all differences with respect to injury and damages; to make provisional

boundaries, in all places where their respective limits were controverted, and to settle a just and free correspondence between the parties. The Dutch governor chose Thomas Willet and George Baxter for the same purpose. Both parties, in the amplest manner, authorized the arbitrators to hear and determine, in the most full and absolute manner, all differences between the two nations in this country.

Book I.
1650.

THE arbitrators, after a full hearing of the parties, came to the following determination, which they drew up in the form of an agreement.

“ARTICLES of an agreement made and concluded at Hartford, upon Connecticut river, September 19th, 1650, betwixt the delegates of the honored commissioners of the United English colonies, and the delegates of Peter Stuyvesant, governor general of New-Netherlands.

Determination of the arbitrators.

I. “UPON a serious consideration of the differences and grievances propounded by the two English colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven, and the answer made by the Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, Esquire, according to the trust and power committed to us, as arbitrators and delegates betwixt the said parties: We find that most of the offences or grievances were things done in the time, or by the order and command of Monf. Kieft, the former governor, and that the present honorable governor is not prepared to make answer to them; we therefore think meet to respite the full consideration and judgment concerning them, till the present governor may acquaint the H. M.† States and West-India company with the particulars, that so due reparation may accordingly be made.”

II. “THE commissioners, for New-Haven, complained of several high and hostile injuries which they, and others of that jurisdiction, have received from and by order of the aforesaid Monf. Kieft, in Delaware bay and river, and in their return thence, as by their former propositions and complaints may more fully appear; and besides the English right, claimed by patent, presented and showed several purchases they have made, on both sides the river and bay of Delaware, of several large tracts of land unto, and some what above the Dutch house or fort there, with the consideration given to the said sachems and their com-

† H. M. High and Mighty.

BOOK I.

1650.

panies for the same, acknowledged and cleared by the hands of the Indians, who they affirmed were the true proprietors; and testified by many witnesses. They also affirmed, that, according to the best of their apprehensions, they have sustained £1000 damage there, partly by the Swedish governor, but chiefly by order from Mons. Kieft.—And therefore required due satisfaction, and a peaceable possession of the aforesaid lands, to enjoy and improve according to their just rights. The Dutch governor, by way of answer, affirmed and insisted on the title and right to Delaware, or the south river, as they call it, and to the lands there, as belonging to the H. M. States and West-India company; and professed he must protest against any other claim; but is not provided to make any such proof, as in such a treaty might be expected, nor had he commission to treat or conclude any thing therein. Upon consideration whereof, we, the said arbitrators or delegates, wanting sufficient light to issue or determine any thing in the premises, are necessitated to leave both parties *in statu quo prius*, to plead and improve their just interest, at Delaware, for planting or trading, as they shall see cause: Only we desire, that all proceedings there, as in other places, may be carried on in love and peace, till the right may be further considered and justly issued, either in Europe or here, by the two states of England and Holland.”

III. “CONCERNING the seizing of Mr. Westerhouse’s ship and goods, about three years since, in New-Haven harbour, upon a claim to the place, the honored governor, Peter Stuyvesant, Esquire, professed, that what passed in writing that way was through error of his secretary, his intent not being to lay any claim to the place, and with all affirming, that he had orders to seize any Dutch ship, or vessel, in any of the English colonies or harbours, which should trade there without express licence or commission. We therefore think it meet, that the commissioners of New-Haven accept and acquiesce in this answer.”

“CONCERNING the bounds and limits betwixt the English United colonies, and the Dutch province of New-Netherlands, we agree as followeth.”

I. “THAT upon Long-Island, a line run from the westernmost part of Oyster-Bay, and so a straight and direct line to the sea, shall be the bounds betwixt the

“ English and the Dutch there, the easterly part to be- Book I.^d
 “ long to the English, and the westernmost to the Dutch.” ~

II. “ THE bounds upon the main to begin at the west 1650.
 “ side of Greenwich bay, being about four miles from
 “ Stamford, and so to run a northerly line, twenty miles
 “ up into the country, and after, as it shall be agreed, by
 “ the two governments of the Dutch and New-Haven,
 “ provided the said line come not within ten miles of
 “ Hudson’s river. And it is agreed, that the Dutch
 “ shall not, at any time hereafter, build any house or
 “ habitation within six miles of the said line ; the inhab-
 “ itants of Greenwich to remain (till further considera-
 “ tion thereof be had) under the government of the
 “ Dutch.”

III. “ THE Dutch shall hold and enjoy all the lands
 “ in Hartford, that they are actually possessed of, known
 “ and set out by certain marks and bounds, and all the
 “ remainder of the said land, on both sides of Connec-
 “ cut river, to be and remain to the English there.”

“ AND it is agreed, that the aforesaid bounds and lim-
 “ its, both upon the Island and main, shall be observed
 “ and kept inviolable, both by the English of the United
 “ colonies, and all the Dutch nation, without any en-
 “ croachment or molestation, until a full and final de-
 “ termination be agreed upon, in Europe, by the mutual
 “ consent of the two states of England and Holland.”

“ And in testimony of our joint consent to the several
 “ foregoing conclusions, we have hereunto set our
 “ hands this 19th day of September, Anno Dom.
 “ 1650.”

SIMON BRADSTREET.

THOMAS PRINCE.

THOMAS WILLET.

GEORGE BAXTER.

THE Dutch governor promised also, and his agents, Messrs. Willet and Baxter, engaged for him, that Greenwich should be put under the government of New-Haven, to whom it originally belonged. It was also agreed, that the same line of conduct which had been adopted, with respect to fugitives, by the United colonies, in the eighth article of confederation, should be strictly observed between them and the Dutch, in the province of New-Netherlands. The Dutch governor also acquainted the commissioners, that he had orders from Europe to maintain peace and good neighbourhood with the English in America ; and he proceeded so far as to make proposals

BOOK I. of a nearer union and friendship, between the Dutch and the United colonies. The commissioners declined acting upon these proposals, without consulting their constituents; and recommended the consideration of them to their respective general courts.

1650.

General
uneasiness
respecting
the agree-
ments
with Mr.
Fenwick.

WHILE this settlement with the Dutch seemed to give a favorable aspect to the affairs of the colonies, there arose a great and general uneasiness in Connecticut, relative to the agreements which had been made with Mr. Fenwick, and to the state of the accounts between him and the colony. By the first agreement, besides the impost on several articles exported from the mouth of the river, for ten years, the people were obliged to pay one shilling annually for every milch cow and mare in the colony, and the same sum for every swine killed either for market or private use. Springfield refused to pay the impost; and it seems, that Connecticut was obliged, by the conduct of Massachusetts, to repeal the act relating to the imposition. By reason of the controversy which arose between Connecticut and Massachusetts, and some other circumstances, several of the towns, during the two first years, paid but a small proportion of what had been stipulated. The colony therefore, on the 17th of February 1646, made a new agreement with Mr. Fenwick. This was to the following effect:

THAT, instead of all former grants, he should receive from the colony, annually, one hundred and eighty pounds, for ten years. He was to collect what was due from Springfield, and to enjoy certain profits arising from the beaver trade. A hundred and seventy or eighty pounds was also to be paid to him from Saybrook and one or two newly settled towns. The whole amount appears to have been more than £2,000, which the colony paid for the right of jurisdiction, the ordnance, arms and stores at the fort.* As different apprehensions had arisen, respecting these agreements, and the state of affairs between Mr. Fenwick and the colony, the general court appointed committees to meet at Saybrook to ascertain them. To quiet the minds of the people, notice was given to every town of the time and place of the meeting of the committees, and each was authorized to send representatives to hear the disputes and report the issue, with the reasons of it, to their constituents. By

Feb. 5th,
1651.

* See the agreements Numbers V and VI.


these means the inhabitants obtained general satisfaction.

MR. John Winthrop, at the election, was chosen into the magistracy. The assembly consisted of thirty four members; twelve magistrates and twenty two deputies.

THE colony of Rhode-Island gave great trouble to her neighbours, by giving entertainment to criminals and fugitives. Connecticut found it so prejudicial to the course of justice and to the rights of individuals, that the court resolved to recommend the consideration of the affair to the commissioners of the United colonies.*

MR. Winthrop imagined, that Connecticut contained mines and minerals, which might be improved to great advantage to individuals, as well as to the public emolument. Upon a motion of his, the assembly passed the following act.

“ WHEREAS, in this rocky country, among these mountains and rocky hills, there are probabilities of mines of metals, the discovery of which may be of great advantage to the country, in raising a staple commodity; and whereas John Winthrop, Esquire, doth intend to be at charges and adventure, for the search and discovery of such mines and minerals; for the encouragement thereof, and of any that shall adventure with the said John Winthrop, Esquire, in the said business, it is therefore ordered by the court, that if the said John Winthrop, Esquire, shall discover, set upon, and maintain such mines of lead, copper or tin; or any minerals, as antimony, vitriol, black lead, alum, stone salt, salt springs, or any other the like, within this jurisdiction; and shall set up any work for the digging, washing and melting, or any other operation about the said mines or minerals, as the nature thereof requireth; that then, the said John Winthrop, Esquire, his heirs, associates, partners or assigns, shall enjoy forever said mines, with the lands, wood, timber and water within two or three miles of said mines, for the necessary carrying on of the works, and maintaining of the workmen, and provision of coal for the same. Provided it be not within the bounds of any town already settled, or any particular person’s property; and pro-

BOOK I.

 1651.
 May 15.
 Rhode-Island entertains fugitives.

Act to encourage the discovery of mines.

* Augustus Harriman, a Dutch trader, with his vessel, was seized by the people of Saybrook for illicit trade with the Indians. The court fined him £40 and confiscated his vessel and cargo. They also made him give it in writing under his hand, that he had been well treated.

Book I. "vided it be not in, or bordering upon any place, that
 " shall, or may, by the court, be judged fit to make a
 " plantation of."

1651.

Settle-
ment of
Norwalk

THOUGH the eastern and middle parts of Norwalk had been purchased more than ten years, yet there had been only a few scattering inhabitants within its limits. But the last year, upon the petition of Nathan Ely and Richard Olmstead, the court gave liberty for its settlement, and ordained, that it should be a town, by the name of Norwalk. The western part of it was purchased on the 15th of February. The inhabitants, at this time, consisted of about twenty families. About four years after, the general court vested them with town privileges. The situation of the place is very agreeable; the harbour is pleasant and safe, and the lands rich yielding plentifully. The air is uncommonly healthful and salubrious.*

and Mid-
dletown.

THE settlement of Mattabeseck commenced about the same time. The principal planters were from England, Hartford, and Wethersfield. The greatest number was from Hartford. There was a considerable accession from Rowley, Chelmsford, and Woburn, in Massachusetts. By the close of this year, it became considerably settled. In November 1653, the general court gave it the name of Middletown. Twenty years after, the number of shares was fixed at fifty two. This was the whole number of the householders, at that period, within the town.

THE agreement made, the last year, with the Dutch governor, and his professions of amity, encouraged the English to prosecute the settlement of the lands, which they had purchased, in the vicinity of the Dutch.

Attempt
to settle
Delaware.

FIFTY men from New-Haven and Totoket, made preparations to settle their lands at Delaware. This spring, they hired a vessel to transport themselves and their effects into those parts. They had a commission from Governor Eaton; and he wrote an amicable letter to the Dutch governor, acquainting him with their design; assuring him, that, according to the agreement at

* From the first settlement of the town to 1732, a term of more than 80 years, there was no general sickness, except the measles, in the town. From 1715, to 1719, there died in that large town twelve persons only. Out of one train band, consisting of a hundred men, there died not one person, from 1716 to 1730 during the term of fourteen years. Mrs. Hanford, relict of the first minister of the town, died Sept. 12th, 1730, aged 100 years. Manuscripts of the Rev. Moses Dickinson.

Hartford, they would settle upon their own lands and give no disturbance to their neighbours. A letter, of the same import, was also addressed to him from the governor of Massachusetts. But no sooner had Governor Stuyvesant received the letters, than he arrested the bearers, and committed them close prisoners, under guard. Then sending for the master of the vessel to come on shore, that he might speak with him, he arrested and committed him. Others, as they came on shore, to visit and assist their neighbours, were confined with them. The Dutch governor desired to see their commission, promising it should be returned when he had taken a copy. But when it was demanded of him he would not return it to them. Nor would he release the men from confinement, until he had forced them to give it under their hands, that they would not prosecute their voyage; but, without loss of time, return to New-Haven. He threatened, that, if he should afterwards find any of them at Delaware, he would not only seize their goods, but send them prisoners into Holland. He also caused a considerable part of the estate of the inhabitants of Southampton to be attached, and would not suffer them to remove it within the jurisdiction of the English. Captain Tapping, Mr. Fordham and others therefore complained and petitioned to the commissioners for redress.

Book I.
1651.
New-Haven people imprisoned by the Dutch governor.

THEY met this year at New-Haven. The members were Mr. Bradstreet and Captain John Hawthorne, Mr. John Brown and Mr. Timothy Hatherly, Governor Hopkins and Mr. Ludlow, Governors Eaton and Goodyear. Governor Eaton was chosen president.

Commissioners meet at New-Haven Sept. 14.

JASPER CRANE and William Tuttle, in behalf of themselves and many others, inhabitants of New-Haven and Totoket, presented a petition to the commissioners, complaining of the treatment which they had received from the Dutch governor, and representing, that they had sustained more than three hundred pounds damage, besides the insult and injury done to the United colonies. They showed, that the Dutch had seized, and were about to fortify, upon the very lands which they had bought of the original proprietors at Delaware: That, had it not been for the injustice and violence of the Dutch, the New-England colonies might have been greatly enlarged, by settlements in those parts; that the gospel might have been published to the natives, and much good done, not only to the colonies, at present, but to posterity. They also represented, that the Dutch were, by gifts and art,

Petition respecting Delaware.

BOOK I. enticing the English to make settlements under their jurisdiction. They insisted, that suffering them thus to insult the English, and to seize on lands to which they could shew no just claim, would encourage them to drive them from their other settlements, and to seize on their lands and property, whenever they pleased; and that it would make them contemptible among the natives, as well as among all other nations. They pressed the commissioners therefore to act with spirit, and immediately to redress the injuries which had been done to them and the colonies.

The commissioners remonstrate and protest against the Dutch governor.

THE commissioners nevertheless declined acting against the Dutch, without previously writing, and attempting to obtain redress by negotiation. They wrote to Stuyvesant, insisting, that he had acted in direct contravention of the agreement at Hartford, and noticed, that, in a letter to Governor Eaton, he had threatened force of arms and bloodshed to any, who should go to make settlements upon their lands, at Delaware, to which he was unable to show any claim. They represented to him how deficient it appeared, at Hartford, not only to the commissioners, but even to the arbitrators of his own choosing. They charge him with a breach of the engagement of Mr. Willet and Mr. Baxter, in his behalf, with respect to the restoration of Greenwich to the government of New-Haven. They remonstrated against his conduct in imprisoning the people of New-Haven and Totoket, in detaining their commission, and frustrating their voyage; and also in beginning to erect fortifications upon the lands of the New-Haven people at Delaware. They affirmed, that they had as good a right to the Manhatoes, as the Dutch had to those lands. They declared, that the colonies had just cause to vindicate and promote their interests, and to redress the injuries which had been done to their confederates. They protested, that whatever inconveniences or mischief might arise upon it would be wholly chargeable to his unneighbourly and unjust conduct.

Resolution respecting the settlement of Delaware.

AT the same time, for the encouragement of the petitioners, they resolved, that if, at any time, within twelve months, they should attempt the settlement of their lands, at Delaware, and, at their own charge, transport a hundred and fifty, or at least a hundred men, well armed, with a good vessel or vessels for such an enterprise, with a sufficient quantity of ammunition; and warranted by a commission from the authority at New-Haven, that then,

if they should meet with any opposition from the Dutch or Swedes, they would afford them a sufficient force for their defence. They also resolved, that all English planters, at Delaware, either from New-Haven, or any other of the United colonies, should be under the jurisdiction of New-Haven.

BOOK I.
1651.

THE Pequots among the Moheagans and Narragansets, and those who had removed to Long-Island, had, to this time, neglected to pay any part of the tribute, which had been stipulated, at Hartford, in 1638, upon condition, that the English would spare their lives and defend them from their enemies. The general court had given orders, that it should be collected forthwith, and had appointed Captain Mason to go to Long-Island, and demand it of the Pequots there, as well as of those in other places.

Tribute demanded of the Pequots.

UNCAS, with a number of the Moheagans, and of Ninigrate's men, therefore presented himself before the commissioners; and, in behalf of the Pequots, paid a tribute of about three hundred fathom of wampum. He then, in their name, demanded, why this tribute was required? How long it was to continue? And whether it must be paid by the children yet unborn?

They demand why it was required.

THE commissioners answered, that, by covenant, it had been annually due ever since the year 1638: That after a just war, in which the Pequots were conquered, the English, to spare, as far as might be, the blood of the guilty, accepted of a small tribute, as expressed in the covenant. They insisted, that they had a right to demand it as a just debt. They observed, that twelve years tribute was now due, reckoning only to the year 1650; but that, to show their lenity, and encourage the Pequots, if they would behave themselves well, and pay the tribute agreed upon, for ten years, reckoning from 1650, they would give them all which was due for past years; and that, at the expiration of the ten years, they and their children should be free. This, it seems, they thankfully accepted, and afterwards became as faithful friends to the English, as the Moheagans. They assisted them in their wars with other Indians; especially, in that against Philip and the Narragansets.

Answer of the commissioners.

WHILE the commissioners were at New-Haven, two French gentlemen, Monsieur Godfroy and Monsieur Gabriel Druillets, arrived in the capacity of commissioners from Canada. They had been sent by the French governor, Monsieur D'Aillebout, to treat with the United

French agents from Canada.

BOOK I.



1651.

Present
their com-
missions.

Sue for
aid against
the six na-
tions.

Their ad-
dress.

Reply of
the com-
mission-
ers

colonies. They presented three commissions, one from Monsieur D'Aillebout, another from the council of New-France, and a third to Monsieur Gabriel Druillets, who had been authorized to publish the doctrines and duties of christianity among the Indians.

IN behalf of the French in Canada, and the christianized Indians in Acadia, they petitioned for aid against the Mohawks and warriors of the six nations. They urged, that the war was just, as the Mohawks had violated the most solemn leagues, and were perfidious and cruel: That it was a holy war, as the Acadians were converted Indians, and the Mohawks treated them barbarously, because of their christianity. They insisted, that it was a common concern to the French and English nations, as the war with the six nations interrupted the trade of both, with the Indians in general.

MONSIEUR Druillets appeared to be a man of address. He opened the case to the best advantage, displaying all his art, and employing his utmost ability to persuade the commissioners to engage in the war against the six nations. He urged, that, if they would not consent to join in the war, they would at least, permit the enlistment of volunteers, in the United colonies, for the French service; and grant them a free passage through the colonies, by land or water, as the case might require, to the Mohawk country. He also pleaded, that the christianized Indians might be taken under the protection of the United colonies. He made fair promises of the ample compensation which the French would make the colonies for these services. He represented, that, if these points could be gained, they would enter immediately upon a treaty, for the establishment of a free trade between the French and English in all parts of America.

THE reply of the commissioners exhibits policy and prudence; showing, that they were not ignorant of men, nor of the arts of negotiation. They answered, that they looked upon such Indians, as had received the yoke of CHRIST, with another eye, than upon those who worshipped the devil: That they pitied the Acadians, but saw no way to help them, without exposing the English colonies, and their own neighbouring Indians, to war: And that some of those Indians professed christianity no less than the Acadians. They observed, that it was their desire, by all just means, to keep peace with all men even with these barbarians; and that they had no occasion for war with the Mohawks; who, in the war

with the Pequots, had shown a real respect to the English colonies ; and had never since committed any hostility against them. They declared their readiness to perform all offices of righteousness, peace, and good neighbourhood towards the French colony ; yet, that they could not permit the enlisting of volunteers, nor the marching of the French and their Indians through the colonies, without giving grounds of offence and war to the Mohawks, and exposing both themselves and the Indians whom they ought to protect. They observed, that the English engaged in no war until they were satisfied, that it was just ; nor until peace had been offered, on reasonable terms, and had been refused : That the Mohawks were neither in subjection to the English, nor in league with them ; so that they had no means of informing themselves what they could say in their own vindication. They also assured the French ambassadors, that they were exceedingly dissatisfied with that mischievous trade, which the French and Dutch had carried on, and still continued with the Indians, in vending them arms and ammunition, by which they were encouraged, and made insolent, not only against the christian Indians and catechumens, but against all christians, in Europe, as well as America. But if all other difficulties were removed, they represented, they had no such short and convenient passage, by land or water, as might be had by Hudson's river to fort Aurania and beyond, in the possession of the Dutch. They concluded, by observing, that the honored French deputies, as they conceived, had full powers to settle a free trade between the English and French colonies ; but if, for reasons best known to themselves, it was designed to limit the English, by the same restraints and prohibitions to which the unprivileged French were subjected ; not suffering them to trade, until they had obtained a particular licence from the governor and company of New-France, they must wait a more favorable opportunity for negotiation. Such an opportunity, whenever it should offer, they intimated they should readily embrace.*

THE commissioners, apprehending that there was little prospect of obtaining a redress of their grievances, from the Dutch, by remonstrance and negotiation, wrote to Mr. Winslow, agent for Massachusetts in England, on the subject. They represented the claims and rights of

BOOK I.
1651.

Letter to
Mr. Winf-
low.

* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I. the colonies, and the injuries which they suffered from the Dutch. They insisted, that their conduct was a high affront, not only to the colonies, but to the honor of the English nation. They desired Mr. Winslow to enquire how the parliament and council of state esteemed the ancient patents, and how any engagements of the colonies, against the Dutch, for the defence of their rights, would be viewed by the parliament. It was desired, that he would give them the earliest information on the subject.

1651.
Capt. Mason invited to remove to Delaware.

THE people at New-Haven persisted in their purpose of making, if possible, a permanent settlement upon their lands at Delaware. They were sensible, that such was the situation of their affairs, that a leader, who was not only a politician, but a man of known courage, military skill and experience, would be of great importance to the enterprize. They therefore made application to Captain Mason to remove with them to Delaware, and take on him the management of the company. They made him such offers, that it seems he had a design of leaving the colony, and putting himself at the head of the English settlements in those parts. But the general court, at Connecticut, would by no means consent. They unanimously desired him to entertain no thoughts of changing his situation. This appears to have prevented his going, and to have frustrated the design.

List of the colony Oct. 9th.

THE grand list of the colony appears this year, for the first time, upon the records. There are the lists of seven towns only. The others either paid no taxes, or their lists were not completed and returned. The amount of the whole was £75,492:10:6. It appears that the towns, at this period, were not, upon an average, more than equal to our common parishes at this day.

Election, May 20, 1652.

AT the general election, in Connecticut, in 1652, the former magistrates were re-elected.

THE commencement of hostilities, the last year, between England and Holland, the perfidious management of the Dutch governor, with apprehensions of the rising of the Indians, spread a general alarm through the colony.

June 30th.

THE assembly convened on the 30th of June, and adopted several measures for the common safety. Orders were given, that the cannon at Saybrook should be well mounted on carriages; that the fort should be supplied with ammunition; and that the inhabitants, who were scattered abroad, should collect their families into it, and

hold themselves in the best state of readiness for their common defence. Book I.

THE Indians, in the vicinity of the several plantations, within the colony, were required to give testimony of their friendship and fidelity to the English, by delivering up their arms to the governor and magistrates. Those who refused were to be considered as enemies. 1653.
Indians re-
quired to
give up
their arms,
April
1653.

STUYVESANT, the Dutch governor, made no satisfaction for past injuries; but added new insults and grievances to those which were past. He again revived the claims which he had renounced at Hartford; and though he restrained the Dutch from open hostility, yet he used all his arts with the Indians to engage them to massacre the English colonists.

A DISCOVERY was made, in March, that he was confederate with the Indians, in a plot for the extirpation of the English colonies. An extraordinary meeting of the commissioners was called upon the occasion. It consisted of Governor Endicot, Mr. Wm. Hawthorne, Wm. Bradford, Esquire, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Ludlow, Captain Cullick, Governor Eaton and Captain John Astwood. Governor Endicot was chosen president. April
19th,
Commis-
sioners
meet.

UPON a close attention to the reports which had been spread, and a critical examination of the evidence, all the commissioners, except those of the Massachusetts, were of the opinion, that there had been a horrid and execrable plot, concerted by the Dutch governor and the Indians, for the destruction of the English colonies.—Ninigrate, it appeared, had spent the winter, at the Manhadoes, with Stuyvesant, on the business. He had been over Hudson's river, among the western Indians; procured a meeting of the sachems; made ample declarations against the English; and solicited their aid against the colonies. He was brought back, in the spring, in a Dutch sloop, with arms and ammunition from the Dutch governor. The Indians, for some hundreds of miles, appeared to be disaffected and hostile. Tribes, which before had been always friendly to the English, became inimical; and the Indians boasted, that they were to have goods from the Dutch, at half the price for which the English sold them; and powder as plenty as the sand. The Long-Island Indians testified to the plot. Nine sachems, who lived in the vicinity of the Dutch, sent their united testimony to Stamford, "that the Dutch governor had solicited them, by promising them guns, Plot of the
Dutch
and In-
dians.

Evidence
of it.

March 17,

BOOK I. "powder, swords, wampum, coats, and waist-coats, to
 1653. "cut off the English." The messengers, who were sent,
 declared, "they were as the mouth of the nine sages
 "mores who all spake, they would not lie." One of
 the nine sachems afterwards came to Stamford, with
 other Indians, and testified the same. The plot was
 confessed by a Wampeag and a Narraganset Indian; and
 was confirmed by Indian testimonies from all quarters.*
 It was expected, that a Dutch fleet would arrive, and
 that the Dutch and Indians would unite in the destruc-
 tion of the English plantations. It was rumored, that
 the time for the massacre was fixed upon the day of the
 public election, when the freemen would be generally
 from home.

Alarm and
 distress of
 the colo-
 nies.

THE country was exceedingly alarmed; especially
 Connecticut and New-Haven. They were greatly
 hindered in their ploughing, sowing, planting, and in all
 their affairs. They were worn down with constant
 watching and guarding, and put to great expense for the
 common safety.

Six of the commissioners were satisfied, that they had
 just grounds of war with the Dutch. They drew up a
 general declaration of their grievances, for the satisfaction
 of the people. They also stated the evidence they had of
 the conspiracy, which they supposed was then in hand.
 They determined nevertheless, before they commenced
 hostilities against the Dutch, to acquaint the governor
 with the discovery which they had made, and to give him
 an opportunity of answering for himself.

IN the mean time letters arrived from the Dutch
 governor, in which he appeared, with great confidence,
 absolutely to deny the plot which had been charged upon
 him. He offered to go or send to Boston to clear his
 innocence; or desired that some persons might be depu-
 ted and sent to the Manhatoes, to examine the charges and
 receive his answers. Other letters arrived at the same
 time confirming the evidence of the conspiracy, and
 representing, that the Indians were hastened to carry it
 into execution.

Agents
 dispatched
 to the
 Dutch
 governor.

THE commissioners determined to send agents to the
 governor; and with the utmost dispatch made choice of
 Francis Newman, one of the magistrates of New-Haven,
 Captain John Leveret, afterwards governor of Massachu-
 setts, and Mr. William Davis. They vested them with

* Records of the United colonies.

plenary powers to examine the whole affair, and to receive the governor's answer, according to his own proposals. Book I.

STUYVESANT, in his letters, pretended to express his admiration, that the English should give credit to Indian testimony. The commissioners therefore, in their reply, charged him with making use of heathen testimony against New-Haven; and observed, that Kieft, his predecessor, had used Indian testimonies against the English in a strange manner, in a case of treason, and life or death. They also acquainted him with the bloody use which the Dutch governor and his council had made of the confession of the Japanese, against Captain Tower-son and the English christians at Amboyna, though it was extorted by torture. 1653.
Letters to
him and
his coun-
cil.

THEY wrote to Monsieur Montague and Captain Newton, who were of the Dutch governor's council, that his protestations of innocence gave them no satisfaction. They charged the fiscal,† as well as the governor, with the plot. They stated their grievances, demanded satisfaction for past injuries, and security for the future.

WHILE their agents were employed at the Manhadoes, they determined on the number of men to be raised, in case of a war. For the first expedition they resolved to send out five hundred; and appointed Captain Leveret to the chief command. They also determined, that, should they engage in war with the Dutch, the commissioners of the United colonies should meet at New-Haven, to give all necessary directions respecting the expedition, and to order the war in general. Troops to
be raised.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fair proposals which Governor Stuyvesant had made, he would submit to no examination, by the agents, any further than a committee of his own appointing should consent. Two of the committee were persons who had been complained of for misdemeanors, at Hartford; and one of them had been laid under bonds for his crimes. The agents conceived, that the very proposal of such persons as a committee was a high affront to them, to the United colonies, and to the English nation. Besides, the Dutch governor would not suffer the witnesses to speak unless they were previously laid under such restraints as would prevent all benefit from their evidence. The agents not only objected to the committee, and declined all connection with The
Dutch
governor
avoids ex-
amination

† That is, the treasurer.

BOOK I. them, but remonstrated against the restraints proposed to
 1653. be laid on the witnesses. Finding, that nothing could
 be effected with respect to the design of their agency, they,
 in a spirited manner, demanded satisfaction for insults
 and injuries past, and security against future abuse, and
 took leave of the Manhadoes.

Agents return. As they returned, they took various testimonies re-
 specting the plot; some from the Indians, and others
 from the English, sworn before proper authority. Before
 their return, the commissioners were dispersed, and the
 general elections were finished. The courts at Connect-
 icut and New-Haven voted their respective quotas of
 men, appointed their officers, and gave orders, that all ne-
 cessary preparations should be made for the designed ex-
 pedition.

Magistrates of New-Haven. ON the election at Hartford, the former officers were
 rechosen. The time of election, at New-Haven, had
 been changed from October to May; and this year was
 on the 25th of the month. The governors were the
 same as they had been for several years, Eaton and Good-
 year. The magistrates were Mr. William Fowler, Mr.
 John Astwood, William Lect, Esquire, Mr. Joshua At-
 water, and Mr. Francis Newman. Mr. Atwater was
 treasurer, and Mr. Newman, secretary.

Commissioners meet again. IMMEDIATELY on the return of the agents, from the
 Manhadoes, the general court of Massachusetts summoned
 another extraordinary meeting of the commissioners, at
 Boston, about the last of May. The commissioners were
 all the same who composed the last meeting, except Mr.
 Bradstreet in the room of Governor Endicot, who was
 obliged to attend the general court.

Agents make report. THE agents made report of the treatment which they
 had received from the Dutch, and of such evidence as
 they had taken of the plot on their return. The com-
 missioners were also certified, that the Indians, on Long-
 Island, had charged the fiscal with the plot; and that
 Captain Underhill, having reported what the Indians de-
 clared, was seized and carried by a guard of soldiers from
 Flushing to the Manhadoes, where he was confined by
 the fiscal until what he had reported was affirmed to his
 face. Then he was dismissed without trial, and all his
 charges borne. No sooner had the agents taken their de-
 parture from the Manhadoes, than the captain, because
 he had been active in exhibiting the evidence of the
 Dutch and Indian conspiracy, notwithstanding all the im-
 portant services he had rendered the Dutch, was ordered

to depart. The commissioners received a letter from BOOK I.
 him, May 24th, representing the extreme danger in 1653.
 which he and all the English were, assuring them, that as
 necessity had no law, he had, like Jephtha, put his life in
 his hand to save English blood; and that he was
 waiting their orders, with loyalty to them and the par-
 liament, to vindicate the rights of the nation. The
 Dutch demanded, that all the English among them should
 take an oath of fidelity to them. This, in case of war,
 might have obliged them to fight against their own na-
 tion.

THE people of Hempsted, at the same time, repre-
 sented, that they were in the utmost danger, and wrote,
 in the most pressing manner, for arms and ammunition to
 defend themselves. Letters were also sent from Connecti-
 cut and New-Haven, with intelligence, that the Dutch
 governor, by presents of wampum, coats, and other arti-
 cles, was exciting the Mohawks and various Indian
 tribes to rise and attack the English, both on Long-Island
 and on the main.

A LONG letter from the Dutch governor was also re-
 ceived, in which, in general terms, he excused himself
 relative to the plot; but he gave no encouragement of the
 least satisfaction, in a single instance; or that the colo-
 nies should be more safe from injury and insult for the
 future. Indeed, he still insulted them; renewing the
 claims both to Connecticut and New-Haven, which he
 had given up at Hartford.

ALL the commissioners, excepting Mr. Bradstreet, vo-
 ted for war against the Dutch. He was under the influ-
 ence of the general court of Massachusetts, who were The com-
missioners
are for
war.
 using all their arts to oppose the commissioners, and pre-
 vent open hostility. The commissioners, however, so
 strenuously urged the justice and necessity of an immedi-
 ate war with the Dutch, and so spiritedly remonstrated
 against the conduct of the court, as violators of the arti-
 cles of union, that they appointed a committee of confer-
 ence with them. They desired, that a statement of the
 case might be made, and the advice of the elders taken
 on the subject. The committee of the court were Ma-
 jor Denison and Captain Leveret.

THE commissioners replied, that their former declara-
 tion, their letter to the Dutch governor, and the evi-
 dence before them, afforded clear and sufficient light in
 the affair. Nevertheless they appointed Captain Haw-
 thorne, Mr. Bradford, and Governor Eaton a committee

BOOK I.



1653.

Advice of
the elders.

to confer with the gentlemen appointed by the court. Governor Eaton drew a state of the case, in behalf of the committee of the commissioners. The committee from the general court would not consent to it, but drew a statement of their own. Under the influence of the general court, and the different representation which their committee had made, the elders gave their opinion:

“ THAT the proofs and presumptions of the execrable
 “ plot, tending to the destruction of so many of the dear
 “ saints of GOD, imputed to the Dutch governor and the
 “ fiscal, were of such weight as to induce them to be-
 “ lieve the reality of it; yet they were not so fully con-
 “ clusive as to clear up a present proceeding to war be-
 “ fore the world; and to bear up their hearts with that
 “ fulness of persuasion which was meet in commending
 “ the case to GOD, in prayer, and to the people in exhor-
 “ tations; and that it would be safest for the colonies
 “ to forbear the use of the sword; but advised to be in a
 “ posture of defence and readiness for action until the
 “ mind of GOD should be more clearly known, either
 “ for a more settled peace, or manifest grounds of war.”

IT seems, that the affair was very partially referred to the ministers, whether the evidence of the plot was so clear as to warrant a war; whereas this was but one circumstance among many, which might render it just and necessary. These ought to have been considered no less than the other. The deputies of the court concurred with the clergy.

IN the mean time, all the commissioners, except Mr. Bradstreet, continued determined for war. Governor Eaton insisted, that the Dutch had, for many years, during a succession of governors, multiplied injuries and hostile affronts, with treachery and falsehood, against the English, to their very great damage: That these injuries had been fully and repeatedly represented to them, and satisfaction demanded; yet that nothing had been received, in return, but dilatory, false, and offensive answers. He observed, that the governor and his associates had been formerly suspected and accused of instigating the Indians against the English; and that now a treacherous and bloody plot had been discovered, and charged upon him and his fiscal, by more witnesses than could have been expected; that by it the peace of the country had been disturbed, their own lives, the lives of their children and all their connections had been in constant jeopardy: That though they had allowed the Dutch governor a fair opportunity of clearing himself, of making sat-

Governor
Eaton's
representa-
tion of
the Dutch
conduct.

isfaction, and securing the colonies for the future; yet that, by his conduct, he had increased the evidence of his guilt; and that he had given the colonies no security for their future peace and safety; nor had they the least reason to expect them. He insisted, that the English, under the jurisdiction of the Dutch, were in the most immediate danger, not only from them, but the Indians through their instigation; because they would not submit to an oath to join with them in fighting against their own nation. He urged, that the insolence, treachery, and bitter enmity, which the Dutch had manifested against the nation of England, and all the English abroad, as they had opportunity, were sufficient to assure them, that, as soon as the States General should be able to send a small fleet to the Manhadoes, the colonies could not be safe, either in their persons or property, by land or sea. He further insisted, that the state of the commonwealth of England and of the colonies was such as called for war; and that, if either of the colonies should refuse to join in it, against the common enemy, and if any of the plantations, through such refusal, should be destroyed, the guilt of such blood would lie upon them.†

BOOK I.
1653.

SOME faithful people in the Massachusetts were entirely opposed to the conduct of their general court, and ventured to express their opinion. The Reverend Mr. Norris of Salem sent a writing to the commissioners, representing the necessity of a war. He urged, that if the colonies, in their then present circumstances, should neglect to engage in it, it would be a declaration of their neutrality in the contest; might be viewed in that light by the parliament; and be of great and general disservice to their interests: That the spending of so much time in parlies and treaties, after all the injuries they had received, and while the enemy was insulting them, and fortifying against them, would make them contemptible among the Indians: That it was dishonoring God, in whom they professed to trust, and bringing a scandal upon themselves. He insisted, that as their brethren had sent their moan to them, and desired their assistance, if they should refuse, the curse of the Angel of the Lord against Meroz would come upon them. This, he said, he presented in the name of many pensive hearts.*

Mr. Norris pleads for war.

May 30.

BUT nothing could induce the Massachusetts to unite with their brethren, in a war against the Dutch. The general court, in direct violation of the articles of con-

Declaration of the general court of Massachusetts.

† Records of the United colonies.

* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I. federation, resolved, that no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war, which should appear to such general court to be unjust. This declaration gave great uneasiness to the commissioners, and to the sister colonies. Indeed it nearly effected a dissolution of their union.

1653.

THE commissioners, finding that the Massachusetts would not submit to their determination, nor afford any assistance to her confederates, dissolved.

Resolu-
tion of the
General
court at
Connecti-
cut.
June 25.

IN this important crisis, Governor Haynes called a special court, on the 25th of June. The court resolved, that the fears and distresses of the English, bordering upon the Dutch, and the damages which they had sustained, should be forthwith represented to the magistrates in Massachusetts: That the opinion of the court, respecting the power of the commissioners to make war, and the reasons of their opinion, should be communicated. They also determined, that their messengers should humbly pray, that war might be carried on against the Dutch, according to the determination of the commissioners. The messengers were instructed, to use their influence, that three magistrates might have power to call a meeting of the commissioners, at Hartford or New-Haven, to conduct the affairs of the war, as occasion might require. If this could not be obtained they were to desire, that liberty might be given to enlist volunteers, in the Massachusetts, for the defence of the colonies.

Confer
with
New-Ha-
ven.

GOVERNOR Haynes and Mr. Ludlow were appointed to confer with Governor Eaton and his council on the subject. The court at New-Haven were no less clear and unanimous, in the opinion of the power of the commissioners to declare war and make peace, than the general court at Connecticut; and that all the colonies were absolutely bound by their determination. Both colonies united in sending the messengers, and in the purport of their message. But nothing more could be obtained, than the calling of another meeting of the commissioners at Boston.

Commis-
sioners
meet
Sept. 11.

THEY met on the 11th of September. The resolutions of the general courts of Connecticut and New-Haven were produced, expressing their entire approbation of the determination of the commissioners, and remonstrating against the declaration of the general court of Massachusetts, and the sense which they had put on the articles of confederation.

THE general court of Massachusetts returned an answer to this effect, that since their brethren of the other colonies had apprehensions different from theirs, they judged it might conduce most to peace to wave the point in controversy. At the same time they intimated they had no occasion to answer them.

BOOK I.

1653.

THE commissioners refused to accept this as an answer. They insisted, that they had ample powers, from all the other colonies, to determine, in all affairs of peace and war; and that this was consistent with the grammatical and true sense of the articles of confederation. They insisted, that it was totally inconsistent, not only with the articles of union, but with the welfare of the colonies, that they should be at so much expense and trouble to meet and deliberate on the general interests of the confederates, if their determinations were to be annulled by one court and another.

Reject the answer of the general court of Massachusetts.

Altercations between them.

THE general court, on their part, insisted, that the determinations of the commissioners could not bind them to a war which they could not see to be just; and that it was inconsistent with the liberties of the colonies, that their decisions should compel them to action.

THE commissioners replied, that no power could bind men to do that which was absolutely unlawful; but that their authority was as absolute, with respect to war and peace, as any authority could be; and that it was their province only to judge of the justice of the cause. They maintained that it could be no infringement of the rights of the colonies to be bound by the acts of their own agents, vested with plenary powers for those very acts. They represented the religious and solemn manner in which the confederation was made; that, by its express words, it was a perpetual league for them and their posterity, in which their eight commissioners, or any six of them, should have full power to determine all affairs of war and peace, leagues, aids, &c: That every article had been examined, not only by a committee of the four general courts, but by the whole court of Massachusetts, at the time when it was completed: That many prayers were addressed to heaven, for its accomplishment, while it was under consideration; and that the carrying of it into execution had been an occasion of abundant thanksgiving. They said, that after practising upon it for ten years, the colonies had experienced the most salutary effects, to the great and general advantage of all the con-

BOOK I. federates. In these views, they insisted, that the violation
 of it would be matter of great sin in the presence of GOD,
 and of scandal before men. They referred it to the se-
 rious consideration of the general court, whether they
 would not, in his sight who knew all hearts, be guilty of
 this sin and scandal?

1653.

THE general court earnestly requested, that they would drop the dispute, and enter upon business. Their commissioners also pressed the same. But, with a spirit of magnanimity and firmness, becoming their character, they utterly refused; determining, to a man, after drawing a remonstrance against the Massachusetts, to return to their respective colonies, and leave the event with the supreme ruler.

No sooner had the general court intelligence of what was transacting, than they dispatched a writing to the commissioners, apparently retracting all which they had before advanced in opposition to them. It was however expressed artfully in doubtful language. Upon the reception of this, they proceeded to business.

Conduct
of Nini-
grate.

NINIGRATE, ever since the Pequot war, had been the common pest of the colonies. He had violated all his contracts with them; had fallen on the Long-Island Indians, who were in alliance with the English, and slain many of them; and carried others, men, women and children into captivity. By his hostilities, he gave alarm and trouble to the English plantations, on the Island, in the neighbourhood of the Indians. When messengers had been sent to him, demanding that he would return the captives and desist from war, he absolutely refused; and would give no account of his conduct. He had now spent the winter with the Dutch governor, in concerting measures against the English colonies; and had been beyond Hudson's river, spiriting up the Indians there, as well as in other quarters, to a general rising against them. The commissioners therefore declared war against him, and appointed the number of men and officers for the service. They also again resolved upon war against the Dutch. All the commissioners joined in these resolutions, except Mr. Bradstreet. But they were to no purpose. The general court refused to bear any part in the war against either.

War de-
clared a-
gainst him.

Protesta-
gainst the
Massachu-
setts.

THE commissioners protested against the members of the court of Massachusetts as violators of the confederation. They pressed it as an indispensable duty to avenge the blood of innocents, who had depended on them for

safety, and had suffered on the account of their faithfulness to the colonies; to recover their wives and children from captivity; to protect their friends from the insults of barbarous and bloody men; and to vindicate the honor of themselves and of the nation.†

Book I.
1653.

THE Massachusetts nevertheless persisted in their opposition to the commissioners, and would bear no part in the war. Their desertion of their confederates was matter of great injury and distress to them; especially to Connecticut and New-Haven. They were not only obliged to put up with all former insults and damages from the Dutch; but after they had been at great expense already, in fortifying and guarding against the Dutch and Indians, and had been worn down with anxiety and watching from the very opening of the spring, they were still left to their fears, and obliged to combine together for mutual defence, in the best manner of which they were capable.

They persist in their opposition to the commissioners.

FEW instances occur, in history, of so flagrant and obstinate a violation of a covenant, so solemnly made, as this of the general court of Massachusetts; especially, of a covenant made between christians of the same nation, and all professed brethren in the same faith. What interest the Massachusetts made by thus favoring the Dutch is not known; but surely it is painful to relate the indelible stain, which the legislature of so ancient and respectable a colony have left, by this conduct, upon their honor as men, and upon their morals as christians.

THE general courts of Connecticut and New-Haven were convoked soon after the return of the commissioners. That at New-Haven convened on the 12th of October, and the court at Connecticut on the 25th of November. Both considered the court of Massachusetts as having wilfully violated the articles of union. The general court at New-Haven, expressly resolved, "That the Massachusetts had broken their covenant with them, in acting directly contrary to the articles of confederation."

Meetings of the general courts of Connecticut and New-Haven.

BOTH colonies therefore determined to seek redress from the commonwealth of England. Captain Astwood was appointed agent to the Lord Protector and parliament, to represent their state, and to solicit ships and men for the reduction of the Dutch. Connecticut and New-Haven conferred together, by their committees, and let-

They address letters to Cromwell and the parliament.

† Records of the United colonies, in which this controversy is recorded at large.

Book I. ters were sent, in the name of both the general courts,
 1653. containing a complete statement of their circumstances.
 It was agreed, that the address to Lord Cromwell should be concluded in the words following.

“ THAT unless the Dutch be either removed, or so far, at least, subjected, that the colonies may be free from injurious affronts, and secured against the dangers and mischievous effects, which daily grow upon them, by their plotting with the Indians, and furnishing them with arms against the English; and that the league and confederation between the four united English colonies be confirmed and settled according to the true sense, and, till this year, the continued interpretation of the articles, the peace and comfort of these smaller, western colonies will be much hazarded and more and more impaired. But as they conceive it their duty thus fully to represent their afflicted condition to your excellency, so they humbly leave themselves with the remedies to your consideration and wisdom.”

As Governor Hopkins was now in England, he was desired to give all assistance, in his power, to the agent whom they had agreed to send. Connecticut dispatched letters to the parliament, to general Monk, and Mr. Hopkins.

As Stamford was a frontier town, a guard of men was dispatched for its defence. Connecticut and New-Haven provided a frigate of ten or twelve guns, with forty men, to defend the coast against the Dutch, and to prevent Ninigrate and his Indians from crossing the sound, in prosecution of his hostile designs against the Indians in alliance with the colonies.*

Provide a frigate for their defence.

THE towns bordering upon the Dutch, on Long-Island, were in great alarm and distress. Captain Underhill sent to his friends, at Rhode-Island, for assistance; and with such Englishmen, as he could obtain, made the best defence in his power. However, Hempsted and some other towns were continually harrassed, and suffered much damage and insult from the Dutch.

INDEED this was a year of uncommon alarm, expense, and distress to Connecticut and New-Haven. Early in the spring they were filled with the most terrible apprehensions of a sudden and general massacre. A great proportion of time was employed, by the magistrates and principal men, in meetings of the general courts, of the

* Records of Connecticut and New-Haven.

commissioners, of committees and officers to consult and provide for the general safety; in raising men and making preparations for war. The common people, at the same time, were called off from their labors and worn down with watching and guarding by night and day.

THE Dutch, at New-Netherlands, waited only for a reinforcement from Holland to attack and reduce the English colonies. Of this, both they and the English were in constant expectation. It was reported, and feared, that when the signals should be given from the Dutch ships, the Indians would rise, fire the English buildings, and begin their works of destruction.

PROVIDENCE, however, combined a number of circumstances for the preservation of the exposed colonies. The defeat of the Dutch fleet by the English, and the spoil which they made upon their trade, prevented the arrival of the expected reinforcements; the Indians could not be united; many of the sachems said, the English had done them no injury, and they would not fight them. The early intelligence, received by the colonies, of the plans which they and the Dutch were concerting, and the constant watch and guard which the plantations maintained disconcerted them. By these means, a general attack upon them was prevented.

ANOTHER mischief however arose. Some of the towns, and many of the people, in the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven, were so dissatisfied that the war was not prosecuted against the Dutch, according to the resolution of the commissioners, that they were with great difficulty restrained from open mutiny and rebellion. They imagined, that Connecticut and New-Haven were sufficient to subdue the Dutch, and ought to have undertaken an expedition against them.

STAMFORD and Fairfield, in particular, became very disorderly. The former complained, that the government was bad, and the charges unreasonable; and that they were neglected, and deprived of their just privileges. They pretended to set up for the government of England, for their liberties, as they called them, in opposition to the government of the colony. They sent to the general court at New-Haven desiring them to prosecute the war against the Dutch; resolved to raise a number of men among themselves; and prayed for permission to enlist volunteers in the several towns.

THE town of Fairfield held a meeting on the subject, and determined to prosecute the war. They appointed

BOOK I.

1755.

Expectations of a Dutch fleet.

Circumstances preserving the colonies.

Disturbance at Stamford and Fairfield.

BOOK I. Mr. Ludlow commander in chief. He was in the centre of the evidence against the Dutch; had been one of the commissioners, at the several meetings relative to the affair; had been zealous and active for the war; and conceiving himself and the town in eminent danger, unless the Dutch could be removed from the neighbourhood, too hastily accepted of the appointment. Robert Bassett and John Chapman were the heads of this party. They attempted to foment insurrections, and, without any instructions from authority, to raise volunteers, for an expedition against the Netherlands.

1653.

THE general court, at New-Haven, judged that the season was too far advanced to undertake the enterprise. They nevertheless determined to consult Connecticut, and to proceed or not, as the council there should judge most expedient.

IT was now the latter part of November, and it was the general opinion, that ships and men could not be seasonably provided.

DEPUTY governor Goodyear and Mr. Newman were dispatched to Stamford to compose the minds of the people. They called a meeting of the town, and labored to quiet them; but could make no considerable impressions upon them, until they read an order of the committee of parliament, requiring, that the plantations should be in subjection to the authority of their respective jurisdictions. This appeared to have some good effect. But as the inhabitants had been at great expense, not only in watching and guarding the town, but in erecting fortifications about the meeting house, they insisted, that the colony should bear a part of the expense, and provide a guard during the winter.

THE public burdens this year were great. The expenses of the colony of New-Haven were about £400. The court made some abatements in favour of Stamford; but Bassett and Chapman were punished for attempting to make an insurrection in the colony, and others were bound, in large bonds, to their good behaviour.*

* Records of New-Haven. The general court of Connecticut, at their sessions in November, ordered that £20 should be paid to the support of a fellowship in Cambridge Colleges.

CHAPTER XI.

BOOK I.

THE death and character of Governor Haynes. The freemen of Connecticut meet and appoint a moderator. Mr. Ludlow removes to Virginia. The spirited conduct of the people at Milford, in recovering Manning's vessel. The freemen add to the fundamental articles. Fleet arrives at Boston for the reduction of the Dutch. The colonies agree to raise men to assist the armament from England. Peace prevents the expedition. The general court, at New-Haven, charge the Massachusetts with a breach of the confederation. They refuse to join in a war against Ninigrate, and oblige Connecticut and New-Haven to provide for the defence of themselves and their allies. Ninigrate continuing his hostile measures, the commissioners send messengers to him. His answer to them. They declare war, and send an army against him. The art of Massachusetts, and the deceit of Major Willard defeat the designed expedition. The number of ratable polls, and the amount of the list of Connecticut. The Pequots are taken under their protection. Ninigrate persisting in his hostilities against the Indians upon Long-Island, the general court adopt measures, for the defence of the Indians and the English inhabitants there. New-Haven perfect and print their laws. The answer of New-Haven to the protector's invitation, that they would remove to Jamaica. Reply of the commissioners to the Dutch governor. Uncas embroils the country. Deaths and characters of Governors Eaton and Hopkins. Settlement of Stonington. Mr. Winthrop chosen governor. The third fundamental article is altered by the freemen. Mr. Fitch and his church and people remove to Norwich. Final settlement of accounts with the heirs of Mr. Fenwick. Deputy governor Mason resigns the Moheagan lands to the colony.

1654.

THE colony sustained a great loss, this year, in the death of Governor Haynes. He had been a father to it from the beginning, employed his estate, counsels, and labors, for its emolument, and borne a large share in its hardships and dangers. He was a gentleman from the county of Essex, in England, where he had an elegant seat, called Copford Hall, worth a thousand pounds sterling a year. He came into New-England with the reverend Mr. Hooker, in 1632, and settled with him, first at Cambridge in Massachusetts. His distinguished abilities, prudence, and piety, so recommended

Death of
Governor
Haynes.

His char-
acter.

Book I. him to the people, that, in 1635, he was chosen governor
 of Massachusetts. He was not considered, in any respect,
 inferior to Governor Winthrop. His growing popularity,
 and the fame of Mr. Hooker, who as to strength of genius,
 and his lively and powerful manner of preaching, rivalled
 Mr. Cotton, were supposed to have had no small influence
 upon the general court, in their granting liberty to Mr.
 Hooker and his company to remove to Connecticut. There,
 it was judged, they would not so much eclipse the fame,
 nor stand in the way of the promotion and honor of them-
 selves or their friends. Upon his removal to Connecticut,
 he was chosen governor of this colony. He appeared to be
 a gentleman of eminent piety, strict morals, and sound
 judgment. He paid attention to family government,
 instruction, and religion. His great integrity and wise
 management of all affairs, in private and public, so
 raised and fixed his character, in the esteem of the
 people, that they always, when the constitution would
 permit, placed him in the chief seat of government,
 and continued him in it until his death.†

MR. HOPKINS was in England, and the colony had
 neither governor nor deputy governor present, to act in
 its behalf. The freemen therefore, in February, convened,
 at Hartford, and elected Mr. Thomas Welles moderator
 of the general court, until a governor should be chosen.

† The governor, by two wives, had eight children; five sons
 and three daughters. By his first, he had Robert, Hezekiah,
 John, Roger, and Mary; and by his second, Joseph, Ruth,
 and Mabel. When he came into New-England, he left his
 sons, Robert and Hezekiah, and his daughter Mary at
 Copford Hall. Upon the commencement of the civil wars
 in England, Robert espoused the royal cause, but Hezekiah,
 declaring for the parliament, was afterwards promoted to
 the rank of major general, under Cromwell. Upon the
 ruin of the king's affairs, Robert was put under confine-
 ment and died without issue. Hezekiah enjoyed Copford
 Hall, under his father, until his decease. He then
 possessed it as a paternal inheritance, and it descended to
 his heirs. John and Roger, who came into this country
 with their father, sometime before his death, returned
 to England. Roger died on his passage, or soon after
 his arrival. John settled in the ministry, at or near
 Colchester, in the county of Essex in England, where
 he left issue. Joseph was ordained pastor of the first
 church in Hartford. Mary married Mr. Joseph Cook in
 England, Ruth, Mr. Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, and
 Mabel, Mr. James Russel of Charlestown, in
 Massachusetts, and all had issue. The Rev. Mr.
 Haynes of Hartford had one son John, a gentleman
 of reputation, for some years one of the magistrates
 of the colony. He had sons, but they died without
 issue, and the name became extinct in this country.

1654.

February
 16th.

ABOUT this time, there happened a great controversy, between Uncas and the inhabitants of New-London, relative to their respective limits. It seems, that the inhabitants carried the dispute so far, as to rise and take possession of his forts and many of his wigwams. The assembly interposed, and gave orders, that the Indians should not be injured, and that the people should be accountable for all damages which they had done them. A committee was appointed to fix the boundaries between New-London and Uncas, and to compose all differences between the parties.

Book I.
1654.
Controversy with Uncas.

March 1st.

NEARLY at the same time, the colony received an order from the parliament requiring, that the Dutch should be treated, in all respects, as the declared enemies of the commonwealth of England. In conformity to this order, the general court was convened, and an act passed sequestering the Dutch house, lands, and property of all kinds, at Hartford, for the benefit of the commonwealth; and the court also prohibited all persons whatsoever from improving the premises, by virtue of any former claim, or title had, made, or given, by any of the Dutch nation, or any other person, without their approbation.

Order of parliament.
Sequestration of the Dutch House at Hartford.
April 6th.

IN the proclamation for a general fast this spring, the great breach made in the colony, by the death of the governor, the alienation of the colonies, on the account of the violation of the articles of confederation, the spreading of erroneous opinions in the churches, the mortality which had been among the people of Massachusetts, and the calamitous state of the English nation, were particularized as matters of humiliation.

THE colony was, this year, deprived of Mr. Ludlow, one of its chief magistrates. He was one of the most zealous for prosecuting the war against the Dutch, and no man was more displeas'd, that the colonies did not follow the determinations of the commissioners. He might apprehend himself to be particularly in danger at Fairfield. Besides, he had taken a very hasty and unadvised step, in accepting the command of men to go against the Dutch, without any legal appointment. He had doubtless, apprehensions of trouble on that account; or at least, that the freemen would neglect him. For some or all of these reasons, about this time, he removed with his family to Virginia.† He was clerk of the town of Fair-

Mr. Ludlow leaves the colony.
Reasons of it.

† By the records of New-Haven it appears, that he was shipping his family and effects on the 26th of April.

BOOK I. field, and carried off their records and other public writings. He came from the west of England, with Mr. Warham and his company. In 1630, he was chosen into the magistracy of the Massachusetts company; and in 1634, deputy governor of that colony. He was twice elected deputy governor of Connecticut, and was every year magistrate or deputy governor, from his first coming into the colony, in 1625, until the time of his departure. He appears to have been distinguished for his abilities, especially his knowledge of the law, and the rights of mankind. He rendered most essential services to this commonwealth; was a principal, in forming its original civil constitution, and the compiler of the first Connecticut code, printed at Cambridge, in 1672. For jurisprudence he appears to have been second to none, who came into New-England, at that time. Had he possessed a happier temper, he would, probably, have been the idol of the people, and shared in all the honors which they could have given him.

1654.
Captain Manning apprehended.

NEARLY at the same time, an affair happened, in which the people of Milford exhibited a noble spirit of zeal and enterprise. One Captain Manning, master of a ten gun ship, had been apprehended for an unlawful trade, with the Dutch, at the Manhadoes. While the affair was upon trial before the court, at New-Haven, his men ran off with the ship, from Milford harbour. The people completely armed and manned a vessel with so much dispatch, that they pressed hard upon the ship before she could reach the Dutch Island. The men, perceiving they must be taken, unless they immediately abandoned the ship, made their escape in their boat. The ship, thus left a drift, was recovered and brought into Milford harbour, and with all her goods condemned as a lawful prize.

Court of election May 18.

AT the general election, Mr. Hopkins, though in England, was chosen governor. Mr. Welles was appointed deputy governor. Mr. Webster, Mr. Mason, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Cullick, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Clark, Mr. Wyllys, son of George Wyllys, and Mr. John Talcott, were elected magistrates. Mr. Cullick was secretary, and Mr. Talcott treasurer.

Addition to the fundamental articles.

AT this court, the freemen passed the following resolution, as an addition to the fundamentals of their constitution. "That the major part of the magistrates, in the absence of the governor and deputy governor, shall have power to call a general court; and that any general court, being legally called and met, the major part

“ of the magistrates and deputies then met, in the ab-
 “ sence of the governor and deputy governor, shall have
 “ power to choose unto, and from among themselves a
 “ moderator, which being done, they shall be deemed as
 “ legal a general Court, as if the governor or deputy
 “ governor were present.”

BOOK I.

1654.

AT the election in New-Haven, the only alteration in
 public officers, was the addition of Mr. Samuel Eaton,
 of New-Haven, to the magistrates, and the choice of Mr.
 Benjamin Fenn, in the room of Mr. William Fowler.

May 31.
 Election
 at New-
 Haven.

ABOUT the same time, in answer to the petitions of
 Connecticut and New-Haven, Major Sedgwick and Cap-
 tain Leveret arrived at Boston, with a fleet of three or
 four ships, and a small number of land forces, sent by
 Oliver Cromwell, Lord protector, for the reduction of
 the Dutch. On the 8th of June, Governor Eaton re-
 ceived a letter from his highness, certifying, that he had
 sent ships and ammunition for the assistance of the colo-
 nies. With this came a letter from Major Sedgwick and
 Captain Leveret requesting, that commissioners might be
 sent immediately from each of the governments, to con-
 sult with them on the objects of the designed expedition.
 Mr. William Leet and Mr. Jordan were appointed com-
 missioners for New-Haven. They were authorized to
 engage, in behalf of that jurisdiction, to furnish all the
 men and provisions which it could spare. An embargo
 was laid on all provisions, and every measure adopted, that
 the utmost assistance might be given, in the enterprise.
 Such was the zeal of the general court, that they in-
 structed their commissioners to engage the assistance of
 that colony, though no other, except Connecticut, should
 join with them.

June 9th.

ON the 13th of June, the general court of Connecti-
 cut convened, at Hartford, and appointed Major John
 Mason and Mr. Cullick commissioners. They were di-
 rected to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Boston;
 and, in behalf of Connecticut, to engage any number of
 men, not exceeding two hundred, and rather than the
 expedition should fail, four or five hundred.

June 13th

THE general court of Massachusetts was convoked on
 the 9th of June, but did not agree to raise any men them-
 selves. They granted liberty, nevertheless, for Major
 Sedgwick and Captain Leveret to raise five hundred vol-
 unteers. The commissioners finally agreed upon 800
 men, as sufficient for the enterprise. The ships were to
 furnish two hundred soldiers; three hundred volunteers

BOOK I. were to be raised in Massachusetts; two hundred men
 were to be sent from Connecticut; and a hundred and
 thirty three from New-Haven. But while preparations
 were making with vigor and dispatch, the news of peace,
 between England and Holland, prevented all further
 proceedings relative to the affair.

1654.

THE total defeat of the Dutch fleet, the loss of Admiral Tromp and a great number of their merchantmen, made the Dutch in earnest for peace; and it was expeditiously concluded, on the 5th of April. The news of it arrived in America, almost as soon as the fleet. The commander in chief therefore employed his forces, with the Massachusetts volunteers, in dispossessing the French from Penobscot, St. John's, and the adjacent coast. This was doubtless one object of the expedition, and not undertaken without orders from the protector.

Transactions respecting the confederation.

IT was not expected, that there would have been any meeting of the commissioners this year. Massachusetts had violated the articles of union, and the colonies had protested against them, as breakers of the most solemn confederation. The general court of Massachusetts had also represented, to the other colonies, that the articles needed explanation and emendation, that they might be consistent with the rights of the several general courts. Indeed, it had proposed a meeting of the commissioners for that purpose. The other colonies viewed the articles as perfectly intelligible, and consistent with the rights of the confederates. They therefore rejected the motion. The general court of New-Haven had voted, that there was no occasion for appointing commissioners that year.

BUT on the 5th of July, Governor Eaton received a letter from the general court of the Massachusetts, waving an answer to the letter jointly written from the general courts of Connecticut and New-Haven, and lamely excusing their non-compliance with the resolution of the commissioners, on the account of their not being able to apprehend the justice of the war with the Dutch and Ninigrate. They complained of the other colonies, for treating them as violators of the confederacy. They professed themselves to be passionately desirous of its continuance, according to the genuine construction of the articles. They gave information, that they had chosen commissioners, and had determined to empower them as had been usual.

THE general court, at New-Haven, replied, that they and the other colonies had justly charged them with

a violation of their covenant, and urged, that, according to their own interpretation of the articles, they stood responsible to them for the infraction; and that, according to the eleventh article of the confederation, they were to be treated by them according to the magnitude of their fault. They observed, that her sister colonies had not only condemned their conduct, but had sent messengers and taken proper pains to inform them, and adjust the difference between them; but that they had treated them in a very disagreeable manner, and their endeavours had been to no good purpose. They declared, nevertheless, that, if the combination might be again firmly settled, according to the original intention and grammatical sense of the articles, they would, without further satisfaction, forgetting what was past, cheerfully renew their covenant, and send their commissioners to meet, at any time and place, for that end. This was subscribed by the secretary, and sent to Hartford to be subscribed by the general court of Connecticut; and to be transmitted, in the name of each of the colonies, to the Massachusetts. This, it seems, was harmoniously done.

As the general court of the Massachusetts would not join with her confederates, against Ninigrate, he prosecuted the war against the Long-Island Indians, and it was supposed, that his design was to destroy both those Indians and the Moheagans. For this purpose he had hired the Mohawks, Pocomtocks, and Wampanoags, afterwards called Phillip's Indians, to assist him. By a collection of such numbers of Indians, from the westward, northward, and eastward, the general peace of the country would have been greatly endangered, and the Long-Island Indians, who had put themselves under the protection of the English, exposed to a total extirpation. They had been obliged not only to fortify themselves, and to use every precaution for their own defence, but to suffer the loss of many of their people, who had been already either slain or captivated.

THE deputy governor and council, at Connecticut, judged it an affair of such importance, to defend their allies, and provide for their own safety, that they determined to dispatch Major Mason, with ammunition and a number of men, to the assistance of the Indians upon the Island. The deputy governor and Mr. Clark acquainted Governor Eaton with their views and determination, and desired that the colony of New-Haven

BOOK I.

1654.

Ninigrate
contin-
ues hos-
tile.Connect-
icut and
New-Ha-
ven send
aid to
Montau-
ket In-
dians.

BOOK I. would send Lieutenant Seely, with a detachment of men, and with supplies of ammunition, to second their design. The court of New-Haven complied with the desire of Connecticut. Lieutenant Seely had orders to join Major Mason at Saybrook. They were instructed to acquaint the Montauket Indians, that the colonies made them that present of ammunition, wholly for their own defence, and not to enable them to injure Ninigrate, or any other Indians, unless they should make an attack upon them; and that while they continued faithful to the English, they would be their friends. It was ordered, that, if Ninigrate should invade the Long-Island Indians, the English officers should use their endeavours to persuade them to peace, and to refer their differences to the decision of the commissioners. But if he would fight, they were commanded to defend themselves, and the Indians in alliance with the colonies, in the best manner they could.*

Commis-
sioners
meet
Sept. 7.

Send mes-
sengers to
Ninigrate.

IN September, the commissioners convened at Hartford. They consisted of the following gentlemen, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Major Denison, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. John Brown, Major Mason, Mr. John Webster, Governor Eaton, and Mr. Francis Newman. Governor Eaton was chosen president. They immediately dispatched messengers to Ninigrate, demanding his appearance at Hartford, and the payment of the tribute so long due for the Pequots under him. On the 18th, Mr. Jonathan Gilbert returned, and made a report of Ninigrate's answer, in the words following.

His an-
swer.

“ CONCERNING the Long-Island Indians, he answered, “ Wherefore should he acquaint the commissioners, as “ the Long-Island Indians began with him, and had slain “ a sachem's son and sixty of his men; and therefore he “ will not make peace with the Long-Islanders; but “ doth desire that the English will let him alone; and “ that the commissioners would not request him to go “ to Hartford; for he hath done no hurt. What should “ he do there? If your governor's son were slain and “ several other men, would you ask counsel of another “ nation, how and when to right yourselves? And ad- “ ded, that he would neither go nor send to Hartford.” “ Concerning the upland Indians † his answer was, that “ they were his friends and came to help him against

* Records of Connecticut and New-Haven.

† Thus he called the Pocomtocks and Wampanoags.

“ the Long-Islanders, who had killed several of his men. BOOK I.
 “ Wherefore should he acquaint the commissioners with 1654.
 “ it? He did but right his own quarrel, which the
 “ Long-Islanders began with him.” With respect to
 the tribute due for the Pequots, though he had never
 paid it, yet he pretended there was none due.

THE commissioners, considering his perfidious con-
 duct, the last year, his present answer, and that lenity Commis-
 and forbearance had been an encouragement of his in- sioners
 solence and barbarity, ordered forty horsemen and two determine
 hundred and seventy infantry to be raised to chastise his upon war
 haughtiness. The Massachusetts were to raise the forty with Nin-
 horsemen, and a hundred and fifty three footmen; Con- igrate.
 necticut forty five, and New-Haven thirty one. Orders
 were given, that twenty horse, from Massachusetts, twenty
 four men, from Connecticut, and sixteen from New-
 Haven, should be immediately dispatched into the Nehan-
 tick country. The commissioners nominated Major Gib-
 bons, Major Denison, or Captain Atherton, to the chief
 command; leaving it, in complaisance, to the general
 court of the Massachusetts, to appoint which of the three
 should be most agreeable to them. But rejecting these,
 who were men of known spirit and enterprise, they ap-
 pointed Major Willard. The commissioners instructed
 him to proceed with such troops, as should be found at Massachu-
 the place of general rendezvous, by the 13th of October, setts and
 directly to Ninigrate's quarters, and demand of him the Major
 Pequots, who had been put under him, and the tribute Willard
 which was due. If Ninigrate should not deliver them, defeat
 and pay the tribute, he was required to take them by their de-
 force. He was instructed to demand of Ninigrate a ces- sign.
 sation from all further hostilities, against the Long-Is-
 landers. If he would not comply with these demands, he
 had express orders to subdue him. If a greater number
 of men should be found necessary, his instructions were
 to send for such a number, as he should judge sufficient,
 to carry the expedition into effect. The place of ren-
 dezvous was at Thomas Stanton's in the Narraganset
 country. When he arrived at the place appointed, he
 found that Ninigrate had fled into a swamp, at fourteen
 or fifteen miles distance from the army. He had left
 his country, corn, and wigwams, without defence, and
 they might have been laid waste, without loss or danger.
 Nevertheless he returned, without ever advancing from
 his head quarters, or doing the enemy the least damage.

BOOK I. ABOUT a hundred Pequots took this opportunity to renounce the government of Ninigrate, and come off with the army. They put themselves under the protection and government of the English.

1654.

Commissioners
dissatisfied.

Charge
Major
Willard
with neglect of
duty.

THE commander pleaded, in excuse, that his instructions were equivocal, and the season for marching unfavorable. The commissioners however were entirely unsatisfied. They observed to him, "That, while the army was in the Narraganset country, Ninigrate had his mouth in the dust; and that he would have submitted to any reasonable terms, which might have been imposed upon him." They charged the major with neglecting an opportunity of humbling his pride; and they referred it to his consideration, what satisfaction ought to be expected from him, and those of his council, who advised and joined with him in his measures.*

GOVERNOR Hutchinson has observed, that Major Willard was a Massachusetts man, and although that colony had so far complied with the rest, as to join in sending out the forces, yet they were still desirous of avoiding an open war. This was the second time of their preventing a general war, contrary to the minds of six of the commissioners of the other colonies.†

THE general court of Massachusetts had receded from their explanation of the articles of confederation, and the commissioners had a most amicable meeting. They were unanimous in the war against Ninigrate, and yet the Massachusetts, by private intrigue, defeated their designs. In which instance they acted the most honorable and consistent part, when, by an open infraction of the articles of union, they prevented a war, or when they supplanted their brethren, by secret treachery, the impartial world will judge.

THE whole number of ratable persons, in the colony of Connecticut this year, was 775, and the grand list was £ 79,073.‡

* Records of the United colonies.

† Hutchinson Vol. I. p. 186, 187.

‡ By the number of persons, and the amount of the lists in each town, an idea may be formed of their proportion to each other.

Towns.	Persons.	Estates.
Hartford,	177	£. 19,609
Windfor,	165	15,833
Wethersfield,	113	12,602
Fairfield,	94	8,634
Saybrook,	53	4,437

UPON the election, at Hartford, Thomas Welles, Esquire, was chosen governor, and Mr. John Webster, deputy governor. The magistrates elected were Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Mason, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Wolcott, Mr. Cullick, Mr. Clark, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Talcott, Mr. John Cosmore, and Mr. Thomas Tapping. Mr. Cullick was secretary, and Mr. Talcott Treasurer.

BOOK I.
1655.
Election
May 17.

AT the general election, in New-Haven, this year, there was no alteration of their officers.

THE Pequots persevering, in their petitions, to be taken under the protection and government of the English, the commissioners, this year, granted their request. Places of residence were afterwards appointed for them, by the general court of Connecticut, about Pawcatuck and Mistic rivers. They were allowed to hunt on the lands west of the latter. They were collected together in these two places, and an Indian governor was appointed over them in each place. General laws were made for their government. Blasphemy, murder, witchcraft, and conspiracy against the colonies, were prohibited upon pain of death. Sabbath-breaking, adultery, and drunkenness, were prohibited under proper penalties. He who stole was required, on conviction, to pay double damages. They were prohibited to make war with other Indians, or to join with them in their wars, unless it were in their own just defence, without the consent of the commissioners of the United Colonies. They were obliged to submit to the Indian governors, whom they should appoint over them, and pay them the same tribute which they had stipulated to pay to the English.*

The Pequots taken under the government of the English.

Laws for their government.

AFTER the return of Major Willard and the troops under his command, from the Narraganset country, Ninigrate assumed his former haughtiness, and continued the war against the Indians upon Long-Island. Mr. Thomas James, minister of Easthampton, Captain Tapping of Southampton, Captain Underhill and others, wrote to the commissioners, that both the English and Indians on the Island were in a calamitous and distracted condi-

Ninigrate prosecutes the war against the Long-Islanders.

Stratford,	72	7,958
Farmington,	46	5,519
Middletown,	31	2,172
Norwalk,	24	2,309
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	775	79,673

* Records of the colonies.

Book I.

1655.

Means of
their de-
fence.

tion; and in imminent danger, on the account of his constant hostilities. They assured them, that the Indians, upon the Island, could not hold out much longer, but must submit themselves and their country to the Narragansets, unless they should have some speedy assistance. They intreated them to consult some effectual measures to prevent such calamity.

IN consequence of this intelligence, they ordered, that a vessel, well armed and manned, should lie in the road between Neanticut and the Island, to watch the motions of Ninigrate; and, if he should attempt to pass the sound, to stove and destroy his canoes, and to make all the slaughter and destruction upon him, which should be in their power. Captain John Youngs was appointed to command this vessel of observation. He was authorized to draught men from Saybrook and New-London, as emergencies might require. An encouraging message was sent to the Montauket sachem, acquainting him with the measures the English were taking for his defence. The commissioners sent him a supply of ammunition. Provision was also made, that South and East-Hampton, with all the adjacent towns, should be completely furnished with all articles necessary for war. Orders were given, that if the Indians could not maintain their ground, in any assault, they should flee towards some of the neighbouring towns; and, that if the enemy should pursue them within two miles of any of the settlements, the inhabitants should immediately repair to their assistance. Intelligence of these resolutions was dispatched to the Narragansets, as well as the Long-Islanders. All the United colonies were exceedingly offended at the conduct of Major Willard, except the Massachusetts, under whose influence he was supposed to act. The general court at New-Haven, resolved, that he had not followed his instructions, in the expedition against Ninigrate; but that they were willing to suspend their judgment, with respect to the measures to be taken with him, until they should be certified of the opinions of the other confederates. Whatever their opinions or wishes were, Major Willard was safe under the wing of the Massachusetts; and Connecticut and New-Haven had principally to bear the unhappy consequences of his perfidious conduct. They were obliged, the next year, at their own expense, to continue the commission of Captain Youngs to cruise between the main and Long-Island, to prevent the designs of Ninigrate. They also found it ne-

cessary to furnish both men and provisions, for the de-
fence of the Islanders.

BOOK I.

GOVERNOR Eaton had been desired to perfect a code of laws for the colony of New-Haven. For his assistance in the compilation, he was requested, by the general court, to consult the Rev. Mr. Cotton's discourse on civil government in a new plantation, and the laws of Massachusetts. Having accomplished the work; and the laws having been examined and approved, by the elders of the jurisdiction, they were presented to the general court. They ordered, that 500 copies should be printed. The copy was sent to England, that the impression might be made under the inspection of Governor Hopkins. He procured the printing of the laws, at his own expense, and sent them the number proposed, with some other valuable books, as a present. The laws were distributed to the several towns in the jurisdiction.

1655.

Governor Eaton compiles a code for New-Haven.

October 10th the court order them to be printed.

THIS year died Henry Wolcott, Esquire, in the 78th year of his age. He was the owner of a good estate in Somersetshire in England. His youth, it is said, was spent in gaiety and country pastimes; but afterwards, under the instructions of Mr. Edward Elton, his mind was entirely changed, and turned to the sincere love and practice of religion. As the puritans were then treated with great severity, he sold about 8,000 pounds worth of estate, in England, and prepared for a removal into America. He came into New-England with Mr. Warham, in May 1630, and settled first at Dorchester in Massachusetts. In 1636, he removed to Windsor, and was one of the principal planters of that town. He was chosen into the magistracy in 1643, and continued in it until his death. He left an estate in England, which rented at about £ 60 a year, which the family, for some time enjoyed; but it was afterwards sold. After his decease, some one of his descendants was annually chosen into the magistracy, for a term of nearly eighty years, until the year 1754, when Governor Wolcott left the chair.*

Death of Henry Wolcott, Esquire.

His character.

* Manuscripts from Windsor found in the collection of the Reverend Mr. Prince at Boston.

THE family have kept up the monument of their ancestor, and preserved their dignity to the present time. His Excellency Oliver Wolcott, Esquire, one of the sons of the former governor, Roger Wolcott, Esquire, is the present governor of the State. His brother, the honorable Erastus Wolcott, Esquire, was for some years, one of the magistrates of Connecticut, and afterwards, one of the judges of the superior court. Oliver Wolcott, Esquire, one of the sons of the present Governor Wolcott, is se-

Book I. AT the election in Connecticut, Mr. John Webster
 1656. was chosen governor, and Mr. Welles, deputy governor.
 This was the only alteration in the magistracy.

Election
 at New-
 Haven
 May
 1656.

May 28.

Troop of
 horse ap-
 pointed.

AT New-Haven the former governors and magistrates were rechosen. Mr. John Wakeman was appointed treasurer. The general court, at New-Haven, took great pains to put the colony in a state of defence. Orders were given for the raising of a troop of sixteen horse, in the five towns upon the sea coast, with complete arms and furniture. For their encouragement, they were exempted from taxation, and from training with the foot, and were to enjoy all the privileges of troopers in Massachusetts. This was the first troop in any part of Connecticut. It was ordered, that all the common soldiers should be trained to shooting at a mark; that they should be furnished with ammunition for that purpose, at the public expense; and that prizes should be prepared for the best marksmen. The soldiers were directed to play at cudgels, and at the broad sword, that they might know how to defend themselves and their country.

THE protector, Oliver Cromwell, having conquered Jamaica, made it a favorite object to remove the people of New-England to that Island. He artfully represented, that they had as clear a call for transporting themselves, from New-England to Jamaica, as they had for emigrating from Old England to New, for the advancement of their interests; as the Lord's people were to be the head and not the tail. He likewise represented, that it would have a tendency to the destruction of the man of sin. He wrote particularly to New-Haven on the subject, and sent them a copy of his instructions relative to the affair. These he had given to one Captain Gookins, whom he had employed in the several plantations, to promote this, his favorite design. He and Major Sedgwick dispatched letters also to New-Haven on the same business.

GOVERNOR Eaton had, sometime before this, laid them before the general court. The several plantations, in the colony, had been made acquainted with their contents; and the deputies had been desired to return their opinion to the court. After a long and serious debate, the court resolved, "That though they could not but acknowledge
 " the love, care, and tender respect of his highness, the

cretary of the treasury of the United States. Some of the family have been members of the assembly, judges of the superior court, or magistrates, from the first settlement of the colony to this time, during the term of more than a century and a half.

“ Lord Protector, to New-England in general, and to
 “ this colony in particular, yet, for divers reasons, they
 “ cannot conclude, that God calls them to a present re-
 “ move thither.”

Book I.

1656.

THE governor was desired to write to the Lord Protector, acknowledging his great care and love towards the colony.

THE commissioners of the United colonies, this year, held their meeting at Plimouth. They received a very plausible letter from Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor. He wrote with a great show of religion, expressing his joy, that God had quenched the bloody war, between the Dutch and the English, in Europe; and his warm desires, that it might redound to the great advantage of the subjects of the two nations in these remote parts of the earth. He solicited a nearer union between the Dutch and the United colonies. At the same time he certified them, that he had received a ratification of the agreement made, at Hartford, in 1650, under the seal of the High and Mighty States of the United Belgick provinces; and desired that time and place might be appointed for delivering and interchanging the ratifications.

Commis-
sioners
meet
Sept 4.

Letter
from the
Dutch
governor.

THE governor was so well known to the commissioners, that neither the plausibility of his letter, nor the very christian manner in which it was written, made any deep impressions upon them. They replied in short, that the peace was matter of joy to them, and they wished the continuance of it in Europe, and in all the plantations abroad. They gave assurances, that the preservation of it should be their constant endeavour. Nevertheless, they gave no intimations, that they desired a nearer union, or to ratify the agreement. The Dutch governor had not observed it himself; they considered the Dutch as mere intruders; and were growing daily more able to defend themselves against their encroachments; they were therefore determined to do nothing further relative to the affair.

THEY observed to the governor, that he had made no reparation of the damages he had done the colonies, and that they had not heard, that he designed to make any: That they heard he yet laid claim to Oyster bay, and that he had made no proper resignation of Greenwich. They desired him to be explicit on those points.*

* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I.

1656.

Com-
plaint
against
Green-
wich.

THE last year complaints were made to the court, at New-Haven, that the inhabitants of Greenwich were under little government, and demeaned themselves in a lawless manner. They admitted of drunkenness among themselves and among the Indians, by reason of which, damages were done to themselves and to the towns in the vicinity; and the public peace was disturbed. They received children and servants, who fled from the correction of their parents and masters, and unlawfully joined persons in wedlock, with other misdemeanors.

UPON this the general court asserted their right to Greenwich, and ordered the inhabitants to submit to their jurisdiction. But they continued much in the same state, and sent a letter to the court, in May, denying their jurisdiction, and refusing any subjection to the colony, unless they should be compelled to it, by the parliament. The court therefore resolved, that, unless they should appear before the court, and make their submission, by the 25th of June, Richard Crab and others, who were the most stubborn among them, should be arrested and punished according to law. They therefore, sometime after, subjected their persons and estates to the government of New-Haven.

The in-
habitants
submit to
New-Ha-
ven.

UNCAS, though friendly to the English, appears to have been a proud mischievous sachem, who, by his haughty carriage and provoking language, was often embroiling the country, and bringing trouble upon himself and the colonies. He made an assault upon the Podunk Indians, at Hartford. He, or his brother, invaded the Norwotucks. He upbraided the Narragansets of their dead sachems, and challenged them to fight. Among other instances of misconduct, he proved treacherous to the Montauket sachem, and joined with Ninigrate, in his perfidious practices. By these means the country was so disquieted, that it was with great difficulty the commissioners maintained the general peace. They interposed, and obliged Uncas to make restitution to the Indians, whom he had injured. They prohibited his making war, without their consent and advice. They endeavored to quiet and conciliate the natives; but they found them, whether they were friends or foes, to be a troublesome people. After all their precautions, the country was still more alarmed the next year.

1657.

IN April, the Indians committed a horrid Murder at Farmington, and besides Mesapano, who was the princi-

pal actor, the Norwootuck and Pocomtock Indians were supposed to be accomplices. Book I.

THE Montaukets, after all the trouble and expence, which the English had been at for their defence, became tumultuous, and did great damage to the inhabitants of Southampton. 1657.

THE general court at Hartford gave orders, that the Indians, who perpetrated the murder at Farmington, should be apprehended, and that the sachems of the Pocomtock and Norwootuck Indians should deliver up the delinquents among them. April 9.

MAJOR Mafon was ordered, with a detachment, to Long-Island, to bring the Indians there to a just and peaceable conduct, and adjust affairs between them and the English. †

AT the general election in Connecticut, 1657, Mr. John Winthrop was elected governor, and Mr. Thomas Welles, deputy governor. Mr. Webster was chosen the first magistrate. The other officers were the same who had been appointed the last year. The freemen, at the election, in New-Haven, made no alteration in their magistrates. May 21.

THE general court at Hartford, this year, was uncommonly thin, consisting of twenty two members only. The danger of the plantations, and of particular families, from the hostile state of the Indians, appears to have been the reason. The Montaukets, Moheagans, Narragansets, and Norwootucks, engaged in implacable wars with each other. They would pursue one another into the English plantations, and even into their houses, and kill each other, in the presence of the families, to their great alarm and astonishment. Uncas was so pressed, by the Narragansets, that Connecticut was obliged to send men to his fortrefs, to assist him in defending himself against them. The Narragansets, in several instances, threatened and plundered the inhabitants of Connecticut. Wars among the Indians.

THEREFORE, when the commissioners met in September, they sent messengers to them, demanding, that they should cease from war, until their grievances, and the grounds of their contentions, should be heard. They assured them, that they would hear and determine impartially, without favoring any of the parties. They represented to them the covenants which they had made with the English, and the entire inconsistency of their conduct. Sept. 3.

† Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I. with those engagements. They also prohibited all fighting in the English plantations.

1657.

Death and character of Theophilus Eaton, Esq.

THIS year, the colony of New-Haven, and indeed all the New-England colonies, sustained a heavy loss in the death of Governor Eaton.* He was a minister's son born at Stony Stratford, in Oxfordshire; was educated an East-India merchant, and was sometime deputy governor of the company, trading to the East-Indies. For several years, he was agent for the king of England, at the court of Denmark. After his return, he was a merchant of great business and respectability, in the city of London.

UPON the Laudean persecution, he left his native country, and came into New-England, with Mr. Davenport, his minister, in 1637. He was one of the original patentees of the Massachusetts, and soon after his arrival, was chosen one of the magistrates of that colony. Upon the settlement of New-Haven, he was chosen governor of the colony, and was annually re-elected until his death. He is represented as comely and personable, and is said to have appeared upon the bench with a dignity and majesty, which admit of no description. The impartiality, with which he administered justice, was most exemplary, and his authority was not to be opposed. The wisdom, gravity, and integrity of his administration, were viewed with universal admiration. In honor to his memory and the good services which he had rendered the colony, his funeral charges were borne, and a handsome monument erected, at the public expense.†

* He died January 7th 1657, in the 67th year of his age.

† His private was not less amiable, than his publick character. In conversation, he was affable, courteous, and generally pleasant; but always grave and cautious. He was pious and strictly moral. His meekness, patience, and fortitude, were singular.

In the conduct of his family he was strict, prudent, and happy. Though it sometimes consisted of not less than thirty persons, yet they were under the most perfect order and government. They were all assembled morning and evening, and the governor, after reading the scriptures, and making devout and useful observations upon them, prayed with great reverence and pertinency. On the sabbath and other days of public devotion, he spent an hour or two with his family, in instructing them in the duties of faith and practice; and in recommending to them the reading and study of the scriptures, secret devotion, the sanctification of the sabbath, and a devout and constant attendance on all divine institutions. On these days he sang praises, as well as prayed with his family. He was greatly beloved by his domestics as well as by the commonwealth. Indeed there was no man, among the first planters of New-England, who had a more general acquaint-

NEARLY at the same time, died his son in law, Edward Hopkins, Esquire, for a number of years governor of Connecticut. He conducted the affairs of government with great wisdom and integrity, and was universally beloved. He was a gentleman of exemplary piety, righteousness, and charity. In his family and secret devotions, he followed the example of Governor Eaton. His charity was great and extensive. Besides the relief he dispensed to the poor, with his own hands, he gave considerable sums of money to others, to be disposed of to charitable purposes. When he went into England, on the occasion of his brother's death, who had been warden of the English fleet, he designed to return again to his family and friends, in New-England; but he was very soon particularly noticed, and made first warden of the fleet, in the room of his brother. He was then chosen commissioner of the admiralty and navy; and finally member of parliament. These unexpected preferments altered his designs, and determined him to send over for his family, and to spend the remainder of his days in his native country. He had been a consumptive man, attended with a cough and spitting of blood, for more than thirty years. His constitution was now entirely wasted, and he died in the 58th year of his age.

BOOK I.
1657.
Character
of Gov.
Hopkins.

His last will was highly expressive of that public spirit and charity, which had so distinguished him in life. His whole estate, in New-England, was given away to charitable purposes. He manifested his peculiar friendship to the family of Mr. Hooker, his pastor, at Hartford, by giving his relict, Mrs. Hooker, all the debts due from the family to him; by giving to Mrs. Wilson, of Boston, Mr. Hooker's eldest daughter, his farm at Farmington, with all the houses, out houses, and buildings upon it; and by legacies to several others of his descendants. All the remainder of his estate, in New-England, he bequeathed to his "father, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, Master John Davenport, Master John Cullick, and Master William Goodwin, in full assurance of their trust and faithfulness, in disposing of it according to the true intent and

His dona-
tions.

ance with public business, or who sustained a fairer character. His monument is kept up to the present time. Upon it are these expressive lines:

"Eaton so meek, so wise, so fam'd, so just,
"The Phoenix of our world here hides his dust,
"This name forget, New-England never must."

BOOK I. “ purpose of him, the said Edward Hopkins, which was
 1657. “ to give some encouragement, in those foreign planta-
 “ tions, for the breeding up of hopeful youths, in a way
 “ of learning, both at the grammar school and college,
 “ for the public service of the country, in future times.”
 He also made a donation of five hundred pounds more,
 out of his estate in England, to the said trustees, in fur-
 ther prosecution of the same public ends, “ for the up-
 “ holding and promoting the kingdom of the LORD JE-
 “ SUS CHRIST, in those parts of the earth.” This last
 donation was considered as made to Harvard college, and
 by virtue of a decree in chancery, was paid in 1710. The
 interest given in New-England was estimated at about
 £ 1,000 sterling ; and was appropriated to the support of
 the grammar schools in New-Haven, Hartford, and Had-
 ley. The money originally belonged to New-Haven and
 Hartford ; but as a considerable number of the people of
 Hartford afterwards removed to Hadley, and were prin-
 cipal settlers of that town, they received their propor-
 tion of the donation.

1658.
 First
 troop in
 Connecti-
 cut.

AT a general court, in Hartford, March 11th 1658,
 a troop of thirty horsemen was established in Connecti-
 cut, and Richard Lord was appointed captain. This
 was the first in the colony.

Election
 at Hart-
 ford,
 May 20.

THIS year, there was a very considerable alteration
 with respect to governors and the council, both in Con-
 necticut and New-Haven. At the election, in Connecti-
 cut, Thomas Welles, Esquire, was elected governor,
 and John Winthrop, Esquire, deputy governor. To the
 magistrates last year, who were again re-chosen, there
 was an addition of Mr. Matthew Allen, Mr. Phelps, Mr.
 John Welles, Mr. Treat, Mr. Baker, Mr. Mulford, and
 Mr. Alexander Knowles. There appears to have been
 sixteen magistrates and twenty six deputies ; in the whole
 forty two members.

On the election at New-Haven, Mr. Francis Newman
 was chosen governor, and William Leet, deputy gover-
 nor.* Mr. Jasper Crane was added to the magistrates,
 and Mr. William Gibbard was appointed secretary.

Pawca-
 tuck, af-
 terwards

THIS year a considerable settlement was made between
 Mystic and Pawcatuck rivers. This tract was called
 Pequot, and originally belonged to New-London. The

* Mr Stephen Goodyear, who had been deputy governor,
 with Governor Eaton, through almost his whole administration,
 died this year in London, and was either there, or on his passage,
 at this election. He appears to have been a worthy man, and
 left a respectable family.

first man, who settled upon this tract, was William Cheesbrough, from Rehoboth, in 1649. A complaint was exhibited against him for carrying on an illicit trade with the Indians, for repairing their arms, and endangering the public safety. The general court of Connecticut declared, that they had a clear title to those lands, and summoned him before them. They reprimanded him for settling upon them without their approbation; for withdrawing himself from christian society and ordinances; and for unlawfully trading with and assisting the Indians. He confessed his faults; but pleaded in excuse, that he had been encouraged by Mr. Winthrop, who claimed a right at Pawcatuck. He gave bonds for his good conduct, and was allowed to continue upon the land. The court promised him, that if he would procure a sufficient number of planters, they would give them all proper encouragement, in making a permanent settlement. About ten or twelve families, this year, made settlements in that quarter; and finding, that there was a controversy between Connecticut and the Massachusetts, with respect both to title and jurisdiction, they, on the 30th of June, entered into a voluntary contract to govern themselves, and conduct their affairs in peace, until it should be determined to which colony they should submit. The principal planters were George Denison, Thomas Stanton, Thomas Shaw, William, Elisha, and Samuel Cheesbrough, Moses and Walter Palmer. These, with some others, were signers of the voluntary compact.

Book I.

1638.

named Stonington settled.

Cheesbrough reprimanded.

The planters agree to govern themselves.

At the meeting of the commissioners, the Massachusetts claimed that tract of country, by virtue of the assistance which they afforded Connecticut in the conquest of the Pequots. The commissioners resolved, "That the determination did arise only from the several rights of conquest, which were not greatly different; yet that being tender of any inconvenience, which might arise to those, who were already possessed, either by commission from Massachusetts or Connecticut, in any part thereof, should they be put off their improvements; also upon enquiry finding, that the Pequot country, which extended from Nehantick to Wekapang, about ten miles eastward from Mystic river, may conveniently accommodate two plantations, did, respecting things as they then stood, conclude, that Mystic river be the bounds between them, as to propriety and jurisdiction, so far as conquest may give title. Always provided,

Claim of Massachusetts.

Determination of the commissioners.

BOOK I. " that such as are already accommodated, by commif-
 1658. " sion of either of the faid governments, or have grants
 " of any tracts of land on either fide of Miftic river, be
 " not molefted in any of their poffeffions or rights, by
 " any other grants."

October 19th. UPON the petition of the planters, the general court of the Maffachufetts made them a grant of eight miles from the mouth of Miftic river towards Wekapaig, and eight miles northward into the country, and named the plantation Southerton. It continued under the government of Maffachufetts until after Connecticut obtained a royal charter.

THIS was a year of great ficknefs and mortality in Connecticut, and in New-England in general. Religious controversies, at the fame time, ran high and gave great trouble to church and commonwealth. The Indians continued their wars with implacable animofity. The commissioners employed all their wifdom and influence to make peace; but they could not reconcile thofe blood-thirfty barbarians. The crops were light, and it was a year of fear, perplexity, and forrow.*

Election at Hartford, May 19th 1659. JOHN WINTHROP, Efquire, was chofen governor of Connecticut for the year 1659, and Thomas Welles, Efquire, deputy governor. Captain Tapping and Mr. Robert Bond were elected magiftrates in the room of Mr. Knowles and Mr. Mulford.

AT the election in New-Haven, the fame governor and council were rechofen. Indeed little alteration was made with refpect to them until the union of that colony with Connecticut.

October 6th. AT the October feffions, Cromwell bay, or Setauket on Long-Ifland, at the defire of the inhabitants, was admitted as a member of the jurifdiction of Connecticut.

Election May 17th 1660. IN 1660, Mr. John Winthrop was rechofen governor. This was the firft time, that any governor had been elected to that office more than once in two years. Major Mafon was advanced to the place of deputy governor. The magiftrates were Mr. Henry Clark, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Phelps, Mr. Allen, Mr. Treat, Mr. Gould, Mr. Tapping, Mr. Ogden, Mr. Bond, Mr. Daniel Clark, and Mr. Talcott. Mr. Daniel Clark was fecretary, and Mr. Talcott, Treafurer.

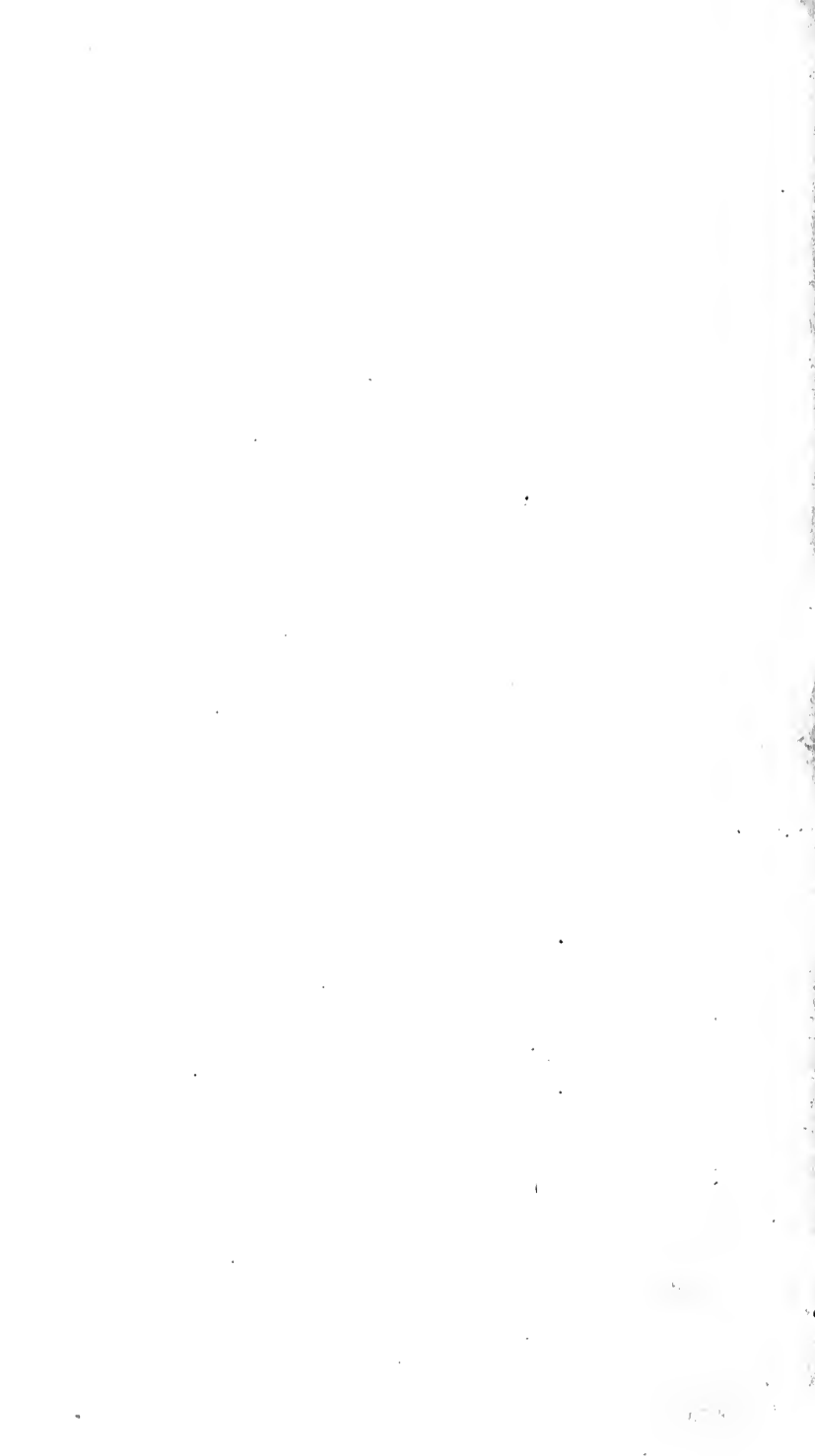
* In a proclamation for a general faft, the intemperate feafon, thin harveft, fore vifitation by ficknefs, and the fad, prolonged differences in the churches, are particularized as matters of humiliation.

Engraved for D^r Trumbull's History of
Connecticut: from an original Painting in
the possession of Francis Bayl^r Winthrop



CONNECTICUT
CHARTER

The Honorable JOHN WINTHROP, Esq.
who procured the Charter of Connecticut:
and was Governor of the Colony from May
1659 until April 5th 1675



Mr. Webster and Mr. Welles appear now to be no more. They had been annually chosen into the magistracy, for about twenty years, and both had the honor of the chief seat of government.*

BOOK I.
1660.

AT this election, the freemen, having found by long experience, that the clause, in the third fundamental article, incapacitating any person to be chosen governor more than once in two years, was prejudicial, rather than advantageous to the colony, resolved, that there should be liberty for the annual choice of the same person governor, or of any other whom they should judge best qualified to serve the commonwealth.

DURING the wars between Uncas and the Narragansets, they besieged his fort, near the bank of the Thames, until his provisions were nearly exhausted, and he found that he and his men must soon perish, by famine or sword, unless he could obtain speedy relief. In this crisis, he found means of communicating his danger to the scouts, who had been sent out from Saybrook fort. By his messengers, he represented the great danger the English, in those parts, would be in immediately, if they should suffer the Moheagans to be destroyed.

Distress of
Uncas.

UPON this intelligence, one Thomas Lessingwell, an ensign at Saybrook, an enterprising, bold man, loaded a canoe with beef, corn and pease, and under cover of the night paddled from Saybrook into the Thames; and had the address to get the whole into the fort. The enemy soon perceiving, that Uncas was relieved, raised the siege. For this service, Uncas gave said Lessingwell a deed of a great part, if not of the whole town of Norwich. In June 1659, Uncas, with his two sons, Owane-co and Attawanhood, by a more formal and authentic deed, made over unto said Lessingwell, John Mason, Esquire, the Rev. James Fitch and others, consisting of thirty five proprietors, the whole township of Norwich, which is about nine miles square. The company, at this time, gave Uncas and his sons about £70, as a further compensation, for so large and fine a tract.

Relieved
by Thom-
as Less-
singwell.

* Four or five governors of Connecticut, Governor Haynes, Governor Wyllys, Governors Welles and Webster, lie buried at Hartford, without a monument. William Leet, Esquire, governor of New-Haven and Connecticut, also lies interred there, in the same obscure manner. Considering their many and important public services, this is remarkable; but their virtues have embalmed their names, and will render them venerable to the latest posterity.

BOOK I.

1660.
Norwich
settled.

PREPARATIONS were immediately made for its settlement, and this spring, the Reverend James Fitch, with the principal part of his church and congregation, removed from Saybrook, and planted the town of Norwich. Three or four planters joined them from New-London, and two or three from the towns of Plymouth and Marlfield in Massachusetts. In 1663, the general assembly ordered, that the deed should be recorded. The limits were afterwards ascertained, and the town received a patent of the whole.

THE Mohegans were a great defence, and of essential service to the town for many years. They kept out their scouts and spies, and so constantly watched their enemies, that they gave the earliest notice of their approach, and were a continual defence against them. For this purpose, in times of danger, they often moved and pitched their wigwams near the town, and were a great terror to the enemy. Once the hostile Indians came near to the town, upon the sabbath, with a design to make a descent upon it; but viewing it, from an eminence, and seeing the Mohegan huts, they were intimidated and went off without doing the least damage.*

Hunting-
ton receiv-
ed.

THIS year, the town of Huntington, upon Long-Island, was received as a member of the Connecticut jurisdiction.

Grand Ju-
rors ap-
pointed.

THIS general court ordered, that grand jurors should be appointed, in every town, to make presentment of all breaches of law, in their respective towns. The law required that the presentments should be made to the particular court, in May and October.

THE accounts with the heirs of George Fenwick, Esquire, had not been closed, nor discharges given, relative to the purchase made of the fort at Saybrook, and the old patent of Connecticut. This was an occasion of great uneasiness among the people. The three towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield, presented petitions to the general court, praying, that the accounts might be adjusted, and the colony discharged. In consequence of these a large committee was appointed to make a complete settlement with the said heirs. They having prepared the accounts for a final adjustment, the general court, at their sessions in October, authorized them, in their behalf, to perfect and confirm the writings. The governor was authorized, in their name, to affix the pub-

* Manuscripts from Norwich and records of Connecticut.

lic seal of the colony to those, which were to be delivered to Captain Cullick and Elizabeth his wife, heirs of the said George Fenwick, Esquire, and to receive of them the writings to be delivered to the court in favour of the colony.

BOOK I.

1660.

ACCORDINGLY, on the 7th of October, the colony discharged Mr. John Cullick and Elizabeth his wife, their heirs, &c. and the said John and Elizabeth his wife gave an ample discharge to the colony of Connecticut, from all sums of money due to the said Fenwick, his heirs or assigns, by virtue of the agreements made with Mr. Fenwick, or purchase of the river's mouth.*

Settlement with the heirs of Mr. Fenwick Oct. 7.

THUS, after the term of sixteen years, from the first, and fourteen from the second agreement with Mr. Fenwick, the colony completed a settlement respecting the fort and lands holden by him; and became legally possessed of the tract conveyed to the Lords and gentlemen severally named in the patent.

UPON a final adjustment of the accounts, it appeared, that Mr. Cullick and the heirs of Mr. Fenwick were indebted £500 sterling to the colony, which had been paid them, more than what was due according to the original agreements with Mr. Fenwick.

£500 due to the colony.

JOHN Mason, Esquire, now deputy governor, had some time since been authorized, in behalf of the colony, to purchase of Uncas all the lands, which he had reserved for himself and the Moheagans, in the deed of 1640, under the name of planting grounds. Having effected the purchase, he made a surrender of the lands, in the presence of the general court. The following is a minute of the transaction.

“ HARTFORD, session of the general court, March 14, 1660.†

“ THE jurisdiction power over that land, which Uncas and Wawequa have made over to Major Mason, is by him surrendered to this colony. Nevertheless, for the laying out of those lands to farms, or plantations, the court doth leave it in the hands of Major Mason. It is also ordered and provided, with the consent of Major Mason, that Uncas and Wawequa, and their Indians and successors, shall be supplied with sufficient

March 14. 1661 Major Mason resigns the Moheagan lands.

* Mr. Cullick, who for several years had been one of the magistrates of Connecticut, and secretary of the colony, had now removed his residence to Boston.

† This according to the present mode of dating was March 14, 1661.

BOOK I. “ planting ground at all times, as the court sees cause out
 “ of that land. And the major doth reserve to himself
 1660. “ a competency to make a farm.”

FOR want of form, and a more legal manner of conveyance, with respect to those lands, originated the memorable Mason case, or controversy, as it was called. It continued about seventy years, and was an occasion of great trouble and expense to the colony. A statement of it will be made in the progress of this history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE general court of Connecticut declare their loyalty and submission to the king ; determine to address his majesty, and apply for charter privileges. A petition to his majesty is prepared, and a letter addressed to Lord Say and Seal. Governor Winthrop is appointed the colony's agent, to present their petition, and solicit a patent. Regicides condemned. Whalley and Goffe arrive at Boston, escape to New-Haven, and are kindly entertained, and kept from their pursuers. New-Haven falls into great trouble and danger on that account. New-Haven excuse themselves ; decline sending an agent, but join with Massachusetts, in supporting one. The King proclaimed. Governor Winthrop obtains the charter of Connecticut. First governor and council under the charter. Representation of the constitution it ordains, and the privileges it conveys. Difficulties of the colony of New-Haven. Governor Leet's address. Charter of Connecticut arrives. Proceedings of Connecticut in consequence of the charter. They extend their jurisdiction to all places within the limits of their patent, and challenge New-Haven colony, as under their jurisdiction. Controversy between the two colonies. Settlement of Killingworth. Patent of the Duke of York. Colonel Nichols and commissioners arrive, reduce all the Dutch settlements. Their extraordinary powers. Important crisis of Connecticut. The general court make a present to the commissioners. Answer to the propositions from his majesty, and reply to the Duke of Hamilton's claim and petition. Boundaries between Connecticut and New-York. Union of Connecticut and New-Haven.

March 14. **T**HE colony having purchased the patent, and the government of England having been settled in the

king and parliament, the general court determined to make application for a charter under the royal signature. They avowed their allegiance to his majesty, King Charles the second; declared that all the inhabitants of this colony were his faithful subjects; and that it was necessary to petition him for his grace, and the continuance and confirmation of their rights and privileges. The court resolved, that the £500 due from Mr. Cullick should be appropriated to the prosecution of their address, and application to his majesty for a patent.

BOOK I.
1661.
The court avow their allegiance to King Charles II.

At the sessions in May, a petition to his majesty was presented by the governor, and approved by the general court. That it might, however, be made as perfect as possible, the governor and deputy governor, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Allen, Mr. Warham, Mr. Stone, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Whiting, and the secretary, were appointed a committee for its emendation. They were authorized to methodize and make all such alterations, as they should judge expedient, provided the substance of it were retained. They were directed to write letters to any noble personages in England, to whom it might be expedient to make application, and to transact whatever might be necessary, respecting the petition and the procurement of a patent.

Prepare a petition for a charter.
May 16.

GOVERNOR Winthrop was appointed agent to present the petition to his majesty, and to transact all affairs in England, respecting the general welfare of the colony. He had particular instructions from the general court for the management of the business of his agency. He was especially directed to obtain the consent, and take the advice of the nobles and gentlemen, who had been interested in the old patent of Connecticut; and to engage the friendship and influence of all those, who might be active and serviceable, with respect to the interests of the colony.

Governor Winthrop appointed agent.

IN the petition to his majesty, it was represented, that the greatest part of the colony had been purchased and obtained by great and valuable considerations; that some other part thereof had been obtained by conquest; and that it had, with great difficulty, at the sole endeavours, expense and charges of themselves and their associates, under whom they claimed, been subdued and improved, and thereby become a considerable enlargement and addition to his majesty's dominions and interests in New-England.† These were pleaded as reasons, with his ma-

Representations in the petition.

† Appendix No. VII.

Book I. jesty to grant the tract and privileges for which the petitioners prayed.

1661.

Letter to
Lord Say
and Seal.

Com-
plaints
against
Mr. Fen-
wick.

AT the same time, a letter was addressed to Lord Say and Seal, representing the encouragements which their fathers, and some of their surviving associates, received from him, to transplant themselves into the inland parts of this vast wilderness, and their assurances of his patronage and favor. They also complained, that Mr. George Fenwick, several years after he had taken possession of the entrance of Connecticut river, determining to return to England, proposed to sell the fort, at Saybrook, with all the buildings and appurtenances there, together with all the lands upon the river, as far eastward as Narraganset bay, with the right of jurisdiction, to the colony. They represented, that this, at first, was strenuously opposed, by many of the inhabitants, as they imagined his lordship, and the other noble patentees, had very bountiful intentions towards them; and that such a procedure would be extremely contrary to their designs. Nevertheless, that afterwards, as some of those gentlemen, who had the greatest interest in the affections of their lordships, were removed by death; and as Mr. Fenwick pretended to be the only patentee; and threatened, that unless the colony would purchase the lands, on his own terms, he would either impose duties upon the people, or sell the premises to the Dutch, they finally agreed with him, and paid him £1,600 for them. They intimated that this was the only way in which the peace and safety of the community could have been preserved. As a further matter of grievance, they complained, that, besides this great abuse, Mr. Fenwick had given them nothing under his hand, to oblige himself or his heirs to fulfil his engagements; and that they had nothing to secure them, in the enjoyment of their just rights and privileges, as a distinct commonwealth. They further made complaint of encroachments made upon them, on the north by the Massachusetts, and by them and others towards the Narragansets; and that they knew not how to support their claims, or ascertain their boundaries, without a patent. they intreat his lordship to consider their circumstances, counsel and assist their agent, and countenance their designs.*

THE only alteration which had been made, at the election, this year, in Connecticut, was the choice of Mr.

* Letter to his lordship, No VIII.

Thurston Rayner into the magistracy ; but at New-Haven, the alteration was very considerable.

FRANCIS NEWMAN, Esquire, who had succeeded Governor Eaton, in the chief seat of government, was now no more. He had been for many years secretary, under the administration of Governor Eaton, and well acquainted with the affairs of the colony. He is represented as a gentleman of piety and unblemished morals, happily imitating his predecessor both in public and private life.

BOOK I.
1661.
Governor Newman dies.

UPON the election, William Lest, Esquire, was chosen governor, and Mr. Matthew Gilbert, deputy governor. Mr. Benjamin Fenn, Mr. Robert Treat, Mr. Jasper Crane, Mr. John Wakeman, and Mr. William Gibbard, were elected magistrates. The spirit of republicanism however was so high, at New-Haven, that several of them would not accept their appointments and take the oaths prescribed. Mr. Wakeman and Mr. Gibbard utterly refused. Mr. Fenn was hardly prevailed with to accept his office. He at last took the oath, with this precious explanation, that it was only with reference to the particular laws of that colony ; and that if any thing foreign should present, it should give no offence if he should decline acting. Mr. James Bishop was chosen secretary, and Mr. Robert Allen, treasurer.

Election at New-Haven May 29.

AN affair had happened at New-Haven, a few months before this, which now began to alarm the country, and soon gave great anxiety and trouble to that colony.

VERY soon after the restoration, a large number of the judges of king Charles the first, commonly termed regicides, were apprehended and brought upon their trials, in the Old Baily. Thirty nine were condemned, and ten executed as traitors. Some others, apprehensive of danger, fled out of the kingdom before King Charles II. was proclaimed. Colonels Whalley and Goffe made their escape to New-England. They were brought over by one Captain Gooking, and arrived at Boston, in July 1660. Governor Endicot and gentlemen of character, in Boston and its vicinity, treated them with peculiar respect and kindness. They were gentlemen of singular abilities, and had moved in an exalted sphere. Whalley had been a lieutenant general, and Goffe, a major general, in Cromwell's army. Their manners were elegant, and their appearance grave and dignified, commanding universal respect. They soon went from Boston to Cambridge, where they resided until February. They resorted openly to places of public

Regicides condemned.

Whalley and Goffe arrive at Boston.

Retire to Cambridge.

BOOK I. worship on the Lords day, and at other times of public devotion. They were universally esteemed, by all men of character, both civil and religious. But no sooner was it known, that the judges had been condemned as traitors, and that these gentlemen were excepted from the act of pardon, than the principal gentlemen in the Massachusetts began to be alarmed. Governor Endicot called a court of magistrates to consult measures for apprehending them. However their friends were so numerous, that a vote could not, at that time, be obtained to arrest them. Some of the court declared, that they would stand by them, others advised them to remove out of the colony.

FINDING themselves unsafe at Cambridge, they came, by the assistance of their friends, to Connecticut. They made their route by Hartford, but went on directly to New-Haven. They arrived about the 27th of March, and made Mr. Davenport's house the place of their residence. They were treated with the same marks of esteem and generous friendship, at New-Haven, which they had received in the Massachusetts. The more the people became acquainted with them, the more they esteemed them, not only as men of great minds, but of unfeigned piety and religion. For sometime, they appeared to apprehend themselves as out of danger, and happily situated among a number of pious and agreeable friends. But it was not long before the news of the king's proclamation against the regicides arrived, requiring, that wherever they might be found, they should be immediately apprehended. The governor of Massachusetts, in consequence of the royal proclamation, issued his warrant to arrest them. As they were certified, by their friends, of all measures adopted respecting them, they removed to Milford. There they appeared openly in the day time, but at night often returned privately to New-Haven, and were generally secreted at Mr. Davenport's, until about the last of April.

IN the mean time, the governor of Massachusetts received a royal mandate requiring him to apprehend them; and a more full and circumstantial account of the condemnation and execution of the ten regicides, and of the disposition of the court towards them, and the republicans and puritans in general, arrived in New-England. This gave a more general and thorough alarm to the whole country. A feigned search had been made in the Massachusetts, in consequence of the former warrant,

Arrive at
New-Haven March
27th.

Go to
Milford.

for the colonels Whalley and Goffe; but now the governor and magistrates began to view the affair, in a more serious point of light; and appear to have been in earnest to secure them. They perceived, that their own personal safety, and the liberties and peace of the country, were concerned in the manner of their conduct towards those unhappy men. They therefore immediately gave a commission to Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, two zealous young royalists, to go through the colonies, as far as the Manhadoes, and make a careful and universal search for them. They pursued the judges, with engagedness, to Hartford; and, repairing to Governor Winthrop, were nobly entertained. He assured them, that the colonels made no stay in Connecticut, but went directly to New-Haven. He gave them a warrant and instructions similar to those which they had received from the governor of Massachusetts, and transacted every thing relative to the affair with dispatch. The next day they arrived at Guilford, and opened their business to deputy governor Leet. They acquainted him that, according to the intelligence which they had received, the regicides were then at New-Haven. They desired immediately to be furnished with powers, horses, and assistance to arrest them.

BUT here they were very unwelcome messengers. Governor Leet, and the principal gentlemen in Guilford and New-Haven, had no ill opinion of the judges. If they had done wrong in the part they had acted, they viewed it as an error in judgment, and as the fault of great and good men, under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. They were touched with compassion and sympathy, and had real scruples of conscience with respect to delivering up such men to death. They viewed them as the excellent in the earth, and were afraid to betray them, lest they should be instrumental in shedding innocent blood. They saw no advantage in putting them to death. They were not zealous therefore to assist in apprehending them. Governor Leet said, he had not seen them, in nine weeks, and that he did not believe they were at New-Haven. He read some of the papers relative to the affair with an audible voice. The pursuivants observed to him, that their business required more secrecy, than was consistent with such a reading of their instructions. He delayed furnishing them with horses until the next morning, and utterly declined giving them any powers, until he had consulted with his council, at New-Haven.

Book I.

1661.

Kellond
and
Kirk com-
missioned
to search
the coun-
try.

Come to
Guilford.

Senti-
ments of
Governor
Leet and
his coun-
cil.

Their con-
duct re-
specting
the regi-
cides.

BOOK I. They complained, that an Indian went off, from Guilford to New-Haven, in the night, and that the governor was so dilatory, the next morning, that a messenger went on to New-Haven, before they could obtain horses for their assistance. The judges were apprized of every transaction respecting them, and they, and their friends, took their measures accordingly. They changed their quarters, from one place to another in the town, as circumstances required; and had faithful friends to give them information, and to conceal them from their enemies.

ON the 13th of March, the pursuivants came to New-Haven, and Governor Leet arrived in town, soon after them, to consult his council. They acquainted him, that, from the information which they had received, they were persuaded, that the judges were yet in the town, and pressed him and the magistrates to give them a warrant and assistance, to arrest them, without any further delay. But after the governor and his council had been together five or six hours, they dispersed, without doing any thing relative to the affair. The governor declared, that they could not act without calling a general assembly of the freemen. Kellond and Kirk observed to him, that the other governors had not stood upon such niceties; that the honor and justice of his majesty were concerned, and that he would highly resent the concealment and abetting of such traitors and regicides. They demanded whether he and his council would own and honor his majesty? The governor replied we do honor his majesty, but have tender consciences; and wish first to know whether he will own us.*

THE tradition is, that the pursuivants searched Mr. Davenport's house, and used him very ill. They also searched other houses, where they suspected, that the regicides were concealed. The report is, that they went into the house of one Mrs. Eyers, where they actually were, but she conducted the affair with such composure and address, that they imagined the judges had just made their escape from the house, and they went off without making any search. It is said, that once, when the pursuers passed the neck bridge, the judges concealed themselves under it. Several times they narrowly escaped, but never could be taken.

* Report of Kellond and Kirk to Governor Endicot; to which they gave oath, in the presence of the governor and his council.

THESE zealous royalists, not finding the judges in New-Haven, prosecuted their journey to the Dutch settlements, and made interest with Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, against them. He promised them, that if the judges should be found within his jurisdiction, he would give them immediate intelligence, and that he would prohibit all ships and vessels from transporting them. Having thus zealously prosecuted the business of their commission, they returned to Boston; and reported the reception, which they had met with at Guilford and New-Haven.

BOOK I.

1661.

Kellond and Kirk return and report.

UPON this report, a letter was written, by secretary Rawson, in the name of the general court of Massachusetts, to Governor Leet and his council, on the subject. It represented, that many complaints had been exhibited, in England, against the colonies, and that they were in great danger. It was observed, that one great source of complaint, was their giving such entertainment to the regicides, and their inattention to his majesty's warrant, for arresting them. This was represented as an affair which hazarded the liberties of all the colonies, and especially those of New-Haven. It was intimated, that the safety of particular persons, no less than that of the colony, was in danger. It was insisted, that the only way to expiate their offence, and save themselves harmless, was, without delay, to apprehend the delinquents. Indeed the court urged, that not only their own safety and welfare, but the essential interests of their neighbours, demanded their indefatigable exertions to exculpate themselves.

Letter from the court of Massachusetts to Governor Leet.

COLONELS Whalley and Goffe, after the search which had been made for them, at New-Haven, left Mr. Davenport's and took up their quarters at Mr. William Jones's, son in law to Governor Eaton, and afterwards deputy governor of New-Haven and Connecticut. There they secreted themselves until the 11th of May. Thence they removed to a mill in the environs of the town. For a short time, they made their quarters in the woods, and then fixed them in a cave in the side of a hill, which they named Providence Hill. They had some other places of resort, to which they retired as occasion made it necessary, but this was, generally, the place of their residence until the 19th of August.* When the weather

Regicides change their quarters.

* About this time they removed to Milford, where they continued about two years. On the arrival of the king's commission-

Book I. was bad they lodged, at night, in a neighbouring house. It is not improbable, that sometimes, when it could be done with safety, they made visits to their friends at New-Haven.

They appear openly at New-Haven. INDEED, to prevent any damage to Mr. Davenport or the colony, they once, or more, came into the town openly, and offered to deliver up themselves to save their friends. It seems it was fully expected, at that time, that they would have done it voluntarily. But their friends, neither desired, nor advised them, by any means, to adopt so dangerous a measure. They hoped to save themselves and the colony harmless, without such a sacrifice. The magistrates were greatly blamed for not apprehending them, at this time in particular. Secretary Rawson, in a letter of his to Governor Leet, writes, "How ill
" this will be taken is not difficult to imagine; to be sure
" not well. Nay will not all men condemn you as
" wanting to yourselves?" The general court of Massachusetts, further acquainted Governor Leet, that the colonies were criminated for making no application to the king, since his restoration, and for not proclaiming him as their king. The court, in their letter, observed, that it was highly necessary, that they should send an agent to answer for them at the court of England.

Governor Leet convenes the general court August 1st. ON the reception of this intelligence, Governor Leet convoked the general court, and laid the letters before them. After much debate, it was concluded to address a letter to the general court, exculpating the colony. With respect to the regicides, they declared, that they had neither disowned nor slighted the king nor his authority; and that the apprehending of them was not defeated by any delay of theirs, as they had made their escape before the king's warrant arrived in the colony. They alledged, that the pursuers neglected their business, to attend upon the governor and his council, for which they had no authority. Besides they pleaded scruples of conscience, and fear of unfaithfulness to the people, who had given them all their power, and to whom they were bound by solemn oath. Further, they insisted, that acting upon the warrant would have been owning a general governor, and dangerous to the liberties

New-Haven's excuse.

ers in New-England, they retired again to their cave for a short time, and about the 13th of October 1664 removed to Hadley. As the late Rev. President Stiles has written their history, no notice will be taken of it in this work, further than it is connected with the affairs of the colony.

of the people. To him they said the warrant was directed, and though other magistrates were mentioned, yet they were considered only as officers under him.

BOOK I.

1661.

WITH reference to the magistrates not arresting the judges, when they appeared openly in the town, they said, it was owing to a full persuasion, that they would certainly surrender themselves, according to their promise. They affirmed, that they had used all diligence with those, who had shown them kindness, to persuade them to deliver them up; that they were ignorant where they were, and that they did not believe that they were in the colony. They promised, that they would exert themselves to arrest and secure them, if an opportunity should present.

THEY excused themselves for not making an address or application to his majesty, because it was to them a new and unprecedented affair; and they were ignorant of the proper form. Indeed they said they could not agree in one which might be acceptable. These they avowed to be the reasons of their omission, and not any disloyalty to his majesty. As the form, in which the colony of Massachusetts made their submission to the king, had been laid before them, they declared, that it was to their satisfaction, and that, from their hearts, they acknowledged and said the same. They promised full subjection and entire allegiance to his majesty, King Charles II. Upon this submission and declaration, they supplicated for the same immunities and privileges with their sister colonies, and declared their expectations of the full enjoyment of them.

AT the same time, they declined the making of any particular address to the king, on the account of their inability to procure a proper agent to present it to his majesty. In their great distress, they desired the general court of Massachusetts, to represent them to the king as cordially owning and complying with their address, as though it had been said and made by themselves. They expressed their opinion of the necessity of a general agent, for New-England, to supplicate the royal favor, to defeat the designs of their enemies, and to procure for them all acts of indemnity and grace. They agreed to bear their proportionable part of the expense. The court immediately sent an agent to Boston, on this business. One great matter of complaint, against the colonies, had been their not proclaiming the king. But as he had now been

New-Haven unite in sending a general agent.

They proclaim the king, August 1st.

BOOK I. proclaimed in all the other colonies, in New-England, the
 1661. general court at New-Haven judged it expedient formally to proclaim him there.*

Governor Winthrop's conduct in England.

Friendship of Lord Say and Seal.

Favorable circumstances under which the petition was presented.

Form of proclamation.

ABOUT this time, it seems, Governor Winthrop took his passage for England. Upon his arrival, he made application to Lord Say and Seal, and other friends of the colony, for their countenance and assistance. Lord Say and Seal, appears to have been the only nobleman living, who was one of the original patentees of Connecticut. He held the patent in trust, originally, for the puritanic exiles. He received the address from the colony most favorably, and gave Governor Winthrop all the assistance in his power.† The governor was a man of address, and he arrived in England, at a happy time for Connecticut. Lord Say and Seal, the great friend of the colony, had been particularly instrumental of the restoration. This had so brought him into the king's favor, that he had been made lord privy seal. The earl of Manchester, another friend of the puritans, and of the rights of the colonies, was chamberlain of his majesty's household. He was an intimate friend of Lord Say and Seal, and had been united with him in defending the colonies, and pleading for their establishment and liberties. Lord Say and Seal engaged him to give Mr. Winthrop his utmost assistance. Mr. Winthrop had an extraordinary ring, which had been given his grand father by King Charles the first, which he presented to the king. This, it is said, exceedingly pleased his majesty, as it had been once the

* The form was curious. It was expressed in the following words.

“ Although we have not received any form of proclamation, by order from his majesty or council of state, for proclaiming his majesty in this colony; yet, the court taking encouragement, from what has been done in the rest of the United colonies, hath thought fit to declare publicly, and proclaim, that we do acknowledge his royal highness, Charles the second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, to be our sovereign lord and king; and that we do acknowledge ourselves, the inhabitants of this colony, to be his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects.”

† Letter to Governor Winthrop, in England No. IX. His lordship ever retained his friendship for the colonies, and not only rendered great services to Connecticut, but to them all, in vindicating them against the complaints, made against them, and in conciliating the favor of the king and his court towards them. In a letter of his, to the government of Massachusetts, he says, “ I have not been wanting both to the king and council to advance your interest; more I cannot do, but pray the Lord to stand with you and for you.”

property of a father most dear to him. Under these circumstances, the petition of Connecticut was presented, and was received with uncommon grace and favor.

BOOK I.

1662.

UPON the 20th of April 1662, his majesty granted the colony his letters patent, conveying the most ample privileges, under the great seal of England. It confirmed unto it the whole tract of country, granted by King Charles the first unto the earl of Warwick, and which was, the next year, by him consigned unto Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and others. The patent granted the lands in free and common socage. The facts, stated and pleaded in the petition, were recognized in the charter, nearly in the same form of words, as reasons of the royal grant, and of the ample privileges which it conveyed.

Charter granted.
Territory conveyed.

Reasons recognized.

IT ordained, that John Winthrop, John Mason, Samuel Wyllys, Henry Clarke, Matthew Allen, John Tapping, Nathan Gould, Richard Treat, Richard Lord, Henry Wolcott, John Talcott, Daniel Clarke, John Ogden, Thomas Welles, Obadiah Bruen, John Clarke, Anthony Hawkins, John Deming, and Matthew Camfield, and all such others as then were, or should afterwards be admitted and made free of the corporation, should forever after be one body corporate and politic, in fact and name, by the name of the GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE ENGLISH COLONY OF CONNECTICUT IN NEW-ENGLAND IN AMERICA; and that by the same name, they and their successors should have perpetual succession. They were capacitated, as persons in law, to plead and be impleaded, to defend and be defended, in all suits whatsoever: To purchase, possess, lease, grant, demise, and sell lands, tenements, and goods, in as ample a manner, as any of his majesty's subjects or corporations in England. The charter ordained, that there should be, annually, two general assemblies; one holden on the second Thursday in May, and the other on the second Thursday in October. This was to consist of the governor, deputy governor, and twelve assistants, with two deputies from every town or city. John Winthrop was appointed governor, and John Mason, deputy governor, and the gentlemen named above, magistrates, until a new election should be made.

THE company were authorized to have a common seal, to appoint judicatories, make freemen, constitute officers, establish laws, impose fines, assemble the inhabitants in marshal array, for the common defence, and to exercise martial law in all cases, in which it might be necessary.

BOOK I. It was ordained by the charter, that all the king's subjects, in the colony, should enjoy all the privileges of free and natural subjects within the realm of England; and that the patent should always have the most favorable construction for the benefit of the governor and company.

1662.
 Election in Connecticut May 15. THE charter did not come over until after the election. This was on the 15th of May, and the freemen made no alteration in their officers.


MANY of the colony of New-Haven appear to have been exceedingly opposed to King Charles, and to the royal instructions which they had received. It had been with great difficulty, that the governor and council had managed the government in such a manner, as to keep peace among the people, and not incur the displeasure of the king and his council. Though they had done as little as possible, consistent with loyalty, in conforming to his majesty's orders, yet they had done more than was pleasing to all. There had been some insurrections and tumults, and the authority, in some instances, had not been well treated. Some complained, that they could not enjoy their privileges more amply; and that none but church members could be freemen of the corporation.

Governor Leet's conciliatory speech May 28th.

GOVERNOR Leet, therefore, at the court of election, made a pacific speech to the freemen. He represented to them the great difficulties and dangers of the year past, and the divine goodness towards them, in the continuation of their civil and religious privileges. He acknowledged himself to be subject to many imperfections, yet professed, that, in his office, he had acted conscientiously, consulting the common safety and happiness. He declared his readiness to give the reasons of his conduct to any brother, or brethren, who would come to him, in an orderly manner. He acknowledged their kind affection and patience towards him, in covering and passing by his infirmities.

UPON this, the election proceeded, and he was chosen governor, and Matthew Gilbert, deputy governor. The deputy governor's not apprehending the regicides, did not, in any measure, injure his popularity. No objection was made against either of the governors. Mr. William Jones and Mr. William Gibbard were chosen magistrates, for New-Haven; Mr. Benjamin Fenn and Mr. Robert Treat, for Milford; and Mr. Jasper Crane, for Bran-

ford. Several of the magistrates took the oath, this year, with the explanations and exceptions, which they had made the last.

Book I.

 1662.

BEFORE the sessions of the general assembly of Connecticut, in October, the charter was brought over; and as the governors and magistrates, appointed by his majesty, were not authorized to serve after this time, a general election was appointed, on the 9th of October. John Winthrop, Esquire, was chosen governor, and John Mason, Esquire, deputy governor. The magistrates were Matthew Allen, Samuel Wyllys, Nathan Gould, Richard Treat, John Ogden, John Tapping, John Talcott, Henry Wolcott, Daniel Clarke and John Allen, Esquires, Mr. Baker and Mr. Sherman. John Talcott, Esquire, was treasurer, and Daniel Clarke, Esquire, secretary.

General election at Hartford Oct. 9th, 1662.

UPON the day of the election, the charter was publicly read to the freemen, and declared to belong to them and their successors. They then proceeded to make choice of Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Talcott, and Mr. Allen to receive the charter into their custody, and to keep it in behalf of the colony. It was ordered, that an oath should be administered, by the court, to the freemen, binding them to a faithful discharge of the trust committed to them.

THE general assembly established all former officers, civil and military, in their respective places of trust; and enacted, that all the laws of the colony should be continued in full force, except such as should be found contrary to the tenor of the charter. It was also enacted, that the same colony seal should be continued.

Acts passed upon the reception of the charter Oct. 9th, 1662.

THE major part of the inhabitants of Southhold, several of the people at Guilford, and of the towns of Stamford and Greenwich, tendering their persons and estates to Connecticut, and petitioning to enjoy the protection and privileges of this commonwealth, were accepted by the assembly, and promised the same protection and freedom, which was common to the inhabitants of the colony in general. At the same time, it was enjoined upon them, to conduct themselves peaceably, as became christians, towards their neighbours, who did not submit to the jurisdiction of Connecticut; and that they should pay all taxes due to the ministers, with all other public charges then due. A message was sent to the Dutch governor, certifying him of the charter, granted to Connecticut, and desiring him, by no means, to trouble any of his ma-

Book I. jesty's subjects, within its limits, with impositions, or prosecutions from that jurisdiction.

1662.

THE assembly gave notice to the inhabitants of Winchester, that they were comprehended within the limits of Connecticut; and ordered, that, as his majesty had thus disposed of them, they should conduct themselves as peaceable subjects.

The assembly extend their jurisdiction to Pawcatuck and Long-Island.

THE assembly resolved, that the inhabitants of Mistic and Pawcatuck should no more exercise any authority, by virtue of commissions from any other colony, but should elect their town officers, and manage all their affairs, according to the laws of Connecticut. It was also resolved, that this, and some other towns, should pay twenty pounds each, towards defraying the expense of procuring the charter.*

HUNTINGTON, Setauket, Oyster-bay, and all the towns upon Long-Island, were obliged to submit to the authority, and govern themselves agreeably to the laws of Connecticut. A court was instituted at Southhold, consisting of Captain John Youngs, and the justices of South and East-Hampton. The assembly resolved, that all the towns, which should be received under their jurisdiction, should bear their equal proportion of the charge of the colony, in procuring the patent.

Appoint a committee to confer with New-Haven.

As the charter included the colony of New-Haven, Mr. Matthew Allen, Mr. Samuel Wyllys, and the Reverend Messieurs Stone and Hooker, were appointed a committee, to proceed to New-Haven, and to treat with their friends there, respecting an amicable union of the two colonies.†

THE committee proceeded to New-Haven, and after a conference with the governor, magistrates and principal gentlemen in the colony, left the following declaration to be communicated to the freemen.

Committee's declaration.

“ WE declare, that through the providence of the most High, a large and ample patent, and therein desirable privileges and immunities from his majesty, being

* It appears from the appropriations made, and taxes imposed, to pay the charges of Governor Winthrop's agency, that the charter cost the colony about thirteen hundred pounds sterling.

† A thanksgiving was appointed, by this assembly, through the colony, to celebrate the divine beneficence; especially in granting them such a favorable reception with his majesty, and such ample civil and religious privileges, as had been conferred by their charter: and for God's gracious answer to the prayers of his people, in abating the sickness of the country, and giving them rain, in the time of drought.

“ come to our hand, a copy whereof we have left with Book I.
 “ you to be considered, and yourselves, upon the sea 1662.
 “ coast, being included and interested therein, the king
 “ having united us in one body politic, we, according to
 “ the commission wherewith we are intrusted, by the
 “ general Assembly of Connecticut, do declare, in their
 “ name, that it is both their and our earnest desire, that
 “ there may be a happy and comfortable union between
 “ yourselves and us, according to the tenor of the char-
 “ ter; that inconveniences and dangers may be prevent-
 “ ed, peace and truth strengthened and established,
 “ through our suitable subjection to the terms of the pa-
 “ tent, and the blessing of GOD upon us therein.”

THE authority of New-Haven made the following reply.

“ WE have received and perused your writings, and
 “ heard the copy read of his majesty’s letters patent to New-Ha-
ven’s re-
ply.
 “ Connecticut colony; wherein, though we do not find
 “ the colony of New-Haven expressly included, yet to
 “ show our desire that matters may be issued in the con-
 “ serving of peace and amity, with righteousness between
 “ them and us, we shall communicate your writing, and
 “ a copy of the patent, to our freemen, and afterwards,
 “ with convenient speed, return their answer. Only
 “ we desire, that the issuing of matters may be respited
 “ until we may receive fuller information from Mr.
 “ Winthrop, or satisfaction otherwise; and that in the
 “ mean time, this colony may remain distinct, entire,
 “ and uninterrupted, as heretofore: which we hope you
 “ will see cause lovingly to consent unto; and signify
 “ the same to us, with convenient speed.”

ON the 4th of November, the freemen of the colony Court
meet at
New-Ha-
ven Nov.
4th.
 of New-Haven convened, in general court. The gover-
 nor communicated the writings to the court, and ordered
 a copy of the patent to be read. After a short adjourn-
 ment for consideration, in an affair of so much impor-
 tance, the freemen met again, and proceeded to a large
 discussion of the subject.

THE Reverend Mr. Davenport was entirely opposed Mr. Da-
venport
opposes
the union.
 to an union with Connecticut. He proceeded therefore,
 to offer a number of reasons, why the inhabitants of New-
 Haven could not be included in the patent of that colo-
 ny, and for which they ought by no means, voluntarily
 to form an union. He left his reasons, in writing, for
 the consideration of the freemen. He observed, that he

BOOK I. should leave others to act according to the light which they should receive.



1662.

Reasons
against it.

It was insisted, that New-Haven had been owned as a distinct government, not only by her sister colonies, by the parliament and the protector, during their administration; but by his majesty King Charles the second: That it was against the express articles of confederation, by which Connecticut was no less bound, than the other colonies: That New-Haven had never been certified of any such design, as their incorporation with Connecticut; and that they had never been heard on the subject. It was further urged, that, had it been designed to unite them with Connecticut, some of their names, at least, would have been put into the patent, with the other patentees; but none of them were there. Hence it was maintained, that it never could have been the design of his majesty to comprehend them within the limits of the charter. It was argued, that for them to consent to an union would be inconsistent with their oath, to maintain that commonwealth with all its privileges civil and religious. Indeed it was urged, that it would be incompatible both with their honor and most essential interests.

GOVERNOR Leet excused himself from speaking on the subject, desiring rather to hear the freemen speak their minds freely, and to act themselves, with respect to the union.

AFTER the affair had been fully debated, the freemen resolved, that an answer to Connecticut should be drawn up under the following heads.

1. "BEARING a proper testimony against the great sin of Connecticut, in acting so contrary to righteousness, amity and peace."

2. "DESIRING that all further proceedings, relative to the affair, might be suspended, until Mr. Winthrop should return, or they might otherwise obtain further information and satisfaction."

3. "To represent, that they could do nothing in the affair, until they had consulted the other confederates."*

THE freemen appointed all their magistrates and elders, with Mr. Law of Stamford, a committee to draw up an answer to the general assembly of Connecticut. They were directed to subjoin the weighty arguments, which they had against an union. If these should not

* Records of New-Haven.

avail, they were directed to prepare an address to his majesty, praying for relief.

THE committee drew up a long letter, in which they declared, that they did not find any command in the patent, to dissolve covenants, and alter the orderly settlement of New England; nor a prohibition against their continuance as a distinct government. They represented, that the conduct of Connecticut, in acting at first without them, confirmed them in those sentiments; and that the way was still open for them to petition his majesty, and obtain immunities, similar to those of Connecticut. They declared, that they must enter their appeal from the construction, which Connecticut put upon the patent; and desired that they might not be interrupted, in the enjoyment of their distinct privileges. They solicited that proceedings, relative to an union, might rest until they might obtain further information, consult their confederates, and know his majesty's pleasure concerning them.

THE committee then proceeded to represent the unreasonable and injurious conduct of Connecticut towards them, in beginning to exercise jurisdiction, within their limits, before they had given them any intimations, that they were included in their charter; before they had invited them to an amicable union; and before they had any representation in their assembly, or name in their patent. They urged, that, in such a procedure, they had encouraged division, and given countenance to disaffected persons: That they had abetted them in slighting solemn covenants and oaths, by which the peace of the towns and churches, in that colony, was greatly disturbed. Further, they insisted, that, by this means, his majesty's pious designs were counteracted, and his interests disserved: That great scandal was brought upon religion before the natives, and the beauty of a peaceable, faithful, and brotherly walking exceedingly marred among themselves. The committee also represented, that these transactions were entirely inconsistent with the engagements of Governor Winthrop; contrary to his advice to Connecticut; and tended to bring injurious reflections and reproach upon him. They earnestly prayed for a copy of all which he had written to the deputy governor and company on the subject. On the whole, they professed themselves exceedingly injured and grieved; and intreated the general assembly of Connecticut to adopt speedy and effec-

BOOK I. tual measures, to repair the breaches, which they had
 1662. made, and to restore them to their former state, as a confederate and sister colony.*

Assembly at Connecticut March 11, 1663. CONNECTICUT made no reply to this letter; but at a general assembly, holden March 11th 1663, appointed the deputy governor, Messrs. Matthew and John Allen, and Mr. John Talcott, a committee to treat with their friends at New-Haven, on the subject of an union. But the hasty measures, which the general assembly had taken, in admitting the disaffected members of the several towns, under the jurisdiction of New-Haven, to their protection, and to the privileges of freemen of their corporation, and in that way beginning to dismember that colony, before they had invited them to incorporate with them, had soured their minds and prejudiced them, that this committee had no better success than the former.

General court at New-Haven May 6th. IN consequence of the claims of Connecticut, and of what had passed between the two colonies, Governor Leet called a special assembly, at New-Haven, on the 6th of May. It was then proposed to the court, whether, considering the present state of the colony, and the affairs depending between them and Connecticut, any alteration should be made, with respect to the time or manner of their election? The freemen resolved, that no alteration should be made. They then determined upon a remonstrance, or declaration to be sent to the general assembly of Connecticut. In this they gave an historical account of the ends of their coming, with their brethren in the United colonies, into New-England, and of the solemn manner in which these colonies had confederated; and insinuated, that the conduct of Connecticut towards them was directly contrary to the designs of the first planters of New-England, and to that express article of the confederation, that no one colony should be annexed to another, without the consent of the other colonies. They declared, that if, through the contrivance of Connecticut, without their knowledge or consent, the patent did circumscribe that colony, it was, in their opinion, contrary to brotherly love, righteousness, and peace. They also declared, that, notwithstanding the sense which Connecticut put upon their patent, they could not find one line or letter in it expressing his majesty's pleasure, that they should become one with that colony. The court affirmed, that they were necessitated to bear testimony against

Remonstrance against Connecticut.

* Letter to Connecticut No. X.

the appointment of constables and other officers, in the towns under their jurisdiction, and the dismembering of their colony, by receiving their disaffected people under the protection of a legislature distinct from theirs, and in which they had no representation. They remonstrated against this, as distracting the colony, destroying the comfort, and hazarding the lives and liberties of their confederates; as giving great offence to their consciences, and as matter of high provocation and complaint before God and man. All this unbrotherly and unrighteous management, they represented, as exceedingly aggravated, in that, notwithstanding their former representations and intreaties, in writing, notwithstanding their appeal to his majesty, and notwithstanding all their past distress and sufferings, they were still pursuing the same course. They still declared, that they appealed to his majesty; and that, exceedingly grieved and afflicted, they, in the sight of God, angels, and men, testified against such proceedings.*

BOOK I.
1663.

WHILE these affairs were transacted in the colonies, the petition and address of New-Haven, to his majesty, arrived in England. Upon which Governor Winthrop, who was yet there, by the advice of the friends of both colonies, agreed, that no injury should be done to New-Haven, and that the union and incorporation of the two colonies should be voluntary. Therefore, on the 3d of March 1663, he wrote to the deputy governor and company of Connecticut, certifying them of his engagements to the agent of New-Haven; and that, before he took out the charter, he had given assurance to their friends, that their interests and privileges should not be injured by the patent. He represented, that they were bound by the assurances he had given; and therefore wished them to abstain from all further injury and trouble of that colony. He imputed what they had done to their ignorance of the engagements, which he had made. At the same time, he intimated his assurance, that, on his return, he should be able to effect an amicable union of the colonies.†

Governor Winthrop writes to Connecticut, March 3.

AT the election in Connecticut, Mr. Howel and Mr. Jasper Crane were chosen magistrates instead of Mr. John Allen and Mr. John Ogden.‡ Mr. John Allen was appointed treasurer.

Election at Hartford May 14th 1663.

* No. XI.

† Governor Winthrop's letter to Connecticut No. XII.

‡ Mr. Crane was chosen magistrate, this year, in both colonies.

BOOK I. CONNECTICUT now laid claim to West-Chester, and sent one of their magistrates to lead the inhabitants to the choice of their officers, and to administer the proper oaths to such as they should elect. The colony also extended their claim to the Narraganset country, and appointed officers for the government of the inhabitants at Wickford.

1663.
July 10th.
Committee appointed again to treat with New-Haven Aug. 29, 1663.

NOTWITHSTANDING the remonstrance of the court, at New-Haven, their appeal to King Charles the second, and the engagements of Governor Winthrop, Connecticut pursued the affair of an union, in the same manner in which it was begun. At a session of the general assembly, August 19th, 1663, the deputy governor, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Daniel Clarke, and Mr. John Allen, were appointed a committee to treat with their friends of New-Haven, Milford, Guilford and Branford, relative to their incorporation with Connecticut. Provided they could not effect an union, by treaty, they were authorized to read the charter publicly, at New-Haven, and to make declaration to the people there, that the assembly could not but resent their proceeding, as a distinct jurisdiction, since they were evidently included within the limits of the charter, granted to the corporation of Connecticut. They were instructed to proclaim, that the assembly did desire, and could not but expect, that the inhabitants of New-Haven, Milford, Guilford, Branford and Stamford, would yield subjection to the government of Connecticut.

Commissioners meet at Boston Sept. 3. 1663.

Complaint of New Haven.

AT the meeting of the commissioners, in September, New-Haven was owned by the colonies, as a distinct confederate. Governor Leet and Mr. Fenn, who had been sent from that jurisdiction, exhibited a complaint against Connecticut, of the injuries which they had done, by encroaching upon their rights, receiving their members under their government, and encouraging them to disown their authority, to disregard their oath of allegiance, and to refuse all attendance on their courts. They further complained, that Connecticut had appointed constables in several of their towns, to the great disquiet and injury of the colony. They prayed, that effectual measures, might be taken to redress their grievances, to prevent further injuries, and secure their rights as a distinct confederate.

Reply of Connecticut.

GOVERNOR Winthrop and Mr. John Talcott, commissioners from Connecticut, replied, that, in their opinion, New-Haven had no just grounds of complaint; that Connecticut had never designed them any injury; but

had made to them the most friendly propositions, inviting them to share with them freely in all the important and distinguishing privileges, which they had obtained for themselves; that they had sent committees amicably to treat with them; that they were still treating, and would attend all just and friendly means of accommodation.

BOOK I.
1663.

THE commissioners of the other colonies, having fully heard the parties, determined, that as the colony of New-Haven had been "owned, in the articles of confederation, as distinct from Connecticut, and having been so owned, by the colonies jointly in the present meeting, in all their actions, they may not, by any acts of violence, have their liberty of jurisdiction infringed, by any other of the United colonies, without breach of the articles of confederation; and that where any act of power hath been exerted against their authority, that the same ought to be recalled, and their power reserved to them entire, until such time, as, in an orderly way, it shall be otherwise disposed." With respect to the particular grievances, mentioned by the commissioners of New-Haven, the consideration of them was referred to the next meeting of the commissioners at Hartford.*

Determination of the commissioners.

Sept. 3.

THE extending of the claims of Connecticut, to all the plantations upon Long-Island, to West-Chester, and the neighbouring towns, alarmed Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor. He therefore appeared before the commissioners, at Boston, and complained of the infraction of the articles of agreement concluded, at Hartford, between the English and Dutch, and desired the commissioners to determine, whether they considered said articles as binding the parties or not.

The Dutch governor complains of a breach of the articles of agreement in 1650.

As this complaint respected Connecticut more especially, Governor Winthrop and Mr. Talcott replied, in behalf of their constituents. They pleaded, that, as it was an affair of great concernment, and as Connecticut had not been certified of any such complaint, and they had no instructions relative to the subject, the decision of it might be deferred, until the next meeting of the commissioners.

Reply of Connecticut.

THE commissioners resolved, that, saving their allegiance to his majesty, and his claim to the lands in controversy, and the right of Connecticut colony, by virtue of

Determination of the commissioners.

* Records of the United colonies. Vol. II.

BOOK I. their charter, they did, for themselves, esteem the articles of agreement, in 1650, to be binding, and that they would not countenance the violation of them. They advised the parties concerned to refer all matters, respecting the subject, to the next meeting of the commissioners. In the mean time they advised, that the articles of agreement should be observed, and that all persons in the places in controversy should be acquitted from penalties and damages, on the account of their having resisted the authority of the Dutch.*

1663.

CONNECTICUT was now attacked from all quarters. While the colony was without a royal grant, its neighbours made encroachments with impunity; and now, when it extended its claims, by virtue of regal authority, they all complained, and took all possible advantage of former encroachments and decisions, at times, when they could plead no such authority. As all the United colonies, except Plimouth, were effected by the claims of the colony, so they were mutually interested in opposing and determining against them.

As Connecticut had now claimed Pawcatuck, or Southerton, and prohibited the exercise of any authority there, except such as was derived from the legislature of that colony, the inhabitants had exhibited three addresses to the general court of Massachusetts, petitioning for relief and protection.

THE commissioners from Massachusetts, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Danforth, laid the complaints and petitions before the commissioners of the other colonies, and prayed for relief, according to the provision made, in such cases, in the articles of confederation.

THE court of commissioners advised, that the affair should be respited for the present; that Connecticut should apply to the general court of the Massachusetts, for an amicable settlement; and that, if this should not be effected, the aggrieved party might make application to the commissioners, at their next meeting. In the mean time, they advised, that affairs, at Southerton, should be managed according to their former decisions.

WHEN the general assembly of Connecticut convened, in October, they paid particular attention to these great objects of general concernment. Notwithstanding all

General
assembly
Oct. 8,
1663.

* Records of the United colonies Vol. II.

which had happened relative to New-Haven, the following act passed. Book I.

“ THIS court doth declare, that they can do no less, 1663.
 “ for their own indemnity, than to manifest their dissatisfaction with the plantations of New-Haven, Milford, Act respecting
 “ Guilford, Stamford, and Branford, in their distinct New-Haven.
 “ standing from us, in point of government ; it being directly opposite to the tenor of the charter, lately granted to our colony of Connecticut, in which these plantations are included. We do also expect their submission to our government, according to our charter and his majesty’s pleasure therein expressed ; it being a stated conclusion with the commissioners, that jurisdiction right goeth with patent : And whereas the aforesaid people of New-Haven, Milford, Guilford, Stamford, and Branford, pretend they have power of government, distinct from us, we do hereby declare, that our council will be ready to attend them, or a committee of theirs ; and if they can rationally make it appear, that they have such power, and that we have wronged them according to their complaints, we shall be ready to attend them with due satisfaction.”*

THE assembly appointed a committee to draught a letter to the gentlemen at New-Haven, and to inclose to them the preceding resolution.

AGENTS were sent to this assembly from the Manhagoes, to treat with the legislature, relative to the differences subsisting between them and the Dutch. A petition, at the same time, was presented from the English plantations upon Long-Island, in the vicinity of the Dutch, praying for the protection and privileges of the corporation of Connecticut. Upon which the assembly passed the following resolve. Agents from the Dutch.

“ THAT, as they were solicitous to maintain the interests and peace of his majesty’s subjects, and yet to attend all ways of righteousness, so that they might hold a friendly correspondence with their neighbours, at the Manhagoes, they would, for the present, forbear all acts of authority, towards the English plantations on the west end of Long-Island, provided the Dutch would forbear to exercise any coercive power towards them ; and this court shall cease from further attendance unto the premises, until there be a seasonable return, from the general Stevenson, to those proposi-

* Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I.

1663.

“ tions his messengers carried with them, or until there
 “ be an issue of the difference, between them and us,
 “ And, in case the Dutch do unjustly molest or offer vio-
 “ lence unto them, we declare that we shall not be will-
 “ ing to see our countrymen, his majesty’s natural born
 “ subjects, and his interests interrupted or molested, by
 “ the Dutch or any others ; but we shall address our-
 “ selves, to use such just and lawful means, as God shall,
 “ in his wisdom, offer to our hands, for their indemnity
 “ and safety, until his majesty, our sovereign Lord the
 “ King, shall please to declare his royal pleasure for their
 “ future settlement.”

As Governor Winthrop was now returned from Eng-
 land, the assembly embraced the first opportunity to pre-
 sent him with the thanks of the colony, for the great pains
 he had taken, and the special services he had rendered it,
 in procuring the charter.

THE legislature, determining to secure, as far as possi-
 ble, the lands within the limits of their charter, authori-
 zed one Thomas Pell to purchase of the Indian proprie-
 tors all that tract between West-Chester and Hudson’s
 river, and the waters which made the Manhadoes an isl-
 and ; and resolved, that it should be added to West-
 Chester.

THE towns on the west end of Long-Island petitioning
 to be under the government of Connecticut, the assembly
 declared, that, as the lines of their patent extended to the
 adjoining islands, they accepted those towns under their
 jurisdiction.

October

IT was resolved, in October, that Hammonasset should
 be a town. The same month, twelve planters, principal-
 ly from Hartford, Windsor, and Guilford, fixed their res-
 idence there. It was afterwards named Killingworth.
 At the October sessions, 1703, the assembly gave them a
 patent, confirming to the proprietors all the lands within
 the limits of the town.*

Oct. 22,
 the gene-
 ral court
 at New-
 Haven
 writeto
 Connect-
 icut.

WHILE these affairs were transacted in Connecticut,
 the colony of New-Haven persisted in their opposition to
 an incorporation with that government. On the 22d of
 October, their general court convened, and Governor
 Leet acquainted the court, that, since the meeting of the
 commissioners, their committee had written to Connecti-

* The name originally designed was Kennelworth, and thus it
 is written, for some years, on the records of the colony, but by
 mistake it was recorded Killingworth, and this name finally pre-
 vailed.

cut to the following effect : That as the commissioners had unanimously established the confederation, and the distinct and entire jurisdiction of each confederate colony, they judged, that it would not be unacceptable to present to their general assembly our request, that they would act in conformity to the advice of the commissioners, and recal all former acts, inconsistent with their determinations. They insisted, that a compliance with their wishes would be no obstruction to an amicable treaty ; but that its tendency would be sooner to effect the union, which they desired : That it could, by no means, endanger their patent, nor any of their chartered rights ; and that they had the countenance of all the confederates, to apologize for them in their present request, and in maintaining their rights, as a distinct jurisdiction. Governor Leet further certified the court, that their committee had desired an answer to their letter, before the present sessions of their general court, and previously to their answering the proposals made to them by Connecticut.

Book I.
1663.

THE freemen of the colony of New-Haven were not only opposed to an incorporation with Connecticut, but even to treating with them, under the then present circumstances.

The freemen determine to hold no further treaty with that colony.

THE court, after a long and serious debate, considering, that the general court of Connecticut, had not complied with their request, but still claimed a right of jurisdiction over them, and countenanced the malecontents in their several towns, were decidedly against any further treaty. The following resolution was adopted. " That no treaty be made, by this colony, with Connecticut, before such acts of power, exerted by them, upon any of our towns, be revoked and recalled, according to the honorable Mr. Winthrop's letter, engaging the same, the commissioners' determination, and our frequent desires."

THE court ordered, that the magistrates, or other officers, where there were no magistrates, should issue warrants, according to law, to attach the personal estate of those who, upon legal demand, had refused, or should refuse to make payment of their rates. It was provided, that, in case of resistance and forcible rescue, violence should not be used to the shedding of blood, unless it were in a man's own defence. The court further determined to make application to his majesty for redress.

Order that rates shall be dittrained,

BOOK I. The plan adopted by the court, as circumstances there were, was to petition the king for a bill of exemption from the government of Connecticut, and to leave the affair of procuring a patent, for that colony, to the wisdom of their agents in England, as they should judge to be most expedient.

1663.

A TAX of £300 was levied upon the colony, for the purpose of enabling them to prosecute the affair before his majesty in council.

A DAY of extraordinary fasting and prayer was appointed to supplicate divine mercy, for the afflicted people of GOD universally, and especially for themselves, that they might be directed to the proper means of obtaining an established and permanent enjoyment of their just rights and privileges.

Embarrassed
state of
New-Haven.

THE affairs of the colony of New-Haven were now exceedingly embarrassed, and approaching to an important crisis. The colony was much in debt. Taxes had not been punctually collected. Many were disaffected with the government, and refused to pay any thing for its support. When the officers of New-Haven attempted to collect the taxes, which had been imposed, they repaired to Connecticut for protection; and, with too little appearance of justice, or brotherly affection, were protected, by its legislature. Indeed the colony was so reduced, that it could not pay the stated salaries of its principal officers. While the court expressed their ardent desires, were it in their power, to give the governors the full salary, which had been usual, yet, considering the low state of the colony, and the numbers withdrawn from them, they judged they were not able to give the governor more than forty pounds, and the deputy governor not more than ten.

Alarm at
Guilford,
Branford,
and New-
Haven,
Dec. 30th,

No sooner did the officers begin to distrain the rates of those who refused to pay, than it produced the most alarming and dangerous consequences. One John Rositer of Guilford, and his son, bold and disorderly men, who had been punished for misdemeanors, by the authority of the colony of New-Haven, made a journey to Hartford, and obtained two of the magistrates of Connecticut, a constable, and several others, to come down to Guilford, on the night of the 30th of December. By firing a number of guns in the night, they greatly alarmed and disturbed the town. Some of the men, from Connecticut, were rough, and used high and threatening language. In such a crisis Governor Leet judged

it expedient to send immediately to Branford and New-Haven, for assistance. Both the towns were alarmed, in the dead time of night, and forwarded men to the aid of the governor. The governor and magistrates conducted affairs with such moderation and prudence, that no mischief was done. The gentlemen from Connecticut remonstrated against collecting taxes from those, who had been taken under the protection of that colony, and desired New-Haven to suspend the affair for further consideration.

BOOK I.
1663.

GOVERNOR Leet therefore convoked a special court, at New-Haven, on the 7th of January 1664. He opened the public business, by acquainting the court, that it was the earnest desire of the magistrates from Connecticut, and of Mr. Roslter and his son, that the act of the general court of New-Haven, relative to the distraining of taxes might be suspended, until there could be another conference between the colonies; at which they were in expectation, that all difficulties might be amicably settled. He also laid before the court the representations which the gentlemen from Connecticut had made of the great danger there would be, in carrying that act into execution, in direct opposition to the authority of Connecticut. It was desired, that the court would maturely consider the affair.

General court at New-Haven, Jan. 7th, 1664.

THE court insisted, that all former treaties with Connecticut had been without any good effect; and persisted in the resolution, that, until the members, which had been so unrighteously taken from them, should be restored, they would hold no further treaty with that colony.† Mr. Davenport and Mr. Street were appointed to make a draught of their grievances, to be transmitted to the general assembly of Connecticut. It was to be examined and approved by such a number of their committee, as could be convened upon the occasion. They drew up a long and sensible remonstrance, which they termed "NEW-HAVEN CASE STATED." The subject was introduced with a declaration to this effect: That it was their deep sense of the injuries, which the colony had suffered, by the claims and encroachments, which had been made upon their just prerogatives and privileges, which had induced them unanimously, though with great reluctance, to declare their grievances unto them. They proceeded then to declare, that they settled at New-Haven, with the

Persists in its resolution not to treat with Connecticut.

Statement of New-Haven case.

† Records of New-Haven.

BOOK I. consent of Connecticut; had purchased the whole tract
 1664. of land, which they had settled upon the sea coast, of the
 Indians, the original proprietors of the soil; and had quietly possessed it nearly six and twenty years: That they had expended great estates in clearing, fencing, and cultivating the lands, without any assistance from Connecticut; and had formed themselves by voluntary compact, into a distinct commonwealth. They then proceeded to state a great variety of instances in which Connecticut, the United colonies, the parliament, and protector, the king and his council, had owned them, as a distinct colony. They insisted, that notwithstanding, they had now procured a patent including New-Haven, not only without their concurrence, but contrary to their minds, previously expressed; contrary to the express articles of the confederation; and to their own engagements, not to include them in the charter. Further they affirmed, that Mr. Winthrop, before his departure for England, had, by his letters, given assurance, that it was not designed to include New-Haven in the patent; and that the magistrates of Connecticut had agreed, that, if the patent should include them, they should be at full liberty to incorporate with them or not, as should be most agreeable to their inclinations. They alledged, that, contrary to all the premises, to justice, to good faith, to brotherly kindness, to the peace and order of church and commonwealth, Connecticut, even in their first assembly, proceeded to the dismemberment of the colony of New-Haven, by receiving its members from Stamford, Guilford, and Southhold: That after such dismemberment, they had preposterously pretended to treat with them relative to an union: And that, after a conference with the Committee from Connecticut, and the reading of their charter, it did not appear, that they were so much as mentioned, or that it had any reference to them. They declared that, in a full persuasion of his majesty's pleasure, to continue them a distinct jurisdiction, they had assured the committee of their design to appeal to him, and know his royal purpose: That though they immediately sent their appeal; yet, that out of tender respect to the peace and honor of Mr. Winthrop, they advised their friends, in England, to acquaint him with their papers, that he might adopt some effectual expedient, to compromise the unhappy differences between the two colonies: And that it was on the account of Mr. Winthrop's engagements to their friends, that their rights and interests should not

BOOK I.
1664.

be disquieted nor injured, that the appeal to his majesty was then suspended.* From a statement of these, and some other facts and circumstances, they attempted to demonstrate their rights, as a distinct colony, and the injustice, unfaithfulness, ingratitude, and cruelty, of Connecticut, in their claims upon them, and in the manner of their prosecuting them. Their beginning to dismember their colony, by receiving and protecting their subjects and malecontents, previous to any treaty with them; their appointing officers, creating animosities, and raising alarms in their several towns, were especially insisted on, as contrary to all their covenants, as brethren and confederates, and contrary to all order, peace, and justice.

THE general assembly of Connecticut, at their sessions in May, avowed their claim to Long-Island, as one of the adjoining islands mentioned in their charter, except some preceding right should appear, approved by his majesty. Officers were appointed, by the court at Hempsted, Jamaica, Newtown, Flushing, Oyster-bay, and all the towns upon the west end of the island. Assembly at Connecticut May 12th.

UPON the general election, at New-Haven, the freemen proceeded to the choice of their civil officers, as had been usual. Governor Leet was rechosen, and Mr. William Jones was elected deputy governor. Matthew Gilbert, Esquire, the former deputy governor, Mr. Benjamin Fenn, Mr. Jasper Crane, Mr. Treat, and Mr. Nash, were appointed magistrates. The two last would not accept the office. The governor and deputy governor were chosen commissioners for the next meeting at Hartford. The colony was now become so weak, and the affairs of it so embarrassed, by the claims and proceedings of Connecticut, that the general court either did no business, or judged it expedient to put nothing upon record. General election at New-Haven, May 25th.

In this situation of affairs, an event took place, which alarmed all the New-England colonies, and at once changed the opinions of the commissioners, and of New-Haven, with respect to their incorporation with Connecticut.

KING CHARLES the second, on the 12th of March 1664, gave a patent to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, of several extensive tracts of land, in North America, the boundaries of which are thus described.

“ ALL that part of the main land of New-England, beginning at a certain place, called and known by the Duke of York's patent.

* Records of New-Haven.

BOOK I.

1664.

“ name of St. Croix next adjoining to New-England in
 “ America, and from thence extending along the sea coast
 “ unto a certain place called Pemaquie or Pemaquid, and
 “ so up the river thereof to the furthest head of the same,
 “ as it tendeth northward; and extending from thence to
 “ the river Kembequin, and so upwards by the shortest
 “ course to the river Canada northward: and also all that
 “ island or islands commonly called by the general name
 “ or names of Meitowax, or Long-Island, situate and
 “ being toward the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow
 “ Highgansets, abutting upon the main land between
 “ the two rivers there called or known by the several
 “ names of Connecticut and Hudson’s river, and all the
 “ land from the west side of Connecticut river to the
 “ east side of Delaware bay, and also all those several
 “ islands called or known by the names of Martin’s-
 “ Vineyard or Nantucks, otherwise Nantucket: togeth-
 “ er,” &c.

THE concern of the Duke of York for his property, the aversion both of his majesty and the duke to the Dutch, with the differences between them and the New-England colonies, made an expedition against the New-Netherlands a prime object of their attention. Though his majesty King Charles II. was an indolent prince, devoted to dissipation and pleasure, yet, under the influence of these motives, an armament was soon prepared, and a fleet dispatched to New-England, for the reduction of the Dutch settlements, on the continent. Colonel Richard Nichols was chief commander of the fleet and army. Colonel Nichols had not only a commission, for the reduction of the Dutch plantations, and the government of them, but he, with George Cartwrith, Esquire, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick, Esquire, were appointed commissioners, by his majesty, and vested with extraordinary powers, for visiting the New-England colonies; hearing and determining all matters of complaint and controversy between them, and settling the country in peace.†

Arma-
ment for
the reduc-
tion of the
Dutch set-
tle-
ments.

Commis-
sioners
with ex-
traordina-
ry pow-
ers.

Colonel
Nichols
arrives at
Boston
July 23.

COLONEL Nichols arrived at Boston, with the fleet and troops under his command, on the 23d of July 1664. He immediately communicated his commission to the colonies, and his majesty’s requisition of troops to assist in the expedition against the Dutch. He then sailed for the New-Netherlands, and on the 20th of August, made

† Number XIII. and his Majesty’s letter No. XIV.

a demand of the town and forts upon the island of Manhadoes. He had previously sent letters to Governor Winthrop to join him, at the west end of Long-Island. Governor Winthrop, with several of the magistrates and principal gentlemen of Connecticut, joined him, according to his wishes.

BOOK I.
1664.
Demands a surrender of the fort and town at the Manhadoes.

STUYVESANT, the Dutch governor, was an old soldier, and had he been better prepared, and the people united, doubtless would have made a brave defence. But he had no intimations of the design, until the 8th of July, when he received intelligence, that a fleet of three or four ships of war, with three hundred and fifty soldiers on board, were about to sail from England, against the Dutch settlements. Upon this, he immediately ordered, that the forts should be put into a state of defence, and sent out spies into several parts of Connecticut, with a view of obtaining further information. Indeed the tradition has been that the Dutch governor, apprehending the danger, in which all the Dutch plantations would immediately be, on the arrival of the fleet, should the colonies unite against them, came to Hartford to negotiate a neutrality with Connecticut; and that he was there when he received the news of the arrival of the fleet at Boston. The story has been, that he made his departure in the night, and returned with the utmost expedition.

HE was extremely opposed to a surrender of the fort and town. Instead of submitting to the summons, at first sent him, he drew up a long statement of the Dutch claims, and their indubitable right to the country. He insisted, that had the King of England known the justice of their claims, he never would have adopted such measures against them. He concluded, by assuring Colonel Nichols, that he should not submit to his demands, nor fear any evils, but such as God, in his providence should inflict upon him.†

Dutch governor opposed to a submission.

COLONEL Nichols, in his first summons, had, in his majesty's name, given assurance, that the Dutch, upon their submission, should be safe, as to life, liberty, and property. Governor Winthrop also wrote a letter to the governor and council, advising them to surrender. But they were careful to secrete the writings from the people, lest the easy terms proposed should induce them to surrender. The burgo-masters and people desired to know,

The people oppose him.

† Smith's History of New-York p. 12—14.

BOOK I. of the governor, what was the import of the writings he had received, and especially of the letter from Governor Winthrop. The Dutch governor and his council giving them no intelligence, they solicited it still more earnestly. The governor, irritated at this, in a paroxysm of anger, tore the letter in pieces. Upon which, the people protested against his conduct and all its consequences.

The commissioners issue a proclamation.

WHILE the governor and his council were thus contending with the burgo-masters and people, in the town, the English commissioners caused a proclamation to be published, in the country, encouraging the inhabitants to submit to his majesty's government. This promised to all the inhabitants, who would become subject to his majesty, "That they should be protected by his majesty's laws and justice, and peaceably enjoy whatever GOD's blessing, and their honest industry, had furnished them with, and all the other privileges with his majesty's English subjects."

The Dutch at New-Amsterdam, fort Orange and Delaware, submit to his majesty's arms and become English subjects.

THE colonel, finding that the Dutch governor was determined, if possible, to keep his station, sent officers to Jamaica, Hempsted, and other towns, upon the Island, to beat up for volunteers. Captain Hugh Hide, who commanded the ships, had orders to proceed to the reduction of the fort.† Troops were raised in New-England, and ready to march upon the first notice. Two thirds of the inhabitants of Long-Island were English subjects, and wished the success of his majesty's arms. They were ready, if necessary, to afford their immediate assistance. In such circumstances, opposition would have been madness. The Dutch therefore, on the 27th of August, submitted on terms of capitulation. The articles secured them in the enjoyment of liberty of conscience in divine worship, and their own mode of discipline. The Dutch governor and people became English subjects, enjoyed their estates, and all the privileges of Englishmen. Upon the surrender of the town of New-Amsterdam, it was named New-York, in honor to the Duke of York.

PART of the armament immediately sailed up the river, under the command of Carteret, to fort Orange, or Auranian. This surrendered, on the 24th of September. This was named Albany, in honor to the Duke of York and Albany. Sir Robert Carr proceeded with another division of the fleet to Delaware. He obliged the Dutch

† Smith's History of New-York p. 10—22.

and Swedes to capitulate, and deliver up their respective garrisons, on the 1st of October. Upon this day, the whole of New-Netherlands became subject to the crown of England. The Dutch, who before had given so much trouble to the English colonists, from this time, commenced their loyal and peaceable fellow subjects.

THE short time the commissioners tarried at Boston, before they proceeded upon their expedition against the Dutch, was sufficient to discover something of their extraordinary powers, and such a taste of the high and arbitrary manner in which they conducted as spread a general alarm, and awakened, in the colonies, serious apprehensions for their liberties. Mr. Whiting, who was at Boston, and learned much of their temper, was sent back, in haste, to give information of the danger, in which, it was apprehended, the colonies all were; to advise New-Haven to incorporate with Connecticut, without delay; and to make a joint exertion for the preservation of their chartered rights. This was pressed, not only as absolutely necessary for New-Haven, but for the general safety of the country.

IN consequence of this intelligence, a general court was convened, at New-Haven, on the 11th of August 1664. Governor Leet communicated the intelligence, which he had received from their friends at Boston. He acquainted them that Mr. Whiting and Mr. Bull had made a visit to New-Haven, and in their own names, and in behalf of the magistrates of Connecticut, pressed their immediate subjection to their government. Further, the court was certified, that after some treaty with those gentlemen, their committee had given an answer, purporting, that, if Connecticut would, in his majesty's name, assert their claim to the colony of New-Haven, and secure them in the full enjoyment of all the immunities, which they had proposed, and engage to make a united exertion, for the preservation of their chartered rights, they would make their submission. After a long debate, the court resolved, that, if Connecticut should come and assert their claim, as had been agreed, they would submit until the meeting of the commissioners of the United colonies. The magistrates and principal gentlemen of the colony seem to have been sensible, not only of the expediency, but necessity of an incorporation with Connecticut. The opposition, however, was so general among the people, that nothing further could be effected.

Book I.
1664.

News and
advice
from Bos-
ton.

General
court at
New Ha-
ven, Sept.
11th.

BOOK I.

1664.
Connecticut remonstrate against the sitting of the commissioners of New-Haven.

THE court of commissioners was so near at hand, that Governor Winthrop and his council judged it not expedient to make any further demands upon New-Haven, until their advice could be known. However, when the general assembly met, early in September, they passed a remonstrance against the sitting of Governor Leet and deputy governor Jones with the commissioners. In the remonstrance they declared, that New-Haven was not a colony, but a part of Connecticut, and avowed their claim to it as such. They insisted, that owning that as a colony, distinct from Connecticut, after his majesty had, by his letters patent, incorporated it with that colony, was inconsistent with the king's pleasure; would endanger the rights of all the colonies, and especially the charter-rights of Connecticut. The assembly, at the same time, declared, that they would have a tender regard to their honored friends and brethren, at New-Haven, and exert themselves to accommodate them, with all the immunities and privileges which were conveyed by their charter.

Court of commissioners meets Sept. 1st. Advise to a speedy union of Connecticut and New-Haven.

ON the 1st of September, the court of commissioners met at Hartford. The commissioners from New-Haven were allowed their seats with the other confederates. The case of New-Haven and Connecticut was fully heard, and though the court did not approve of the manner, in which Connecticut had proceeded, yet they earnestly pressed a speedy and amicable union of the two colonies. They represented, that the divine honor, and the welfare of all the colonies, as well as their own, were greatly concerned in the event.

To remove all obstructions on their part, the commissioners recommended it to the general courts of Massachusetts and Plimouth, that, in case the colony of New-Haven should incorporate with Connecticut, they might then be owned as one colony, and send two commissioners to each meeting; and that the determinations of any four of the six, should be equally binding on the confederates, as the conclusions of six out of eight, had been before. It was also proposed to the court, that the meeting, which of course had been at New-Haven, should be at Hartford.*

General court at

IN compliance with the advice of the commissioners, Governor Leet convened the general court at New-Ha-

* Records of the united colonies. It was determined, at this court, that their meetings, for the future, should be triennial.

ven, on the 14th of September, and communicated the advice which had been given, and papers from the committee of Connecticut, advising and urging them to unite. They referred it to their most serious consideration, whether, if the king's commissioners should visit them, they would not be much better able to vindicate their liberty and just rights, in union with Connecticut, under a royal patent, than in their then present circumstances. Many insisted, notwithstanding, "That to stand as God had kept them to that time was their best way." Others were entirely of the contrary opinion, and after the fullest discussion of the subject, no vote for union or treaty could be obtained.

NEW-HAVEN and Branford were more fixed and obstinate in their opposition to an incorporation with Connecticut, than any of the other towns in that colony. Mr. Davenport and Mr. Pierson seem to have been among its chief supporters. They, with many of the inhabitants of the colony, were more rigid, with respect to the terms of church communion, than the ministers and churches of Connecticut generally were. The ministers and churches in Connecticut were, a considerable number of them, in favor of the propositions of the general council, which met at Cambridge, in 1662, relative to the baptism of children, whose parents were not in full communion. The ministers and churches of New-Haven were universally and utterly against them. Mr. Davenport, and others in this colony, were also strong in the opinion, that all government should be in the church. No person in this colony could be a freeman, unless he were a member in full communion. But in Connecticut, all orderly persons, possessing a freehold to a certain amount, might be made free of the corporation. Those gentlemen, who were so strong in the opposition, were, doubtless, jealous that an union would mar the purity, order, and beauty of their churches, and have an ill influence on the civil administrations. The removal of the seat of government; the apprehension which some had of losing their places of trust and general influence; with strong prejudices and passions against Connecticut, on account of the injuries, which it was conceived it had done the colony, all operated in forming the opposition. Besides, it was a painful reflection, that, after they had been at so much pains and expense to form and support themselves, as a distinct commonwealth, and had been so

BOOK I.
1664.
New-Haven.

No vote obtained for an union.

Grounds of opposition to an union with Connecticut.

Book I. many years owned as one, their existence must cease
 ~~~~~ and their name be obliterated.

1664.

THIS event, however, was hastening, and grew more and more urgent. Milford, at this time, broke off from them, and would no more send either magistrate or deputies to the general court. Mr. Richard Law, a principal gentleman at Stamford, also deserted them.

Assembly  
 meets  
 Oct. 13th.  
 Important crisis  
 with Con-  
 necticut.

IN this state of affairs, the general assembly of Connecticut convened, on the 13th of October. This was an important crisis with the colony. In few instances, have so many important objects of consideration, at one time, presented themselves to a legislature. Their liberties were not only in equal danger with those of their sister colonies, from the extraordinary powers, and arbitrary dispositions and measures of the king's commissioners, but the Duke of York, a powerful antagonist, had received a patent, covering Long-Island and all that part of the colony west of Connecticut river. The Massachusetts were encroaching upon them on their Northern and Eastern boundaries. William and Anne, the Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton, had petitioned his majesty to restore to them the tract of country granted to their father, James, Marquis of Hamilton, in the year 1635; and his majesty had, on the 6th of May 1664, referred the case to the determination of Colonel Nichols and the other commissioners.\* Besides, the state of affairs with New-Haven was neither comfortable nor safe.

Acts of  
 the assembly,  
 respecting  
 the commis-  
 sioners,  
 Massachusetts  
 & Rhode-  
 Island.

IN these circumstances, the legislature viewed it as a point of capital importance to conciliate the commissioners, and obtain the good graces of his majesty. For this purpose, they ordered a present of five hundred bushels of corn, to be made to the king's commissioners. A large committee was appointed to settle the boundaries between Connecticut and the Duke of York. A committee, consisting of Mr. Allen, Mr. Wyllys, Mr. Talcott, and Mr. Newbury, was also appointed to settle the boundary line between this colony and Massachusetts, and between Connecticut and Rhode-Island. They were instructed not to give away any part of the lands, included within the limits of the charter.

Respect-  
 ing New-  
 Haven.

MR. SHERMAN, Mr. Allen, and the secretary, were authorized to proceed to New-Haven, and, by order of the general assembly, "in his majesty's name, to require the inhabitants of New-Haven, Milford, Branford, Guil-

\* No. XV.

“ford, and Stamford, to submit to the government established by his majesty’s gracious grant to this colony, and to receive their answer.” They had instructions to declare all the freemen, in those towns, free of the corporation of Connecticut; and to make all others, in the respective towns mentioned, qualified according to law, freemen of Connecticut. At the same time, they were directed to administer to them the freeman’s oath.

BESIDES, they were authorized to make declaration, that the assembly did invest William Leet and William Jones, Esquires, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Fenn, Mr. Crane, Mr. Treat, and Mr. Law, with the powers of magistracy; to govern their respective plantations agreeably to the laws of Connecticut, or such of their own laws, as were not inconsistent with the charter, until their sessions in May next. It was proclaimed also, that all other officers, civil and military, were established in their respective places; and that cognizance should not be taken of any case which had been prosecuted, to a final adjudication, in any of the courts of that colony.\*

THE gentlemen appointed to this service, on the 19th of November, went to New-Haven and proceeded according to their instructions.

ABOUT the same time, Governor Winthrop, Mr. Allen, Mr. Gould, Mr. Richards, and John Winthrop, the committee appointed to settle the boundaries between Connecticut and New-York, waited on the commissioners upon York Island. After they had been fully heard, in behalf of Connecticut, the commissioners determined, “That the southern bounds of his majesty’s colony of Connecticut is the sea; and that Long-Island is to be under the government of his royal highness, the Duke of York, as is expressed by plain words in the said patents respectively. We also order and declare, that the creek or river called Momoronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of West-Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt, at high water mark, north-norwest, to the line of Massachusetts, be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut; and the plantations lying westward of that creek, and line so drawn, to be under his royal highness’s government; and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line, to be under the government of Connecticut.†

Book I.

1664.

Determination of his majesty’s commissioners  
Nov. 30th

\* Records of Connecticut.

† No. XVI.

## BOOK I.

1664.

General  
court at  
New-  
Haven  
Dec. 13th.Resolves  
of the  
court.

IN consequence of the acts of Connecticut, and the determination of the commissioners, relative to the boundaries of the colony, a general court was called, at New-Haven, with the freemen, and as many of the inhabitants of the colony as chose to attend, on the 13th of December 1664. The following resolutions were then unanimously passed.

1. "THAT, by this act or vote, we be not understood to justify Connecticut's former actings, nor any thing disorderly done by their own people, on such accounts."

2. "THAT, by it, we be not apprehended to have any hand in breaking or dissolving the confederation."

3. "YET, in loyalty to the king's majesty, when an authentic copy of the determination of his majesty's commissioners is published, to be recorded with us, if thereby it shall appear to our committee, that we are, by his majesty's authority, now put under Connecticut patent, we shall submit, by a necessity brought upon us, by the means of Connecticut aforesaid; but with a *salvo jure* of our former rights and claims, as a people, who have not yet been heard in point of plea.†"

THE members of the court, then present, the elders of the colony, with Mr. John Nash, Mr. James Bishop, Mr. Francis Bell, Mr. Robert Treat, and Mr. Richard Baldwin, were appointed a committee to consummate an union between the colonies.

SEVERAL letters passed between the committees of the two colonies, on the subject, in which the committee of New-Haven signified, that the officers in that colony would continue to act in their respective offices; and expressed their good designs and wishes towards Connecticut, and their loyalty to his majesty. They also represented their expectations, that the governor and company, according to their engagements, would give them all the advantages and privileges, which they could do, consistent with the patent; and their desires still to continue the confederation.\*

THE committee of Connecticut, in answer to New-Haven, assured them of their willingness to bestow on them all the privileges granted in their charter, prepared ready to their hands. They acquainted them, that provision had been made for the continuance of the confederation, according to their wishes. They pleaded the necessity and importance of their incorporation with Con-

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† Records of New-Haven.

\* No. XVII.

necticut, as they were nearly in the centre of the colony, as an apology for the measures which they had taken. They expressed their strong desires that New-Haven would cordially unite with them; and, by no means, view it as a matter of constraint: That mutual candor might be exercised; and that all reflections and past conduct, disagreeable to either of them, be entirely buried and forever forgotten.†

BOOK I.  
1664.

THE general assembly of Connecticut appointed no committee to meet with that chosen by the general court of New-Haven. Of this their committee complain, in their last letter.‡ However, at a session of theirs, the 20th of April 1665, they passed several resolves, for the further completion of the union.

Sessions of  
assembly  
April 20,  
1665.

IT was resolved, that William Leet and William Jones, Esquires, Mr. Benjamin Fenn, Mr. Matthew Gilbert, Mr. Jasper Crane, Mr. Alexander Briant, Mr. Law and Mr. Robert Treat should stand in the nomination for magistrates at the next election.

Resolu-  
tions res-  
pecting  
New-  
Haven.

THE assembly also passed the following declaration, "That all acts of the authority of New-Haven, which had been uncomfortable to Connecticut, should never be called to an account, but be buried in perpetual oblivion."||

THE king's commissioners presented the following propositions, or requisitions from his majesty, to this assembly.

His ma-  
jesty's re-  
quisitione.

1. "THAT all householders, inhabiting this colony, take the oath of allegiance, and that the administration of justice be in his majesty's name."

2. "THAT all men of competent estates and of civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose, or to be chosen officers, both military and civil."

3. "THAT all persons of civil lives, may freely enjoy the liberty of their consciences, and the worship of God in that way which they think best; provided that this liberty tend not to the disturbance of the public, nor to the hindrance of the maintenance of ministers, regularly chosen, in each respective parish or township."

4. "THAT all laws, and expressions in laws, derogatory to his majesty, if any such have been made, in

† Letter of Connecticut to New-Haven No. XVIII.  
‡ No. XIX.  
|| Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I. “ these troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, and  
 “ taken off the file.”

1665.

The an-  
 swer to  
 them.

THE assembly answered in the manner following.

1. “ THAT according to his majesty’s pleasure, ex-  
 “ pressed in our charter, our governor formerly appoint-  
 “ ed meet persons to administer the oath of allegiance,  
 “ who have, according to their order, administered the  
 “ said oath to several persons already ; and the adminis-  
 “ tration of justice among us hath been, is and shall be,  
 “ in his majesty’s name.”

2. “ THAT our order for the admission of freedom  
 “ is consonant with that proposition.”

3. “ WE know not of any one, that hath been trou-  
 “ bled, by us, for attending his conscience, provided he  
 “ hath not disturbed the public.”

4. “ WE know not of any law, or expressions of law,  
 “ that are derogatory to his majesty among us ; but if  
 “ any such be found, we count it our duty to repeal, al-  
 “ ter, and take them off the file ; and this we attended,  
 “ upon the receipt of our charter.”

Answer  
 to the  
 Duke of  
 Hamil-  
 ton’s pe-  
 tition.

ABOUT this time, it seems, the council gave the fol-  
 lowing answer, for substance, to the commissioners, rela-  
 tive to the claim and petition of the Duke of Hamilton :  
 That the grant of Connecticut to the nobles and gentle-  
 men, of whom they purchased, was several years prior to  
 the Marquis of Hamilton’s : That with great difficulty  
 they had conquered a potent and barbarous people, who  
 spread over a great part of that tract of country, which  
 he claimed ; and that it was but a small compensation,  
 for the blood and treasure which they had expended in  
 conquering it, and defending it for his majesty’s interest  
 against the Dutch and other foreigners : That they had  
 peaceably enjoyed that tract for about thirty years : That  
 they had with great labor and expense cultivated the  
 lands, to their own and his majesty’s interest ; and that  
 his majesty, of his grace had been pleased to confirm it  
 to them, by his royal charter, in which these reasons had  
 been recognized.\*

THEY at the same time, solicited their honors, the com-  
 missioners, to present their humble acknowledgements to  
 his majesty for his abundant grace, in the granting of  
 their charter, and for his gracious letter, sent them by  
 his commissioners, re-ratifying their privileges, civil and  
 ecclesiastical.



AT the general election, May 11th, 1665, when the two colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven united in one, the following gentlemen were chosen into office. John Winthrop, Esquire, was elected governor, John Mason, Esquire, deputy governor, and Matthew Allen, Samuel Wylls, Nathan Gould, John Talcott, Henry Wolcott, John Allen, Samuel Sherman, James Richards, William Leet, William Jones, Benjamin Fenn, and Jasper Crane, Esquires, magistrates. John Talcott, Esquire, was treasurer, and Daniel Clarke, secretary.

BOOK I.  
1665.  
Election  
May 11th  
Colonies  
united in  
one assembly.

A PROPORTIONABLE number of the magistrates was of the former colony of New-Haven; all the towns sent their deputies; and the assembly appears to have been entirely harmonious.

THIS assembly enacted, that Hastings and Rye should be one plantation, by the name of Rye.

By this assembly county courts were first instituted, by that name. It was enacted, that there should be two county courts holden annually, in New-Haven; one on the second Thursday in June, the other on the third Thursday in November. The court was to consist of five judges, two magistrates, and three justices of the quorum. A similar court was appointed at New-London; and, the next October, that was made a distinct county.

County  
courts  
first instituted  
May 11th.

AT the sessions, in October, a county court was appointed, at Hartford, instead of the quarterly courts. This was to be holden annually in the months of March and September. The county courts had cognizance of all cases except those of life, limb, or banishment. In cases of more than twenty shillings, the law required that a jury should be impannelled.

AT the same time, a superior court was appointed to be holden, at Hartford, the Tuesday before the sessions of the general assembly in May and October. This was to consist of eight magistrates, at least, and always to be attended with a jury. In this court were tried all appeals from the several county courts, and all capital actions, of life, limb, and banishment.

Superior  
court instituted  
Oct. 12.

ALL the towns, formerly under the jurisdiction of New-Haven, were satisfied with the union of the colonies, except Branford. But Mr. Pierson and almost his whole church and congregation were so displeased, that they soon removed into Newark, in New-Jersey. They carried off the records of the church and town, and after it had been settled about five and twenty years, left it al-

Branford  
dissatisfied with  
the union.

BOOK I. most without inhabitants. For more than twenty years  
 1665. from that time, there was not a church formed in the town. People, from various parts of the colony, gradually moved into it, and purchased the lands of the first planters, so that, in about twenty years, it became re-settled. In 1685, it was re-invested with town privileges.

The union a happy event.  
 Reasons for it.

THE union of the colonies was a happy event. It greatly contributed to the convenience, strength, peace, and welfare of the inhabitants of both, and of their posterity. Greater privileges New-Haven could not have enjoyed, had they been successful in their applications to his majesty. This must have been very expensive, and, after much expense, they might have failed in their attempts and lost their liberties, or have been joined to Connecticut at last. Had they remained a distinct colony, the charges of government would have been greater, than in their state of incorporation. Their situation, in so central a part of the colony, would have been extremely inconvenient, especially for Connecticut. It was, doubtless, his majesty's pleasure, and for his interest, that the colonies should be one; and their friends on both sides the water, judged it most expedient. It was what their own and the general good demanded. All these circumstances, Connecticut could plead, as an apology for their conduct. But after all, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile some parts of it, at least, with their pre-engagements, the rules of justice, and brotherly affection.

WAR was proclaimed, this year, in London, in the month of March, between England and Holland. His majesty had given intelligence to the colony, that De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, had orders to visit New-York. The colony was alarmed, and put into a state of defence. But the admiral was diverted from the enterprise, and the year passed in peace.

IN the proclamation for thanksgiving, in November, the people were excited to praise the SUPREME BENEFAC-TOR, for preventing the troubles which they had feared, and for the blessings of liberty, health, peace, and plenty.\*

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\* It was now thirty years since the settlement of the colony commenced, yet, after the desalcation of Long-Island, it consisted of nineteen towns only, which paid taxes. The grand List was no more than £153,620: 16: 5.

## CHAPTER XIII.

*A VIEW of the churches of Connecticut and New-Haven, from their first settlement, until their union, in 1665. Their ministers. The character of the ministers and first planters. Their religious and political sentiments. Gathering of the churches of New-Haven and Milford. Installation of Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Prudden. Church formed at Guilford. Number of ministers in Connecticut and New-Haven, before the union. Proportion of ministers to the people, before and at the time of the union. Harmony between the civil rulers and the clergy. Influence of the clergy, and the reasons of it. Their opposition to Antinomianism. Assisted in the compilation of Cambridge Platform. Ecclesiastical laws. Care to diffuse general knowledge; its happy influence. Attempts to found a college at New-Haven. No sectaries in Connecticut nor New-Haven, until after the union; and for twenty years the churches generally enjoyed great peace. Deaths and characters of several of the first ministers. Great dissensions in the church at Hartford soon after Mr. Hoosker's death; dissensions and controversies in the colony and churches in general, relative to baptism, church-membership, and the rights of the brethren. A new generation arises, who had not all imbibed the spirit of their fathers. Grievances presented to the general court of Connecticut, on the account of the strictness of the churches, and that sober people were denied communion with them, and baptism for their children. The court of Connecticut send to the other general courts for advice. Laws against the Quakers. Massachusetts and Connecticut agree in appointing a synod at Boston. General court at New-Haven oppose the meeting of a synod, and decline sending their elders. Questions proposed for discussion. The synod meets and answers them; but it had no good effect on the churches. They would not comply with their decisions. Dissensions continued at Hartford; acts of the general court respecting them. Councils from Massachusetts. Difficulties in some measure composed. Divisions and animosities at Wethersfield. Act of the general court respecting the church there. Mr. Russel and numbers remove from Wethersfield and Hartford, and settle Hadley. Mr. Stow dismissed from the ministry at Middletown, by a committee of the general court. Synod at Boston. Its determination relative to baptism and the consociation of churches. Division in the synod and in the churches relative to those points. The court at Con-*

## BOOK I.



*negligent sent no elders to the council, nor took any part in the controversy, until some time afterwards.*

**C**ONNECTICUT, no less than other parts of New-England, was settled with a particular view to religion. It was the design of the first planters to erect churches, in the strictest conformity to scripture example; and to transmit evangelical purity, in doctrine, worship and discipline, with civil and religious liberty, to their posterity. The attention which they paid to these interesting points will be the principal subject of this chapter.

First ministers of Connecticut and New-Haven.

THE first churches, though their numbers were small, and they had to combat all the hardships, dangers, and expense, of new settlements, commonly supported two able, experienced ministers. With the first three churches, settled in Connecticut, there were, at Hartford, the Rev. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, at Windsor, Mr. Warham and Mr. Heuet, and at Wethersfield, Mr. Prudden, in 1638, while his people were making preparations to remove from New-Haven to Milford. To the garrison, at Saybrook fort, Mr. John Higginson, son of the Rev. Mr. Higginson of Salem, preached three or four of the first years. At New-Haven, at first were Mr. Davenport and Mr. Samuel Eaton, brother to Governor Eaton. At Milford Mr. Prudden was pastor, and the church invited Mr. John Sherman, afterwards Minister of Watertown, in Massachusetts, to be their teacher; but he declined their invitation, and that church never had but one settled minister at the same time. The Rev. Mr. Whitfield was pastor of the church at Guilford, and about the year 1641, Mr. Higginson removed from Saybrook, and became teacher, as an assistant to Mr. Whitfield, in that church. After Mr. Prudden left Wethersfield, Mr. Henry Smith was elected and ordained pastor of the church and congregation in that town. About the time that Mr. Higginson left Saybrook, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Peters became chaplain to Colonel Fenwick and the people there. Upon the removal of Mr. Eaton, from New-Haven, Mr. William Hook was installed teacher, as an assistant of Mr. Davenport. The six first towns in Connecticut and New-Haven enjoyed the constant labor of ten able ministers. This was as much as one minister to about fifty families, or to two hundred and sixty or seventy souls. As other towns settled, churches were gathered, and ministers installed or ordained. Mr. Jones was

chosen pastor at Fairfield, Mr. Adam Blackman, at Stratford, and Mr. Richard Denton, at Stamford. Mr. Abraham Pierfon was pastor of the church at Branford, and it seems one Mr. Brucy assisted him as a teacher for some time. Fourteen or fifteen of these ministers had been episcopally ordained in England, before they came into America. BOOK I.

THE Rev. Mr. Richard Blynman, first pastor of the church at New-London, was also ordained in England. After he came into this country he settled first, pastor of the church at Gloucester, in Massachusetts. From thence he removed to New-London in 1648.

FROM these reverend fathers, the ministers of Connecticut trace their ordinations; especially, from Mr. Hooker, Mr. Warham, Mr. Davenport, and Mr. Stone. Some or other of these assisted in gathering the churches, and ordaining the ministers settled in their day.

WITH respect to their religious sentiments, and those of their followers, they were puritans. This was a name which first obtained in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in 1564. It was given as a name of reproach, to distinguish and stigmatize those who did not conform to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline, of the church of England. Fuller says, "It was improved to abuse pious people, who endeavoured to follow the minister with a pure heart, and labored for a life pure and holy.\*" When arminianism began to prevail, in the latter part of the reign of James the first, those, who were calvinistic, were termed doctrinal puritans.† It was used finally, as a stigma for all christians, who were strict in morals, calvinistic in sentiment, and unconformed to the liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline, of the established church.‡ Their religious sentiments.

THIS was truly the character of the first ministers and churches in this colony. They were strictly calvinistic, agreeing in doctrine with their brethren of the established church, and with all the protestant reformed churches. In discipline, they were congregationalists, and dissented from the national establishment. They firmly believed, that it was the sole prerogative of CHRIST, as king in Zion, to direct the mode of worship and discipline, in his own house. They were persuaded, that the scriptures were a perfect rule, not only of faith and manners, but of

\* Fuller's ecclesiastical history B. IX. p. 76.

† Fuller, B. X. p. 100.

‡ Neal's History of the puritans, preface to vol. I. p. 7, and vol. I. p. 72. Second edition quarto, London 1754.

Book I. worship and discipline : and that all churches ought to be  
 ~~~~~ formed entirely after the pattern exhibited in the New  
 Testament.

Literature and
 morals.

SOME of the ministers of Connecticut were distinguished for literature, piety, and ministerial gifts. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Stone, and some others, were men of great learning and abilities. They were all men of the strictest morals, serious, experimental preachers. Mr. Neal, after giving a catalogue of the ministers, who first illuminated the churches of New-England, bears this testimony concerning them. "I will not say that all the ministers mentioned were men of the first rate for learning, but I can assure the reader, they had a better share of it, than most of their neighbouring clergy, at that time ; they were men of great sobriety and virtue, plain, serious, affectionate preachers, exactly conformable to the doctrine of the church of England, and took a great deal of pains to promote a reformation of manners in their several parishes." They were mighty and abundant in prayer. They not only fasted and prayed frequently with their people, in public, but kept many days of secret fasting, prayer, and self-examination, in their studies. Some of them, it seems, fasted and prayed, in this private manner, every week. Besides the exercises on the Lord's day, they preached lectures, not only in public, but from house to house. They were diligent and laborious in catechising and instructing the children and young people, both in public and private.

Their labors, fastings, and prayers.

THEY paid a constant attention to the religion of their families. They read the scriptures and prayed in them daily, morning and evening, and instructed all their domestics constantly to attend the secret, as well as private and public duties of religion. They were attentive to the religious state of all the families and individuals of their respective flocks.* As they had taken up the cross, forsaken their pleasant seats and enjoyments in their native country, and followed their SAVIOUR into a land not sown, for the sake of his holy religion, and the advancement of his kingdom, they sacrificed all worldly interests to these glorious purposes.

THE people, who followed them, into the wilderness, were their spiritual children, who imbibed the same spirit

* See an account of the lives of many of them, in the Magnalia, B. III. Particular tracts and manuscripts characterize them in the same manner.

and sentiments, and esteemed them as their fathers in **BOOK I.**
CHRIST. Many of them were men of figure, as Haynes, Hopkins, Wylls, Ludlow, Wolcott, Eaton, Gregfon, Desborough, Leet and others, who were governors and magistrates, in their respective colonies. Many of them, especially their governors, magistrates, and leading men, were not less pious and exemplary than their ministers. The people in general were pious and strictly moral. Instances of intemperance, wantonness, sabbath-breaking, fraud, or any other gross immorality, for many years, were rarely found among them. If any there were, they were commonly found among servants, or some of the lowest of the people.

General character and morals of the people.

IT was the opinion of the principal divines, who first settled New-England and Connecticut, that in every church, completely organized, there was a pastor, teacher, ruling elder, and deacons.* These distinct offices they imagined were clearly taught in those passages, Romans xii. 7, 1 Corinth. xii. 28, 1 Timothy v. 17, and Ephesians iv. 11. From these they argued the duty of all churches, which were able, to be thus furnished.† In this manner were the churches of Hartford, Windsor, New-Haven, and other towns organized. The churches, which were not able to support a pastor and teacher, had their ruling elders and deacons. Their ruling elders were ordained with no less solemnity, than their pastors and teachers. Where no teacher could be obtained, the pastor performed the duties both of pastor and teacher. It was the general opinion, that the pastor's work consisted principally in exhortation, in working upon the will and affections. To this the whole force of his studies was to be directed; that, by his judicious, powerful, and affectionate addresses, he might win his hearers to the love and practice of the truth. But the teacher was *doctor in ecclesia*, whose business it was to teach, explain, and defend, the doctrines of christianity. He was to inform the judgment, and advance the work of illumination.‡

Their sentiments relative to churches, church officers and discipline.

THE business of the ruling elder was to assist the pastor in the government of the church. He was particularly set apart to watch over all its members; to prepare and bring forward all cases of discipline; to visit and pray with the sick; and, in the absence of the pastor and

* Hooker's Survey, part II. page 4 to 20.

† Ibidem, and Cambridge Platform, chapters vi. and vii.

‡ Survey, part II. p. 19, 20, 21, and Cambridge Platform chap. vi.

Book I. teacher, to pray with the congregation and expound the scriptures.*

THE pastors and churches of New-England maintained, with the reformed churches in general, that bishops and presbyters were only different names for the same office; and that all pastors, regularly separated to the gospel ministry, were scripture bishops.† They also insisted, agreeably to the primitive practice, that the work of every pastor was confined, principally, to one particular church and congregation, who could all assemble at one place, whom he could inspect, and who could all unite together in acts of worship and discipline.‡ Indeed the first ministers of Connecticut and New-England at first maintained, that all the pastor's office-power was confined to his own church and congregation, and that the administering of baptism and the LORD's supper in other churches was irregular.§

Calling
and ordi-
nation of
ministers.

WITH respect to ordination, they held, that it did not constitute the essentials of the ministerial office; but the qualifications for office, the election of the church, guided by the rule of Christ, and the acceptance of the pastor elect.‡ Says Mr. Hooker, "Ordination is an approbation of the officer, and solemn setting and confirmation of him in his office, by prayer and laying on of hands." It was viewed, by the ministers of New-England, as no more than putting the pastor elect into office, or a solemn recommending of him and his labors to the blessings of GOD. It was the general opinion, that elders ought to lay on hands in ordination, if there were a presbytery in the church, but if there were not, the church might appoint some other elders, or a number of the brethren to that service.§

Power of
Synods.

It was acknowledged that synods or general councils, were an ordinance of Christ, and in some cases, expedient and necessary: That their business was to give light and counsel in weighty concerns, and bear testimony against corruption in doctrines and morals. While it was granted, that their determinations ought to be re-

* Hooker's Survey part II. p. 13—19, C. Plat. chap. vii.

† Hooker's Survey and Cambridge Platform.

‡ Cambridge Platform chap. iii. and chap. ix.

§ Hooker's Survey part II. p. 62—68.

¶ The same, part II. p. 75—78. Cambridge platform Chap. ix.

§ These sentiments were not peculiar to the first ministers and churches of New-England. Augustine, Chryostom, Zanch, Bucer, Melancthon, Dr. Ames, Dr. Owen, and many other divines of great fame, were of the same opinion.

ceived with reverence, and not to be counteracted, unless apparently repugnant to the scriptures, it was insisted, that they had no juridical power. || The churches of Connecticut originally maintained, that the right of choosing and setting their ministers, of exercising discipline and performing all juridical acts was in the church, when properly organized; and they denied all external or foreign power of presbyteries, synods, general councils, or assemblies. Hence they were termed congregational churches.

THE fathers of Connecticut, as to politics, were republicans. They rejected with abhorrence the doctrines of the divine right of kings, passive obedience, and non-resistance. With Sidney, Hampden, and other great writers, they believed that all civil power and government was originally in the people. Upon these principles they formed their civil constitutions.

As to politics, the first settlers were republicans.

THE churches of New-Haven, Milford, and Guilford, were formed first, by the choice of seven persons, from among the brethren, who were termed the pillars. A confession of faith was drawn up to which they all assented, as preparatory to their covenanting together in church estate. They then entered into covenant, first with God, to be his people in CHRIST, and then with each other, to walk together in the strict and conscientious practice of all christian duties, and in the enjoyment of all the ordinances and privileges of a church of CHRIST. The confessions of faith contained a summary of christian doctrine, and were strictly calvinistic. The covenants were full, solemn, and expressive, importing, that they avouched the LORD JEHOVAH, FATHER, SON, and HOLY GHOST, to be their SOVEREIGN LORD and SUPREME GOOD; and that they gave themselves up to him, through JESUS CHRIST, in the way and on the terms of the covenant of grace. They covenanted with each other to uphold the divine worship and ordinances, in the churches of which they were members; to watch over each other as brethren; to bear testimony against all sin; and to teach all under their care to fear and serve the LORD. The other brethren joined themselves to the seven pillars, by making the same profession of faith, and covenanting in the same manner. The members, previously to their covenanting with each other, gave one another satisfaction

Confession of faith and solema manner of covenanting.

BOOK I. with respect to their repentance, faith, and purposes of holy living.

Churches of New-Haven and Milford gathered August 22d, 1639.

It appears, that the churches of New-Haven and Milford were gathered to the seven pillars, on the 22d of August 1639.* The tradition is, that soon after, Mr. Davenport was chosen pastor of the church, at New-Haven; and that Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came and assisted in his installation.

Installation of Mr. Prudden, April 18th, 1640.

MR. PRUDDEN was installed pastor of the church, at Milford, April 18th 1640, upon a day of solemn fasting and prayer. Imposition of hands was performed by Zechariah Whitman, William Fowler, and Edmond Tapp. They were appointed to this service by the other brethren of the church.† The installation was at New-Haven, and it seems that the hands of the brethren were imposed in the presence of Mr. Davenport and Mr. Eaton.

Guilford church gathered, April 1643.

THOUGH the members of Mr. Whitfield's church were in the original agreement, at New-Haven, and engaged to imbody into church estate, in the same manner as New-Haven and Milford churches did, yet they delayed the completion of the work for a considerable time. Probably, it was because their company were not yet all arrived. But in April, 1643, Mr. Whitfield, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Samuel Deborough, Mr. William Leet, Mr. Jacob Sheaf, Mr. John Mipham, and Mr. John Hoadly, were elected the seven pillars. On the 19th of June, all the other church members were gathered unto these seven persons. Mr. Higginson, who had been preaching about two years at Guilford, with Mr. Whitfield, was, at this time, elected teacher in that church. Mr. Whitfield had not separated from the episcopal church, when he came into New-England. As he came over in orders, and his church came generally with him, there are no intimations of his installation.

THE circumstance of the seven pillars in these three churches appears to have been peculiar to them. There are no intimations of it in the formation of any other churches. The churches in the other towns were gathered, by subscribing similar confessions of faith, and covenanting together in the same solemn manner, upon days of fasting and prayer. Neighbouring elders and churches were present on those occasions, assisted in the public solemnities, and gave their consent. When new members were admitted to full communion, in any of the first

* Milford church records.

† Ibidem.

churches of Connecticut, they gave satisfaction to the brethren of their sincere repentance towards God, and faith in the LORD JESUS CHRIST. They commonly made a relation of their religious experiences. They were then admitted to full communion, by a public profession of their faith, and by covenanting in the manner which has been represented.

BOOK I.

MR. EATON continued but a short time at New-Haven, and then returned to England. Mr. William Hook succeeded him as teacher in the church.

Mr. Denton removes from Stamford.

MR. DENTON, after spending three or four years at Stamford, removed to Hempsted on Long-Island.

UPON his removal, the church sent two of their members to seek them a minister. They travelled on foot, through the wilderness, to the eastward of Boston, where they found Mr. John Bishop, who left England before he had finished his academical studies, and had completed his education in this country. They engaged him to go with them, to Stamford. He travelled with them, on foot, so great a distance. The people were united in him, and he labored with them, in the ministry, nearly fifty years.

Mr. Bishop succeeds him.

MR. PETERS, after preaching three or four years, at Saybrook, returned to England. In 1646, a church was formed in that town, by the direction and assistance of the Reverend Mr. Hooker and some other ministers. At the same time, Mr. James Fitch, who had perfected his theological studies, under the direction of Mr. Hooker, was ordained their pastor. The tradition is, that though Mr. Hooker was present, yet that hands were imposed by two or three of the principal brethren, whom the church had appointed to that service.

Church gathered and Mr. Fitch ordained at Saybrook. 1646.

ON the 13th of October 1652, a church was gathered at Farmington, and Mr. Roger Newton was ordained pastor.

THE same year, Mr. Thomas Hanford began to preach at Norwalk, and sometime after a church was formed in the town, and Mr. Hanford ordained pastor.

IN 1660, Mr. Fitch and the greatest part of his church removed to Norwich. Mr. Thomas Buckingham succeeded him in the ministry at Saybrook. A council of ministers and churches assisted at his ordination, but the imposition of hands was performed by the brethren, as it had been before in the ordination of Mr. Fitch. The council considered it as an irregular proceeding, but the brethren were so tenacious of what they esteemed their

BOOK I. right, that it could not be prevented without much inconvenience.†

THESE fifteen churches were the whole number, formed in the colony, and in which ministers had been installed, or ordained, at the time of the union. The settlements and churches upon Long-Island had been adjudged to the jurisdiction of New-York. There were several other towns which paid taxes, where churches were not formed nor pastors ordained. This was the case with Stonington, Middletown, Greenwich, and Rye. Nevertheless, at the two former, there was constant preaching. The general court would not suffer any plantation to be made which would not support an able, orthodox preacher.

AT Stonington Mr. Zechariah Brigden officiated about three years, until his death in 1663. To him succeeded Mr. James Noyes, the same year, who preached more than fifty-five years in the town, but he was not ordained until more than ten years after his first preaching to the people.

At Middletown, Mr. Nathaniel Collins was preaching, but not ordained. Mr. Stow also preached there before or with Mr. Collins. Greenwich and Rye were but just come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, and not in circumstances for the support of ministers. They had occasional preaching only, for a considerable time.

FROM this view, it appears, that the first towns and churches in Connecticut were remarkably instructed. Scarcely in any part of the christian church, have so many stars, of such distinguished lustre, shone in so small a firmament. At the time of the union the colony contained about 1700 families, eight or nine thousand inhabitants, and they constantly enjoyed the instructions of about twenty ministers. Upon an average, there was as much as one minister to every 85 families, or to about 430 souls. In some of the new plantations, thirty families supported a minister, and commonly there were not more than forty when they called and settled a pastor. In several of the first churches, there were not more than eight, nine, and ten male members. Exclusive of Hartford, Windsor, New-Haven, and Guilford, there appears to have been none, in which there were more than sixteen or seventeen male communicants, at their formation.

Proportion of ministers at the union.

† Manuscripts from Saybrook.

THAT the first churches and congregations, notwithstanding their poverty, hardships, dangers, and expense in settling, in a wilderness, and in defending themselves against the savages and other enemies, should maintain such a number of ministers, strongly marks their character as christians, who desired the sincere milk of the word. It affords a striking evidence of their zeal for religion, and that the word and ordinances were indeed precious in those days.

Book I.

Word and ordinances precious.


THE most perfect harmony subsisted between the legislature and the clergy. Like Moses and Aaron, they walked together in the most endeared friendship. The governors, magistrates, and leading men were their spiritual children, and esteemed and venerated them, as their fathers in CHRIST. As they had loved and followed them into the wilderness, they zealously supported their influence. The clergy had the highest veneration for them, and spared no pains to maintain their authority and government. Thus they grew in each other's esteem, and brotherly affection, and mutually supported and increased each other's influence and usefulness.

Harmony between the legislature and clergy.

MANY of the clergy, who first came into the country, had good estates, and assisted their poor brethren and parishioners in their straits in making new settlements. The people were then far more dependent on their ministers than they have been since. The proportion of learned men was much less then, than at the present time. The clergy possessed a very great proportion of the literature of the colony. They were the principal instructors of the young gentlemen, who were liberally educated, before they commenced members of college, and they assisted them in their studies afterwards. They instructed and furnished others for public usefulness, who had not a public education. They had given a striking evidence of their integrity and self denial, in emigrating into this rough and distant country, for the sake of religion, and were faithful and abundant in their labors. By their example, counsels, exhortations, and money, they assisted and encouraged the people. Besides, the people, who came into the country with them, had a high relish for the word and ordinances. They were exiles and fellow sufferers in a strange land. All these circumstances combined to give them an uncommon influence over their hearers of all ranks and characters. For many years they were consulted by the legislature, in all affairs of importance, civil or religious. They were appointed commit-

Influence of the clergy.

Reasons of it.

BOOK I.  tees, with the governors and magistrates, to advise, make draughts, and assist them in the most delicate and interesting concerns of the commonwealth. In no government have the clergy had more influence, or been treated with more generosity and respect, by the civil rulers and people in general, than in Connecticut.

Ministers of Connecticut condemn Antinomianism in 1638. THE ministers and churches of Connecticut abhorred the Antinomian heresy, which so distracted the church, at Boston, and some others in the Massachusetts. In the first general council in New-England, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Davenport bore a noble testimony against the prevailing errors and spirit of that time.

1648. Their elders adopt Cambridge platform. IN the next general council in New-England, ten years after, the ministers and churches of Connecticut and New-Haven were present and united in the form of discipline which it recommended. By this platform of discipline, the churches of New-England, in general, walked for more than thirty years. This, with the ecclesiastical laws, formed the religious constitution of the colonies.

Opinion respecting the maintenance of ministers. IN the platform, it is declared to be evident, "That necessary and sufficient maintenance is due to ministers of the word, from the law of nature and nations, the law of Moses, the equity thereof, and also the rule of common reason : " That it is matter of indispensable duty, a debt due, and not an affair of alms or free gift. " That not only members of churches, but all who are taught in the word, are to contribute unto him that teacheth in all good things : And that the magistrate is to see that the ministry be duly provided for."*

Ecclesiastical laws. AN early provision was therefore made, by law, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for the support of the ministry. In Connecticut, all persons were obliged, by law, to contribute to the support of the church, as well as of the commonwealth. All rates, respecting the support of ministers, or any ecclesiastical affairs, were to be made and collected in the same manner, as the rates of the respective towns.† Special care was taken, that all persons should attend the means of public instruction. The law obliged them to be present at the public worship on the LORD'S day, and upon all days of public fasting and prayer, and of thanksgiving, appointed by civil authority, on penalty of a fine of five shillings for every instance of

* C. Platform, chap. XI.

† The first code of Connecticut p. 52 and 59.

neglect.* The congregational churches were adopted and established by law; but provision was made that all sober, orthodox persons, dissenting from them, should, upon the manifestation of it to the general court, be allowed peaceably to worship in their own way. § It was enacted, "That no persons, within this colony, shall in any wise imbody themselves into church estate, without consent of the general court, and approbation of neighbouring elders." The laws also prohibited, that any ministry, or church administration, should be entertained, or attended, by the inhabitants of any plantation, in the colony, distinct and separate from, and in opposition to, that which was openly and publicly observed and dispensed, by the approved minister of the place; except it was by the approbation of the court and neighbouring churches. † The penalty, for every breach of this act, was five pounds.

THE court declared, that the civil authority, established in the colony, "Had power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances, and rules of CHRIST, observed in every church, according to his word; and also to deal with any church member, in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office, or interest." The law also provided, that no church censure should degrade or depose any man from any civil dignity, office, or authority, which he should sustain in the colony. ‡

IN the grant of all new townships, special care was taken, by the legislature, that the planters should not be without a minister and the stated administration of gospel ordinances.

Care to propagate knowledge and good morals.

EVERY town, consisting of fifty families, was obliged, by the laws, to maintain a good school, in which reading and writing should be well taught; and in every county town, a good grammar school was instituted. Large tracts of land were given and appropriated, by the legislature, to afford them a permanent support.


THE select men of every town were obliged, by law, to keep a vigilant eye upon all the inhabitants, and to take care that all the heads of families should instruct their children and servants to read the English tongue well, and that once every week they should catechise them in the principles of religion. The penalty for every in-

* The first code of Connecticut, p. 22.

§ Ibidem p. 21.

† Ibidem, p. 21.

‡ Ibidem p. 22.

BOOK I.  stance of neglect, in this respect, was twenty shillings, for any family so neglecting. The select men were also authorized to take care, that all families should be well furnished with bibles, orthodox catechisms, and books on practical godliness. It was provided by the legislature, that the capital laws should be taught weekly in every family.*

THE colony of New-Haven, from the beginning, made provision for the interests of religion, learning, and the good conduct of the inhabitants, with no less zeal than Connecticut.

THE care and piety of the first planters did not rest here; but they were careful, as soon as possible, in their circumstances, to found public seminaries, in which young men might be instructed in the liberal arts, prepared for the ministry and all places of importance, in civil or religious life.

As Connecticut and New-Haven were not able, of themselves, at first, to erect a college, they united with Massachusetts, and contributed to the support of that at Cambridge. Frequent contributions were made, both in Connecticut and New-Haven, for that purpose, and money was paid from the public treasury. For a course of years, the inhabitants educated their sons at that university.

Happy
effects of
them.

By these means, knowledge, at an early period, was generally diffused among people of all ranks. This abundant public and private instruction, and constant attention to the morals, industry, and good conduct of the inhabitants, has been the means of that general illumination, which has always been observable among the people of this colony; and of that high degree of civil, ecclesiastical, and domestic peace and order, which, for so long a period, have rendered them eminent, among their neighbours. This has made it feasible to govern them by that free constitution and mild system of laws, by which they have ever been distinguished. To this are owing the wisdom and steadiness of their elections, and the integrity and firmness of their public administrations. In this way they have been formed not only to virtue, but to industry, economy, and enterprise. Indeed they have been rendered one of the happiest people upon the earth.

CAMBRIDGE platform, in connection with the ecclesiastical laws, was the religious constitution of Connecti-

* Old code of Connecticut, p. 13.

cut, for about sixty years, until the compilation of the Saybrook agreement. Book I.

THE colony of New-Haven, sensible of the importance of public seminaries, and of the inconvenience of sending their sons to so great a distance as Cambridge for an education, at an early period, attempted the founding of a college. A proposal, for this purpose, was made to the general court in 1654. The next year, at the sessions in May, it appeared, that New-Haven had made a donation of £300, and that Milford proposed to give £100 more, for the encouragement of the design. The court proposed it to the deputies of the other towns to enquire, and make report, what they would give. Mr. Davenport, who was the principal promoter of the affair, about the same time, wrote to Governor Hopkins, who was then in England, upon the subject; and it seems, solicited his assistance. Soon after, some lands were given, by the people of New-Haven, for the further encouragement of so laudable an undertaking. Upon these favorable prospects, the legislature, in 1659, proceeded to institute a grammar school at New-Haven. It was ordered, that £40 annually should be paid out of the public treasury for its support. £100 were also appropriated for the purchasing of books for the school. In 1660, the donation of Governor Hopkins having come into the possession, and being at the disposal of Mr. Davenport, he, on the 30th of May, surrendered it into the hands of the general court, for the purpose of founding a college. He proposed, that this donation should be united with the lands which had been already given and with such other donations as might be made by the legislature, for the same purpose. The elders of the several churches in the colony were nominated as trustees. As Mr. Davenport was the only surviving legatee of Governor Hopkins, with respect to that part of the donation, which had fallen to the share of New-Haven, he desired, that, for the better discharge of the trust, which had been reposed in him, he might have a negative upon the corporation, with respect to the disposal of that, whenever he could exhibit substantial reasons, that it was about to be applied to any purpose contrary to the design of the donor. The resignation was made in writing, in a formal manner, containing valuable sketches of history, and a complete plan of the college and grammar school, which it was designed to institute.*

* Appendix No. XXI.

BOOK I. THE general court thankfully accepted the donation, upon the terms on which it had been surrendered. They appropriated the lands, which had been given, at New-Haven, to the support of the college; agreed to collect the money given by Governor Hopkins; and besides all other grants previously made, enacted, that a hundred pounds stock should be paid in from the treasury of the colony, in such time and manner as the court should order. The court also ordained, that both the grammar school and college should be at New-Haven. One Mr. Peck was appointed master of the school; but this and the college were of short continuance. The troubles in which the colony, was involved by the claims of Connecticut, and the defection of such numbers of their inhabitants, so impoverished and weakened it, that a support could not be obtained for the instructor. He became discouraged, and the court gave up the school. By the same means, the design of a college also miscarried. After the union, the colony made further provision for a grammar school, and all the lands and money, which had been given for that and the college, were appropriated to its support. The school revived and has continued unto the present time.

For a long course of years, there were no sectaries in Connecticut. The churches, in general, enjoyed great peace and harmony, during the continuance of the first ministers and principal members of whom they were composed. But many of these were considerably advanced in life when they came into the country, and in about four or five and twenty years after the first settlements, a considerable proportion of them were in their graves, some had returned to England, and others were far advanced in years. Before the union of the colonies, in 1665, almost all the first ministers were either dead, or removed.

MR. HEUET, teacher in the church at Windsor, died September 4th 1644.

THE Reverend Thomas Hooker, the father and pillar of the churches in Connecticut, died July 7th 1647, in the 61st year of his age.† He was born at Marshfield in the county of Leicester, 1586. He appears to have been educated at Emmanuel college, Cambridge, in England. Afterwards he was promoted to a fellowship in

Death
and char-
acter of
Mr.
Hooker.

† He possessed considerable property. His estate was appraised at £1336: 15: 0. His library only, at £300.

the same college, where he acquitted himself with such ability and faithfulness, as commanded universal approbation and applause. While at college, in his youth, he was arrested with strong convictions of his sin and misery, and of the dreadfulness of the divine displeasure. His heart was afterwards humbled, and submitting to the terms of mercy, he received the spirit of adoption; and was enabled to exhibit a life of the most exemplary piety, self-denial, patience, and goodness. He was naturally a man of strong and lively passions; but obtained a happy government of himself. In his day, he was one of the most animated and powerful preachers in New-England. In his sermons, he insisted much on the application of redemption; was searching, experimental, and practical. Another circumstance, which rendered his public performances still more engaging and profitable, was his excellency in prayer. A spirit of adoption seemed to rest upon him. In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining, but always grave. He was exceedingly prudent in the management of church discipline. He esteemed it a necessary and important, but an extremely difficult, part of duty. He rarely suffered church affairs to be publicly controverted. Before he brought any difficult matter before the church, special care was taken to converse with the leading men, to fix them right, and to prepare the minds of the members; so that they might be harmonious, and that there might be no controversy with respect to any point, which he judged expedient for the church to adopt. He was affable, condescending, and charitable; yet his appearance and conduct were with such becoming majesty, authority, and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could with a severe discipline. It was not an uncommon instance, with him, to give away five or ten pounds at a time to poor widows, orphans, and necessitous people. At a certain time, when there was a great scarcity, at Southampton, upon Long-Island, Mr. Hooker, with some friends who joined with him, sent the people a small vessel, freighted with several hundred bushels of corn, for their relief. In family religion and government, he was strict and prudent. In his family was exhibited a lively and sincere devotion, and the very power of godliness. Not only his own children and domestics, but students and other persons, who occasionally resided in his family, were instructed and edified, so that their acquaintance with it was matter of their joy and devout thanksgiving.

Book I. He died of an epidemical fever, which prevailed that year in the country. He had for many years enjoyed a comfortable assurance of his renewed estate, and when dying said, "I am going to receive mercy." He closed his own eyes, and appeared to die with a smile in his countenance.*

Mr. Henry Smith, first pastor of the church at Wethersfield, died in 1648, and was succeeded by the Reverend Jonathan Ruffel.

Death and character of Mr. Peter Prudden.

THE Reverend Mr. Prudden departed this life in 1656, in the 56th year of his age. He was found dead in a small stream, between Milford and Derby. It was supposed, that he fell from his horse in a fit. Before he came into New-England, he was a preacher in Herefordshire, and in the parts bordering upon Wales. His ministry was attended with uncommon success; and when he came into this country, it seems, that many good people followed him, that they might enjoy his pious and fervent ministrations. He had the character of a most zealous preacher, and of a man of an excellent spirit. He had a singular talent for reconciling contending parties, and maintaining peace among brethren and neighbours. His ministry was conducted with prudence, and his church enjoyed great harmony during his life, and rejoiced in his light.†

Succeeded by Mr. Newton 1660.

HE was succeeded by Mr. Roger Newton, who removed from Farmington, and was installed, at Milford, August 22d, 1660. Hands were imposed, at his installation, by Zechariah Whitman, ruling elder, Deacon John Astwood, and Robert Treat, who were appointed to that service by the brotherhood.

Mr. Hooker ordained at Farmington.

MR. Samuel Hooker, son of the famous Mr. Hooker of Hartford, succeeded Mr. Newton at Farmington. He was ordained in July 1661.

THESE deaths were all before the charter. There were also a number of removals of some of the principal ministers. The Reverend Mr. Whitfield, after he had

* His character may be seen more at large in the *Magnalia*, B. III. p. 58—68.

† His estate in this country was appraised at £924 : 18 : 6. He left a landed interest in England, at Edgton in Yorkshire, valued at £1300 sterling, which is still enjoyed by some of his heirs. He had two sons. One of them, John Prudden, was educated after his decease, and graduated at Cambridge, 1668. He settled in the ministry, at Newark, in New-Jersey. The other inherited the paternal estate; and their descendants are numerous, both in Connecticut and New-Jersey.

labored eleven years, with the people at Guilford, returned again to England. Sometime in the year 1650, he took leave of his flock and congregation, and embarked for his native country. He was exceedingly beloved by his flock, and they accompanied him to the water's side with many tears. He had a large family of nine children, whom he supported principally out of his own estate, as most of his people were poor. He found that his estate was much exhausted, and that he must still labor under many and great inconveniences, if he continued in this country; and he had numerous and pressing invitations to return to England. A combination of these circumstances, at length, prevailed with him to leave his flock. He was one of the wealthiest clergymen, who came into Connecticut. Before he came into this country, he enjoyed one of the best church livings at Okely, in the county of Surrey, and had a fine interest of his own. His charity was happily proportioned to his opulence. While he was at Okely, he procured another pious and able preacher, that he might go abroad and give assistance unto other churches and poor people. While he was in England, his house was a place of resort for the distressed. Though he was, for twenty years, a conformist, yet his house was a place of refreshment for Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Goodwin, and other pious nonconformists. After he came into New-England, he expended much of his interest in assisting his poor people. He was a capital preacher, delivering himself with a peculiar dignity, beauty, and solemnity. After his return to England, he appears to have finished his life, in the ministry, at the city of Winchester.*

Book I.
Removal
of Mr.
Whitfield,
1650.

His char-
acter.

SEVERAL of the principal men returned to England with Mr. Whitfield; particularly Mr. Samuel Desborough, Mr. Jordan, and others. Mr. Desborough, after his return, was made lord keeper of the great seal, and one of the seven counsellors of the kingdom of Scotland.

* In consequence of Mr. Whitfield's estate and expenses, in purchasing and settling the plantation, and of Mr. Fenwick's gift of the eastern part of the township to him, a large portion of the best lands in the town was allotted to him. On his return to England, he offered, upon very low terms, to sell all his lands to the town. But the people were poor, and imagined they should soon follow their pastor, and neglected to purchase. Mr. Whitfield therefore sold them to Major Robert Thompson, in England, by whose heirs they have been holden, to the great damage of the town, to this time.

BOOK I. MR. Higginson continued his ministry, as teacher in the church at Guilford, until about the year 1659, when, upon the death of his father, he returned to Salem, and succeeded him in the pastoral office, over the church in that town.

Mr.
Hook re-
moves
1655.

MR William Hook, who, for about fourteen years, had been teacher in the church at New-Haven, about the year 1655, returned to England. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hook have been represented as men of great learning and piety, and as possessing excellent pulpit talents. A writer of Mr. Eaton's character says, "He was a very holy man, a person of great learning and judgment, and a most incomparable preacher." He dissented from Mr. Davenport, with respect to his strict terms and form of civil government. His brother, Governor Eaton, therefore advised him to a removal. After his return, he became pastor of a church at Duckenfield, in the parish of Stockport, in Cheshire. Mr. Hook, after his return, was sometime minister at Axmouth in Devonshire; and then master of the Savoy on the Strand, near London; and chaplain to the greatest man then in the nation. After the restoration, he was silenced for nonconformity, May 24th 1662. On the 21st of March 1667, he died in the vicinity of London. Mr. Eaton was a companion with him in tribulation; for soon after the restoration of King Charles the second, he was silenced, and suffered persecution for conscience sake.

Mr Blyn-
man re-
moves
1658.

THE Reverend Mr. Blynman, after he had labored about ten years in the ministry at New-London, in 1658, removed to New-Haven. After a short stay in that town, he took shipping and returned to England. He lived to a good old age; and, at the city of Bristol, happily concluded a long life, spent in doing good.

MR. Nicholas Street succeeded Mr. Hook, as teacher in the church, at New-Haven, about the year 1659. And Mr. Blynman was succeeded in office, at New-London, by Mr. Gershom Bulkley, from Concord in Massachusetts.

Divisions
in the
church at
Hartford.

THE first ministers in the colonies being thus dead, or removed, and a new generation risen up, who had not all imbibed the sentiments and spirit of their pious fathers, alterations were insisted on with respect to church membership, discipline, and baptism; and great dissensions arose in the churches. They began first in the church at Hartford, not many years after Mr. Hooker's decease. The origin of them appears to have been a difference be-

tween the Reverend Mr. Stone and Mr. Goodwin, the ruling elder, in the church, upon some nice points of congregationalism. It seems that some member had been admitted, or baptism administered, which Elder Goodwin conceived to be inconsistent with the rights of the brotherhood, and the strict principles of the congregational churches. Perhaps he imagined himself not to have been properly consulted and regarded. Not only this church became divided and inflamed with the controversy, but it spread into almost all the neighbouring churches. They interested themselves in the controversy, some taking one side, and some another, as their connections, prejudices, and particular sentiments led them. The whole colony became affected with the dispute, and the general court particularly interested themselves in the affair. The brethren in the church, at Hartford, became so inflamed and imbibed such prejudices and uncharitable feelings one towards another, that it was with great difficulty, they could be persuaded to walk together. To prevent an entire division of the church, it appears, that about the years 1654 and 1655, several councils of the neighbouring elders and churches were called, to compose the differences between the parties. They labored to satisfy them with respect to the points in controversy. But the brethren, at Hartford, imagined, that all the elders and churches, in Connecticut and New-Haven, were prejudiced in favor of one party or the other, and therefore they would not hear their advice. For this reason, it was judged expedient to call a council from the other colonies. Sometime in the year 1656, it seems, a number of elders and churches from Massachusetts came to Hartford, and gave their opinion and advice to the church and the aggrieved brethren. But it appears, that, in the apprehension of the aggrieved, the church did not comply with the result. The state of the church therefore was no better than it was before, but the parties became more alienated and embittered. Elder Goodwin was joined by Governor Webster, Mr. Whiting, Mr. Cullick, and other principal gentlemen, at Hartford, who were leaders, in what they imagined to be a defence of the true principles of congregationalism.

MEANWHILE there was a strong party, in the colony of Connecticut, who were for admitting all persons of a regular life to full communion in the churches, upon their making a profession of the christian religion, without any enquiry with respect to a change of heart; and

BOOK I. for treating all baptized persons as members of the church. Some carried the affair still further, and insisted, that all persons, who had been members of churches, in England, or had been members of regular ecclesiastical parishes there, and supported the public worship, should be allowed to enjoy the privileges of members in full communion in the churches of Connecticut. They also insisted, that all baptized persons, upon owning the covenant, as it was called, should have their children baptized, though they came not to the LORD's table.

NUMBERS of them took this opportunity to introduce into the assembly a list of grievances, on the account of their being denied their just rights and privileges by the ministers and churches. A dispute had arisen, in the churches and congregations, relative to the choice of a pastor. It was urged, that it did not belong to the churches solely to choose the pastor for themselves and the congregation; but, as the inhabitants in general had an equal concern for themselves and their children, with the members of the church, in the qualifications of their pastor, and as they were obliged to contribute their proportion to his support, they had a just right to give their voice in his election. The denying them this right was considered as a great grievance. Many of the churches, and some or other of the members in all of them, it seems, maintained, that the choice of a pastor belonged to them solely, exclusive of the congregation: That there was no scripture example of any person's ever giving a suffrage, in the choice of a pastor, but members of the church: That pastors were ordained over the churches only, and were termed the elders, pastors, and angels of the churches. It appears, by the acts of the assembly and the questions proposed, that these, and a number of other points, were now warmly agitated in the colony.

Different
state of
the coun-
try.

Reason of
the dissen-
sions.

THE general state of the country was greatly altered from what it was at its first settlement. The people then were generally church members and eminently pious. They loved strict religion, and followed their ministers into the wilderness for its sake. But with many of their children, and with others who had, since emigrated into this country, it was not so. They had made no open profession of religion, and their children were not baptized. This created uneasiness in them, in their ministers, and others. They wished for the honors and privileges of church members for themselves, and baptism for their children, but they were not persuaded that they were re-

generated, and knew not how to comply with the rigid terms of the congregational churches. A considerable number of the clergy and the churches in general zealously opposed all innovations, and exerted themselves to maintain the first practice and purity of the churches. Hence the dissensions arose.

BOOK I.

THE general court, it seems, with a view to reconcile the church at Hartford, and to compose difficulties, which were generally rising in the colony, at their sessions in May 1656, took the affair into their serious consideration. They appointed a committee, consisting of Governor Webster, Deputy governor Welles, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Talcott, all of Hartford, to consult with the elders of the colony, respecting the grievances complained of; and to desire their assistance, in making a draught of the heads of them, that they might be presented to the general courts of the United colonies, for their advice. The general courts were desired to give their answers with as much expedition as possible.

The court of Connecticut sent to the other general courts for advice, May 15th 1656.

WHILE the churches were thus divided, they were alarmed by the appearance of the Quakers. A number of them arrived, at Boston, in July and August, and had been committed to the common gaol. A great number of their books had been seized with a view to burn them. In consequence of their arrival, and the disturbance they had made, at Boston, the commissioners of the United colonies, at their court in September, recommended it to the several general courts, "That all Quakers, Ranters, and other notorious heretics, should be prohibited coming into the United colonies; and that, if any should come, or arise amongst them, they should be forthwith secured, and removed out of all the jurisdictions."*

Resolution of the commissioners respecting the Quakers.

IN conformity to this recommendation, the general court of Connecticut, in October, passed the following act. "That no town, within this jurisdiction, shall entertain any Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious heretics, nor suffer them to continue in them above the space of fourteen days, upon the penalty of five pounds per week, for any town entertaining any such person: But the townsmen shall give notice to the two next magistrates, or assistants, who shall have power to send them to prison, for securing them, until they can conveniently be sent out of the jurisdic-

Law of Connecticut against the Quakers. Oct. 1656.

* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I.

tion. It is also ordered, that no master of a vessel shall land any such heretics ; but if they do, they shall be compelled to transport them again out of the colony, by any two magistrates or assistants, at their first setting sail from the port where they landed them ; during which time, the assistant or magistrate shall see them secured, upon penalty of twenty pounds for any master of any vessel, that shall not transport them as aforesaid.*

THE court at New-Haven passed a similar law. In 1658 both courts made an addition to this law, increasing the penalties and prohibiting all conversation of the common people with any of those heretics, and all persons from giving them any entertainment, upon the penalty of five pounds. The law however was of short continuance, and nothing of importance appears to have been transacted upon it, in either of the colonies.

Massachusetts and Connecticut appoint a general council.

Feb. 1657.

UPON the representations made of the heads of grievance, which had been matter of complaint, to the general courts of the confederate colonies, the court of Massachusetts advised to a general council, and sent letters to the other courts, signifying their opinion. The general court of New-Haven wrote an answer to the grievances, and to the questions proposed respecting them. They supposed it sufficient. The general court of Connecticut, nevertheless, on the 26th of February 1657, determined to have a general council. They appointed Mr. Warham, Mr. Stone, Mr. Blynman, and Mr. Ruffel, to meet the elders, who should be delegated from the other colonies, at Boston, the next June ; and to assist in debating the questions proposed by the general court of Connecticut, or any of the other courts, and report the determination of the council to the general court.

THE church at Hartford continuing their contentions, the court directed the elders, who were going to Boston, to confer with the several ministers in the Massachusetts, who had been of the council, relative to the circumstances of that church, and to desire them to come to Connecticut, and give their assistance in council at Hartford. The court also directed the church there to send for the former council ; and with the letters missive, to state the particulars, in the advice of the council, with which they were not satisfied. If this council should not be so happy as to give them satisfaction, then they were directed

* Records of Connecticut.

to invite Mr. Sherman of Watertown, and several other ministers from the Massachusetts, to make a visit at Hartford, and attempt the healing of the breach made in the church there.

BOOK I.
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GOVERNOR Webster, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Steel dissented from the resolution of the assembly, and declared, in open court, that it did not appear to them, that the measures, adopted by the court, were any where directed by the divine word, or calculated to restore peace to the churches. They appear to have been of the aggrieved brethren at Hartford, and satisfied with the result of the former council, to which the church, in their apprehensions, did not submit. They doubtless judged it more agreeable to scripture and reason, and especially to the principles of congregational churches, to choose a council for themselves, when they should judge it expedient, than to have one imposed upon them, by legislative authority.

Governor Webster and others dissent.

THE general court, at New-Haven, were utterly opposed to a general council; and upon receiving a letter from the Massachusetts, inviting them to send a number of their elders to assist in the council, they, in a long letter, remonstrated against it, and excused themselves from sending any of their ministers. They represented, that the petition and questions, exhibited to the general court of Connecticut, were unwarrantably procured, and of dangerous tendency: That they heard the petitioners were confident, that they should obtain great alterations both in civil government and church discipline: That they had engaged an agent to prove, "That parishes, in England, consenting to and continuing meetings to worship God, were true churches," and that the members of those parishes, coming into New-England, had a right to all church privileges; though they made no profession of a work of faith and holiness upon their hearts. They expressed their apprehensions, that a general council, at that time, would endanger the peace and purity of the churches. They acquainted the general court of Massachusetts, that they had sent an answer to all the questions, proposed to the court of Connecticut; and that it was their opinion, that the legislature and elders of that colony were sufficient to determine all those points without any assistance from abroad. They observed that, on account of the removal of Mr. Whitfield and Mr. Hook, and the late death of Mr. Prudden, their elders could not be spared. With their letter, they sent the answers, which they had given to the questions to be debated, and

Court of New-Haven oppose a council.

Book I. they intreated the court and their elders seriously to consider them. They desired, that, as the court had formed their civil polity and laws upon the divine word, and as the elders and churches had gathered and received their discipline from the same, they would exert themselves to preserve them inviolable. They observed, that, considering the state of affairs, in Connecticut, unless the general court of Massachusetts should firmly adhere to their then constitution, and the council should have the divine presence with them, their meeting might be of the most unhappy consequence to the churches. Considering how soon the church at Ephesus, though famous for her first love, declined and was forsaken of her SAVIOUR, they insisted, that there was great occasion of watchfulness and prayer, lest the churches of New-England should decline after her example.\*

THE colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts persisted in calling a general council.

THE questions proposed for discussion, as they stand upon the records, are the following.

Questions  
proposed  
to the  
general  
council,  
June 1657.

1. WHETHER federal holiness, or covenant interest, be not the proper ground of baptism?

2. WHETHER communion of churches, as such, be not warrantable by the word of GOD?

3. WHETHER the adult seed of visible believers, not cast out, be not true members, and subjects of church watch?

4. WHETHER ministerial officers are not as truly bound to baptize the visible disciples of Christ, providentially settled amongst them, as officially to preach the word?

5. WHETHER the settled inhabitants of the country, being members of other churches, should have their children baptized amongst us, without themselves first orderly joining in churches here?

6. WHETHER membership, in a particular instituted church, be not essentially requisite, under the gospel, to entitle to baptism?

7. WHETHER adopted children and such as are bought with money are covenant seed?

8. WHETHER things new and weighty may be managed, in a church, without concurrence of officers, and consent of the fraternity of the same church? And if things

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\* Records of New-Haven.

of common concernment, then how far the consent of neighbouring churches is to be sought? Book I.

9. WHETHER it doth not belong to the body of a town, collectively taken, jointly to call him to be their minister, whom the church shall choose to be their officer?

10. WHETHER the political and external administration of Abraham's covenant be not obligatory to gospel churches?

11. UNTO whom shall such persons repair, that are grieved at any church process or censure; or whether they must acquiesce in the church's censure to which they belong?

12. WHETHER the laying on of hands in ordination belong to presbyters or brethren?

13. WHETHER the church, her invitation and election of an officer, or preaching elder, necessitates the whole congregation to sit down satisfied, as bound thereby to accept him as their minister, though invited and settled without the town's consent?

14. WHAT is the gospel way to gather and settle churches?

15. FROM whom do ministers receive their commission to baptize?

16. WHETHER a synod hath a decisive power?

17. WHETHER it be not justifiable, by the word of God, that civil authority indulge congregational and presbyterian churches, and their discipline in the churches?†

It appears, by the records, that several other questions were proposed, but these are all which are to be found upon them. They stand in the same order in which they are here inserted.

THE council convened at Boston, June 4th 1657, and after a session of a little more than a fortnight, gave an elaborate answer to twenty-one questions. The elders from Connecticut brought back an authentic copy of the result of the council, and presented it to the general court, at a session on the 12th of August. The court ordered, that copies should be sent forthwith to all the churches in the colony; and if any of them should have objections against the answers which had been given, they were directed to transmit them to the general court, at the session in October.

Council at  
Boston  
June 4th  
1657.

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† Records of Connecticut.

## BOOK I.

Answer to  
the ques-  
tion re-  
specting  
baptism,  
& church  
member-  
ship.

THE answers were afterwards printed, in London, under the title of "A disputation concerning church members and their children." Several of the questions involve each other. The principal one was that respecting baptism and church membership. An answer to this, in effect, answered a considerable part of the other questions. With respect to this they asserted, and learned pains were taken to prove, "That it was the duty of infants, who confederated in their parents, when grown up unto years of discretion, though not fit for the LORD's supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents, by entering thereinto, in their own persons; and it is the duty of the churches to call upon them for the performance thereof, and if being called upon, they shall refuse the performance of this great duty, or otherwise continue scandalous they are liable to be censured for the same by the church. And in case they understand the ground of religion, and are not scandalous, and solemnly own their covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up themselves and their children unto the LORD, and desire baptism for them, we see not sufficient cause to deny baptism unto their children."\*

THE answer to this question was, in effect, an answer to the other respecting the right of towns to vote in the election of ministers; for if they were all members of the church by baptism, and under its discipline, they, doubtless, had a right to vote with the church in the election of their pastor. Indeed there was no proper ground of distinction between them and the church. Hence, it seems, the answer to that question was to this effect, "That though it was the right of the brotherhood to choose their pastor, and though it was among the arts of Antichrist to deprive them of this power, yet they ought to have a special regard to the baptized, by the covenant of GOD, under their watch."

THE decisions of the council do not appear to have had any influence to reconcile, but rather to inflame the churches.

A NUMBER of ministers, and the churches pretty generally, viewed this as a great innovation, and entirely inconsistent with the principles on which the churches of New-England were originally founded, and with the principles of Congregationalism.

\* Magnalia, B. V. p. 63.

THE church at Hartford, and the aggrieved brethren, instead of being satisfied and reconciled, appeared to be thrown into a state of greater alienation and animosity. The aggrieved soon after withdrew from Mr. Stone and the church, and were about forming an union with the church at Wethersfield. Among the aggrieved were Governor Webster, Mr. Goodwin, ruling elder in the church, Mr. Cullick, and Mr. Bacon, principal men both in the church and town. Mr. Stone and the church were proceeding with them in a course of discipline.

IN this state of their affairs, the general court, interposed, and passed an act, prohibiting the church at Hartford, to proceed any further in a course of discipline of the members, who had withdrawn from their communion, and those members to join with the church at Wethersfield, or any other church, until further attempts should be made, for their reconciliation with their brethren. By the act it appears, that the churches in the colony were generally affected with the dispute, at Hartford, and viewed it as a common cause, with respect to all the congregational churches. It exhibits, in so strong a point of light, the authority, which the general court imagined they had a right to exercise over the churches, and the spirit of those times, as to merit a place in this history. It is in the following words.

“ THIS court orders, in reference to the sad difficulties that are broken out in the several churches in this colony, and in special, betwixt the church at Hartford and the withdrawers ; and to prevent further troubles and sad consequences, that may ensue from the premises to the whole commonwealth, that there be, from henceforth, an utter cessation of all further prosecution, either on the church’s part at Hartford, towards the withdrawers from them ; and, on the other part, that those, that have withdrawn from the church, at Hartford, shall make a cessation in prosecuting their former propositions to the church at Wethersfield, or any other church, in reference to their joining there, in church relation, until the matters, in controversy betwixt the church at Hartford and the withdrawn members, be brought to an issue, in that way the court shall determine.”

Act of the  
general  
court of  
Connecticut  
March 11,  
1658.

THE court, having desired the elders of the colony to meet them, and assist in adopting some measures by which the divisions in the churches, and especially in that at Hartford, might be healed, adjourned about a fortnight.

BOOK I. IT met again on the 24th of March. Whether the elders met with them, or not, does not appear; but the Advice of the assembly, at this time, was that Mr. Stone, the court with the church and brethren who had withdrawn, March 24. should meet together; and, in a private conference, if possible, agree upon some terms by which they might be reconciled. Governor Welles and deputy governor Winthrop were appointed to meet with them, and employ their wisdom and influence to make peace.

IT seems, that the church did not comply with this advice; or if there were any meeting of the parties, nothing was done to effect an accommodation. It appears, that Mr. Stone viewed the withdrawn brethren as in the hands of the church at Hartford, and the matters to be determined as not lying before any council or the general court. And he would not admit, that he, or the church had counteracted the advice of the former council. He therefore, at the session in May, petitioned, that the subsequent propositions might be entered upon the records of the colony, and that the withdrawn brethren, or some person whom they should appoint, would dispute them with him in the presence of the court.

May 20th  
1658.

1. "THE former council, at Hartford, June 56, is utterly cancelled and of no force.

2. "THERE is no violation of the last agreement, (made when the reverend elders of the Massachusetts were here,) either by the church of CHRIST at Hartford, or their teacher.

3. "THE withdrawn brethren have offered great violence to the forementioned agreement.

4. "THE withdrawn brethren are members of the church of CHRIST at Hartford.

5. "THEIR withdrawing from the church is a sin exceeding scandalous and dreadful, and of its own nature destructive to this and other churches.

6. "THE controversy between the church of CHRIST at Hartford, and the withdrawn persons, is not in the hands of the churches, to be determined by them."\*

"SAMUEL STONE."

IT does not appear that the court gave their consent, that the propositions should be disputed before them, or that they enacted any thing, at this court, respecting the affairs of the church, or the brethren who had withdrawn.

\* Records of Connecticut.



BUT at a session, in August, they insisted, that the church and aggrieved brethren should meet together, according to their former advice, and debate their difficulties among themselves, and that the points in controversy should be clearly stated.

BOOK I.  
August  
18th.

AT this time, a complaint was exhibited against Governor Webster, Mr. Cullick, elder Goodwin and others, who had withdrawn from their brethren. But the court would not hear it, at that time. It ordered, that, if the church and brethren would not agree to meet together and debate their differences among themselves, each party should choose three as indifferent elders as could be found; who should afford all the light and assistance in their power, towards settling the differences according to the divine oracles; and that both parties should peaceably submit to their advice. If either of the parties should refuse to make choice of three gentlemen, for the design proposed, the court determined to choose for them. The church rejected the proposal, and the court chose Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Mitchel, and Mr. Danforth for them. For a reserve, if either should fail, Mr. Brown was chosen. The aggrieved brethren chose Mr. Davenport, Mr. Norton, and Mr. Fitch; and as a reserve, Mr. Street. The council were to meet on the 17th of September.

THE church, it seems, would not send for the council, and so it did not convene.

AT a session of the general court, the next year, March 9th 1659, it was determined, that, as its past labors, to promote unanimity, at Hartford, had been frustrated, by the non-compliance of the parties, the secretary, in the name of the court, should desire the elders, who had been formerly appointed, to meet at Hartford on the 3d of June succeeding, and afford their assistance in healing the breach, which had been made there. It was also enacted, that the church, at Hartford, and the brethren who had withdrawn, should jointly bear the expenses of the former council, and of making provision for that which had been then appointed.

Resolution of the court respecting a council March 9, 1659.

THE council consisted of the elders and churches of Boston, Cambridge, Charlestown, Ipswich, Dedham, and Sudbury. They convened according to appointment, and were abundant in their labors to soften the minds and conciliate the affections of the parties; and though they did not effect a reconciliation, yet they brought the brethren much nearer together than they had been, and

June 3, 1659. Council at Hartford.

BOOK I. left the church and town in a better state than they had enjoyed for years before.

ON the 15th of JUNE, the court convened, and perceiving the good effects of this council, desired the same gentlemen to meet again, at Hartford, on the 19th of August. Upon the choice and desire of the brethren who had withdrawn, the Reverend John Sherman, and the church at Watertown, and the elder and church at Dorchester were also invited to come with them.

THE general court, in this state of the controversy, ordered the heads of the complaint, which had been exhibited against the withdrawn brethren, to be drawn up and sent to them, and they were required to appear before the court, in October, and answer to them. The church agreed to the whole council, and the brethren aggrieved, to seven of them. The general court ordered, that both parties should submit to the judgment of the council, and that it should be a final issue.

THE council convened again, at Hartford, and so far composed the difficulties which had so long subsisted, as to prevent a separation at that time. Some of the capital characters were soon removed into the land of silence, where all animosities are forgotten. Mr. Cullick removed to Boston, and a considerable number removed to Hadley. By these means, the church was restored to a tolerable state of peace and brotherly affection; but it was viewed, by some of its own members and others, as having, in some degree, departed from the strict principles of the first congregational churches in New-England; and seems afterwards, to have divided nearly on the same grounds.

Nature of the controversy. DOCTOR Mather, in his *Magnalia*, represents, that it was difficult, even at the time of the controversy, to find what were the precise points in dispute. Indeed, what the particular act or sentiment in Mr. Stone or the church was, which gave elder Goodwin disgust, and began the dissension, does not fully appear. Nothing however is more evident, from the questions propounded, which it appears were drawn by the very heads of the parties, and by the gentlemen chosen by the disaffected brethren, and rejected by the church, than that the whole controversy respected the qualifications for baptism, church membership, and the rights of the brotherhood. Mr. Stone's ideas of congregationalism appear to have bordered more on presbyterianism, and less on independence, than those of the first ministers in the country in general. His definition of congregationalism, was, "That it was a speaking Aristocracy in the face of a silent Democracy."

THE Hartford controversy was, for its circumstances, duration, and obstinacy, the most remarkable of any in its day. It affected all the churches, and insinuated itself into all the affairs of societies, towns, and the whole commonwealth. Doctor Mather, in his figurative manner of description, says, "From the fire of the altar, there issued thunderings, and lightnings, and earthquakes, through the colony." This was considered as much more remarkable, as the church, at Hartford, had been famous for its instruction, light, gifts, peace, and brotherly love. It had been viewed as one of the principal churches in New-England. Its dissensions were a ground of great sorrow to all the good people in the country. Extraordinary were the pains taken, by the principal characters in New-England, to heal them.

Book I.  
 Controversy at Hartford remarkable in its day.

THE commissioners of the United colonies, in September 1656, wrote them a friendly and pacific letter on the subject. They say, "We have, with much sorrow of heart, heard of your differences, and that the means attended hitherto, for composing them, have proved ineffectual. We cannot but be deeply sensible of the sad effects and dreadful consequences of dissensions, heightened and increased in a church of such eminence for light and love." They represented to them, that though all the churches sympathized with them, yet they themselves would be sure, in the first place, to feel the smart. They most earnestly exhorted them not only to be exceedingly cautious of all further provocations, but to employ all their wisdom and exertions for a reconciliation. They intreated them, not to suffer any discouragements to prevail with them, to make a separation and scatter abroad.\*

Letter from the commissioners of the united colonies.

THE churches in Connecticut and New-Haven labored to harmonize their views and affections and to make peace. The ministers in Massachusetts were so affected with their circumstances, that they offered to make a journey to Connecticut, to attempt their reconciliation. The long and repeated journeys they made, and the indefatigable labors they employed to compose their difficulties, exhibited a noble spirit of benevolence, and a zeal for the peace and prosperity of Zion. They not only merited the grateful acknowledgments of the people, at Hartford, but of the colony in general.

THE proclamation for a public thanksgiving, in November, recognized the success of the council, in compo-

\* Records of the United colonies.

BOOK I. sing the difficulties, at Hartford, as an event demanding public joy and praise.

THE church at Wethersfield interested themselves in the dispute at Hartford, and became divided and contentious. Some of the brethren exhibited a complaint to the court against Mr. Russel, for joining with the church in excommunicating one of the brethren, as it was alleged, without giving him a copy of the complaint exhibited against him, and without acquainting him with his crime. The general court ordered, that Mr. Russel should be reprov'd, for acting contrary to the usage of the churches. The brethren were divided with respect to their church state. Some insisted, that they were no church, because they had never been gathered according to gospel order; or if they had been a church, that the members of it had moved away in such a manner, as had destroyed its very existence. Many were inviolably attached to Mr. Russel, while others strenuously oppos'd him.

1660.

Mr. Russel removed to Hadley.

IN this state of affairs, the general court appointed the elders and churches of Hartford and Windfor, a council to hear the difficulties which had arisen in the church and town. But the parties could not be reconciled. Mr. Russel removed to Hadley, where he and a number of his warm friends, from Hartford and Wethersfield, planted a new town and church. The general court resolv'd, that a church had been regularly gathered at Wethersfield, by the consent of the general court and approbation of neighbouring elders; and that, though divers of the members had removed to other places, yet the brethren there were the true and undoubted church of Wethersfield, and so to be accounted, notwithstanding any thing which did appear. Thus terminated the controversy; and Mr. Bulkley, in 1666, removed from New-London, and succeeded Mr. Russel in the pastoral office. The same year, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, from Charlestown, came to New-London, and took the pastoral charge of the church there.

Mr. Samuel Stow dismissed, from Middletown.

ABOUT the time of Mr. Russel's removal from Wethersfield, the minds of the people at Middletown became alienated from Mr. Stow, who appears to have been the first minister in that town. A committee of ministers and civilians, appointed by the general court, dismissed him, on the account of the evil temper of the people towards him.

MANY of the ministers and of the people in the country were for extending baptism, according to the determination of the general council, in 1657; but the churches were so generally and warmly opposed to it, that it could not be effected without a synod. As this and the confociation of churches were favorite points, which a large number of the clergy and principal civilians, in Massachusetts and Connecticut, wished to carry, the general court of Massachusetts appointed a synod of all the ministers in that colony, to deliberate and decide on those points. The questions proposed were,

1. WHO are the subjects of baptism?
2. WHETHER, according to the word of GOD, there ought to be a confociation of churches?

THE council met at Boston, in September 1662. Their answer to the first question was substantially the same with that given by the council in 1657.

Synod 1662.

THEY declared, "That church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and children to the LORD, and subject themselves to the government of CHRIST in his church, their children are to be baptized." They further resolved, "That the members of orthodox churches, being found in the faith, and not scandalous in life, and presenting due testimony thereof, these occasionally coming from one church to another, may have their children baptized in the church whither they came, by virtue of communion of churches." They also gave their opinion in favor of the confociation of churches.

Its resolutions.

HOWEVER the council were not unanimous; several learned and pious men protested against the determination relative to baptism. The Reverend Charles Chauncey, president of Harvard college, Mr. Increase Mather, afterwards Doctor in divinity, Mr. Mather of Northampton, and others, were warmly in the opposition. President Chauncey wrote a tract against the resolution respecting baptism, entitled Antisynodalia. Mr. Increase Mather also wrote in opposition to the council. Mr. Davenport and all the ministers in the colony of New-Haven, and numbers in Connecticut, were against the resolutions. Mr. Davenport wrote against them. The churches were more generally opposed to them, than the clergy.

They are opposed.

**BOOK I.** THE general court of Connecticut took no notice of the synod, nor of the dispute, but left the elders and churches at liberty to act their own sentiments. They were attempting to form an union with New-Haven, and as the ministers and churches of that colony were unanimous in their opposition to the synod, they, probably, judged it impolitic, at that time, to act any thing relative to these ecclesiastical points.

Death of  
Mr. Stone  
July 20,  
1663.

His char-  
acter.

WHILE the churches were agitated with these disputes, another of their original lights was extinguished. Mr. Stone expired July 20th 1663. He had his education at Emmanuel college, in the University of Cambridge. He was eminently pious and exemplary; abounded in fastings and prayer, and was a most strict observer of the christian sabbath. Preparatory to this he labored to compose himself on Saturday evening, to the most heavenly views and exercises, and was careful not to speak a word, which was not grave, serious, and adapted to the solemnity. He spent much time, on this evening, in the instruction of his family, commonly delivering to them the sermon which he designed to preach on the morrow, or some other, which might be best calculated for their instruction and edification. His sermons were doctrinal, replete with sentiment, concisely and closely applied. He was esteemed one of the most accurate and acute disputants of his day. He was celebrated for his great wit, pleasantry, and good humour. His company was courted by all gentlemen of learning and ingenuity, who had the happiness of an acquaintance with him.


ALL the ministers, who illuminated the first churches, in Connecticut and New-Haven, except Mr. Warham and Mr. Davenport, had now finished their course, or returned to England; and most of their brethren, who composed the first churches, slept with them in the dust. The first governors and magistrates were no more.

THE next year, the general court of Connecticut came to a resolve, with a view to enforce the resolution of the synod, upon the churches in Connecticut. It was in the words following.

Resolve of  
the gene-  
ral court  
respecting  
baptism  
and  
church

“ THIS court understanding, by a writing presented to  
“ them, from several persons of this colony, that they  
“ are aggrieved, that they are not entertained in church  
“ fellowship, this court, having duly considered the same,  
“ desiring, that the rules of CHRIST may be attended, do  
“ commend it to the ministers and churches in this col-  
“ ony, to consider, whether it be not their duty to en-

“ certain all such persons, who are of an honest and god-ly conversation, having a competency of knowledge in the principles of religion, and shall desire to join with them in church fellowship, by an explicit covenant ; and that they have their children baptized : and that all the children of the church be accepted and accounted real members of the church ; and that the church exercise a due christian care and watch over them : and that when they are grown up, being examined by the officer, in the face of the church, it appear in the judgment of charity that they be duly qualified to participate in that great ordinance of the LORD’s supper, by their being able to examine themselves and discern the LORD’s body, such persons be admitted to full communion.

Book I.  
  
 member-ship.  
 Oct 13,  
 1664.

“ The court desireth the severall officers of the respective churches would be pleased to consider, whether it be not the duty of the court to order the churches to practise according to the premises, if they do not practise without such order. If any dissent from the contents of this writing, they are desired to help the court, with such light as is with them, the next session of this assembly.”

THE secretary was directed to send a copy of this resolution to all the ministers and churches in the colony.

THE elders and churches, who would not comply with the proposed innovation, had not only to combat the arguments and influence of the synod, but the influence of the uneasy people in the congregations, and of the general court ; but it was but slowly, and with great difficulty, that the practice of owning the covenant, and baptizing the children of parents who did not enter into full communion, and attend both the sacraments, was introduced. But few churches, for many years, admitted the practice, and some never did. It appears that, notwithstanding the influence of the general court and the resolutions of the synods, or general councils, a majority of the churches in Connecticut were against it. They imagined, that such a latitude in baptism, and admission of members to communion, would subvert the very design for which the churches of New-England were planted.

THE discipline and usages of the Connecticut churches continued yet, for some time, nearly in the same situation in which they had been, from the beginning. The clergy and churches were strict in the admission of members to full communion. Those who were admitted general-

Discipline continues nearly the same.

BOOK I. ly made a public relation of their christian experiences, by which they gave satisfaction to the church of their repentance, faith, and sincere friendship to the REDEEMER.

THE elders and churches were exceedingly strict, with respect to those whom they ordained; examining them not only in the three learned languages and doctrinal points of theology, with respect to cases of conscience, and their ability to defend christianity and its doctrines against infidels and gainfayers, but with respect to their own experimental, heart religion. All those, who were to be ordained over any church, previously to their separation to the sacred office, satisfied the brotherhood of their spiritual birth, and were admitted to their communion and fellowship. None were ordained, or installed over any church, until after they had been admitted to its full communion and fellowship.

THEY were also strict in the formation of churches; none could be formed, nor any minister ordained without liberty from the general court, and the approbation of the neighbouring elders and churches.

FROM the preceding view, it appears, that before the union there were fifteen churches in Connecticut, exclusive of those which had been formed upon Long-Island. There had been thirty-one ministers in the colony; of whom about twenty-five or six had been installed or ordained. Twenty-one were ministering to the people at the time of the union; nineteen of whom had been installed or ordained. The other two, Mr. Noyes and Mr. Collins, were afterwards settled in the ministry, in the towns, where, for some years, they had been laboring.

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#### CHAPTER XIV.

*CONDUCT of the king's commissioners. Counties and county courts regulated. Governor Winthrop's estate freed from taxation. Towns settled. Controversy with Rhode-Island. The grounds of it. Courts appointed in the Narraganset country. Laws revised and printed. War with the Dutch. Claims and conduct of Major Edmond Andros, governor of New-York. Protest against him. Conduct of Captain Thomas Bull. Proclamation respecting the insult received from Major Andros. Philip's war. Captains Hutchinson and Lothrop surprised and slain. Treachery of the Springfield Indians. Hadley attacked*



*by the enemy. The assembly make provision for the defence of Connecticut. Expedition against the Narraganſet Indians. The reaſons of it. The great ſwamp fight. Loſs of men Courage exhibited and hardſhips endured. Captain Pierce and his party cut off. Nanunttenos taken. Succeſs of Captains Deniſon and Avery. Captain Wadſworth and his party ſlain. Death and character of Governor Winthrop. Succeſs of Major Talcott. Attack upon Hadley. The enemy beaten and begin to ſcatter. They are purſued to Houſatonick. Sachem of Quabaug and Philip killed. Number of the enemy before the war. Their deſtruction. Loſs of the colonies. Connecticut happy in preſerving its own towns and aſſiſting its neighbours.*

**A**FTER the reduction of the Dutch ſettlements, 1665. Colonel Nichols fixed his reſidence at New-York, to manage the affairs of government. Sir Robert Carr, Cartwrith, and Maverick, the other commiſſioners, ſoon went to Boſton, and proceeded upon the buſineſs of their commiſſion. After they had communicated their inſtructions to the general court, and made a number of requiſitions inconſiſtent with the chartered rights of the colony, and ſome inconſiſtent with the rights of conſcience and of the churches, they went from Boſton to Narraganſet. They held courts at Warwick and Southerton, and ſpent a conſiderable time in hearing the complaints of the Indians, in determining the titles of the Engliſh to their lands; and without any color of authority from their commiſſion, undertook to make a new province. They determined, that the deed of the Rhode-Iſlanders, from the Indians, was of no force. Captain Atherton and others had made a large purchaſe of the Indians, in Narraganſet, eaſt of Pawcatuck river, and the planters had put themſelves under the government of Connecticut. The commiſſioners determined, that Captain Atherton's deed was not legal, becauſe there was no mention of the ſum which he had paid. However, as it appeared, that conſiderable had been paid the Indians for the lands, the commiſſioners ordered the natives to pay to the purchaſers a certain quantity of wampum, and ordered the planters to move off from the lands. As the Narraganſet ſachems had, in 1644, made their ſubjection to the king of England, acknowledging themſelves to be his ſubjects, they declared, that the country belonged to his majeſty, and that, in future, it ſhould be called THE

BOOK I. KING'S PROVINCE. They determined, that no person, of what colony soever, should presume to exercise any authority within that tract, except those who should be authorized by them, until his majesty's pleasure should be known. They further decreed, that the king's province should extend westward to the middle of Pawcatuck river, and northward as far as the south line of Massachusetts. In the plenitude of their power, they also ordered, that the Pequots, to whom the general assembly of Connecticut had, agreeable to a resolution of the commissioners of the United colonies, assigned a tract of land on the east of Pawcatuck, should be removed and settled in some other place, which the assembly should appoint, west of that river.† It appears that they came to these important decisions without giving Connecticut notice, or ever hearing what reasons the colony had to offer against them.

1665.

WHEN they had finished their business in Narraganset, they returned to Boston. There they proceeded in the most arbitrary manner, giving the general court of Massachusetts and the whole colony unspeakable trouble. They undertook the protection of criminals against the commonwealth; and summoned the members of the general court before them to answer for judgments which they had given in their legislative and executive capacity. They received complaints against the colony, from Indians and other disaffected persons; and undertook to judge in cases which had been previously prosecuted to a final adjudication, according to law. Indeed, they did not content themselves with determining civil matters only, they made requisitions respecting the church. They demanded, that all persons of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives, should be admitted to the Lord's supper and their children to baptism.‡

WHILE the general court of Massachusetts expressed entire loyalty to his majesty, they firmly maintained their charter rights, and remonstrated against the proceedings of the commissioners. At this firm conduct, they were highly disgusted, and made a very unfavorable representation of the colony to his majesty, much to its disadvantage.

THEY came to no determination with respect to the claim of Duke Hamilton, but returned the answer of

† Records of Connecticut, in their book of patents, letters, determinations, &c.

‡ Hutchinson's Hist. Vol. I. p. 230—256.

Connecticut to the king, and made a very friendly report to him of the manner in which they had been received by the colony of Connecticut, and of the loyalty and attachment of the people to his royal person. In consequence of it, the king sent a most gracious letter to the colony. In this, he says, " We cannot but let you know how much we are pleased. Although your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of Massachusetts. We shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behaviour."\*

Book I.  
1665.

AT the general election, May 11th 1666, the former governor and council were re-elected.

Election  
May 11th  
1666.

THE general assembly, at this session, proceeded to ascertain the limits of the counties and the business of the county courts. It was enacted, that the towns upon the river, from the north bounds of Windsor, with Farmington, to thirty miles island, should be one county, to be called the county of Hartford. That from Pawcatuck river, with Norwich, to the west bounds of Hammonasset, should be one county, by the name of the county of New-London; and that from the east bounds of Stratford to the western boundary of the colony, be another county, to be known by the name of the county of Fairfield. The county courts were to consist of one magistrate, at least, and of two justices of the quorum. If three magistrates were present they were authorized to proceed to business, though the justices were absent. The probation of wills and all testamentary matters, which before had been transacted in the court of magistrates, were referred to the county courts, with the liberty of appeal to the superior court.

Counties  
made and  
the county  
courts  
regulated.

IN 1667, no alteration was made with respect to the governor and council, but Governor Winthrop, at first, declined his office. The assembly appointed a committee, and desired to know the reasons of his desire to leave the chair. They reported the reasons to the assembly. It seems that the expense of his office was such, in his opinion, that he could not, consistently with his duty to himself and family, continue in it, without some further allowance from the colony. The assembly continued their earnest desire, that he would accept the trust to which he had been chosen. To enable him to support his

May 1667.

\* No. XXII.

**BOOK I.** office with dignity, the legislature freed all his estate, in  
 1667. the colony, from taxation, and granted him a hundred  
 and ten pounds out of the public treasury. Upon these  
 encouragements, in connection with the desire and unani-  
 mity of the freemen, he consented to accept his ap-  
 pointment.

**Lyme** ABOUT the year 1664, settlements commenced on the  
 made a east side of Connecticut river, upon the tract, on that  
 town May side, which originally belonged to the town of Saybrook.  
 1667. In May 1667, the inhabitants were so increased, that the  
 assembly made them a distinct town by the name of  
 Lyme. The Indian name for the eastern part of the  
 town was Nehantick.

**May 14th** AT the election in 1668, the freemen elected, Mr.  
 1668. Alexander Bryant, Mr. James Bishop, Mr. Anthony  
 Howkins and Mr. Thomas Welles, magistrates, instead  
 of Mr. Matthew Allen, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Crane, and  
 Mr. Clark.

IN this and the next years, several new settlements were  
 made and new towns incorporated.

**Haddam** ON the 20th of May 1662, a purchase was made of  
 made a the Indians, of a township of land termed thirty miles isl-  
 town and. The Indian name of the tract, east of the river,  
 Oct. 1668. since called East-Haddam, was Machemoodus. The ori-  
 ginal proprietors were twenty eight. They began their  
 settlements on the west side of the river, and the inhabi-  
 tants were so increased that, in the session in October  
 1668, the plantation was vested with town privileges, and  
 named Haddam. The extent of the town was six miles  
 east and west of the river.

**Massacoe** ABOUT the same time a settlement was made at Massa-  
 purcha- coe. In April 1644, the general court of Connecticut  
 sed, and gave liberty to Governors Hopkins and Haynes to dis-  
 made a pose of the lands upon Tunxis river, called Massacoe, to  
 town, by such of the inhabitants of Windsor as they should judge  
 the name expedient. In 1647, the court resolved, that Massacoe  
 of Symf- should be purchased by the country, and a committee was  
 bury. appointed to dispose of it to such of the inhabitants of  
 Windsor as they should choose. A purchase of the  
 lands was made of the Indians, and settlements began  
 under the town of Windsor. The plantation, at first,  
 was considered as an appendix, or part of that town. In  
 the session in May 1670, it was enacted, that Massacoe  
 should be a distinct town, by the name of Symsbury.  
 The limits granted were ten miles northward from the

north bounds of Farmington, and ten miles westward from the western bounds of Windsor.

BOOK I.  
1670.

AT the same time, New-Haven Village was incorporated and made a town, by the name of Wallingford. The purchase of the town was made by Governor Eaton, Mr. Davenport, and other planters of New-Haven, in December 1638. The settlement was projected in 1669. A committee was appointed, by the town of New-Haven, vested with powers to manage the whole affair of the settlement. This committee held the lands in trust, and acted in all the affairs of the town, as trustees, until May 1672, when they resigned their trust to the town.

Wallingford incorporated.

AT the general election, May 1670, William Leet, Esquire, was chosen deputy governor, and Major Mason, who for many years had been deputy governor, was chosen the first magistrate.

May 12th  
1670.

UNTIL this time, the great body of the freemen had annually convened at Hartford, upon the day of election, to make choice of the governor, magistrates, and civil officers, appointed by charter, to be elected on that day. But the freemen were now become so numerous, and it had been found to be so expensive and inconvenient, that it was judged necessary to alter the mode of election. The assembly resolved, "That henceforth all the free-  
" men of this jurisdiction, without any further sum-  
" mons, from year to year, shall or may upon the sec-  
" ond Thursday in May yearly, in person or in proxy, at  
" Hartford, attend and consummate the election of gov-  
" ernor, deputy governor, and assistants, and such other  
" public officers as his majesty hath appointed, by our  
" charter, then yearly to be chosen." A law was then made regulating the freemen's meetings and the mode of election, for substance nearly the same, with the law respecting the election at the present time.

Alteration of the mode of election.

WHILE the colony was thus extending its settlements, and regulating its internal police, great troubles arose respecting the boundaries between Connecticut and Rhode-Island. From year to year Connecticut had appointed committees to settle the boundary line between the colonies, but all their attempts had been unsuccessful.

IN 1668, the assembly appointed Mr. Wyllys, and Mr. Robert Thompson of London, by petition or otherwise, to represent the affair to his majesty, and obtain a resolution respecting the boundary line. Nothing decisive, however, was effected. Meanwhile the conduct of Rhode-Island was such, that the general assembly of

Dispute with Rhode Island respecting boundaries.

BOOK I.

1670.

Connecticut declared it to be intolerable, and contrary to the settlement made by his majesty's commissioners. The assembly therefore, in May 1670, appointed Mr. Leet, the deputy governor, John Allen, and James Richards, Esquires, Captain John Winthrop, and Captain Benjamin Newbury, a committee to meet at New-London, the June following, to treat with such gentlemen, from Rhode-Island, as should be sent properly authorized to act in the affair; and concerning the injuries, which the inhabitants of that colony had done to the people of Connecticut. They were not only vested with plenary powers to compromise these difficulties; but, in case the commissioners from Rhode-Island would not agree to some equitable mode of settlement, to reduce the people of Squamacuck and Narraganset to obedience to this colony. They were also authorized to hold courts in the Pequot and Narraganset country, and to hear and determine all cases of injury, which had been done to the inhabitants of Connecticut, according to law. Instructions were also given them to appoint all officers, necessary for the peaceable government of that part of the colony.

THE commissioners of the two colonies met at New-London, but could effect no settlement of the controversy. The commissioners from Rhode-Island insisted, that Pawcatuck river was their boundary according to the express words of their charter. Those from Connecticut insisted, that their charter, which was prior to that of Rhode-Island, bounded them easterly upon Narraganset bay and river, and that the Pequot country, which they had conquered, extended ten miles east of Pawcatuck; that therefore they had a right to that part both by charter and conquest.

As no agreement could be effected, the committee from Connecticut, went into the Narraganset country, and read the charter at Wickford and the plantations east of Pawcatuck river, and, in the name of the general assembly of Connecticut, demanded the submission and obedience of the people to its authority and laws. They also appointed officers for the good government of the people.†

BOTH colonies had something plausible to plead. The case truly stated is this. The old patent of Connecticut, to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and their associates, bounded the tract conveyed eastward by Narraganset bay

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† Records of Connecticut.

and river. The charter granted April 1662, gave the same boundaries as the old patent in 1631. Pawcatuck river was never known by the name of Narraganfet river, and it made no bay; consequently the mouth of it and the sea there could not be called Narraganfet bay. But when Mr. John Clark was in England, as agent for the colony of Rhode-Island in 1663, there arose much difficulty between him and Mr. Winthrop respecting the boundaries between the two colonies. They were advised, by their friends, to submit the controverted points to arbitrators, in England; to which they consented. William Breereton, Esquire, Major Robert Thompson, Captain Richard Deane, Captain John Brookhaven, and Doctor Benjamin Worsey, were mutually chosen to hear and determine the differences between them. They came to the following determination.

BOOK I.  
1670.

Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark submit their differences to arbitrators.

“FIRST, That a river there commonly called and known by Pawcatuck river shall be the certain bounds between those two colonies, which said river shall for the future, be also called alias Narragance or Narraganfet river.”

Their determination, April 1663.

“SECONDLY, If any part of that purchase at Quinebaug doth lie along upon the east side of the river, that goeth down by Lew-London, within six miles of the said river, that then it shall wholly belong to Connecticut colony, as well as the rest which lieth on the western side of the aforesaid river.”

“THIRDLY, That the proprietors and inhabitants of that land about Mr. Smith’s trading house, claimed or purchased by Major Atherton, Captain Hutchinson, Lieutenant Hudson, and others, or given unto them by Indians, shall have free liberty to choose to which of those colonies they will belong.”

“FOURTHLY, That propriety shall not be altered nor destroyed, but carefully maintained through the said colonies.”

To this, the two agents, John Winthrop and John Clark, Esquires, interchangeably set their hands and seals, as an agreement finally terminating the controversy between them. This was signed by them on the 7th of March, 1663.

IN consequence of this agreement, the charter of Rhode-Island, granted July 8th, 1663, bounded that colony westward by Pawcatuck river, and ordained with particular reference to the agreement, which is recognized in the charter, that this river should be called alias Nar-

Book I.  
1670.

ragance or Narraganſet river ; and that the ſame ſhall be holden by the colony of Rhode-Iſland, “ any grant, or “ claufe in a late grant to the governor and company of “ Connecticut colony in America, to the contrary there- “ of, in any wiſe notwithstanding.”

THE proprietors, mentioned in the agreement, made choice of the government of Connecticut, July 3d, 1663, and were taken under the juriſdiction and protection of this colony.

CONNECTICUT inſiſted, that Mr. Winthrop's agency was finiſhed before the agreement with Mr. Clark, and that he had never received any inſtructions from the colony, authorizing him to enter into any ſuch compact. It was alſo pleaded, that his majeſty could not re-grant that, which he had previously granted to Connecticut. Rhode-Iſland inſiſted on the agreement between Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark, and on the limits granted in the charter of that colony. Hence aroſe a controverſy between the colonies, which continued more than ſixty years.

GOVERNOR Winthrop, at the ſeſſion in October, again propoſed a reſignation of his office ; and deſired the conſent and approbation of the general aſſembly. The aſſembly were utterly oppoſed to it, and could, by no means, be perſuaded to give their conſent. Through the influence of the houſes, he was perſuaded to keep the chair, and means were adopted to give him ſatiſfaction. The aſſembly, at the next ſeſſion, granted a hundred and fifty pounds ſalary. Grants were ſeveral times made him of valuable tracts of land. Theſe conſiderations, with the great unanimity and eſteem of the freemen, prevailed with him to continue in office until his death.

May 1671.  
Settle-  
ment of  
Derby.

IN 1671 the former officers were all re-choſen.

DURING the term of eighteen or twenty years, attempts had been making to ſettle a townſhip at Paugauſſet. About the year 1653, it appears, that Governor Goodyear and ſeveral other gentlemen, in New-Haven, made a purchaſe of a conſiderable tract there. About the year 1654, it ſeems, that ſome few ſettlements were made. The next year, at the ſeſſion in October, the planters preſented a petition to the general court, at New-Haven, to be made a diſtinct town, and to order their affairs independently of the other towns. The court granted their petition ; gave them liberty to purchaſe a tract ſufficient for a townſhip ; releaſed them from taxes ; and appointed Richard Baldwin moderator to call meetings, and conduct the affairs of the plantation. At the next court, how-



ever, Mr. Prudden, and the people of Milford, made such strong remonstrances against the act, that the court determined, the people at Paugasset should continue, as they had been, under the town of Milford, unless the parties should come to an agreement, respecting the incorporation of the inhabitants there into a distinct township. In 1657 and 1659 a purchase was made of the lands of the chief sagamores, Wetanamow and Raskenute. The purchase appears to have been confirmed afterwards by Okenuck, the chief sachem. Some of the first planters were Ed. Wooster, Ed. Riggs, Richard Baldwin, Samuel Hopkins, Thomas Langdon, and Francis French. They preferred a petition to the general assembly of Connecticut, praying for town privileges in 1671. The assembly determined, that their south bounds should be the north line of Milford, and that they should extend their limits twelve miles northward, to a place called the notch. For their encouragement, it was promised, that, as soon as there should be thirty families in the plantation, they should be vested with town privileges. About four years after, October 1675, they renewed their application. They represented, that they then consisted of twelve families, and that eleven more were about moving directly into the plantation: That they had procured a minister, built him an house, and made provision for the enjoyment of divine ordinances. Upon these representations, the assembly made them a town, by the name of Derby.

Book I.  
1671.

MAJOR John Mason, who, for many years, had been deputy governor, and rendered so many important services to the colony, being far advanced in years, and visited with many infirmities, about this time, excused himself from the service of the commonwealth. At the next election, May 9th 1672, Mr. John Nash was chosen magistrate, to fill the vacancy made by his resignation.\*

Election  
May 9th  
1672.

\* John Mason, Esquire, was bred to arms in the Dutch Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax; he came into New-England, with Mr. Warham and his company, in 1630. Five years after, he removed to Connecticut, and was one of the first planters of Windsor. In 1642, he was chosen magistrate, in which office he continued until May 1660, when he was chosen deputy governor. In this office he continued ten years, until May 1670. At the desire of the inhabitants of Saybrook, and for the defence of the colony, he removed to that town in 1647. From thence he removed to Norwich in 1659, where he died in 1672, or 1673, in the 73d year of his age. He was tall and portly, full of martial fire, and shunned no hardships or dangers, in the defence and service of the colony. He was a gentleman not only of distinguished heroism, but of strict morals and great prudence.

## BOOK I.

1672.

Laws  
printed.

UNTIL this time, the colony had kept their laws in manuscript, and had promulgated them, by sending copies to be publicly read in the respective towns. This year, the first code of Connecticut was published. It was printed at Cambridge in Massachusetts. It consisted of between seventy and eighty pages, in small folio, printed, and of nearly the same number of blank pages. It is a great curiosity. The preface is written in the most religious manner, sufficiently solemn for an introduction to a body of sermons. It is thus introduced, "To our beloved brethren and neighbours, the inhabitants of CONNECTICUT, the general court of that colony with grace and peace in our LORD JESUS." It recognizes the design of the first planters, "who," as the court expresses it, "settled these foundations," the maintaining of "religion according to the gospel of the LORD JESUS;" which it declares "ought to be the endeavours of all those, that shall succeed, to uphold and encourage unto all generations." The assembly enacted, that every family should have a law book. In the blank pages, all the laws enacted after 1672 were inserted, in writing, until the year 1699, when the book was filled up.

Court of  
Election  
May 8th  
1673.

AT the election, May 8th 1673, Robert Treat, Esquire, was chosen into the magistracy.

AT this court, Richard Smith was appointed a commissioner, at Narraganset, and vested with the powers of magistracy through that country. A court of commissioners was instituted there, and Mr. Smith was appointed the chief judge. This court had cognizance of all cases, not exceeding twenty pounds, provided that all such as exceeded forty shillings should be tried by a jury. A commissioner† was appointed at Pettyquamscot.

War with  
the Dutch.

As war had been declared in England, the last year, against the Dutch, the colony was put into a state of defence. It was ordered, that a troop of horse should be raised in each county. This year, the colony was more thoroughly alarmed, and experienced the benefit of being in a good state of preparation. On the 30th of July, a small Dutch fleet, under the command of Commodores Cornelius Everste and Jacob Benkes, arrived at New-York. One John Manning, who commanded the fort and island there, treacherously delivered them up to the enemy, without firing a gun, or attempting the least resistance. The inhabitants of New-York and New-Jersey

† Commissioner was a name for a justice of the peace.

generally submitted to the Dutch without opposition. BOOK I.  
 About the same time, the Dutch captured a vessel of Mr. Sillick's of this colony, near one of the harbours of the western towns. 1673.

UPON this emergency, a special assembly was convened, at Hartford, on the 7th of August. Orders were immediately issued, that the respective troops, in the colony, with five hundred dragoons, should forthwith be ready for service; and that all the train bands should be complete in their arms. The same day, Mr. James Richards and Mr. William Roswell were dispatched, with a letter from the assembly, to the Dutch commanders, to know their further intentions. The assembly remonstrated against their conduct in capturing Mr. Sillick's vessel, and in demanding the submission of his majesty's English subjects, upon Long-Island, and that they should take the oath of allegiance to the States general. They acquainted the Dutch commanders, that the United colonies were, by his majesty, constituted the defenders of the lives and liberties of his subjects, in these parts of his dominions, and assured them that they would be faithful to their trust.

The assembly meet, and send messengers to the Dutch commanders.

THE assembly appointed the governor, deputy governor, and a number of the council, a committee of war to act as emergencies should require.

THE Dutch commanders returned a soldier-like answer to the messengers and letter from Connecticut, purporting, that they had a commission to do all damages, in their power, to their enemies by land and sea: that they had summoned the towns upon Long-Island to submit to them; and that unless they should comply, they would reduce them to their subjection by force of arms: that as the vessel they had taken was their enemy's it was strange to them that any questions were proposed concerning it: and that while they doubted not of the faithfulness of the United colonies in defending their majesty's subjects, they should not be less zealous and faithful in the service of the States General.†

ON the 11th of August, the committee of war met at Hartford. They appear to have apprehended an immediate invasion. They gave orders, that the whole militia of the colony should be ready to march at an hour's warning, to any place which might be attacked. They made such arrangements of the dragoons, and sent such

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† Letter on file.

BOOK I. assistance to their friends upon Long-Island, as prevented  
 an invasion of any part of the colony, and the plunder  
 and destruction of the English upon the island.

1673.

Assembly  
 meet Oct.  
 9th.

ON the meeting of the assembly, in October, letters were sent to Massachusetts and Plimouth, to solicit their united assistance against the Dutch, and to know their opinion relative to proclaiming war, and engaging in offensive operations against them. Mr. John Banks was sent express to the Dutch commanders, with a spirited remonstrance against the conduct of the Dutch, who had threatened the towns on the Island with destruction, by fire and sword, unless they would submit and swear allegiance to the States General. They had sent ships and an armed force towards the east end of the island, to subdue the people; but had been prevented. The assembly assured them, that they knew how to avenge themselves upon their plantations, and not only so, but upon their head quarters, if the colonies should rise, and warned them of the consequences of injuring the English towns upon the island.

CONNECTICUT, upon consulting their confederates, found it to be the general opinion to act offensively against the Dutch. A special assembly was called on the 26th of November, and war was immediately proclaimed against them. It was determined, that an expedition should be undertaken against New-York. This, it seems, was in conjunction with the other confederates. Major Treat was appointed to command the troops from Connecticut.

THE Dutch not only threatened the English towns on the island with destruction, but, it seems, made several descents upon it with a view to attack them; however, by the assistance of the troops from Connecticut, they were, in all instances, repulsed and driven from the island.† Before suitable preparations could be made for an attack upon the Dutch, at their head quarters, the season was too far advanced for military operations. Early in the spring, the news of a general pacification between England and Holland prevented all further proceedings of this kind. The whole militia of the colony, at this time, amounted to no more than 2,070 men. One quarter, it seems, were mounted as dragoons, and employed for the defence of the colony and of his majesty's English subjects upon Long-Island.

† Records of Connecticut and letters on file.

THE only alteration made, by the election in 1674, was the choice of Thomas Topping, Esquire, instead of Mr. Howkins.

BOOK I.

1674.

As the inhabitants of Long-Island had been protected and governed, the latter part of the last year, by Connecticut, they made application, at this assembly, for the further enjoyment of its protection and government. The legislature accepted them, and appointed officers in the several English towns, as they had done at their session the preceding October.

UPON the application of the town of Wickford, and other plantations in Narraganset, the legislature took them under the government of this colony. A court was instituted at Stonington, for the government of the people in Narraganset, that they might not live in dissolute practices, to the dishonor of God, of the king and nation, and to the scandalizing of the very heathens.

THE legislature, in 1672, granted liberty to Mr. Sherman, Mr. William Curtice, and their associates, to make a plantation at Pomperaug. Such a number of settlements had been made there, in about two years, that the assembly, in May 1674, enacted that it should be a town by the name of Woodbury.

Pompe-  
raug set-  
tled and  
named  
Woodbu-  
ry.

SCARCELY had the colonies recovered from one calamity and danger, before new and more terrible scenes of alarm and destruction presented themselves. Not only Connecticut but all the New-England colonies were now verging upon a most distressful and important period, in which their very existence was endangered.

UPON the pacification with the Dutch, the Duke of York, to remove all doubt and controversy respecting his property in America, took out a new patent from the king, June 29th 1674, granting the same territory described in the former patent. Two days after, he commissioned Major, afterwards Sir Edmund Andros to be governor of New-York and all his territories in these parts. The major was a mere tool of the Duke and a tyrant over the people. Mr. Smith, in his history of New-York, observes, " That he knew no law but the will of his master, and that Kirk and Jefferies were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James the second."

Major  
Andros  
appointed  
governor  
of New-  
York.

NOTWITHSTANDING the priority of the patent of Connecticut to the Duke of York's, and the determination of his majesty's commissioners about ten years before, he set up the Duke's claim to all that part of the colony

His claims  
upon  
Connecti-  
cut 1675.

Book I. which lies to the westward of Connecticut river, and he threatened the colony with an invasion.

1675.

War with Philip.  
The reasons of it.

AT the same time, Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, commenced hostilities against the colonies, and involved them in a most bloody and destructive war. It had been supposed, that the Indians for several years, had been concerting a general conspiracy against the plantations, in New-England, with a view of extirpating the English from the country. They viewed themselves as a free and independent people. Their sachems were men of high and independent spirits. They considered themselves as sovereign princes, and claimed to be the original proprietors and lords of the land. They viewed the English as intruders and usurpers. While, therefore, they saw them, in almost every quarter, extending their settlements over the dominions of their ancestors, they could not but kindle into resentment, and adopt counsels to prevent the loss of their liberties and country. Though they had entered into treaties with the colonies, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects of the king of England, yet it is by no means probable, that, by these treaties and acknowledgements, they designed to give up their independence, or any of their natural rights. They viewed themselves rather as allies, than as subjects of England. To be called to an account for their conduct, and to be thwarted in their designs, by the colonies, or to be holden as amenable to them for their actions, was a treatment which their haughty spirits could not brook. These were general reasons for which they might wish for the destruction of their English neighbours. But beside these, there were others, which had more immediate influence upon Philip. John Saufaman, a Christian Indian, who had once been a subject of Philip, made a discovery of his plots against the English. Philip, fired with resentment, procured the murder of Saufaman. The murderers were discovered, tried by the English laws, and executed. Philip, enraged at the execution of his subjects, conscious of his own guilt, and probably apprehensive for his personal safety, armed his own warriors, the Wampanoags, and such strange Indians as he could engage to embark in his measures, and, with the most hostile appearances, began to march up and down the country.

As the colonies, for some time, had been apprized, that the Indians were forming designs against them, they, by treaties and such other means as appeared to be wise

and politic, had been attempting to prevent the storm. Notwithstanding, it now burst upon them with uncommon fury. Its destruction was wide and dreadful.

BOOK I.  
1675.

PHILIP'S numbers daily increasing gave him fresh courage, and increased his insolence. On the 20th June 1675, his Indians commenced hostilities upon Swanzey, one of the frontier towns of New-Plimouth, bordering on the territories of Philip, whose chief seat was at Mount Hope.\* They insulted the English, rifled their houses, and killed their cattle. Four days after, they killed nine, and wounded seven of the inhabitants. The troops of that colony marched immediately to the defence of the town. In four days, they were reinforced with several companies from Boston. On the 29th, the troops were drawn forth against the enemy. They instantly fled before them, for a mile or two, and took refuge in a swamp. The next day, Major Savage arrived with more troops and a general command from Boston. He marched the army into the Indian towns, to surprize their head quarters, and give them battle upon their own grounds. The troops found the enemy's towns, and even the seat of Philip, deserted with marks of the utmost precipitation. As the Indians fled they marked their route with the burning of buildings, the scalps, hands, and heads of the English, which they had taken off and fixed upon poles by the way side. As they could not come up with the enemy, they returned to their head quarters, at Swanzey.

The Indians commence hostilities June 20th.

In consequence of the war with Philip, the commissioners of the United colonies met at Boston, and Governor Winthrop, who was one of the commissioners for Connecticut, was gone there, to attend the business of the country. Deputy governor Leet and the council, upon receiving intelligence of the war, dispatched troops to Stonington, to defend that part of the colony against the enemy.

Troops dispatched to Stonington and the sea port town.

AT the same time, it was discovered that Major Andros was about to make a hostile invasion of the colony, and to demand a surrender of its most important posts to the government of the Duke of York. Detachments from the militia were therefore sent, with the utmost expedition, to New-London and Saybrook. Captain Thomas Bull, of Hartford, commanded the party sent to Saybrook.

\* Mount Hope is an eminence in the eastern part of the town of Bristol, in Rhode-Island.

## BOOK I.

1675.

Major Andros appears with an armed force at Saybrook.

Demands the fort.

Assembly meet July 9th.

Protest against him July 10th.

ABOUT the 8th or 9th of July, the people of that town were surpris'd by the appearance of Major Andros, with an armed force, in the sound, making directly for the fort. They had received no intelligence of the affair, nor instructions from the governor and council how to conduct themselves upon such an emergency. They were, at first, undetermined whether to make any resistance or not; but they did not hesitate long. As the danger approached and their surpris'e abated, the martial spirit began to enkindle; the fort was manned, and the militia of the town drawn out for its defence\*. At this critical juncture, Captain Bull with his company arriv'd, and the most vigorous exertions were made for the defence of the fort and town. On the 11th, Major Andros with several armed sloops drew up before the fort, hoisted the king's flag on board, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town. Captain Bull rais'd his majesty's colours in the fort and arrang'd his men in the best manner. They appear'd with a good countenance, determin'd and eager for action. The major did not like to fire on the king's colours, and perceiv'g, that should he attempt to reduce the town by force, it would be a bloody affair, judg'd it expedient not to fire upon the troops. He nevertheless lay all that day, and part of the next, off against the fort.

THE critical state of the colony had occasion'd the meeting of the assembly, at Hartford, on the 9th of July. They immediately proceed'd to draw up a declaration, or protest, against the major, in the words following.

“ WHEREAS we are inform'd, that Major Edmund Andros is come with some considerable force into this his majesty's colony of Connecticut, which might be construed to be in pursuance of his letter to us, to invade or intrude upon the same, or upon some part of our charter limits and privileges, and so to molest his majesty's good subjects, in this juncture, when the heathen rage against the English, and by fire and sword have destroy'd many of his majesty's good subjects, our neighbours of Plimouth colony, and still are carrying their heads about the country as trophies of their good success; and yet are proceeding further in their cruel designs against the English; in faithful-

\* Letter from the Rev. Mr. Buckingham to the governor and council on the subject.



“ nefs to our royal fovereign, and in obedience to his  
 “ majefty’s commands, in his gracious charter to this co-  
 “ lony, we can do no lefs than publicly declare and pro-  
 “ teft againft the faid Major Edmund Androfs, and thefe  
 “ his illegal proceedings, as alfo againft all his aiders and  
 “ abettors, as disturbers of the peace of his majefty’s good  
 “ fubjects in this colony; and that his and their actions,  
 “ in this juncture, tend to the encouragement of the  
 “ heathen to proceed in the effufion of christian blood,  
 “ which may be very like to be the confequence of his  
 “ actions, and which we fhall unavoidably lay at his  
 “ door, and ufe our utmoft power and endeavour, (expect-  
 “ ing therein the affiftance of almighty God,) to defend  
 “ the good people of this colony from the faid Major  
 “ Androfs his attempts; not doubting but his majefty  
 “ will countenance and approve our juft proceedings  
 “ therein, they being according to the commiffion we  
 “ have received from his majefty, in his gracious charter  
 “ to this colony; by which power and trust fo commit-  
 “ ted unto us, we do again forewarn and advife the faid  
 “ Major Androfs and all his aiders and abettors to for-  
 “ bear and defift fuch forenamed unjuft and unwarran-  
 “ table praftices, as they expect to answer the fame, with  
 “ all fuch juft damages and cofts as may arife or accrue  
 “ thereby. And we do further, in his majefty’s name,  
 “ require and command all the good people, his majefty’s  
 “ fubjects, of this colony of Connecticut, under our  
 “ prefent government, utterly to refufe to attend, coun-  
 “ tenance or obey the faid Major Edmund Androfs, or  
 “ any under him, in any order, inftruction, or command,  
 “ diverfe from or contrary to the laws and orders of this  
 “ colony here eftablifhed, by virtue of his majefty’s gra-  
 “ cious charter, granted to this colony of Connecticut,  
 “ as they will answer the contrary at their peril.”

“ GOD fave the KING.”

THIS was voted unanimoſly.

IT was ſent, by an expreſs, to Saybrook, with inſtruc-  
 tions to Captain Bull to propoſe to Major Androfs the re-  
 ference of the affair in diſpute to commiſſioners, to meet  
 in any place in this colony which he ſhould chooſe.  
 Early in the morning of the 12th of July, the major de-  
 fired, that he might have admittance on ſhore, and an  
 interview with the miniſters and chief officers. He  
 probably imagined, that if he could read the duke’s pa-  
 tent and his own commiſſion it would make an impreſs.

BOOK I.

1675.

Major Androfs comes on shore.

Is forbidden to read his commission.

Goes on board and sails for Long-Island.

Declaration of the general assembly.

tion upon the people, and that he should gain that by art, which he could not by force of arms. He was allowed to come on shore with his suit. Meanwhile, the express arrived with the protest and instructions from the assembly. Captain Bull and his officers, with the officers and gentlemen of the town, met the major, at his landing, and acquainted him, that they had, at that instant, received instructions to tender him a treaty, and to refer the whole matter in controversy to commissioners, capable of determining it according to law and justice. The major rejected the proposal, and forthwith commanded, in his majesty's name, that the duke's patent, and the commission which he had received from his royal highness, should be read. Captain Bull commanded him, in his majesty's name, to forbear reading.\* When his clerk attempted to persist in reading, the captain repeated his command with such energy of voice and meaning in his countenance as convinced the major it was not safe to proceed. The captain then acquainted him, that he had an address from the assembly to him, and read the protest. Governor Androfs, pleased with his bold and soldier like appearance, said "What's your name?" He replied, "My name is Bull, Sir." "Bull," said the governor, "it is a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver." Finding that he could make no impression upon the officers or people, and that the legislature of the colony were determined to defend themselves, in the possession of their chartered rights, he gave up his design of seizing the fort. He represented the protest as a slender affair, and an ill requital of his kindness. He said however, he should do no more. The militia of the town guarded him to his boat, and going on board he soon sailed for Long-Island.

THE general assembly considered this as a great abuse and insult of the colony, and, upon receiving an account of the major's conduct, came to the following resolution.

"THIS court orders, that this declaration shall forthwith be sent forth to the several plantations, sealed with the seal of the colony, and signed by the secretary, to be there published."

"FORASMUCH as the good people of his majesty's colony of Connecticut have met with much trouble and molestation from Major Edmund Androfs his challenge and attempts to surprize the main part of

\* Captain Bull's letter to the assembly.

“ said colony, which they have so rightfully obtained, so  
 “ long possessed, and defended against all invasions of  
 “ Dutch and Indians, to the great grievance of his ma- BOOK I.  
 “ jesty’s good subjects in their settlements, and to def- 1675.  
 “ spoil the happy government, by charter from his ma-  
 “ jesty granted to themselves, and under which they  
 “ have enjoyed many halcyon days of peace and tran-  
 “ quillity, to their great satisfaction, and to the content  
 “ of his majesty, graciously expressed by letters to them,  
 “ so greatly engaging their loyalty and thankfulness, as  
 “ makes it intolerable to be put off from so long and just  
 “ settlement under his majesty’s government by charter.  
 “ Hereupon, for the prevention of misrepresentations  
 “ into England, by the said Major Andros against us,  
 “ for our refusal, and withstanding his attempts, made  
 “ with hostile appearances to surprize us at Saybrook,  
 “ while we were approaching towards a savage Indian  
 “ enemy that had committed much outrage and murder,  
 “ by fire and sword, upon our neighbours about Plim-  
 “ outh; this court have desired the honorable John  
 “ Winthrop and James Richards, Esquires, or either of  
 “ them, (intending a voyage to England upon their own  
 “ occasions,) to take with them the narrative and co-  
 “ pies of all the transactions betwixt us, and to give a  
 “ right understanding for clearing our innocence, and  
 “ better securing our enjoyments as occasion shall offer.”

As the Narraganset Indians were considered as abet- The ar-  
my  
marches  
to Narra-  
ganset.  
 tors of Philip, harbouring the old men and women  
 whom he had sent off to them, and as the colonies feared  
 that they would proceed to open hostilities, unless it  
 could be prevented by some vigorous measures, it was  
 determined to march the army, which had been rendez-  
 voused at Swanzy, immediately into their country, and  
 to treat with them sword in hand. Captain Hutchinson  
 was dispatched commissioner, from the general court of  
 Massachusetts, to conduct the treaty.† On the 15th of Treaty  
with the  
Narragan-  
sets.  
 July, a treaty was concluded between the United colo-  
 nies and the six Narraganset sachems, and the sunk squaw  
 or old queen of Narraganset. Perpetual peace was stip-  
 ulated between the parties. It was also agreed, that all  
 stolen goods should be returned: that neither Philip nor  
 any of his subjects should be harboured by the Narragan-  
 sets; but if any of them should enter upon their lands they  
 should kill and destroy them, until a cessation of hostilities

† Major Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith were com-  
missioners from Connecticut.

BOOK I.

1675.

Fight at  
Pocasset  
Neck Ju-  
ly 18th.

should be concluded between Philip and the United colonies: that the commissioners should give to any of the Narraganset Indians, who should bring in Philip alive, forty coats, and twenty for his head: that two coats should be given for every subject of Philip delivered alive to the English, and one for his head. On the part of the Narragansets, hostages were delivered, as a security, for the faithful performance of the treaty. This, at best, was a forced business, rather calculated to irritate, than to reconcile a free and haughty people. The conditions were imposed by the army.

ON the 17th of July, the troops returned to Taunton. Upon intelligence, that Philip and his warriors were in a swamp at Pocasset, the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces formed a junction, and on the 18th attacked them with firmness and resolution. The enemy had chosen an advantageous retreat. As the army entered the swamp, they retired deeper and deeper into it, until the troops were led into such an hideous thicket, that it was impossible for them to keep their order. It was so thick and dark, as the night approached, that the men were in danger, not only from the enemy, but from one another. They fired at every bush which appeared to shake. The action was continued until night, when the English retreated. The attempt was unhappy. Sixteen brave men were killed, and Philip and his men, after they had been reduced to the greatest distress, and were upon the point of surrendering themselves, made their escape. A fine army was collected. Philip was enclosed in a swamp and neck of land, and could not at that time, have made his escape, by any other means than by defeating, or fighting his way through the army, had the English conducted with prudence and fortitude. They might have renewed the attack upon him next morning, and had the day before them to finish their work, and put an end to the war; but, instead of this, they left a few companies to guard the swamp, which was upon Pocasset neck, and starve out the enemy. Philip, about six or eight days after, found means to rid himself from the danger. He either waded across an arm of the sea, at low water, or passed over it with his warriors upon rafts. He and his warriors triumphed, and were blown up with still greater courage and insolence. The Indians in general were encouraged, so that soon after there was a general rising of them against the English throughout New-England, for an extent of nearly three hundred miles.

As the Indians had lived promiscuously with the English, in all parts of the country, they were generally as well acquainted with their dwellings, fields, and places of worship, as themselves. They were perfectly acquainted with their roads, times, and places of resort. They were at hand to watch all their motions, to attack them at every difficult pass, and in every unguarded moment. Except some of the thickest settlements and the centre of the towns, the country was a vast wilderness. This enabled the enemy, not only in small skulking parties, but in great bodies, to make their approaches undiscovered, almost into the very midst of them; and under the covert of the night, to creep into their barns, gardens, and out houses; to conceal themselves behind their fences, and lie in wait for them on the roads and in their fields. Sometimes they concealed themselves before their very doors. No sooner did they open them, in the morning, than they were instantly shot dead. From almost every quarter, they were ready to rise upon them. At midnight, in the morning, or whenever they could obtain an advantage, they were ready to attack them. While the English were hunting them in one place, they would be slaying the inhabitants, and plundering and burning in another. In a short time they would plunder and burn a town, kill and captivate the inhabitants, and retire into swamps and fastnesses, where it was dangerous to pursue, difficult to discover, and impossible to attack them but at the greatest disadvantage.

NOTWITHSTANDING every precaution and exertion of the colonies, they continued plundering, burning, killing, and captivating, in one place and another, and kept the whole country in continual fear and alarm. There was no safety to man, woman, nor child; to him who went out, nor to him who came in. Whether they were asleep or awake, whether they journeyed, labored, or worshipped, they were in continual jeopardy. The inhabitants of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode-Island especially, were killed, plundered, and their towns and buildings burned in a most distressing and terrible manner.

BESIDE other damages, not so considerable, Captain Hutchinson, who had been sent with a party of horse to treat with the Nipmuck Indians, was drawn into an ambush, near Brookfield, and mortally wounded. Sixteen of his company were killed. The enemy then rushed in upon the town, and burnt all the dwelling houses, except one, which was defended by the garrison until it was re-

BOOK I.

1675.

Advantages of the Indians.

Danger and distress of the colonies.

Captain Hutchinson surprised, and Brookfield burnt. Aug. and.

**BOOK I.** inforced, two days after, by Major Willard. The ene-  
 my then drew off, having burned twenty dwelling houses,  
 with all the barns and out houses, and killed all the cat-  
 tle and horses which they could find. In September,  
 Hadley, Deerfield, and Northfield, on Connecticut river,  
 were attacked, and numbers of the inhabitants killed  
 and wounded. Most of the buildings, in Deerfield, were  
 burnt, and Northfield was soon after abandoned to the  
 enemy. There were a number of skirmishes, about the  
 same time, in that part of the country, in which the Eng-  
 lish, on the whole, were losers.

**Captain Beers and his party killed, Sept. 13th.** CAPTAIN Beers was surprised, near Northfield, by a large body of the enemy, and he and twenty of his party were killed.

**Captain Lothrop and his party killed, Sept. 18th.** THE officers, who commanded in that quarter, finding that by sending out parties they sustained continual loss and disappointment, and effected nothing of importance, determined to collect a magazine at Hadley, and garrison the town. At Deerfield, there were about three thousand bushels of wheat in stack. It was resolved to thrash this out, and bring it down to Hadley. While Captain Lothrop, with a chosen corps of young men, the flower of the county of Essex, was guarding the teams, employed in this service, seven or eight hundred Indians suddenly attacked him. Though he fought with great bravery, yet he fell with nearly his whole party. Many of the teamsters were also cut off. Ninety or an hundred men were killed on the spot. Captain Mosely, who was stationed at Deerfield, marched to reinforce Captain Lothrop, but he arrived too late for his assistance. Captain Mosely was then obliged to fight the whole body of the enemy, for several hours, until the brave Major Treat of Connecticut, with about a hundred and sixty Englishmen and Moheagan Indians, marched up to his assistance, and put the enemy to flight.\* The fall of Captain Lothrop and such a fine body of men, was a heavy loss to the country; especially to the county of Essex, filling it with great and universal lamentation.

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\* The commissioners, about the middle of September, ordered 1000 men to be raised for the general defence. Of these 500 were to be dragoons, with long arms. Connecticut were required to raise 315 men for their proportion. A considerable part of this force was employed by Connecticut, under Major Treat, for the defence of the upper towns. Captain Watts had been sent with a company to Deerfield some time before.

DURING the term of about forty years, the Indians, in the vicinity of Springfield, had lived in the greatest harmony with the English, and still made the strongest professions of friendship; yet, about this time, they conspired with Philip's warriors for the destruction of that town. At the distance of about a mile from it they had a fort. The evening before they made their assault, they received into it about three hundred of Philip's warriors. The same evening, one Toto, a Windsor Indian, discovered the plot, and dispatches were immediately sent off, from Windsor to Springfield, and to Major Treat, who lay at Westfield, with the Connecticut troops, to apprize them of the danger. But the people at Springfield were so strongly persuaded of the friendship of those Indians, that they would not credit the report. One Lieutenant Cooper, who commanded there, was so infatuated, that as soon as the morning appeared, instead of collecting his men and preparing for the defence of the town, he with another bold man rode out, with a design to go to the fort, and discover how the matter was. He soon met the enemy, who killed his companion, by his side, and shot several balls through his body. As he was a man of great strength and courage, he kept his horse, though mortally wounded, until he reached the first garrisoned house, and gave the alarm. The enemy immediately commenced a furious attack upon the town, and began to set fire to the buildings. The inhabitants were in the utmost consternation. They had none to command them, and must soon have all fallen a bloody sacrifice to a merciless foe, had not Major Treat appeared for their relief. Upon receiving intelligence of the designs of the enemy, he marched, without loss of time; but meeting with considerable hindrance in crossing the river, for want of boats, his arrival was not in such season as to prevent the attack. He soon drove off the enemy, saved the inhabitants, and a considerable part of the town. Great damage, however, was done in a very short time. Thirty dwelling houses, besides barns and out houses were burned. Major Pyncheon and Mr. Purchas sustained each the loss of a thousand pounds.\* Mr. Pelatiah Glov-

Book I.  
1675.

Indian  
Treachery.

Spring-  
field at-  
tacked  
and part-  
ly burned.

\* Major Pyncheon was at Hadley, but did not come down with the troops there, in season to prevent this great damage. He had, until this time, the chief command, in that part of the country, but he soon after resigned it that he might take care of his own affairs.

er, minister of the town, lost his house with a large and excellent library.

1675.

IN this stage of the war, the general assembly of Connecticut convened, October 14th. The court, sensible of the good conduct of Major Treat, in defending the colony and the towns on Long-Island against the Dutch, and in relieving Captain Mosely and Springfield, returned him public thanks, appointed him to the command of all the troops to be raised in the colony, to act against the enemy, and desired his acceptance of the service.

UPON intelligence from the Reverend Mr. Fitch, that a large body of the enemy were approaching the town of Norwich, Major Treat was directed to march forthwith for the defence of that part of the colony. But soon after, his orders were countermanded, and he marched for Northampton. Here he arrived in season to render his country another piece of important service. The enemy had been so elated with their various successes, that, having collected about eight hundred of their warriors, they made a furious attack upon Hadley. Almost every part of the town was assaulted at the same instant. But the town was defended by officers and men of vigilance and spirit, so that the enemy every where met with a warm reception. Several parties of the Massachusetts troops, who were in the neighbouring garrisons, flew to their assistance, and Major Treat, advancing with his usual dispatch from Northampton, soon attacked them, with his whole force, and they were put to a total flight. They sustained such loss and were so disheartened, that, from this time, the main body of them left that part of the country, and held their general rendezvous in Narraganset. Small numbers however remained, doing damage as they had opportunity, and keeping the people in constant fear and alarm.

Assault  
upon  
Hadley  
Oct. 19th.

The ene-  
my rout-  
ed.  
Rendez-  
vous in  
Narra-  
ganset.

The as-  
sembly  
adopt  
measures  
for the  
common  
safety.

FROM the intelligence communicated to the general assembly of Connecticut, during the October session, it appeared, that the enemy had designs upon almost all the frontier towns in the colony. Each county was therefore required to raise sixty dragoons, complete in arms, horses, and ammunition, for the immediate defence of the colony, wherever their service might be necessary. Captain Avery was appointed to the command of forty Englishmen from the towns of New-London, Stonington, and Lime, with such a number of Pequots as he should judge expedient, for the defence of that part of the country, and the annoyance of the enemy, as occa-



sion should present. Captain John Mason was appointed to command another party of twenty Englishmen and the Mohegan Indians. These parties were ordered to post themselves in the best manner to guard the eastern towns, and to act conjointly or separately, as emergencies should require. An army of one hundred and twenty dragoons was appointed to act against the enemy, under the command of Major Treat. It was ordered, that all the towns should be fortified, and that every town should provide the best places of defence, of which it was capable, for the security of the women and children, who were directed to repair to them upon the first intimations of danger. The inhabitants of the towns on the frontiers, who were few in number, and most exposed, were advised to remove their best effects, and people unable to defend themselves, into the more populous parts of the colony, where they might be in a more probable state of safety.

BOOK I.  
1675.

THE Narragansets, in direct violation of the treaty, which they had made with the colonies, gave a friendly reception to Philip's men and other hostile Indians. The commissioners of the United colonies were satisfied, that some of them had been in actual service, in the assaults which had been made upon the English. Their young men had returned wounded to Narraganset. It was supposed, that the Narraganset sachems could muster two thousand warriors, and that they had a thousand muskets. It was judged, that if they should all engage, in the spring, in open hostilities, and scatter, as they might, into all parts of the country, all the force, which the colonies could bring into the field, would not be sufficient to defend the plantations against the united exertions of the enemy. In the summer and fall past, one company of brave men after another had been cut off, and future prospects were not more favorable. The commissioners of the United colonies therefore resolved, that an army of a thousand men should be raised, for a winter campaign, to attack the enemy at their head quarters, in the Narraganset country. The colony of Massachusetts furnished a corps of five hundred and twenty-seven men, consisting of six companies of foot and a troop of horse, commanded by Major Appleton. Plymouth furnished one hundred and fifty-eight men, consisting of two companies, under the command of Major Bradford and Captain Gorham. The proportion of Connecticut was three hundred and fifteen men, but they sent into the field

The Narragansets treacherous.

Reasons of the expedition against them.

Number of men.

BOOK I. three hundred English men and 150 Mohegan and Pequot Indians. These were divided into five companies, commanded by Captains Seely, Gallop, Mason, Watts, and Marshall. This corps was commanded by Major Treat. The honorable Josiah Winslow, Esquire, governor of New-Plimouth, was appointed commander in chief. The orders of the commissioners to Connecticut were issued at Boston, the 12th of November. They required, that the best officers and firmeſt men ſhould be appointed, and armed and clothed in the beſt manner. It was required, that the troops ſhould rendezvous at New-London, Norwich, and Stonington, by the 10th of December, ready to receive orders from the commander in chief.

Danger of  
the expedi-  
tion.

THE commissioners were ſenſible, that an expedition, at this ſeaſon, would be moſt diſtreſſful and hazardous. Such is the extremity of the weather, in this climate, that they were not without apprehenſions, the whole army might periſh, ſhould the troops be obliged to lie uncovered a ſingle night in the open field. It did not eſcape their deliberations, that the ſnow often fell ſo deep, that it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to ſend any ſuccours to the army, in caſe of any miſfortune; but they conſidered this as the only probable expedient of defeating the enemy, and preventing the deſolating of the country. They obſerved, “It was a humbling providence of God, that put his poor people to be meditating a matter of war at ſuch a ſeaſon.” They appointed the ſecond of December to be obſerved as a ſolemn faſt to ſeek the divine aid.\*

Saturday  
Dec. 18.

Line of  
march,  
Lord’s  
day, Dec.  
19.

The Connecticut troops arrived at Pettyquamſcot, on the 17th of December. Here had been a number of buildings, in which the troops expected to have been covered and kindly entertained, but the enemy, a day or two before, had killed ten men and five women and children, and burned all the houſes and barns. The next day, they formed a junction with the Maſſachuſetts and Plimouth forces. Though the evening was cold and ſtormy, the troops were obliged to remain uncovered in the open field. The next morning, at the dawning of the day, they commenced their march towards the enemy, who were in a ſwamp at about fifteen miles diſtance. The troops from Maſſachuſetts, headed by Captains Moſely and Davenport, led the van; their rear was

\* Letters of the commissioners to Connecticut.

brought up by Major Appleton and Captain Oliver. General Winslow, with the Plymouth companies, formed in the centre ; and the troops of Connecticut formed in the rear of the whole, brought up by Major Treat. This was the line of march.\*

Book I.  
1675.

THE troops proceeded with great spirit, wading through the snow, in a severe season, until nearly one o'clock, without fire to warm or food to refresh them, except what had been taken on the way. At this time, they had arrived just upon the seat of the enemy. This was upon a rising ground, in the centre of a large swamp. It was fortified with palisades, and compassed with a hedge without, nearly of a rod's thickness. The only entrance, which appeared practicable, was over a log or tree, which lay up five or six feet from the ground. This opening was commanded in front by a kind of log house, and on the left by a flanker. As soon as the troops entered the skirts of the swamp, they discovered an advanced party of the enemy, upon whom they immediately fired. The enemy returned the fire, and retired before them, until they were led to the very entrance by the block-house. Without reconnoitering the fort, or waiting for the army to march up and form for the attack, the Massachusetts troops, led on by their officers, with great courage, mounted the tree and entered the fort ; but they were so galled from the block-house, and received such a furious and well directed fire from almost every quarter, that, after every exertion of skill and courage, of which they were capable, they were obliged to retreat out of the fort. The whole army pressed forward with the utmost courage and exertion, but such were the obstructions from the swamp and the snow, that it was a considerable time before the men could all be brought up to action. By reason of this, and the sharpness of the fire from the flanker and block-house, a sufficient number of men were not able to enter the fort to support those brave officers and men, who so courageously began the assault. Captains Johnson and Davenport, and many brave men of the Massachusetts, were killed. The Connecticut troops, who formed in the rear, coming up to the charge, mounted over the log before the block-house, the captains leading and spiring up the men in the most undaunted manner. About the same time that the main body of the Connecticut troops were forcing their way by the

Situation of the enemy.

Attack upon the fort.

Dec. 19.

\* Hubbard's Narrative, p. 104.

BOOK I. block-house, a few bold men ran round to the opposite part of the fort, where they found a narrow spot where there were no palisades, but a high and thick hedge of trees and brush. The sharpness of the action in the front had drawn off the enemy from this part, and climbing over unobserved, they ran down between the wigwams, and poured a heavy and well directed fire upon the backs of the enemy, who lay wholly exposed to their shot.\* Thus assualted, in front and rear, they were driven from the flanker and block-house. The captains crying out, they run, they run, the men pressed so furiously upon them, that they were forced from that part of the fort. The soldiers without rushed in, with great spirit, and the enemy were driven from one covert and hiding place to another, until the middle of the fort was gained; and after a long and bloody action they were totally routed and fled into the wilderness. As they retired, the soldiers set fire to the wigwams, about six hundred of which were instantly consumed. The enemy's corn, stores, and utensils, with many of their old men, women, and children, perished in the conflagration. It was supposed, that three hundred warriors were slain, besides many wounded, who afterwards died of their wounds and with the cold. Nearly the same number were taken, with three hundred women and children. From the number of wigwams in the fort, it is probable that the whole number of the Indians was nearly four thousands. Those who were not killed in battle, or did not perish in the flames, fled to a cedar swamp, where they spent the night, without food, fire, or covering.

1675.

The enemy, defeated and their wigwams burnt.

March to head quarters.

It was nevertheless a dearly bought victory. Six brave captains fell in the action, and eighty men were killed or mortally wounded. A hundred and fifty were wounded who afterwards recovered. After the fatiguing march and hard fought battle, of three hours, in which the troops had been exercised, the army, just at the setting of the sun, having burnt and destroyed all in their power, left the enemy's ground, and, carrying about two hundred dead and wounded men, marched back, sixteen or eighteen miles, to head-quarters. The night was very cold and stormy. The snow fell deep, and it

\* Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Ruggles. He observes, "It is a pity things so curious and remarkable, and wherein the hand of Providence so evidently appeared as in taking the fort at Narraganset, should be lost. They deserve to be recorded in history."

was not until midnight, or after, that the army got in. Many of the wounded, who otherwise might have recovered, died with the cold, and the fatigue and inconveniences of such a distressing march.† After lying the preceding night in the open field, and after all the exertion of so long and sharp an action, the army marched, through snow and a pathless wilderness, in less than twenty-four hours, more than thirty miles. The courage exhibited by every part of the army, the invincible heroism of the officers, the firmness and resolution of the soldiers, when they saw their captains falling before them, and the hardships endured, are hardly credible, and rarely find a parallel in ancient or modern ages. The cold was extreme, and the snow fell so deep that night, that it was difficult, the next day, for the army to move. Many of the soldiers were frozen, and their limbs exceedingly swollen. Four hundred were disabled and unfit for duty. The Connecticut troops were more disabled than those of the other colonies. They had endured a tedious march from Stonington to Pettyquamscot; and as the buildings there were all destroyed, they endured great hardships before their junction with the troops of the other colonies. They had sustained a much greater loss, in the action, in proportion to their numbers, than the troops of the other colonies.\* Of the five Connecticut captains, three,


BOOK I.  
1675.

Courage exhibited and hardships endured.

State of the army on the 20th.

† It appears, by the letters from the army, that twenty men only were killed in the action. This was the whole number dead when the army began their march for head-quarters. Eight were left on the ground, and twelve carried off by the army. Ten or twelve died on the march, and several next morning, so that on the 20th of December, thirty-four were buried in a grave. Four died the next day, and two the day after. Forty only were dead on the 22d. Though the best surgeons, which the country could furnish, were provided, yet the season was so severe, and the accommodations, after all the exertions which could be made, so poor, that, by the end of January, twenty more were in their graves. The number mentioned, as killed, in the ancient histories, included all who were killed or died afterwards of their wounds.

\* The whole number killed and wounded was about two hundred. From the returns and letters before me, it appears, that of the Massachusetts there were one hundred killed and wounded, of whom thirty-one were killed or died of their wounds. Among these were Captains Johnson, Davenport, and Gardiner. They had also a Lieutenant Upham mortally wounded, who died afterwards at Boston. Plymouth sustained the loss of twenty killed and wounded; eight or nine, it seems, were killed or died of their wounds afterwards. Of the three hundred Englishmen from Connecticut eighty were killed and wounded, twenty in Captain Seely's, twenty in Captain Gallop's, seventeen in Captain

BOOK I. Seely, Gallop, and Marshall, were killed, and Captain  
 1675.  Mason received a wound, of which he died about nine months after. Marshall was killed as he ascended the tree before the log-house. The fire of the enemy was dreadful, when the Connecticut men were entering and after they first entered the fort, until the men, who came in upon the backs of them, began to fire their large muskets loaded with pistol bullets upon them, where they stood together in the closest manner. This at once disconcerted them, and checked their fire, in that quarter. Gallop and Seely, leading and animating their men, in this dreadful moment, soon fell. The enemy made an obstinate defence, after the men gained the fort the second time, taking the advantage of their block-houses, wigwams, and every covert, of which they could avail themselves. Some of the soldiers expended all their ammunition before the action was terminated, and were obliged to seek new supplies.

THE troops from Connecticut had sustained such a loss of officers, and were so disabled, that Major Treat judged it absolutely necessary to return to Connecticut, where he

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Watts's, nine in Captain Mason's, and 14 in Captain Marshall's company. Of these about 40 were killed or died of their wounds. About half the loss, in this bloody action, fell upon Connecticut. The legislature of the colony, in a representation of the services they had performed in the war, say, "In that signal service, the fort fight, in Narraganset, as we had our full number, in proportion with the other confederates, so all say they did their full proportion of service. Three noble soldiers, Seely, courageous Marshall, and bold Gallop, died in the bed of honor; and valiant Mason, a fourth captain, had his death's wound. There died many brave officers, and sentinels, whose memory is blessed; and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarred swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy they contended with, for their God, king, and country, be their trophies over death. He that commanded our forces then, and now us, made no less than seventeen fair shots at the enemy, and was thereby as oft a fair mark for them. Our mourners, over all the colony, witness for our men, that they were not unfaithful in that day." It is the tradition that Major, afterwards Governor Treat, received a ball through the brim of his hat, that he was the last man who left the fort, in the dusk of the evening, commanding the rear of the army. The burning the wigwams, the shrieks and cries of the women and children, and the yelling of the warriors exhibited a most horrible and affecting scene, so that it greatly moved some of the soldiers. They were in much doubt then, and afterwards, often seriously enquired, whether burning their enemies alive could be consistent with humanity, and the benevolent principles of the gospel. Manuscripts of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Ruggles.

might recruit them, and cover them with more convenience than could possibly be done in that part of the country. The wounded men, who were not able to travel, were put on board vessels and carried to Rhode-Island. The Connecticut troops, in their march from Stonington to Peatyquamscot, killed six and captivated seven of the enemy. On their return home, they killed and captivated about thirty more. BOOK I.  
1675.

THE Massachusetts and Plimouth troops kept the field the greatest part of the winter, ranged the country, captivated numbers of the enemy, brought in considerable quantities of corn and beans, and burned more than 200 wigwams; but achieved nothing brilliant or decisive. In the whole, in the fort and in the country, the English burned between eight and nine hundred wigwams, and destroyed almost the whole of the enemy's provisions. This was much more distressing, and had a greater influence in their total ruin, than was at first imagined.

MEANWHILE much pains were taken to make peace, and various messages passed between the English and the Indians, on that subject; but they would not accept of any overtures which the colonies thought proper to make to them.

As the enemy had lost their dwellings and principal stores, in Narraganset, the great body of their warriors moved off to the northward, to the Nipmuck country, and into the wilderness, north of Brookfield. They were not however idle. The latter part of January they drove off, from one man, at Warwick, as they took leave of their country, sixteen horses, fifty neat cattle, and two hundred sheep. In February, the Narraganset and Nipmuck Indians fell upon Lancaster, and plundered and burned the greatest part of the town. They either killed or captivated forty of the inhabitants.† Some days after, they made an assault on Medfield, killed twenty men, and laid nearly half of the town in ashes. 1676.  
Lancaster  
burnt  
Feb. 10.  
Medfield  
assaulted  
Feb. 20.

MARCH was a month of still greater disasters. The towns of Northampton and Springfield, of Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough, in Massachusetts, and of Warwick and Providence, in Rhode-Island, were assaulted; and some of them partly, and others entirely, destroyed. Many of the inhabitants were killed, and others led away into a miserable captivity.

† The enemy set fire to the garrison house, and the women and children were all captivated, among whom was the wife and family of Mr. Rowlandson, minister of the town.

## BOOK I.

1676.

Captain  
Pierce  
killed

March 26.

28th.

Captain  
Wadsworth  
killed.Connecti-  
cut volun-  
teers.Their suc-  
cesses.

CAPTAIN Pierce, about the same time, with fifty Englishmen and twenty friendly Indians, was drawn into an ambush, and surrounded by a great body of the enemy, who slew every Englishman, and the greatest part of the Indians. This was a great loss to so small a colony as Plymouth, to whom Captain Pierce and his company belonged. Two days after, the enemy fell upon Rehoboth, in the vicinity of Swanzey, where hostilities first began, and burned forty dwelling-houses, besides barns and out-houses.

CAPTAIN Wadsworth, a brave officer, with fifty men, marching, ten days before, to the relief of Sudbury, was surrounded by a numerous body of the enemy, and fell with his whole party. Massachusetts, at this time, was in great distress and sorrow. It was feared by many, that the whole colony would be depopulated. But it was now full tide with the enemy, they soon received an important check, and began rapidly to decline.

IN February 1676, a number of volunteers from Connecticut, belonging principally to New-London, Norwich, and Stonington, formed themselves into companies under Major Palms, Captain George Denison, Captain James Avery, and Captain John Stanton, for the annoyance of the enemy. They engaged a number of Moheagans, Pequots, and Narragansets to be associates with them, for the sake of plunder and other considerations. The Moheagans were commanded by Onecho, one of the sons of Uncas; the Pequots by Cassasinamon their chief; and the Narragansets, consisting of about twenty men, by Catapazet. These latter were Ninigra's men, who in time past had given the colonies so much trouble; but at this time they remained quiet, and would not join the other Narraganset sachems.‡

THESE companies began to range the Narraganset country, and harass the enemy, the latter part of February, and continued making their incursions from that time until the enemy were driven from those quarters. As soon as one company returned another went out immediately, so as to keep the enemy in continual alarm. Their success was admirable.

CAPTAIN Denison of Stonington, on the 27th of March, began a very successful incursion into the country.

‡ The principal seat of Ninigra was at Westerly, which formerly belonged to Stonington. He put himself under the English, and he, and his Indians were the only ones, who were not destroyed, or driven from that part of the country.



NANUNTTENOO, or Canonchet, the head sachem of all the Narragansets, son of Miantonomoh, inheritor of all his pride, and of his insolence and hatred towards the English, had ventured down from the northern wilderness to Seaconk, near the seat of Philip, to procure seed corn to plant the towns, which the English had deserted upon Connecticut river. He had been aiding in the slaughter of Captain Pierce and his men just before. After Captain Denison and his party had wearied themselves for several days, in hunting the enemy, they came upon their tracks near Blackston's river, and soon discovered, by a squaw whom they took, that Nanunttenoo was in a wigwam not far distant. The Captain made dispositions immediately to surprize him. While he was boasting of that great feat of cutting off Captain Pierce, and diverting himself with the story, the English came upon him. Some of his party, discovering them, ran off with great precipitation; but one more faithful than the rest entered the wigwam, and acquainted him with his danger. He instantly fled with all his might. Catapazet, from the manner of his running, suspecting it was Nanunttenoo, gave chase with as much eagerness as he fled. The other Indians, who were most light of foot, joined in the pursuit. They pressed him so hard, that he soon threw off his blanket, and then his silverlaced coat, which had been given him at Boston. The pursuers, perceiving that they were not mistaken with respect to the person, employed their utmost exertions to seize him. At length, plunging through the river, his foot slipped, upon a smooth stone, and he fell and wet his gun. One Monopoide, a Pequot, outrunning the other Indians, leaped through the river after him, and soon laid hold upon him. Though he was a man of a goodly stature, and of great strength and courage, yet he made no resistance. One Robert Stanton, a young man, was the first Englishman who came up to him. He asked him several questions; but this haughty sachem, looking, with disdain upon his youthful countenance, replied, in broken English, "You too much child, no understand matters of war. Let your captain come, him I will answer." This party, in about sixteen days, killed and took nearly fifty of the enemy, without the loss of a single man. This success was much greater on the account of the capture of the chief sachem, and a number of counsellors and war captains.

BOOK I.

1676.

Nanunttenoo surprized and taken.

## BOOK I.

1676.

NANUNTTENOO would not accept of life when offered upon the condition, that he would make peace with the English; nor would he so much as send one of his counsellors to make a single proposal for that purpose. When he was made acquainted, that it was determined to put him to death, he said, "He liked it well; that he should die before his heart was soft, or he had spoken any thing unworthy of himself." The Mohegan sachem, his counsellors, and the principal Pequots shot him at Stonington. Those brave volunteer captains and their flying parties had; at this time, killed and captivated forty-four of the enemy, and before the end of April, seventy-six more, about a hundred and twenty in one month. Among these was another sachem, a grandson of Pomham, who was esteemed the best soldier and most warlike of all the Narraganset sachems. They made, in the spring, summer, and fall, ten or twelve expeditions, in which they killed and captivated two hundred and thirty of the enemy, took fifty muskets, and brought in one hundred and sixty bushels of their corn. They drove all the Narraganset Indians out of their country, except those at Westerly under Ninigrate.\* In all these expeditions they had not one man killed or wounded.† Governor Hutchinson observes, that "the brave actions of the Connecticut volunteers have not been enough applauded. Denison's name ought to be perpetuated."

Death of  
Governor  
Winthrop  
April 5th.

WHILE Connecticut had the honor and happiness of giving a check to the war, the colony sustained a heavy loss in the death of Governor Winthrop. He had been chosen one of the commissioners from Connecticut, the May preceding, to the court of the commissioners of the United colonies. Upon the meeting of this court, early in the spring, he went to Boston, where he was taken sick and died, April 5th, 1676, in the 71st year of his age. He was honorably interred, at Boston, in the same tomb with his father.

His char-  
acter.

HE was the eldest son of the honorable John Winthrop, Esquire, the first governor of Massachusetts. His birth was at Groton in England, 1605. His father gave him a liberal education, at the University of Cambridge, in England; and afterwards supported him some years at the University of Dublin, in Ireland. As travelling was considered a great accomplishment to a young gen-

\* Declaration of the volunteers, sworn before Governor Saltonstall

† Hubbard's Narrative, from p. 125, to 131.

tleman, he travelled into France, Holland, Germany, Italy, and Turkey. With these advantages he returned to England, not only a great scholar, rich in experience and literature, but a most accomplished gentleman. While he collected the literature and excellencies of the various nations and countries through which he passed, he cautiously avoided their errors and vices. He was a puritan of distinguished piety and morals. After his return from his travels, he came into New-England, with his father's family, in 1631, and was chosen one of the magistrates of the colony of Massachusetts. He afterwards went into England; and in 1635, returned with a commission to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, and to be governor of that part of the country. In 1651, he was chosen one of the magistrates of Connecticut. In 1657, he was elected governor, and the next year deputy governor. In 1659, he was again chosen governor; from which time he was annually re-chosen to that office, until his death. He was one of the greatest chymists and physicians of his age, a member of the royal society of philosophical transactions, and one of the most distinguished characters in New-England. He rendered many important services to the colony, was exceedingly beloved in life, and died greatly and universally lamented.

BOOK I.  
1676.

At the election May 11th, William Leet, Esquire, was chosen governor, and Robert Treat, Esquire, deputy governor. Captain John Mason was chosen magistrate to fill the vacancy made by the advancement of Major Treat, to the office of deputy governor. No alteration was made with respect to the other officers.

Election  
May 11th,  
William  
Leet, Esq.  
chosen  
governor.

THE assembly voted three hundred and fifty men, with the friendly Indians, were to be a standing army, to defend the country and harass the enemy. Major John Talcott was appointed to the chief command. The Reverend Gershom Bulkley, of Wethersfield, was appointed surgeon, and Mr. James Fitch, chaplain. Mr. Bulkley was viewed as one of the greatest physicians and surgeons then in Connecticut. The assembly ordered that the surgeon and chaplain should be of the council of war.

The as-  
sembly  
raise an  
army.

MAJOR TALCOTT, on his appointment to the command of the army, resigned the office of treasurer, and William Pitkin, Esquire, was appointed to that office, by the assembly.

Major  
Talcott  
commander.

THE first general rendezvous of the army, this year, was at Norwich. From thence Major Talcott marched,

BOOK I.

1676.

Hungry  
march.

the beginning of June, with about two hundred and fifty English foldiers and two hundred Moheagans and Pequot Indians, up towards the Wabaquasset country, scouring the woods through that long tract. They found the country every where deserted. The fort and wigwams at Wabaquasset were deserted. Nothing more could be done there, than demolish the Indian fortres and destroy about fifty acres of corn which the enemy had planted. On the 5th of June, the army marched to Chauagongum, in the Nipmuck country. There they killed nineteen Indians, and took thirty-three captives.\* The army then marched to Quaboug, or Brookfield, and thence to Northampton. This was a long march, in which the troops suffered greatly for want of provisions. It has ever since, in Connecticut, been known by the name of the long and hungry march. Major Talcott expected to have met with the Massachusetts forces at Brookfield, or in that vicinity, but they did not arrive.

ON the 12th of June, four days after the arrival of the Connecticut troops at Northampton, about seven hundred Indians made a furious attack upon Hadley; but Major Talcott, with his party, soon appeared for the relief of the garrison, and drove off the enemy. His seasonable arrival was providentially a happy circumstance, which probably saved Hadley and other towns upon the river.

SOMETIME after the Massachusetts forces arrived, and in conjunction with Major Ta'cott and his foldiers, scoured the woods on both sides the river, as far as the falls at Deerfield. The enemy by this time, had made their escape from that part of the country. The army broke up their fisheries, destroyed their fish and other stores, recovered some stolen goods, and returned without effecting any thing very important.

AFTER Major Talcott had spent about three weeks in service upon the river, he left that quarter, and marched through the wilderness towards Providence and the Narraganset country. On the 1st of July, the army came near a large body of the enemy, and took four. Two days after, Major Talcott surpris'd the main body of them, by the side of a large cedar swamp. He made such a disposition of his men, and attacked them so suddenly, that a considerable number were killed and taken on the spot; others escaped to the swamp. The troops compassed the swamp, and after an action of two or three

July 3d.

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\* Major Talcott's letter to the committee of war, June 8, 1676.

hours, killed and took 171. Thirty-four warriors were killed in the action, and also Magnus, the sunk squaw or old queen of Narraganset, 90 of the captives were killed, and between 40 and 50 women and children preserved alive. Book I.  
1076.

THE same day, the troops marched to Providence and compassed the neck there, and afterwards, Warwick neck; in which places they killed and captured 67. Eighteen were killed. In these several rencounters, 238 were killed and taken with about 30 arms.\*

ABOUT the 5th of July, the army returned to Connecticut. In their rout they took 60 more of the enemy. From about the beginning of April to the 6th of July, the Connecticut volunteers, and the troops under Major Talcott, killed and captivated about 420 of the enemy.†

THE enemy, about this time, fell into a state of division, fear, and astonishment. They found that by attempting to destroy their English neighbours, they had utterly ruined themselves. A complication of evils conspired for their destruction. The destruction of their fort and principal stores, in the dead of winter, the burning of their wigwams, and bringing off their corn and beans, in all parts of the country, put them to inexpressible hardships and distresses. They had been able to plant but little, in the spring; what they had planted, the English had destroyed; they had been driven from the sea and rivers, and cut off from almost every kind of subsistence. They had been obliged to lie in swamps and marshes; to feed on horse flesh and other unwholesome food; all which gendered infirmity and death; so that they became debilitated and disheartened by fatigue, famine, disease, and mortality.‡ They could not keep together, in any considerable bodies, for want of sustenance. They were pursued and hunted from swamp to swamp, and from one lurking place to another; so that, in July and August, they began to come in to the English, in large bodies, and surrender themselves to the mercy of their conquerors.

Distressed  
condition  
of the en-  
emy.

MAJOR Talcott, after his return from Narraganset, having recruited his men, a short time in Connecticut, took his station at Westfield. While he lay there, a

The ene-  
my fly to  
the west-  
ward.

\* Major Talcott's letter to the council of war, July 4th, 1676.

† Hubbard's Narrative p. 131, 164, 166. Hutchinson's history Vol. I. p. 305, 306.

‡ Some of the captives reported, that more died by sickness, than the sword.

**BOOK I.** large body of the enemy was discovered fleeing to the westward. Major Talcott pursued them, and on the third day, about half way between Westfield and Albany, discovered them lying on the west side of Houfatonick river entirely secure. It was judged too late in the day to attack them to any purpose. The army therefore retreated and lay upon their arms, in great silence, during the night. Towards morning, the troops were formed in two divisions. One was ordered to pass the river below the enemy, and to advance and compass them in on that side. The other party, creeping silently up to the east bank of the river, were to lie prepared instantly to fire, when they should receive the signal from the other division, who when they had reached their ground, were to fire a single gun. But this well contrived plan was in some measure disconcerted. An Indian had left his companions, in a dead sleep, and proceeded down the river to catch fish. As the division, on the west side of the river, was advancing to surround the enemy, he discovered them, and roared out, "Awannux, Awannux." Upon this, one of the party fired and killed him on the spot. The other division, on the east bank of the river, supposing this to be the signal gun, discharged upon the enemy, as they were rising in surprise, or lay upon the ground, and killed and wounded a great number of them. Those who were not killed, or disabled by wounds, instantly fled, leaving their camp, baggage, provisions, and many of their arms. As the division on the west side, had not advanced to the ground designed, before the alarm was given, the enemy made their escape, with much less damage, than otherwise they could have done. The troops pursued them some distance, but the woods were so extremely thick, that they soon disappeared, and the army returned. The sachem of Quabaug, or Brookfield, was killed, and 44 other Indians were killed and taken. Among the killed were 25 warriors.†

Sachem of  
 Brookfield  
 killed.

SEVERAL brave captains and officers in the Massachusetts, in July and August, were very successful. Captain Church of Plymouth, afterwards Major Church, a famous partisan, took several small parties of the enemy. The Indians, who were taken or came in to the English to save their own lives, betrayed their friends, and led the English captains to their haunts and hiding places.

† Manuscripts of the Reverend Thomas Ruggles and Hubbard's Narrative.

Thus assisted, the Massachusetts and Plymouth soldiers hunted Philip from week to week, and from place to place. They killed and captured his brother, his counsellors and chief men, his wife and family; but his mind continued firm and unbroken. In the midst of all this misfortune and distress, he would hear no proposals of peace. At length, on the 12th of August, Captain Church, led by one of Philip's men, whom he had disaffected, by shooting his brother, only for proposing to him to make peace with the colonies, surprised this famous sachem, in a swamp, near Mount Hope. As he was flying to make his escape, the Indian who had been guide to the party, shot him through the heart. Thus fell a brave enemy, who had defended himself and his country, and what he imagined to be his own, and the just rights of his countrymen, to the last extremity.

BOOK I.

1676.

Philip killed, Aug. 12th.

THE Indians in this part of the country now generally submitted to the English, or fled and incorporated with distant and strange nations. After this time, very little damage was done.

CONNECTICUT offered the same conditions to the enemy, upon their submission, which had been given to the Pequots: That they should have life, liberty, protection, and ground to plant. Some principal incendiaries and murderers however were excepted. They disdained to accept the terms, and generally fled their country. The Nipmucks, Nashawas, Pocomtocks, the Hadley and Springfield Indians, fled to the French and their Indians in Canada. About 200 of them, after their surprise at Housatonick river, fled to the Moheganders upon Hudson's river, incorporated and became one with them.

WHEN Philip began the war, he and his kinswoman, Wetamoe, had about 500 warriors, and the Narragansets nearly 2,000. The Nipmuck, Nashawa, Pocomtock, Hadley, and Springfield Indians, were considerably numerous. It is probable, therefore, that there were about 3,000 warriors combined for the destruction of the New-England colonies, exclusive of the eastern Indians. The war terminated in their entire conquest and almost total extinction. At the same time, it opened a wide door to extensive settlement and population.

THIS however, in its connection with the war with the eastern Indians, which commenced about the same time, was the most impoverishing and distressing of any which New-England has ever experienced from its first settlement to the present time. The war with the east-

Losses in the war.

Book I. tern Indians continued until the spring of the year 1678.  
 1676. The enemy killed and captivated great numbers of the people, captured nearly twenty fishing vessels with their crews, and rioted in plunder and devastation, until most of the settlements in those parts were swept away, and the country was reduced to their domination.\*

ABOUT 600 of the inhabitants of New-England, the greatest part of whom were the flower and strength of the country, either fell in battle, or were murdered by the enemy. A great part of the inhabitants of the country were in deep mourning. There were few families or individuals who had not lost some near relative or friend. Twelve or thirteen towns, in Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Rhode-Island, were utterly destroyed, and others greatly damaged. About 600 buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were consumed with fire.† An almost insuperable debt was contracted, by the colonies, when their numbers, dwellings, goods, cattle and all their resources were greatly diminished.

CONNECTICUT indeed had suffered nothing, in comparison with her sister colonies. Her towns and inhabitants had been preserved from the ravages of the enemy; but about a seventh part of the whole militia was out up-

\* Dr. Belknap's hist. vol. I. p. 157, 159.

† This statement of the loss of lives, towns, and buildings, is made from an accurate enumeration of the various numbers mentioned, in the ancient histories, of the lives lost, and of the towns and buildings burned. But as there were doubtless many persons killed, and others who died of their wounds, not mentioned in those accounts, they must have exceeded the number here stated. The histories of those troubles rarely mention the barns, stores, and out-houses burned; and sometimes there is notice of the burning of part of a town, and of the buildings in such a tract, without any specification of the number. All the buildings in Narraganset, from Providence to Stonington, a tract of about fifty miles, were burned, or otherwise destroyed, by the enemy, but the number is not mentioned. The loss of buildings must therefore have been much greater than has been mentioned.

The militia of Connecticut, in 1675, amounted to 2,250 men. Of these, the commissioners required 315, as their proportion of the 1,000 men then to be raised.

If the proportion was just, there were about 7,150 of the militia of the United colonies. Reckoning every fifth man a soldier, and five persons to every family, there were 7,150 families and 35,750 inhabitants, at that time in the United colonies. According to this estimation, about one sensible man in eleven was killed, and every eleventh family was burnt out; or an eleventh part of the whole militia, and of all the buildings of the United colonies were swept away by this predatory war. This greatly exceeded the loss in the late war with Great-Britain, in proportion to the numbers and wealth of the United States.



on constant service, besides the volunteers. A large proportion was obliged to watch and guard the towns at home. The particular towns were necessitated to fortify themselves, with an enclosure of palisades, and to prepare and fortify particular dwellings for garrison houses, which might, in the best manner, command the respective towns; and to which the aged people, women, and children might repair, and be in safety, in the time of danger. For three years after the war commenced, the inhabitants paid eleven pence on the pound, upon the grand list, exclusive of all town and parish taxes. After the war was finished, they had a considerable debt to discharge. The colony, nevertheless, was highly distinguished and favored in many respects. The numerous Indians within it were not only peaceable, but the Moheagans and Pequots were of great service in the war. They were not only a defence to the eastern towns, but especially advantageous in discovering and harrassing the enemy, and in preventing a surprize by them. Connecticut had not one party of men surprized and cut off during the war; nor did the colony sustain any considerable loss of men, at any time, except in taking the fort in Narraganset. At the same time, the legislature and people were happy, in giving seasonable and powerful assistance to their confederates, and in repeatedly rescuing whole towns and parties, when in the most imminent danger.

Book I.  
1676.

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## CHAPTER XV.

*MEASURES adopted to discharge the public debt, and settle the country in peace. The reasons of the colony's claim to Narraganset. The former settlers and owners of land there apply to Connecticut for protection. Major Treat goes to the upper towns upon Connecticut river, to treat with the Indians. Fast appointed through New-England. Act concerning the conquered lands in Narraganset. Navigation act grievous to the colonies. Governor Leet takes the oath respecting trade and navigation. Answers to queries from the lords of trade and plantations. Protest against Sir Edmund Andross's claim to Fisher's Island. Character of Governor Leet. Commissioners appointed, by his majesty, to examine and make report concerning all claims to the Narraganset country, or king's province. They re-*

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1676.

*port in favor of Connecticut. Answers to the renewed claim of the Duke of Hamilton, and opinions on the case. Connecticut congratulate the arrival of Colonel Dungan, governor of New-York, and agree with him, respecting the boundary line between that colony and Connecticut. Petition to King James II. Settlement of Waterbury. Quawarrantos against the colony. The assembly petition his majesty to continue their charter privileges. Sir Edmund Andross made governor of New-England. Arrives at Hartford, takes the government by order of his majesty. The oppression and cruelty of his administration. Distressed and sorrowful state of the people.*

Oct. 12.

CONNECTICUT had now conquered the Narraganset country, and in conjunction with the other confederates; terminated the war, in this part of New-England. The legislature therefore addressed themselves to discharge the public debt, to settle the friendly Indians in a state of peace among themselves, and with the colonies, and to extend their settlements in the Narraganset country, as well as in other parts of their jurisdiction. To discharge the public debt, they levied a tax of eight pence on the pound, upon the whole list of the colony, in October annually during the term of two years. They appointed a committee to hear all affairs, which the Moheagans, Pequots, and Narragansets, under Ninigrate, or Ninicraft, had to lay before them, and to do whatever they should judge expedient to promote peace among them, and to preserve their friendship and attachment to the English. For their encouragement, the legislature granted liberty for them to hunt, in all the conquered lands, during their pleasure. They were also authorized to kill and destroy any of the enemy, who should return to their country, without submitting to the colony and accepting the terms which had been offered them.

Court of  
election  
May 10,  
1677.

AT the election, in May 1677, there was no alteration in the legislature, excepting the choice of Andrew Leet, Esquire, into the magistracy, instead of Captain John Mason, who died, the September before, of the wounds he had received in taking the Narraganset fort. The same governor, deputy governor, and magistrates were re-elected for several years successively. A committee was appointed, by the assembly, to settle all affairs of government in the Narraganset country, and to report what places there were there adapted to the purpose of planting new towns.

As the Rhode-Islanders had deserted the country, in the war, and had done nothing in the defence of it, and as the Connecticut volunteers had driven the enemy entirely from that extensive tract, the legislature determined to plant and govern it, as part of this colony.

FOR various reasons they viewed the act of his majesty's commissioners, determining that Rhode-Island and Narraganset should be a province for the king, as a mere nullity. Their commission gave them no power to make new colonies. It required that Colonel Nichols should always be one of the council, that any of its acts might be valid; but he was not present at that determination. Further, Colonel Nichols, with two or three of his council, afterwards reversed that judgment.

IN the same point of light they viewed the agreement with Mr. Clark, as it was after Mr. Winthrop had obtained the Connecticut charter, and sent it to the colony, at which time his agency was terminated. Further, that agreement was entirely alien from the business of his agency, and without any instructions or authority from the colony. The agreement with Mr. Clark was considered as a nullity, in another point of light, as the charter to Rhode-Island recognized and had reference to one article of the agreement only, and as Rhode-Island had never submitted to one of the other articles. In direct contravention of them, they had invaded the property of the settlers named in it, wantonly carried off the productions of their lands and fruits of their labors, driven off their cattle, forced the inhabitants from their possessions, burned their fences, and even pulled down their houses.\* They had claimed jurisdiction over them, after they had, in the year 1663, chosen to belong to Connecticut, and formally put themselves under the government of that colony. They had not regarded the agreement even with respect to the boundaries, but attempted to extend their limits beyond what was expressed in the charter. Besides, when his majesty had previously granted that tract to Connecticut, there remained, in law and reason, no further right in him to that country. He had nothing there further to grant. Therefore he could grant nothing there to Rhode-Island. Connecticut well knew that Pawcatuck never was called Narraganset river, and that the Narragansets never extended their claims so far westward; but that Pawcatuck, and the country some

Book I.

1677.

Determination of Connecticut to settle and govern Narraganset. Reasons of their determination.

\* Prayer of the inhabitants to the general court of Connecticut, on file, representing the outrages of the Rhode-Islanders.

BOOK I. miles to the east of it, belonged to the Pequots.\* For  
 1677. these reasons, the legislature considered their title and  
 claim to this part of the colony as clear and just, as to any  
 other part of it whatever.

Mr. ELISHA Hutchinson, William Hudson, and others,  
 Hutchinson and others petition for protection. their associates, claiming a large tract in the Pequot and  
 Narraganset country,† applied to the general assembly  
 for their assistance and protection, against Rhode-Island,  
 in the re-settlement of their lands. The assembly deter-  
 mined to extend their protection and government to  
 them.

OCT. 11. AT the session in October, the upper towns, upon  
 Connecticut river, sent messengers to the assembly, ac-  
 quainting them, that there were considerable bodies of  
 Indians collected together in their vicinity; and that  
 they made proposals of peace. The messengers solicited  
 the assembly to send Major Treat, the deputy governor,  
 with a detachment of forty men, to Northampton, to  
 treat with them, or to defend those towns, as occasion  
 might require. The assembly complied with the request,  
 and the deputy governor proceeded immediately to North-  
 ampton. He was instructed, in the first place, to use  
 his utmost endeavours for the redemption of the captives,  
 with money, goods, or by any other means in his power.  
 The terms of peace, which he was authorized to propose,  
 were life and liberty, upon the submission of the Indians  
 to the English, in the several places where they should be  
 settled. He was directed to assure the Indians of pro-  
 tection and safety during the treaty. It does not appear,  
 that many of the northern Indians accepted the terms  
 proposed, or ever returned to their former places of abode.  
 Little more appears to have been effected by the treaty,  
 than the redemption of some of the captives.

1678. THE colonies, at this time, had many enemies, and the  
 most injurious complaints and unfavorable representations  
 were made of them in England. Edward Randolph, es-  
 pecially, whom the people of New-England represented  
 as going about to destroy them, was indefatigable in his

\* Case of Connecticut, with respect to Narraganset, stated, in  
 which these articles are largely insisted on.

† It appears, by the report of the committee, appointed to  
 view and make report concerning the state of Narraganset, that  
 the gentlemen mentioned above, Major Atherton, and their as-  
 sociates, owned a tract of more than 5,000 acres, only on what  
 was called Boston neck, and that large tracts were owned by other  
 purchasers. Indeed the principal part of Narraganset was owned  
 by them.

complaints against them, and in aggravating what ever he imagined might serve to their disadvantage. He came over to Boston, in 1676, and annually, in person or by writing, made complaints against them. He generally returned to England in the fall, and in the spring or summer, came over fraught with new mischief. He busied himself, among other affairs, in complaining of the colonies for their opposition to the acts of trade and navigation. Unhappily for Great Britain and the colonies, they were suffering under an arbitrary prince, inimical to the civil and religious rights of his subjects. His ear was open to complaints against those, who did not cheerfully submit to his despotic impositions; and he readily promoted those who made them. The colonies knew how affairs were conducted in England, and were deeply apprehensive, of the danger they were in, of a total deprivation of their liberties.

THE commissioners of the United colonies, in these views, recommended a general fast to the confederate colonies, to humble themselves for their offences, and to pray for the divine favor, in the continuation of their just rights and privileges.

IN consequence of this recommendation, the general assembly of Connecticut appointed the third Tuesday in November a public fast, in union with their confederates, to humble themselves, and pray for the purposes recommended. Nov. 21.

THE general assembly, at their session in May 1679, to prevent the people of Rhode-Island, and other intruders, from taking up lands in Narraganset, enacted, that none of the conquered lands should be taken up, or laid out into farms, without special and express order from them. May 1679.

THE Rhode-Islanders, in the time of danger, deserted the country and bore no part in the war. However, as soon as the inhabitants, who had settled under Connecticut, began to return to their former settlements, to build upon their lands, and cultivate their farms, under the government of this colony, the legislature of Rhode-Island began to usurp authority and practise their former vexations.

JOHN CRANSTON, Esquire, governor of Rhode-Island, held a court in Narraganset, in September, and made attempts to introduce the authority and officers of Rhode-

\* Records of Connecticut.

BOOK I. Island, into that part of Connecticut. The general assembly therefore, in October, protested against his usurpation, and declared his acts to be utterly void. They also prohibited all the inhabitants to receive any office from the legislature of Rhode-Island, or to yield obedience to its authority.†

1679.

THE acts of trade and navigation were exceedingly grievous to the colonies. They viewed them as utterly inconsistent with their chartered rights. This made them extremely unwilling to submit to them. Massachusetts never would fully submit; but as it was matter of great and continual complaint against the colonies, and as his majesty insisted on the respective governors taking the oath, respecting trade and navigation, it was judged expedient, that Governor Leet should take it, in the presence of the assembly. It was accordingly administered to him, at the session in May 1680.

May 13  
1680,  
Governor  
Leet took  
the navigation  
oath.

THIS assembly ordered, that a letter should be written to the general court of Massachusetts, desiring their concurrence in mutually settling the line between that colony and Connecticut. It was requested, that the court would appoint a committee fully authorized for that purpose, to join with one from Connecticut vested with similar powers. If the general court of the Massachusetts should refuse to comply with this proposal, then the governor and his council, with such as they should appoint to that service, were authorized to run the line without them.

Answers  
to queries  
July 15,  
1680.

THE Lords of trade and plantations having transmitted a number of queries to the governor and company, the governor and council were desired to answer them. By their answers it appears, that there were twenty-six towns in the colony: ‡ That the militia, including horse and foot, consisted, in 1679, of 2,507 men: That the annual exports were about £9,000: That there were in the colony about twenty small merchants, trading to Boston, New-York, Newfoundland, and the West-Indies: And, that its shipping consisted of four ships, three pinks, eight sloops, and other small vessels, amounting in the whole to twenty seven, the tonnage of which was only 1,050. The number of inhabitants is not mentioned, but, from the number of the militia, it must have been nearly 12,000. To one of the enquiries, the following answer

† Records of Connecticut.

‡ Rye and Bedford appear to have been included in this number.

is given, "If so be Hartford, New-London, New-Haven, and Fairfield, might be made free ports, for fifteen or twenty years, it would be a means to bring trade there, and much increase the navigation and wealth of this poor colony."†

Book I.  
1630.

ABOUT this time, Sir Edmund Andros, governor of New-York, asserted his right of jurisdiction over Fisher's Island, as included in the Duke of York's patent.

Sir Edmund Andros claims Fisher's Island. Connecticut protest against his claim.

UPON this claim, the legislature of the colony asserted, "That the said Island was a part and member of this colony of Connecticut, and under the government thereof, and that they have ever exercised, and shall and will exercise government there as occasion shall require; and do hereby declare and protest against Sir Edmund Andros and all other persons, their claims or exercise of any authority or government on, or over the said island."

AT the election 1683, Major Robert Treat was chosen governor, and Samuel Bishop, deputy governor. The former magistrates were generally re-chosen; but, by reason of several vacancies which had been made, Captain Robert Chapman, Captain James Fitch, Mr. Samuel Mason, and Mr. Joseph Whiting, were elected magistrates. The change of governors was occasioned by the death of Governor Leet, who after faithfully serving the colonies, for many years, had now finished his course.†

Election 1683.

† Connecticut book of patents, letters, &c.

† THE governor, William Leet, Esquire, was bred a lawyer in England, and was, for a considerable time, clerk of a bishop's court. In this service he became acquainted with the conduct of the bishops towards the puritans, with the pleas and serious conversation and conduct of the latter, when arraigned before them. He observed the great severity which the court exercised toward them, for going to hear good sermons in the neighbouring parishes, when they had none at home, and what light matters they made of wantonness and other instances of gross sin, and how much better persons guilty of such crimes were treated, than the puritans. This brought him to a serious consideration of the affair, and to acquaint himself more thoroughly with the doctrines and discipline of the puritans. In consequence of this he became a puritan, left the bishop's court, and, in 1638, came into New-England, with Mr. Whitfield and his company. He was one of the seven pillars of his church. In 1643, he was chosen magistrate for the colony of New-Haven, and was annually re-elected, until May 1658. He was then chosen deputy governor of that colony, in which office he continued until he was elected governor in 1661. He continued chief magistrate of that colony, until the union in 1665. He was then chosen one of the magistrates of Connecticut. In 1669, he was elected deputy governor, and was annually re-elected until 1676, when he was chosen gov-

Character of Governor Leet.

## BOOK I.

1683.

Commis-  
sion to  
Edward  
Cranfield,  
&c. April  
7, 1683.

As there had been long disputes relative to the Narraganset country, and as the king, in consequence of the act of his commissioners, in 1665, claimed it as his province, commissioners were appointed to hear and determine all titles and claims respecting that tract. On the 7th of April 1683, his majesty King Charles II. granted a commission to Edward Cranfield, Esquire, lieutenant governor of New-Hampshire, William Stoughton, Joseph Dudley, Edward Randolph, Samuel Shrimpton, John Fitz Winthrop, Edward Palmis, Nathaniel Saltonstall, and John Pyncheon, junior, Esquires, or any three of them, of whom Edward Cranfield or Edward Randolph was to be of the quorum, “ to examine and enquire into the  
“ respective claims and titles, as well of his majesty as of  
“ all persons and corporations whatsoever, to the immediate jurisdiction, government, or propriety of the soil  
“ of a certain tract of land, within his majesty’s dominion of New-England, called the King’s province, or  
“ Narraganset country ; and to call before them any person or persons, and to search records, as they shall find  
“ requisite, and the proceedings therein, with the opinions upon the matters that shall be examined by them,  
“ to state, and with all convenient speed report thereof to  
“ make to his majesty.”

THE commissioners convened, on the 22d of August 1683, at the house of Richard Smith, in the Narraganset country. They summoned all persons and corporations, in whatever place, who were concerned in the title or government of that country, to appear before them, and to produce all charters, deeds, records, letters, and orders, from his majesty and council, or of any of his commissioners, to the respective colonies, governors, or governments, which might give information on the subject. At the time and place appointed, the records represent, “ That there was the greatest appearance of the most ancient English and Indians then living, to testify the  
“ truth of their knowledge,” respecting the matters then to be determined.

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error of Connecticut. During the term of forty years, he was magistrate, deputy governor, or governor of one or other of the colonies. In both colonies he presided in times of the greatest difficulty, yet always conducted himself with such integrity and wisdom, as to meet the public approbation. After he was chosen governor of Connecticut, he removed to Hartford, where he died full of years and good works. He left a numerous offspring. One of his sons, Andrew Leet, Esquire, was some years one of the magistrates of the colony.



THE commissioners, having fully heard every thing respecting the claims and title to that part of New-England, adjourned to Boston, and there made a report to his majesty, in an ample manner declaring, that the government of it belonged to Connecticut. The report, so far as it respects this colony, and can reflect light on the subject, is as followeth.

BOOK I.  
1683.

“ IN humble obedience to your majesty’s commands, we your majesty’s commissioners, have seriously considered the several claims before us. We find, that your majesty, by your letters patents, dated at Westminster, the three and twentieth of April, in the fourteenth year of your majesty’s reign, granted to the governor and company of Connecticut, and their successors, all that part of your dominions in New-England, bounded on the east by Narraganset-bay, where the said river falls into the sea, and on the north by the line of the Massachusetts plantation, and on the south by the sea.”

Report relative to the Narraganset country Oct. 20, 1683.

“ WE have also had information, that some time after your majesty’s grant, and said patent was sent to your colony of Connecticut, the said country of the Narraganset was likewise, by patent, granted by your majesty to the governor and company of Rhode-Island plantation, and is by charter, bounded by a river called Pawcatuck, which, by said charter, is forever to be accounted and called the Narraganset river: And this latter grant of your majesty, to Rhode-Island, seems to be founded upon advice submitted to by John Winthrop, Esquire, said to be agent for Connecticut colony, and Mr. John Clark, agent for Rhode-Island; to which Connecticut plead, that Mr. Winthrop’s agency for them ceased, when he had obtained and sent the patent to them, and that no submission or act of his could invalidate, or deprive them of any of the benefits graciously granted by your majesty’s charter: and that notwithstanding the seeming boundaries, set by said articles, signed by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark, it is in the same articles provided, that the proprietors and inhabitants of the Narraganset country should choose to which of the two governments to belong, and that they unanimously chose and subjected to the government of Connecticut.”

BOOK I.

1683.

“ WITH humble submission, we cannot see any cause  
 “ to judge, that the said Pawcatuck river anciently was,  
 “ or ought to be called or accounted the Narraganset riv-  
 “ er.

I. “ BECAUSE it lies some miles within the Pequot  
 “ country, a nation, till extirpated by the English, often  
 “ or always at war with the Narragansets, and to which  
 “ territories the Narragansets, never pretended.”

II. “ BECAUSE Pawcatuck river falls into the sea ma-  
 “ ny miles westward of any part of Narraganset-bay,  
 “ which is the river anciently called Narraganset river,  
 “ both because it, on the eastward, washes and bounds the  
 “ whole length of the Narraganset country; and for  
 “ that Plimouth colony, which hath now been planted  
 “ near threecore years, have ever since bounded them-  
 “ selves, according to the sense and meaning, or limitation  
 “ of their patent, by the same bay, called Narraganset riv-  
 “ er towards the south.”

“ THUS after most strict and impartial enquiry and  
 “ examination, having stated, we most humbly lay be-  
 “ fore your majesty the several original claims and pre-  
 “ tensions offered to us with respect to the propriety both  
 “ of jurisdiction and soil, in your majesty’s province or  
 “ Narraganset country; and, in further obedience to  
 “ your said commission, have seriously weighed and con-  
 “ sidered all evidences, pleas, proofs, and allegations, &c.  
 “ and with most humble submission and reservation of  
 “ your majesty’s right, offer our opinions, that by virtue  
 “ of your said letters patents, granted to Connecticut,  
 “ jurisdiction in, and through the said province, or Nar-  
 “ raganset country, of right belongs to the colony of Con-  
 “ necticut, and that propriety of soil, as derived from  
 “ Mr. Winthrop and Major Atherton, is vested upon the  
 “ heirs and assigns of said Mr. Winthrop, the heirs of  
 “ Thomas Chiffinch, Esquire, Major Atherton, Mr.  
 “ Richard Smith, Mr. Simon Lynde, Mr. Elisha Hutch-  
 “ inson, Mr. John Saffin, Mr. Richard Wharton, and  
 “ partners.”

“ FINALLY, we hold it our duty humbly to inform  
 “ your majesty, that so long as the pretensions of the  
 “ Rhode-Islanders to the government of the said pro-  
 “ vince continue, it will much discourage the settlement  
 “ and improvement thereof; it being very improbable,  
 “ that either the aforementioned claimers, or others of like  
 “ reputation and condition, will remove their families

“ or expend their estates under so loose and weak a gov-  
 “ ernment.

BOOK I.

“ Your majesty’s most loyal and obedient subjects.  
 “ Boston, Oct. 20th, 1683.”

1683.

EDWARD CRANFIELD,  
 WILLIAM STOUGHTON,  
 SAMUEL SHRIMPTON,  
 JOHN PYNCHION, jun.  
 NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL.

CONNECTICUT had no sooner gained their point against the claims of his majesty and Rhode-Island, than they were obliged to answer to a new antagonist. Edward Randolph, Esquire, on the 30th of June 1683, had received a power of attorney from William and Ann, Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton, and James, Earl of Aran, son and heir of William and Ann, and grandson of James, Marquis of Hamilton, to sue for and recover their right and interest in lands, islands, houses, and tenements, in New-England. He appeared before the commissioners, at Boston, and, in the name of the said duke, dutchess, and earl, claimed the lands, which they supposed, had been granted to their ancestor, in the deed of 1635.

Edward Randolph, Esquire, claims Duke Hamilton’s lands.

THIS renewed claim, of that tract of country, occasioned answers from the proprietors of the lands, and from Connecticut, with several opinions on the case.

IT may be proper to communicate the substance of these to the public.

MR. Saffin, in November, gave the following answer, in behalf of the proprietors.

“ THE ends aimed at and propounded in the king’s charter to the great council of Plimouth was the propagation of the gospel among the heathen, and the enlargement of his majesty’s empire, by plantation; and whatsoever grants were made by said council, were founded upon those considerations; which being not pursued, rendereth all grants of land void. Qui sentit commodum, incommodum sentire debet et onus.\*  
 “ And it doth not appear, that his grace, (as other patentees,) did transport any person, or plant any colony, nor used any other means, either to instruct the natives or purchase their right in the lands, or appointed any agent to take possession, in order to the improvement of the same. But it is probable, that the duke, understanding a former patent was granted, by

Mr. Saffin’s answer.

\* He who enjoys the benefit of a grant ought to bear its disadvantage and burden.

BOOK I. " the council of Devon, to the Lords Say and Brook,  
 1683. " &c. in and about the year 1631, and purchas'd and  
 " improved by the colony of Connecticut, might divert  
 " him from any procedure therein. The copy of said pa-  
 " tent, as we have been informed, when exhibited by  
 " John Winthrop, Esquire, before the king in council,  
 " the then Lord Chancellor, Hide declared, the Lords  
 " Say and Brook's title to be good and unquestionable;  
 " and upon that interest, we presume, it was, that Con-  
 " necticut made application to his majesty, and that  
 " their charter was granted; the Lords Say and Brook,  
 " and partners having expended nine thousand pounds  
 " in settlement of the lands claimed by his grace; and  
 " had made considerable improvements and fortifications  
 " upon the lands, in several places, divers years before  
 " the date of Duke Hamilton's grant.

" OUR present gracious sovereign, &c. hath by his  
 " royal letters manifested his approbation of the pur-  
 " chase, possession and improvement of his loyal subjects,  
 " the proprietors here. The said proprietors have been  
 " necessarily engaged in a bloody war with the Indians  
 " in their late rebellion.

" WE further humbly offer, that, in regard, that the  
 " copy of the duke's deed, presented by Mr. Randolph,  
 " in behalf of his grace, seems to have no signification  
 " of any hand or seal affixed to it, nor mention made of  
 " any witnesses, said to be the original instrument, (yet  
 " affirmed to be a true copy thereof,) it may be presu-  
 " med the said original deed was never completed ac-  
 " cording to law."

THE governor and council of Connecticut answered,  
 December 13th, 1683, in the manner following.

Answer of " As to the substance of the duke's claim, so far as  
 Connecticut to " it concerns us, it is preceded, some years, by a grant  
 Duke " from the right honorable, Robert, Earl of Warwick,  
 Hamilton. " to the Lord Say and other persons of honor and credit,  
 " March 19th 1631, whereas his grace's deed was made  
 " four years after, viz. on the 20th of April, 1635.

" BY virtue of his majesty's grant to Lords Say, Brook,  
 " &c. they and their assignes, our predecessors, did, at  
 " their own proper charge, about the year 1634, begin  
 " to enter upon the said lands, and so have continued  
 " ever since, in actual possession and improvement  
 " thereof, without challenge or claim from Duke Ham-  
 " ilton: which improvement hath been with great cost,  
 " hazard and labor of his majesty's subjects; yet by the

“ blessing of GOD, and his majesty’s grace, hath, in a  
 “ good measure, answered the ends of those grants or  
 “ patents; as the propagating the christian religion,  
 “ and the increase, and enlargement of his majesty’s  
 “ empire: of all which, his grace, Duke Hamilton,  
 “ hath, in these parts, done nothing that we know of.”

“ His present majesty, understanding the condition  
 “ of his subjects, in this colony, upon our humble ad-  
 “ dress, April 23d, 1662, was graciously pleased to grant  
 “ us a charter, for holding the lands therein granted  
 “ firm to us and our successors forever; and in his let-  
 “ ters dated April 23d, 1664, sent to us by his majes-  
 “ ty’s honorable commissioners, he is pleased to call his  
 “ grant a renewing of our charter, which must relate to  
 “ that grant made, by the Earl of Warwick, in the year  
 “ 1631; for we had no other, before his majesty’s grant  
 “ and confirmation aforesaid.

“ UNDER these securities and encouragements, we  
 “ laid out our estates, labors, &c. and suddenly after our  
 “ first settling we were engaged in a bloody war, anno  
 “ 37, with the Pequots, which was exceeding chargea-  
 “ ble and expensive to us. Also, in the year 1675, a  
 “ great people, who inhabited the Narraganset country,  
 “ rose up against his majesty’s subjects, who were plant-  
 “ ed in these parts, slew many of them, burnt their  
 “ houses, and destroyed their cattle, whereby we were  
 “ engaged in another bloody war, which was the cause  
 “ of great expense of blood and treasure, (his grace  
 “ Duke Hamilton being no partaker with us in any of  
 “ those expenses, or helper of us therein,) and by the as-  
 “ sistance of Almighty God, and countenance of his ma-  
 “ jesty, in both these forementioned wars, we overcame  
 “ our enemies, that rose up against us, without which  
 “ all our grants would have been of little benefit to us.

“ IT is required by his majesty’s good laws, as in the  
 “ twenty-one of King James, 16th, that the duke, and  
 “ all others, should have sued out his claims: The rea-  
 “ son of which law, as it is very great, so it is pleadable  
 “ on our account; for it being latent unto us, for near  
 “ fifty years, would prove our ruin, if thereupon our  
 “ property be altered. Had the duke’s grace, or his  
 “ predecessors timeously set his claim, in competition  
 “ with Lord Say’s patent, that we had purchased, the  
 “ people had known how to have applied themselves;  
 “ but after half a century’s settlement, as aforesaid, we

BOOK I. “ hope his majesty will be pleased to secure the same to  
 “ his good subjects here.

1683.

“ WE desire, that we may have a more fit opportunity  
 “ to make a more full answer, and to present our proofs.

“ Per order of the governor and council,

“ signed per me,

“ JOHN ALLEN, secretary.”

SOME years after, several opinions, by gentlemen learned in the law, were given on the case, both as it respected the Duke of Hamilton and the colony of Rhode-Island.

SIR Francis Pemberton, having largely stated the case between Connecticut and the Duke of Hamilton, says, “ Marquis Hamilton, nor his heirs, or any deriving from him, have ever had possession or laid out any thing upon the premises, nor made any claim, in said country, until the year 1683, which was about forty-eight years after said grant, the said heir by his attorney, claimed the said lands, at Boston, in New-England, which is above seventy miles from the premises, and in another country.”

Sir Francis Pemberton's opinion.

“ The heir of said Marquis Hamilton, after threescore and two years, demands the said premises, or a quit-rent. I am of the opinion, that the heir of M. H. after such purchases and so long quiet enjoyment of them, &c. ought not to recover any of the lands or grounds or quit-rents out of them.

“ I AM of opinion, that these purchasers, by virtue of their purchases, and so long and uninterrupted possession under them, have an undoubted right and title to these grounds and lands, and the buildings and improvement of them, and ought not now, after so much money laid out upon them, and such enjoyment of them, be disturbed in their possession of them.”

FRANCIS PEMBERTON.

Opinion of Mr. Trevor.

MR. TREVOR, having stated the case between Connecticut and Rhode-Island, gives his opinion to the lords of trade and plantations, in the words following, “ I am humbly of opinion, that this grant to Rhode-Island is void in law, because the country of Narraganset-bay was granted before to Connecticut, and that therefore the government of Narraganset-bay doth, of right, belong to Connecticut, and not to Rhode-Island: all which is humbly submitted to your honor's great wisdom.”

“ THOMAS TREVOR.”

“ October 28, 1696.”

THE aspects of Providence upon the colony, this year, were exceedingly gloomy. Besides the dangers which threatened them, with respect to their civil and religious privileges, the people were visited with great sickness and mortality. The instances of death among the clergy were uncommonly numerous, and many churches were made to sit in widowhood. The fruits of the field were also diminished, and the inhabitants various ways impoverished and distressed.

THE general assembly, in October, considered the divine dispensations so afflictive as to demand their deepest humiliation. A general fast was appointed, and the people called upon to repent and humble themselves.\*

COLONEL Dungan having lately arrived at New-York, the assembly, in November, appointed Major Nathan Gould, Captain John Allen, and Mr. William Pitkin, a committee, to congratulate him upon his arrival at his seat of government; and to agree with him upon a settlement of boundaries between the colonies. The committee were instructed not to exceed his demands of twenty miles east of Hudson's river: To examine his powers to treat, and if they were only conditional, to treat with him upon the same terms. They were directed to insist upon this, that there was no mistake with respect to the rise of the line at Memoronock. If they should be obliged, to give up jurisdiction at any place, they were instructed to preserve property inviolably to the proprietors; and to insist on the former line, unless it should, in any place, approach nearer to Hudson's river than the distance of twenty miles. In fine, they were required to make his honor sensible, that the former line was legal and firm, and that the present settlement was solely for the purpose of promoting peace and a good correspondence between his majesty's colony of Connecticut and the duke's territories, and their successive governors.

Book I.  
1683.

Committee to congratulate the duke's governor, and to agree upon boundaries Nov. 14.

\* The proclamation is introduced in these words, "Whereas it is evident to all who observe the footsteps of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, that the dispensations of GOD, towards his poor wilderness people have been very solemn, awful, and speaking, for many years past; and particularly towards ourselves in this colony, this present year, by occasion of general sickness in most places, and more than ordinary mortality in some, as also excessive rains and floods in several plantations, shortening us in our enjoyments; and considering also the holy hand of GOD, in bereaving so many churches and congregations of a settled ministry, whereby they are left, and have been, some of them, along time, as sheep without a shepherd, as if the LORD intended, for our sins, to quench the light of our Israel."

## BOOK I.

1683.  
Address &  
petition to  
his majesty,  
Charles II.

As the colony had been certified, by letters from his majesty, of a conspiracy against himself and the Duke of York, the assembly addressed him on the subject. They declared, in the strongest terms, their utmost abhorrence of all plots against his royal person and government: That they prayed for kings and all men, and especially for his majesty, and all in authority under him: That they feared God and honored the king. In such suppliant language as follows, they prayed for the continuance of their chartered rights.

“ MOST dread sovereign, we humbly pray the continuance of your grace and favor in the full enjoyment of those former privileges and liberties you have, out of your princely grace and bounty, bestowed upon us, in your royal charter, granted this corporation, that our poor beginnings may prosper, under your shadow, to the glory of God, and the enlargement of your majesty’s dominions.”\*

Agreement relative to the boundary line between Connecticut and New-York.  
Nov. 28.  
1683.

THE committee appointed to agree with Colonel Dungan, with respect to the line of partition between Connecticut and New-York, came to an agreement respecting it, November 28th, 1683. It was agreed, “ That the line should begin at Byram river, where it falleth into the sound, at a point called Lyon’s point, to go as the said river runneth to the place where the common road, or wading place, over the said river is; and from the said road or wading place, to go north north-west into the country, as far as will be eight English miles from the foresaid Lyon’s point; and that a line of twelve miles, being measured from the said Lyon’s point, according to the line or general course of the sound eastward: where the said twelve miles endeth, another line shall be run from the sound, eight miles into the country, north north-west, and also, that a fourth line be run, (that is to say,) from the northermost end of the eight miles line, being the third mentioned line, which fourth line, with the first mentioned line, shall be the bounds where they shall fall to run; and that from the eastermost end of the fourth mentioned line, (which is to be twelve miles in length,) a line parallel to Hudson’s river, in every place twenty miles distant from Hudson’s river, shall be the bounds there, between the said territories or province of New-York, and the said colony of Connecticut, so far as

\* The number of persons giving in their lists, Oct. 1683, was 2,735, and the grand list was £159,385.



“ Connecticut colony doth extend northwards ; that is Book I.  
 “ to the south line of the Massachusetts colony : only it 1683.  
 “ is provided, that in case the line from Byram brook’s  
 “ mouth, north north-west eight miles, and the line,  
 “ that is then to run twelve miles to the end of the third  
 “ forementioned line of eight miles, do diminish or take  
 “ away land within twenty miles of Hudson’s river, that  
 “ then so much as is in land diminished of twenty miles  
 “ of Hudson’s river thereby, shall be added out of Con-  
 “ necticut bounds unto the line aforementioned, paral-  
 “ lel to Hudson’s river, and twenty miles distant from it ;  
 “ the addition to be made the whole length of the said  
 “ parallel line, and in such breadth, as will make up  
 “ quantity for quantity, what shall be diminished as a-  
 “ foresaid.”

THE assembly, in the session of May 1684, approved May 8  
 of this agreement, and appointed Major Nathan Gould, 1684.  
 Mr. Jehu Burr, and Mr. Jonathan Silleck, to lay out the  
 lines according to the stipulation. The lines according-  
 ly were run, and on the 24th of February 1685, were  
 ratified by Governor Dungan and Governor Treat.

GREAT complaints had been made, in England, against Law made  
 the colonies for harbouring pirates ; and that no laws had against pi-  
 been made against them. A letter had been written to rates July  
 the governor and company, by Lyonel Jenkins, Esquire, 5, 1684.  
 complaining of this neglect, and demanding, in his ma-  
 jesty’s name, that a law should forthwith be made against  
 piracy. A special assembly was consequently called on  
 the 5th of July, and a law enacted against it, and a copy  
 of it forwarded immediately to his majesty’s secretary of  
 state.

AT the election, 1685, Giles Hamlin was chosen into May 14  
 the magistracy, in the place of Mr. Topping, who seems 1685.  
 now to have been dead.

THE legislature at this session addressed a letter of con- A letter  
 dolence to his majesty King James II. on the account of to King  
 the demise of his brother King Charles II. and congratu- James.  
 lating him on his peaceful accession to the throne of his  
 ancestors. They presented him with the strongest assu-  
 rances of their loyalty and attachment to his royal person  
 and government. At the same time, sensible of their  
 danger, under a prince of his character, they most hum-  
 bly besought him to continue to them their civil and re-  
 ligious privileges, and that he would preserve to them the  
 peaceable enjoyment of their property.

BOOK I.

1685.

UPON the petition of a number of the inhabitants of Farmington, presented to the assembly in 1673, a committee was appointed to view Mattatock, and report to the assembly, whether a plantation might not be made in that tract. In May 1674, the committee reported, that Mattatock was a place sufficient to accommodate thirty families. Upon this report, a committee was appointed to settle a plantation there. Sometime after the settlement commenced. The number of sharers was about twenty-eight. May 13th, 1686, they appear to have been vested with town privileges, by the name of Waterbury.\*

IN the last years of the reign of King Charles the second, the rights of the nation were violated, and a great number of corporations in England and Wales were obliged to resign their charters. Indeed he and his officers seemed to sport with the liberty, property, and lives of his subjects. King James the second began his reign in the most flagrant violation of the laws of his three kingdoms. His reign grew more intolerable, from year to year, until he became the general abhorrence of the nation. He proceeded in the same lawless and cruel manner with the colonies, vacating their charters, and governing them by the worst measures and the worst men.

Quo-warranto, July 1685.

IN July 1685, a Quo-warranto was issued against the governor and company of Connecticut, requiring their appearance before him, within eight days of St. Martin's, to show by what warrant they exercised certain powers and privileges.

Special assembly, July 6, 1686.

THE governor, having received intelligence of the measures adopted against the colony, on the 6th of July

\* Several misfortunes attended the plantation which very greatly impoverished it, and prevented its population. In February 1691, the town was nearly ruined by an inundation. The rain fell in great abundance, and the frost came out of the ground very suddenly, which rendered it uncommonly soft. At the same time, the river rose to an unusual height, overflowed the meadows, and ran with such rapidity and violence, that it tore away a great part of them. Other parts were covered with earth and stone so as to be greatly damaged. Numbers of the inhabitants were so discouraged, that they left the town, and it did not recover its former state for some years.

In 1712, on the 15th of October, began a great sickness in the town, which continued until the 12th of September 1713, and was so general that there were scarcely a sufficient number well to tend the sick, and bury the dead. Between twenty and thirty persons died of the sickness. Manuscripts of Mr. Southmaid.

1686, called a special assembly, to consult what might be done for the preservation of the just rights of the colony.

Book I.

THE assembly, after most serious deliberation, addressed a letter, in the most suppliant terms, to his majesty, beseeching him to pardon their faults in government, and continue them a distinct colony, in the full enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges. Especially, they besought him to recal the writ of Quo-warranto, which they heard had been issued against them, though it had not yet arrived. They pleaded the charter which they received of his royal brother, and his commendation of them, for their loyalty, in his gracious letters, and his assurances of the continuance of their civil and religious rights. They made the strongest professions of loyalty, and of their constant supplications to the SUPREME RULER, that he would save and bless his majesty.

1686. The assembly addresses his majesty, July 6.

ON the 21st of July 1686, two writs of Quo-warranto were delivered to Governor Treat. They had been brought over by Edward Randolph, that indefatigable enemy of the colonies. The time of appearance, before his majesty, was past before the writs arrived.

Quo-warrantos arrive July 21.

UPON the reception of the writs, and a letter from Richard Normanfel, one of the sheriffs of London, the governor immediately convoked another special assembly, which met on the 28th of July. The assembly appointed Mr. Whiting to be their agent, to present their petition to the king. He was instructed to acquaint his majesty with the time of the colony's receiving the Quo-warrantos, and of the impossibility of its making its appearance before his majesty, at the time appointed: fully to represent the great injury which the colonists would sustain, by the suspending their charter rights; and especially by a division of the colony. If Connecticut could not be continued a distinct government, he was instructed to supplicate his majesty to continue to them the enjoyment of their property, their houses and lands, and especially their religious privileges.

Special assembly July 28.

Mr. Whiting appointed agent.

ON the 28th of December, another writ of Quo-warranto was served on the governor and company, bearing date October 23d, requiring their appearance before his majesty within eight days of the purification of the blessed Virgin. Though the writs gave no proper time for the appearance of the colony, and consequently no time at all; yet they declared all its chartered rights vacated, upon its not appearing, at time and place. The design of the king and his corrupt court was to re-unite

Another Quo-warranto December 28.

BOOK I. all the colonies to the crown. James the second was an  
 1686. obstinate, cruel tyrant, and a bigoted Roman Catholic; destitute of all the principles of true honor, faith, justice, or humanity. He wantonly trampled on the constitution, laws, and liberties of the nation; and with his ministers and officers, in an unrighteous and merciless manner, shed the blood of his subjects, and wreaked his vengeance on all who made the least opposition to his lawless proceedings. The most humble petitions, arguments from reason, charters, the most solemn compacts and royal promises, from justice, humanity, or any other consideration, which a subject could plead, had no weight or influence with him. Nearly fifty corporations in England had been deprived of their charters. The city of London and the corporation of Bermudas had stood trial with his majesty, and their charters had been taken from them. The charter of Massachusetts had been vacated, and Rhode-Island had submitted to his majesty. A general government had been appointed over all New-England, except Connecticut. By the commission, instituting this general government, Connecticut was totally excluded from all jurisdiction in the Narraganset country or king's province.\*

THE governor and company of Connecticut, however, in these discouraging circumstances, spared no pains, nor omitted any probable means for the preservation of their chartered rights.

Special assembly  
 Jan. 26,  
 1687.

A SPECIAL assembly was called, on the 26th of January 1687, after the reception of the third writ of Quo-warranto, to deliberate on the measures to be adopted, in the then present circumstances of the colony. Little more however was done, than to desire the governor and council to transact all business, which they should judge necessary and expedient, further to be done for the preservation of their privileges.

May 12.

THE election, in May, proceeded regularly, but the assembly did nothing important. Fear and hesitation ap-

\* This general commission was granted, by King James II. in the first year of his reign, October 8th, 1685. Joseph Dudley, Esquire, was appointed president of the commissioners. On the 28th of May 1686, the president issued a proclamation, discharging all the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, and the Narraganset country, from all obedience either to Connecticut or Rhode-Island; and prohibiting all government of either in the king's province. At the same time, the president required the entire submission of all the inhabitants to the commissioners, and the officers whom they should appoint. Proclamation on file.

pear to have attended the legislature. They knew not what course to steer, with safety, either to themselves, or their constituents. They, with the colony in general, were in great fear and distress, lest, after all their expense, hardships, and dangers, in settling and defending the country, and all their self-denial and sufferings for the sake of enjoying the worship and ordinances of CHRIST, according to the gospel, they should not only be deprived of all their civil and religious liberties, but even of their houses and lands. There was no security for any thing under a prince like James the second. He had indeed, in his letters, promised them\* the preservation of all their liberties; yet, without any fault on their part, he was arbitrarily wresting them from their hands. It is difficult to conceive, and much more to express, the anxiety of our venerable ancestors in this terrible crisis of their affairs.

BOOK I.  
1687.  
Fear and distress of the colony.

MR. WHITING exerted himself, in England, to procure all the influence, and make all the opposition, he possibly could against a general governor of the colonies, and especially to prevent the suspension of the government of Connecticut, according to charter; but he found his utmost exertions to be in vain. He wrote to the governor, January 15th, 1687, that if the governor and council would defend their charter at law, they must send over one or more from among themselves. A special assembly was called upon the reception of the agent's letter, which convened on the 15th of June, to deliberate on the expediency of sending another agent. The prospects appeared so unfavorable, that it was determined not to send another. Mr. Whiting was thanked for his services, in favor of the colony, and desired to continue them.

Agent Whiting writes to the governor. Special assembly June 15. Decline sending another agent.

MR. DUDLEY, while president of the commissioners, had written to the governor and company, advising them to resign the charter into the hands of his majesty, and promising to use his influence in favor of the colony. Mr. Dudley's commission was superseded by a commis-

\* In his letter to Governor Treat, June 26th, 1685, he says: "As we cannot doubt of the ready and dutiful assurances and expressions of loyalty and obedience, from our good subjects under your government, since our accession to the crown, so shall we, at all times, extend our royal care and protection to them, in the preservation of their rights, and in the defence and security of their persons and estates; which we think fit, that you signify unto the inhabitants of that our colony." Letter of King James II. on file.

BOOK I.

1687.

son to Sir Edmund Andros to be governor of New-England. He arrived at Boston, on the 19th of December 1686. The next day, his commission was published, and he took on him the administration of government. Soon after his arrival, he wrote to the governor and company, that he had a commission, from his majesty, to receive their charter, if they would resign it; and he pressed them, in obedience to the king, and as they would give him an opportunity to serve them, to resign it to his pleasure. At this session of the assembly, the governor received another letter from him, acquainting him, that he was assured, by the advice which he had received from England, that judgment was, by that time, entered upon the Quo-warranto against their charter, and that he soon expected to receive his majesty's commands respecting them. He urged them, as he represented it, that he might not be wanting in serving their welfare, to accept his majesty's favor so graciously offered them, in a present compliance and surrender. Colonel Dungan also used his influence to persuade them to resign, and put themselves under his government.† But the colony insisted on their charter rights, and on the promise of King James, as well as of his royal brother, to defend and secure them in the enjoyment of their privileges and estates; and would not surrender their charter to either. However, in their petition to the king, in which they prayed for the continuance of their chartered rights, they desired, if this could not be obtained, but it should be resolved to put them under another government, that it might be under Sir Edmund's, as the Massachusetts had been their former correspondents and confederates, and as they were acquainted with their principles and manners. This was construed into a resignation, though nothing could be further from the design of the colony.

Sir Edmund Andros comes to Hartford and demands the charter.

THE assembly met as usual, in October, and the government continued according to charter until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund, with his suit, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, when the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great

† Letters of Dudley, Andros, and Dungan, on file.

expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country, the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges, so dearly bought and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprize whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Honorable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person, who had conveyed it away. Sir Edmund assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed in the following words.

“ AT a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687,  
 “ His excellency Sir Edmund Andros, knight, and captain general and governor of his majesty’s territories and dominions in New-England, by order from his majesty, James the II. king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October 1687, took into his hand: the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being, by his majesty, annexed to Massachusetts and other colonies under his excellency’s government.”

“ FINIS.”

SIR Edmund appointed officers civil and military, through the colony, according to his pleasure. He had a council, at first, consisting of about forty persons, and afterwards, of nearly fifty. Four of this number, Governor Treat, John Fitz Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen, Esquires, were of Connecticut.

SIR Edmund began his government, with the most flattering professions of his regard to the public safety and happiness. He instructed the judges to administer justice, as far as might be consistent with the new regulations, according to the former laws and customs. It is however well observed, by Governor Hutchinson, that

Book I.  
 1687.  
 Governor Treat recommends against surrendering it.

It is carried off by Captain Wadsworth.

Sir-Edmund assumes the government.

BOOK I. “ Nero concealed his tyrannical disposition more years  
 1687. “ than Sir Edmund and his creatures did months.” He  
 The op- soon laid a restraint upon the liberty of the press; and  
 pressive then one far more grievous upon marriage. This was  
 govern- prohibited, unless bonds were previously given with sure-  
 ment of ties to the governor. These were to be forfeited, in case  
 Sir Ed- it should afterwards appear, that there was any lawful  
 mund An- impediment to the marriage. Magistrates only were al-  
 dross. lowed to join people in the bands of wedlock. The gov-  
 ernor not only deprived the clergy of the perquisite from  
 marriages, but soon suspended the laws for their support,  
 and would not suffer any person to be obliged to pay any  
 thing to his minister. Nay he menaced the people, that,  
 if they resisted his will, their meeting houses should be  
 taken from them, and that any person who should give  
 two pence to a non-conformist minister should be pun-  
 ished.

THE fees of all officers, under this new administration,  
 were exorbitant. The common fee for the probate of a  
 will was fifty shillings. The widow and fatherless, how  
 distant soever, were obliged to appear at Boston, to trans-  
 act all business relative to the settlement of estates.\*  
 This was a grievous oppression of the poor people; espe-  
 cially, of the fatherless and widow.

SIR Edmund, without an assembly, nay without a ma-  
 jority of his council, taxed the people at pleasure. He  
 and Randolph, with four or five others of his creatures,  
 who were sufficiently wicked to join with him, in all his  
 oppressive designs, managed the affairs of government, as  
 they pleased. But these were but the beginnings of op-  
 pression and sorrow. They were soon greatly increased  
 and more extensively spread.

IN 1688, Sir Edmund was made governor of New-  
 York, as well as of New-England, and the same kind of  
 government was exercised in that department.† As the  
 charters were now either vacated, surrendered, or the  
 government under them suspended, it was declared, that  
 the titles of the colonists to their lands were of no value.  
 Sir Edmund declared, that Indian deeds were no better  
 than “the scratch of a bear’s paw.” Not the fairest  
 purchases and most ample conveyances from the natives,  
 no dangers, disbursements nor labors, in cultivating a

\* Hutchinson’s Hist. Vol. I. p. 358.

† The same, p. 371. It is strange, that Mr. Smith, in his his-  
 tory of New-York, takes no notice of this, nor gives any account  
 of Sir Edmund’s administration.



wilderness, and turning it into orchards, gardens, and pleasant fields, no grants by charter, nor by legislatures constituted by them, no declarations of preceding kings, nor of his then present majesty, promising them the quiet enjoyment of their houses and lands, nor fifty or sixty years undisturbed possession, were pleas of any validity or consideration with Sir Edmund and his minions. The purchasers and cultivators, after fifty and sixty years improvement, were obliged to take out patents for their estates. For these, in some instances, a fee of fifty pounds was demanded. Writs of intrusion were issued against persons of principal character, who would not submit to such impositions, and their lands were patented to others. Governor Hutchinson observes, with respect to Massachusetts, that “men’s titles were not all questioned at once. Had this been the case, according to the computation then made, all the personal estate in the colony would not have paid the charge of the new patents.”†

BOOK I.

1688.

THE governor, and a small number of his council, in the most arbitrary manner, fined and imprisoned numbers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts, and denied them the benefit of the act of habeas corpus. All town meetings were prohibited, except one in the Month of May, for the election of town officers, to prevent the people from consulting measures for the redress of their grievances. No person indeed was suffered to go out of the country, without leave from the governor, lest complaints should be carried to England against his administration. At the same time, he so well knew the temper and views of his royal master, that he feared little from him, even though complaints should be carried over against him. Hence he and his dependants oppressed the people, and enriched themselves without restraint.

THE most humble petitions were presented to his majesty, from corporations of various descriptions, beseeching him, that the governor’s council might consist of none but men of considerable property in lands; that no act might be passed to bind the people, but by a majority of the council; and that he would quiet his good subjects in the enjoyment of all property in houses and lands.\* But, in the reign of James the second, petitions

† Hutchinson’s Hist. vol. I. p. 359.

\* Sir Edmund, with all his vigilance, could not prevent the carrying over of complaints against him. Mr. Increase Mather

BOOK I. fo reasonable and juft could not be heard. The prince,  
 at home, and his officers abroad, like greedy harpies,  
 preyed upon the people without control. Randolph was  
 not afhamed to make his boast, in his letters, with refpect  
 to Governor Androfs and his council, “ that they were  
 “ as arbitrary as the great Turk.” All New-England  
 groaned under their oppreffion. The heaviest fhare of it,  
 however, fell upon the inhabitants of Maffachufetts and  
 New-Plimouth. Connecticut had been lefs obnoxious  
 to government, than Maffachufetts, and as it was further  
 removed from the feat of government, was lefs under the  
 notice and influence of thofe oppreffors.

GOVERNOR Treat was a father to the people, and felt  
 for them, in their diftreffed circumftances. The other  
 gentlemen, who were of the council, and had the princi-  
 pal management of affairs, in Connecticut, were men of  
 principle, lovers of juftice and of their fellow fubjects.  
 They took advantage of Sir Edmund’s firft inftructions,  
 and as far as they poffibly could, confiftently with the  
 new regulations, governed the colony according to the  
 former laws and customs. The people were patient and  
 peaceable, though in great fear and defpondency. They  
 were no ftrangers to what was tranfacted in the neigh-  
 bouring colonies, and expected foon fully to fhare with  
 them, in all their miferies. It was generally believed,  
 that Androfs was a papift; that he had employed the In-  
 dians to ravage the frontiers, and fupplied them with am-  
 munition; and that he was making preparations to deliv-  
 er the country into the hands, of the French. All the  
 motives to great actions, to induftry, economy, enter-  
 prife, wealth, and population, were in a manner annihi-  
 lated. A general inactivity and languifhment pervaded  
 the whole public body. Liberty, property, and every  
 thing, which ought to be dear to men, every day, grew  
 more and more infecure. The colonies were in a ftate of  
 general defpondency, with refpect to the reftoration of  
 their privileges, and the truth of that divine maxim,  
 “ when the wicked beareth rule the people mourn,” was,  
 in a ftriking manner, every where exemplified.

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got on board a fhip, and failed to England, for this very purpofe,  
 and delivered the complaints, which he carried over, into his  
 majefty’s hands.

## CHAPTER XVI.

BOOK I.

*REVOLUTION in New-England. Connecticut resume their government. Address to King William. Troops raised for the defence of the eastern settlements in New-Hampshire and the province of Maine. French and Indian war. Schenechtady destroyed. Connecticut dispatch a reinforcement to Albany. Expedition against Canada. The land army retreats, and the enterprize proves unsuccessful. Leisler's abuse of Major general Winthrop. The assembly of Connecticut approve the general's conduct. Thanks are returned to Mr. Mather, agent Whiting, and Mr. Porter. Opinions respecting the charter, and the legality of Connecticut's assuming their government. Windham settled. The Mohawk castles are surpris'd and the country alarmed. Connecticut send troops to Albany. Colonel Fletcher, governor of New-York, demands the command of the militia of Connecticut. The colony petition King William on the subject. Colonel Fletcher comes to Hartford, and, in person, demands that the legislature submit the militia to his command; but they refuse. Captain Wadsworth prevents the reading of his commission, and the colonel judges it expedient to leave the colony. The case of Connecticut relative to the militia stated. His majesty determines in favor of the colony. Committees are appointed to settle the boundary line between Connecticut and Massachusetts. General Winthrop returns and receives public thanks. Congratulation of the Earl of Bellomont, appointed governor of New-York and Massachusetts. Dispute with Rhode-Island continues. Committee to settle the boundaries. Expenses of the war. Vexatious conduct of Governor Fletcher. Peace, joy and thanksgiving.*

**S**CARCELY any thing could be more gloomy and 1689.  
distressful, than the state of public affairs, in New-England, at the beginning of this year. But in the midst of darkness light arose. While the people had prayed in vain to an earthly monarch, their petitions had been more successfully presented to a higher throne. Providence wrought gloriously for their and the nation's deliverance. On the 5th of November 1688, the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay in England. He immediately published a declaration of his design, in visiting the kingdom. A copy of this was received at Boston, by one Mr. Winslow, a gentleman from Virginia, in April 1689. Governor Andros and his council were so alarm-

Revolution in  
New-Eng-  
land.

BOOK I.

1689.

ed with this news, that they ordered Mr. Winslow to be arrested and committed to gaol for bringing a false and traitorous libel into the country. They also issued a proclamation commanding all the officers and people to be in readiness to prevent the landing of any forces, which the Prince of Orange might send into that part of America. But the people, who sighed under their burdens, secretly wished and prayed for success to his glorious undertaking. The leaders in the country determined quietly to wait the event; but the great body of the inhabitants had less patience. Stung with past injuries, and encouraged at the first intimations of relief, the fire of liberty re-kindled, and the flame, which, for a long time, had been smothered in their bosoms, burst forth with irresistible violence.

On the 18th of April, the inhabitants of Boston and the adjacent towns rose in arms, made themselves masters of the castle, seized Sir Edmund Andros and his council, and persuaded the old governor and council, at Boston, to resume the government.

Govern-  
ment re-  
assumed  
at Con-  
necticut  
May 9,  
1689.

On the 9th of May 1689, Governor Robert Treat, Deputy governor James Bishop, and the former magistrates, at the desire of the freemen, resumed the government of Connecticut. Major general John Winthrop was, at the same time, chosen into the magistracy to complete the number appointed by charter. The freemen voted, that, for the present safety of that part of New-England called Connecticut, the necessity of its circumstances so requiring, "they would re-establish government, as it was before, and at the time, when Sir Edmund Andros took it, and so have it proceed, as it did before that time, according to charter; engaging themselves to submit to it accordingly, until there should be a legal establishment among them."

THE assembly having formed, came to the following resolution: "That whereas this court hath been interrupted, in the management of the government in this colony of Connecticut, for nineteen months past, it is now enacted, ordered, and declared, that all the laws of this colony, made according to charter, and courts constituted for the administration of government, as they were before the late interruption, shall be of full force and virtue, for the future, and until this court shall see cause to make further and other alterations, according to charter." The assembly then confirmed all military officers in their respective posts, and proceed-

ed to appoint their civil officers, as had been customary at the May session. BOOK I.

IT was expected, that it might soon be necessary to transact matters of the highest importance, respecting the most essential rights of the colony. The deputies therefore resolved, that if occasion should require any thing to be acted, respecting the charter, the governor should call the assembly, and not leave the affair with the council. 1689.  
Resolve of  
the deputies.

UPON the 26th of May, a ship arrived at Boston with advice that William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of England. The joyful news soon reached Connecticut. A special assembly was called, which convened on the 13th of June. On the same day, William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, were proclaimed with great ceremony and joy. Never was there greater or more general joy in New-England, than upon the accession of William and Mary to the throne of Great-Britain. The bands of oppression were now loosed, the fears of the people dissipated, and joy brightened in every countenance.

THE legislature addressed his majesty, in the most loyal and dutiful manner. They represented, that the LORD, who sitteth king upon the floods, had separated his enemies from him, as he divided the waters of Jordan before his chosen people; and that, by the great actions which he had performed, in rescuing the nation from popery and despotism, GOD had begun to magnify him, as he did Joshua, in the fight of all Israel. In strong terms, they declared, that it was because the LORD loved his people, that he had exalted him to be king over them, to execute justice and judgment. They most humbly presented their grateful acknowledgements to him, for his zeal for the welfare of the nation, and for the protestant interest. At the same time, they represented to his majesty the charter privileges, which they had obtained, and the manner in which Sir Edmund Andros had suppressed their government by charter: That they had never surrendered it, and that there had been no enrolment of any surrender of it, or act, in law, against it: And that to avoid the inconveniences of having no government, and for their defence against their enemies, they had, at the desire of the freemen, resumed the government according to their ancient form. They humbly prayed for his majesty's directions, and his gracious confirmation of their Address to  
his majesty  
King  
William.

BOOK I. charter rights.\* The court ordered, that Mr. Whiting  
 should present their address to his majesty.

1689.  
 Revolution at  
 New-  
 York.

MEANWHILE a revolution had been made at New-York. One Captain Jacob Leisler had assumed the government of that province, and kept the fort and city in behalf of King William. He had written to Connecticut and solicited assistance in defending the province. The assembly appointed Major Gould and Captain James Fitch to proceed to New-York, and confer with Leisler and his council relative to the defence of the frontiers. The committee, with Captain Leisler, were authorized to determine the number of men to be employed and the measures to be adopted for that purpose. In consequence of their determination, the governor and council dispatched Captain Bull, with a company, to Albany, for the defence of that part of the country, and to assist in a treaty with the Five nations, with a view to secure their friendship and attachment, as far as possible, to the English colonies. Connecticut also sent a detachment of men to assist Captain Leisler in the defence of the fort and city of New-York.

WHILE the French and Indians were threatening the northern frontiers, the eastern Indians were carrying on their depredations in the eastern parts of New-England. In September, a special assembly was called on that account. Commissioners were appointed to consult with the commissioners of the other colonies, relative to the war in those parts. As it was imagined the Indians there had been injured, by Governor Andros and his officers, the commissioners were instructed to enquire into the grounds of the war with them; and if it should appear, that they had been injured, to use their utmost influence, that justice might be done them, and the country quieted in that way. But if they found the war to be just and necessary, they were authorized to engage the colony's full proportion of men, unless it should amount to more than two hundred. Two companies were afterwards appointed to that service, under the command of Captains George Denison and Ebenezer Johnson.

AT the session in October, it was resolved, that by reason of the great expense of the colony, in defending his majesty's subjects, in other parts, it was necessary to withdraw the aid which they had sent to New-York.

\* Appendix No. XXIII.

AT this general court, the law respecting the choice of the governors and magistrates was enacted nearly in the words in which it now stands; but it instituted a mode of nomination different from the present. This was to be made on the third Tuesday in March annually, and the votes were to be carried to Hartford by the constables of the county towns, and on the last Tuesday in the month were, by them, to be sorted and counted in the council chamber. The nomination was then transmitted to the several towns.

BOOK I.  
1689.

WHILE the revolution delivered the nation from vassalage and popery, it involved it in an immediate war with France, and the colonies in a French and Indian war. A large number of troops and a considerable fleet were sent from France, in 1689, with a special view to the reduction of New-York. The enterprise was frustrated by the distressed condition to which the incursions of the Mohawks had reduced Canada.

COUNT Frontenac, to raise the depressed spirits of the Canadians, sent out several parties of French and Indians against the settlements in New-York and New-England. A detachment of between two and three hundred French and Indians, under the command of D'Aillebout, De Mantel, and Le Moyn, were dispatched from Montreal against the frontiers of New-York. They were furnished with every thing necessary for a winter's campaign. After a march of two and twenty days, in the dead of winter, they reached Schenectady, on Saturday the 8th of February 1690. They had been reduced to such straits that they had thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. But their scouts, who had been a day or two in the village, entirely unsuspected, returned with such accounts of the security of the inhabitants, as determined them to make an attack upon them. They found the gates open and unguarded. They entered them about eleven o'clock, and that they might invest every house, at the same time, they divided into small parties of six or seven men. The inhabitants were in a profound sleep, and unalarmed until the enemy had broken open their doors, and they were on the verge of destruction. Never were a poor people more dreadfully surpris'd. Before they had time to rise from their beds, the enemy began the perpetration of the most inhuman barbarities. No tongue, says Colonel Schuyler, in his letter to the colonies, can express the cruelties which were committed. The inhabitants were instantly slain,

Destruction of Schenectady, Feb. 8, 1690.

BOOK I.



1690.

and the whole village was in flames. Pregnant women were ripped open, and their infants cast into the flames or dashed against the posts of the doors. Sixty persons perished in the massacre, and twenty were captivated. The rest of the inhabitants escaped in their shirts, in a most stormy and severe night, and through a deep snow, which fell at the same time. Twenty five of the fugitives lost their limbs, in the flight, through the sharpness of the frost. Captain Bull's lieutenant, one of his sergeants, and three other men were killed, and five captivated. The enemy killed all the cattle and horses, which they could find, except about fifty of the best horses, which they carried off, loaded with the plunder of the village.

WHEN the news of this destruction reached Albany, the next morning, an universal fear and consternation seized the inhabitants. The country became panick struck, and many entertained thoughts of destroying the town and abandoning that part of the country to the enemy. Indeed, the whole province of New-York was in deplorable circumstances. Liefser, who had assumed the government, was a weak, imprudent man, and there was a violent opposition both to him and his measures, especially at Albany. Government was nearly dissolved. The people would not suffer the officers, posted at Albany and Schenectady, to keep a regular watch, or to maintain any kind of military order. Captain Bull had remonstrated against their conduct, and threatened to withdraw his troops, unless they would submit to order. The bad weather only had prevented him from withdrawing the detachment from Schenectady. The people had been warned of their danger, and that an expedition had been undertaken by the enemy against that part of the country; but they imagined, that it was impracticable for any men to march hundreds of miles, with their arms and provisions, through the snow, in the depth of winter. This infatuation and disorder was the occasion of their destruction.†

Destruction of  
Salmon  
Falls  
March 12,  
1690.

A SECOND party of the enemy, which Count Frontenac had detached from the three rivers, under the command of the Sieur Hartel, an officer of distinguished character in Canada, on the 18th of March, fell upon Salmon Falls. This was a plantation on the river which divides New-Hampshire from the province of Maine. This party consisted of about fifty men, nearly half In-

† Colonel Schuyler's and Captain Bull's letters on file.



dians. They commenced the attack, at break of day, in three different places. Though the people were surprised, yet they flew to their arms and defended themselves with a bravery which even their enemies applauded. But they were finally overpowered by numbers, and the whole settlement was pillaged and burned. Six and thirty men were killed, and fifty four, principally women and children, carried into captivity.

BOOK I.  
1690.

THESE depredations filled the country with fear and alarm. The most pressing letters were sent to Connecticut for immediate assistance. A special assembly was called on the 11th of April. Letters were laid before the assembly, from Massachusetts, soliciting, that soldiers might be sent from Connecticut to guard the upper towns upon Connecticut river; and that there might be a general meeting of commissioners from the several colonies, at Rhode-Island, to consult the common defence. There were also letters from Captain Liesler, at New-York, and from Colonel Schuyler and other principal gentlemen, at Albany, urging, that Captain Bull and the soldiers there might be continued, and that reinforcements might be forwarded for the defence of that place and the adjacent country. It was also urged, that Connecticut would unite with the other colonies, in raising an army for the reduction of Canada.

Special assembly,  
April 11th.

THE assembly determined, that there was a necessity of their utmost exertions to prevent the settlement of the French at Albany. It was resolved, that two companies, of a hundred men each, should be raised and sent forward for that purpose. The colony also gave assistance to the frontier towns of Massachusetts upon the river.

Reinforcement sent to Albany.

FOR the defence of Connecticut, it was ordered, that a constant watch should be kept in the several towns, and that all the males in the colony, except the aged and infirm, should keep watch in their turns. If the aged and infirm were more than fifty pounds in the list, they were obliged to procure a man, in their turns, to watch and guard in their stead.

Provision for the safety of the colony.

THOUGH the colony had received no instructions from King William, confirming their charter, or directing the mode of government, yet at the general election, the freemen proceeded, as had been usual, to the choice of their officers. Robert Treat, Esquire, was re-chosen governor, and James Bishop, Esquire, deputy governor. Samuel Wylls, Nathan Gould, William Jones, John

Court of election,  
May 8th.

BOOK I. Allen, Andrew Leet, James Fitch, Samuel Mafon, Samuel Talcott, John Burr, William Pitkin, Nathaniel Stanley, and Daniel Witherel, Esquires, were chosen magistrates.

1690.

Glastenbury made a distinct town.

At this session of the assembly, that part of Wetherfield, which lay on the east side of Connecticut river, was made a distinct town, by the name of Glastenbury.

THE proposed meeting of commissioners was holden at New-York, instead of Rhode-Island, on the 1st of May, 1690. The commissioners from Connecticut were Nathan Gould and William Pitkin, Esquires. It appears, that, at this meeting, the commissioners conceived the plan of an expedition against Canada. They ordered, that eight hundred and fifty men should be raised for that purpose. The quotas of the several colonies were fixed, and general rules adopted, for the management of the army. A small vessel was sent express to England, the beginning of April, carrying a representation of the exposed state of the colonies and of the necessity of the reduction of Canada. A prayer was also sent to his majesty, for a supply of arms, ammunition, and a number of frigates to attack the enemy by water, while the colonial troops made an invasion by land. But the affairs of the nation were such, at that time, that no assistance could be given to the colonies. New-York and the New-England colonies, however, determined to prosecute their original plan of attacking Canada. It was proposed, with about eight or nine hundred Englishmen, and five or six hundred Indians, to make an attack upon Montreal,† while a fleet and army, of eighteen hundred or two thousand men, were to proceed up St. Lawrence, and, at the same time, make an attack upon Quebec. It was hoped, by this means, so to distract and divide the enemy, that the whole country might be reduced to his majesty's government. It was expected, that a powerful assistance would be given by the Five nations, who had, but a few years before, so exceedingly harassed and distressed the whole French colony. Jacob Milborn, son in law to Liesler, was commissary, and it was expected, that New-York would furnish provisions, and make preparations for the army to pass the waters to Montreal.

General Winthrop arrives

JOHN WINTHROP, Esquire, was appointed major general and commander in chief of the land army. He arri-

† Determination of the commissioners, at New-York, and Colonel Schuyler's letter on file.

ved, with the troops under his command, near the falls at the head of Wood Creek, early in the month of August. About the same time, the fleet sailed from Nantasket for Quebec. It consisted of between thirty and forty vessels great and small. The largest carried 44 guns and two hundred men. Sir William Phips, governor of Massachusetts, had the chief command. The fleet had a long passage, and did not arrive before Quebec, until the 5th of October.

BOOK I.  
1690.  
with the  
land army  
at Wood  
Creek.

WHEN the land army arrived at the place appointed for the rendezvous of the Indians, from the Five nations, instead of finding that powerful body, which they expected, and which the Indians had promised, there were no more than seventy warriors, from the Mohawks and Oneidas. A messenger was sent to the other nations to know what they designed; whether they would join the army and go forward or not. The messenger returned and reported, that they wished for some delay; and they never came on to join the army. When the general had advanced about an hundred miles, he found that there were not canoes provided sufficient to transport one half of the English soldiers across the lake. Upon representing to the Indians, that the army could not pass into Canada, without a much greater number of canoes, they replied, that it was then too late in the season to make canoes, as the bark would not peel. In short, they artfully evaded every proposal, which the council of war made for the service; and finally told the general and his officers, that they looked too high, and advised them only to attack Chambly and the out settlements on this side of St. Lawrence.† There was another insuperable difficulty arose. Milborn, commissary of the army, had not made a sufficient provision for the carrying on and supplying of provisions for the army, so that it was necessitated to retreat to Albany for subsistence. This was determined by a council of war. At the same time, about a hundred and forty of the sprightliest young men, English and Indians, were dispatched into Canada, to make all the diversion possible in favor of the fleet. However the retreat of the army and the late arrival of the armament before Quebec defeated the expedition.

Army obliged to retreat.

Means of defeating the enterprise.

COUNT Frontenac, who had advanced with all his force to Montreal, to defend the country against the ar-

† Proposals made to the Indians and their answers, with Colonel Schuyler's and the recorder of Albany's letter, on file.

BOOK I. my advancing towards the lake, no sooner received intelligence, by his scouts, that it was retreating, than he returned, with all possible dispatch, to Quebec. Though but two or three days before Sir William Phips arrived, before the town, there were not more than 200 Frenchmen in the city, and, according to their own historians, it would have surrendered upon the first summons, yet afterwards the count was able to employ his whole force in its defence.

1699.

ON the 8th of October, the troops landed and advanced towards the town. The ships, the next day, were drawn up before it, and cannonaded it with all their force; but they were not able to do any great injury to the town, while they were considerably damaged by the enemy's fire from their batteries. On the 11th, the troops were re-embarked. Though they had advanced and maintained their ground with spirit, yet they received such accounts of the strength of the enemy, as very much discouraged them. Soon after, tempestuous weather came on, the ships were driven from their anchors, and the whole fleet scattered. Thus, for want of a sufficient preparation for the advancing of the land army, and in consequence of the too late sailing of the fleet, an otherwise well concerted plan was defeated.

THOUGH General Winthrop had acted in perfect conformity to the agreement of the commissioners, at New-York, and to the instructions which had been given him, and though he had retreated and taken all his measures by the advice of his officers, in repeated councils of war, yet Liesler, Milborn, and their party, were filled with the utmost rage and madness at the retreat. It was ordained by the commissioners, that in all matters of great importance, the general should be governed by a council of war, consisting of himself and his officers; and Liesler was the first signer to the instructions and orders given. It was impossible to pass the lake without boats and canoes. It would have been madness to have crossed it, if there had been canoes, when they had found, that, by all the means and exertions in their power, they could not procure provisions for the army on this side of the lake. Liesler however took the advantage of the general, after the army had crossed Hudson's river, and lay encamped on this side of it, to arrest and confine him, that he might try him by a court martial of his own appointment. He was some days under the arrest. But when he was brought upon trial, the Mohawks, who were in the camp,

Liesler's  
madness  
and abuse  
of General  
Winthrop.

He is rescued by

crossed the river and brought him off, with great triumph, and to the universal joy of the army. Liesler, Milborn, and their party, were so enraged with some of the principal gentlemen in Albany, who were of the general's council, that they were obliged to flee to Connecticut for safety. Mr. Livingston and others resided some time at Hartford. Liesler confined the commissary of the Connecticut troops, so that the army suffered for want of his assistance.

BOOK I.  
1690.  
the Mo-  
hawks.

THIS was viewed, by Connecticut, as an entirely lawless proceeding; not only highly injurious to General Winthrop and the colony, but to all New-England. The governor and council remonstrated against his conduct, and demanded the release of General Winthrop and their commissary. They certified him, that it belonged not to him to judge of the general's conduct, but to the colonies in general; that it was inconsistent with the very instructions which he had subscribed with his own hand; and that if he proceeded in his unprecedented and violent measures, they would leave him and New-York to themselves, without any further aid from Connecticut, let the consequences be what they might.\* They observed, that he needed friends and assistance, but was pursuing measures not only to make the powerful friends of General Winthrop, but all New-England, his enemies; and that the character of the general was too good, and too well known, to be drawn into question or disrepute by his conduct towards him.

The gov-  
ernor and  
council  
remon-  
strate a-  
gainst  
Liesler's  
conduct.

AT the general court, in October, a narrative of the conduct of the general was exhibited, attested by the officers of the army and by numbers of the principal gentlemen of Albany. Attested answers of the Indians to the several councils of war, with such other evidence as the assembly judged proper to examine, were heard. Upon a full examination of the affair, the assembly resolved: "That the general's conduct, in the expedition, had been with good fidelity to his majesty's interest, and that his confinement, at Albany, on the account thereof, deserved a timely vindication, as being very injurious and dishonorable to himself and the colonies of New-England, at whose instance he undertook that difficult service." The court appointed two of the magistrates in their name, "To thank the general for his good service to their majesties and to this colony, and

Oct. 9th.

General  
Win-  
throp's  
conduct  
approved.

\* Appendix No. XXIV.

BOOK I. " assure him, that, on all feasonable occasions, they would  
 1690. " be ready to manifest their good sentiments of his fidel-  
 " ity, valor and prudence."† The assembly made him  
 a grant of forty pounds, as a present, which they desired  
 him to accept, as a further testimonial of their entire ap-  
 probation of his services.

BESIDES the troops employed in the expedition against  
 Canada, Connecticut maintained a company upon the  
 river, for the defence of the towns in the county of  
 Hampshire. Upon an alarm in the winter, the governor  
 and council dispatched a company to Deerfield, for the  
 protection of that and the neighbouring towns.

May 14th.  
 1691.

AT the election, May 1691, all the former officers  
 were re-elected.

ON the account of the death of the deputy governor,  
 James Bishop, Esquire,‡ a special assembly was convened,  
 on the 9th of July 1691; when William Jones, Esquire,  
 was chosen deputy governor, and Captain Caleb Stanley  
 magistrate.

THE Reverend Increase Mather, of Boston, was a most  
 faithful friend to the liberties of his country; and though  
 he was agent for the Massachusetts, yet he was indefati-  
 gable in his labors, and, as opportunity presented, per-  
 formed essential services for the other colonies. At the  
 accession of William and Mary he had prevented the bill  
 for establishing the former Governors of New-England.  
 He had united all his influence with Mr. Whiting for the  
 benefit of Connecticut. One Mr. James Porter, who  
 was in London, had been very serviceable to the colony.  
 The assembly therefore ordered, that a letter of thanks  
 should be addressed to those gentlemen, for the good ser-  
 vices which they had rendered the colony. They were  
 also desired to use their influence to obtain, from his ma-

† Records of the colony.

‡ James Bishop, Esquire, died June 22d, 1691. He appears to  
 have been a gentleman of good ability and distinguished morals.  
 The time of his coming over to America is uncertain. His first  
 appearance, upon the public records, was about the year 1648.  
 In 1661, he was chosen secretary of the colony of New-Haven;  
 in which office he continued until the union of the colonies of  
 Connecticut and New-Haven. In May 1668, he was chosen one  
 of the magistrates of Connecticut, in which office he continued  
 until May 10th, 1683, when he was elected deputy governor.  
 To this office he was annually re-elected until his death. His  
 family has continued respectable to the present time. Samuel  
 Bishop, Esquire, chief judge of the court of common pleas, for  
 the county of New-Haven, and Mayor of the city, is one of his  
 descendants.

jesty, a letter approving of their administration, of government, according to charter, as legal; and expressing his determination to protect them in the enjoyment of their civil and religious privileges.

BOOK I.  
 1691.

THE violation of the charters, in England, had been declared illegal and arbitrary. The charter of the city of London, and those of other corporations, in Great-Britain, had been restored. The case of Connecticut, respecting their charter, had been stated, and the opinions of gentlemen, learned in the law, had been given relative to the legality of the government assumed by the colony. They are thus expressed.

“**QUERY,** Whether the charter belonging to Connecticut, in New-England, is, by means of their involuntary submission to Sir Edmund Andros’s government, void in law, so as that the king may send a governor to them, contrary to their charter privileges, when there has been no judgment entered against their charter, nor any surrender thereof upon record?”

Opinions relative to the charter of Connecticut.

“**I AM** of opinion, that such submission, as is put, in this case, doth not invalidate the charter, or any of the powers therein, which were granted under the great seal; and that the charter not being surrendered under the common seal, and that surrender duly enrolled of record, nor any judgment of record entered against it, the same remains good and valid in law; and the said corporation may lawfully execute the powers and privileges thereby granted, notwithstanding such submission, and appointment of a governor as aforesaid.

EDWARD WARD.

“2nd. August 1690.”

“**I AM** of the same opinion. **J. SOMERS.**”

“**I AM** of the same opinion; and as this matter is stated there is no ground of doubt.”

“**GEO. TREBY.**”

THE people at the eastward, in New-Hampshire and the province of Maine, had been extremely distressed by the war, and a very great proportion of them driven from their settlements. It had also been found exceedingly difficult to persuade men to keep garrison for the defence of that part of the country. The general court of Connecticut, therefore, appointed a contribution, through the colony, for the encouragement of the soldiers, who should keep garrison there, and for the relief of poor families, which had kept their stations, or been driven from them by the ravages of the enemy. The

Distressed circumstances of the eastern people.  
 Contribution for their relief.

## BOOK I.



1692.  
Court of  
election,  
May.

The  
French  
make a  
descent  
upon  
Block-Is-  
land.

Settle-  
ment of  
the town  
of Wind-  
ham May  
12, 1692.

clergy were directed to exhort the people to liberal contributions for these charitable purposes.†

AT the election, May 1692, William Jones, Esquire, was chosen deputy governor by the freemen. Mr. Caleb Stanley and Mr. Moses Mansfield were chosen magistrates. Governor Winthrop and the other magistrates were the same they had been the year before.

THE French, the last year, while the troops were employed in the expedition against Canada, made a descent upon Block-Island, plundered the houses, and captivated most of the inhabitants. This greatly alarmed the people of New-London, Stonington, and Saybrook. Detachments of the militia were sent to the seaport towns for their defence. The assembly therefore, about this time ordered, that New-London should be fortified; and that the fortifications at Saybrook should be repaired.

THE country had been alarmed with reports, that a large body of French and Indians were about to cross the lakes and come down upon the frontiers. Consequently it was ordered, that scouts, from the several counties should range the country, and make discovery of the enemy as they made their approach. Officers were also appointed to command such parts of the militia as it might be necessary to detach, in case of an invasion.

UPON the 29th of February 1675, Joshua, sachem of the Moheagans, son of Uncas, by his last will, gave unto Captain John Mason, James Fitch, and others, to the number of fourteen, commonly called Joshua's legatees, the tract containing the town of Windham. It was, the next year, surveyed and laid out into distinct lots. In May 1692, it was vested with town privileges. By Joshua's will, the lands in the town of Mansfield, no less than those in Windham, were given. The settlements, at both places, commenced about 1686, nearly at the same time. Canterbury originally belonged to the town of Windham, though it was some years after made a distinct town. The township of Windham comprises a fine tract of land, nearly ten miles square. Its situation is pleasant, and it is now one of the principal towns in the state.\*

† The number of persons, this year, ratable in the colony was 3,109, and the grand list £183,159.

\* Mr. John Cates, one of the first planters a gentleman from England, who died July 16th, 1697, by his last will, gave a generous legacy, in plate, to the church. He also gave two hundred acres of land for the use of a school, and two hundred more



COUNT Frontenac, finding that he could not, with all his arts, accomplish a peace with the five nations, determined on the destruction of the Mohawks, who, of all the Indians, had been by far the most destructive to the settlements in Canada. He collected an army of six or seven hundred French and Indians, and, having supplied them with every thing necessary for a winter campaign, sent them against the Mohawk castles. They began their march from Montreal, on the 15th of January 1693. After suffering incredible hardships, they fell in with the first Mohawk castle, about the 6th of February. The Mohawks were entirely secure, not having the least intimation of their approach. The enemy took about four or five men at this castle, and proceeded to the second. At this they were equally successful: A great part of the inhabitants were at Schenectady, and the rest were perfectly secure. When they advanced to the third castle, they found about forty warriors, collected at a war dance, as they designed the next day to go upon an enterprize against their enemies. A conflict ensued in which the French, after losing about thirty men, were victorious, and the third castle was taken. The French, in this descent, captivated nearly three hundred of the allied Indians, principally women and children. The brave Colonel Schuyler, of Albany, at the head of a party of volunteers, of about two hundred English and Dutch, pursued them. On the 15th of February, he was joined with about three hundred Indians, and with this force he fell in with the enemy, whom he found in a fortified camp. They made three successive sallies upon the colonel, and were as often repulsed. He kept his ground, waiting for provisions and a reinforcement from Albany. Meanwhile the enemy, taking advantage of a severe snow storm, on the night of the 18th, marched off for Canada. The next day, Captain Sims, with eighty regular troops, arrived with provisions for the army, and the day following, the colonel resumed the pursuit. The French, however, luckily finding a cake of ice across the north branch of Hudson's river, made their escape. Nevertheless they were so pressed that they suffered most of their captives to escape. They all except nine or ten returned. Colonel Schuyler lost eight of his party, four

BOOK I.  
1693.  
Enterprize  
against the  
Mohawk  
castles.

for the use of the poor of the town forever. Windham was made a county town in May 1726, the grand list, in 1768, was about £30,000 and the number of inhabitants 3,500.

**BOOK I.** Christians and four Indians. He had fourteen wounded. According to the report of the captives, the enemy lost forty men, three of whom were French officers, and two were Indian leaders; and they had thirty wounded. The Indians found about thirty corpses of the enemy, whom they scalped, and afterwards roasted and ate them, as they were exceedingly pinched for want of provisions.\*

WHILE these affairs were transacting, dispatches were sent to Connecticut acquainting Governor Treat, that the French had invaded his majesty's territories and taken the fortresses of his allies. A demand was made of two hundred men, complete in their arms, to march forthwith to Albany.

**Special assembly** Feb. 21st. 1693. A SPECIAL assembly was called on the 21st of February 1693, and it was ordered, that one hundred and fifty men should be sent immediately to Albany, or any other place where the governor should judge to be most for his majesty's interest. Fifty of the troops marched for Albany, the next day.

SCARCELY had the assembly dispersed before another express arrived, from Sir William Phips, requiring a corps of a hundred English men and fifty Indians, to assist in the defence of the eastern settlements, in the province of Maine and Massachusetts. On the 6th of March another special assembly was convened, and the legislature granted a captain's company of sixty English men and about forty Indians, under the command of Captain William Whiting.

**Special assembly** March 6th. MAJOR General Fitz John Winthrop was chosen magistrate at the election, which was the only alteration made among the magistrates this year.

**Election** May 11th. THE general court ordered a letter to be addressed to the governor of Massachusetts, 'once more desiring him and that colony amicably to join with Connecticut in running the partition line between the two colonies. William Pitkin, Esquire, Mr. Samuel Chester, and Captain William Whiting were appointed a committee to run the line. They had instructions to begin, according to the express words of the patent of Massachusetts, three miles south of every part of Charles river, and thence to run to the westernmost bounds of Symsbury.

**Colonel Fletcher** challenges Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, governor of New York, who had arrived at the seat of his government, August 29th 1692, had received a commission entirely inconsis-

\* Governor Fletcher's letter, on file.

ent with the charter rights and safety of the colonies. He was vested with plenary powers of commanding the whole militia of Connecticut and the neighbouring provinces. He insisted on the command of the militia of Connecticut. As this was expressly given to the colony, by charter, the legislature would not submit to his requisition. They, however, judged it expedient to refer it to the freemen, whether they would address a petition to his majesty praying for the continuance of the militia in the power of the colony, according to their charter, and for the continuance and preservation of all their chartered rights and privileges. There were 2,180 persons or suffrages for addressing his majesty, and the freemen declared, that they would bear their proportionable charge with the rest of the colony, in prosecuting the affair to a final issue.

BOOK I.  
1693.  
the com-  
mand of  
the mili-  
tia.  
The legis-  
lature re-  
fuse to  
submit the  
militia to  
his com-  
mand.

AT a special assembly, September 1st 1693, the court appointed a petition to be draughted, to be presented to his majesty King William, on the subject. Major General Fitz John Winthrop was appointed agent to present the petition, and employ his best endeavours for the confirmation of all the chartered privileges of the colony. He was desired, as soon as possible, to take his passage to England, and upon his arrival there, to lay the business, as expeditiously as might be, before his majesty, and prosecute the affair to an issue with all convenient dispatch.

Petition  
his majes-  
ty, and  
appoint  
an agent.

HE was instructed to make a full representation of the great hardships, expense, and dangers of the inhabitants, in planting and defending the colony; and that these had been borne wholly by themselves, without any assistance from the parent country: That it would endanger and ruin the colony, if the militia should be taken from it, and commanded by strangers at the distance of New-York and Boston: That it would wholly incapacitate them to defend themselves, their wives, and children: That before they could obtain instructions, from such a distance, upon any sudden emergency, the colony might be depopulated and ruined: That a stranger, at a distance, might not agree with the governor and council in employing the militia for the defence of the property, lives, and liberties of the subjects; and that the life and support of the laws, and the very existence of their civil constitution depended on the militia. He was also instructed further to represent the state of the militia of Connecticut, with respect to its difference from that of the

Instruc-  
tions to  
the agent.

BOOK I. militia of England : That from the scattered state and  
 1693, small number of the inhabitants, it had been necessary,  
 that all males, from sixteen years of age, should belong  
 to the militia, and be made soldiers, so that if the mili-  
 tia were taken from the colony, there would be none left  
 but magistrates, ministers, physicians, aged and infirm  
 people, to defend their extensive sea coasts and frontiers ;  
 and that giving the command of the militia to the gov-  
 ernor of another colony was, in effect, to put their per-  
 sons, interests, and liberties entirely into his power. The  
 agent was also directed to represent the entire satisfaction  
 of the colony with the present government, and the great  
 advantages resulting from it : That giving the command  
 of the militia to the governor of another province would  
 exceedingly endanger, if not entirely destroy, that gen-  
 eral contentment, and all the advantages thence arising to  
 his majesty and his subjects : That out of three thousand  
 freemen, in the colony, two thousand and two hundred  
 actually met and gave their suffrages for the present ad-  
 dress, and that the greatest part of the other eight hun-  
 dred were for it, but were, by their particular occasions,  
 prevented from attending at the respective meetings,  
 when the suffrages were taken : That the inhabitants  
 were universally for the revolution ; and that, in the  
 whole colony, there were not more than four or five  
 malecontents. The agent was charged to assure his ma-  
 jesty, that the militia should be improved, with the ut-  
 most prudence and faithfulness, for his majesty's service,  
 in the defence of the frontiers of Massachusetts and New-  
 York ; and to lay before him what the colony had al-  
 ready done ; especially for the province of New-York in  
 their late distressed condition : That for its defence, and  
 the securing of the Five nations, in his majesty's interest,  
 they had expended more than three thousand pounds,  
 and lost a number of their men. Further, General Win-  
 throp was directed, so far as might be judged expedient,  
 to plead the rights granted in the charter, especially that  
 of commanding the militia, and the common usage ever  
 since the grant of the charter, for a long course of years.

SIR William Phips, governor of Massachusetts, had,  
 on his appointment to that office, received a commission  
 of the same tenor of Governor Fletcher's. As the colony  
 had not fully complied with his requisitions, it was ex-  
 pected that the agent would be interrogated upon that  
 head. He was instructed in that case, to reply, that Sir  
 William never came into the colony, nor acted upon his

commission any further, than to give a copy of it, and to enquire who were the officers of the militia: That the governor and company had a prior commission, by charter, and that they could by no means give it up until the affair had been laid before his majesty.

BOOK I.  
1693.

THE colony wished to serve his majesty's interest, and as far as possible, consistently with their chartered rights, to maintain a good understanding with Governor Fletcher. William Pitkin, Esquire, was therefore sent to New-York, to treat and make terms with him respecting the militia, until his majesty's pleasure should be further known. But no terms could be made with him short of an explicit submission of the militia to his command.

Assembly  
Oct. 12.

ON the 26th of October, he came to Hartford, while the assembly were sitting, and, in his majesty's name, demanded their submission of the militia to his command, as they would answer it to his majesty; and that they would give him a speedy answer in two words, Yes, or No. He subscribed himself his majesty's lieutenant and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces by sea or land, and of all the forts and places of strength in the colony of Connecticut.\* He ordered the militia of Hartford under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers. It was judged expedient to call the train bands in Hartford together; but the assembly insisted, that the command of the militia was expressly vested, by charter, in the governor and company; and that they could, by no means, consistently with their just rights and the common safety, resign it into any other hands. They insinuated, that his demands were an invasion of their essential privileges and subversive of their constitution.

Colonel  
Fletcher  
comes to  
Hartford  
and de-  
mands the  
command  
of the mi-  
litia. Oct.  
26.

UPON this, Colonel Bayard, by his excellency's command, sent a letter into the assembly declaring, that his excellency had no design upon the civil rights of the colony; but would leave them, in all respects, as he found them. In the name of his excellency, he tendered a commission to Governor Treat empowering him to command the militia of the colony. He declared, that his excellency insisted, that they should acknowledge it an essential right inherent in his majesty to command the militia; and that he was determined not to set his foot out of the colony until he had seen his majesty's commission obeyed: That he would issue his proclamation, showing the means he had taken to give ease and satisfaction

Declara-  
tion by  
Colonel  
Bayard.

\* Governor Fletcher's letter on file.

BOOK I. to his majesty's subjects of Connecticut, and that he would distinguish the disloyal from the rest.†

1693.  
The assembly decline resigning the militia. Militia of Hartford called out. Spirited conduct of Captain Wadsworth.

THE assembly, nevertheless, would not give up the command of the militia; nor would Governor Treat receive a commission from Colonel Fletcher.

THE trainbands of Hartford assembled, and as the tradition is, while Captain Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in the front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, Colonel Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Captain Wadsworth instantly commanded, "Beat the drums;" and there was such a roaring of them that nothing else could be heard. Colonel Fletcher commanded silence. But no sooner had Bayard made an attempt to read again, than Wadsworth commands, "Drum, drum, I say." The drummers understood their business, and instantly beat up with all the art and life of which they were masters. "Silence, silence," says the colonel. No sooner was there a pause, than Wadsworth speaks with great earnestness, "Drum, drum, I say;" and turning to his excellency, said, "If I am interrupted again I will make the sun shine through you in a moment." He spoke with such energy in his voice and meaning in his countenance, that no further attempts were made to read or enlist men. Such numbers of people collected together, and their spirits appeared so high, that the governor and his suit judged it expedient, soon to leave the town and return to New-York.

THE assembly granted £ 500, to support Major General Winthrop in his agency at the court of Great-Britain.

Assembly Feb. 7<sup>th</sup> 1694.

ON the 7th of February 1694, a special assembly was called, in consequence of a letter from King William relative to the fortifying of Albany. In compliance with his majesty's requisition, the assembly granted £ 600, to be paid into the hands of Colonel Fletcher for the defence of Albany. A rate of one penny on the pound was levied to raise the money.\*

FOR the defence of the plantations in New-York, and the towns upon the river, in the county of Hampshire, the assembly ordered, that the commissioned officers, who were the nearest to the places, which should, at any time, be attacked, should dispatch immediate succours to them. Provision was also made that the several detachments of

† Colonel Bayard's letter on file.

\* The ratable polls in the colony were, at this time, about 23,347, and the grand list £ 137,646.

the militia should be furnished with all articles necessary for their marching, in any emergency upon the shortest notice.

BOOK I.  
  
 1694.

MAJOR General Winthrop made a safe arrival in England, and presented the petition, with which he had been entrusted, to his majesty. A statement of the case of Connecticut was drawn and laid before the king. In this, besides the facts stated in the instructions of Mr. Winthrop, it was alledged, that in the charter, granted by King Charles, the command of the militia was, in the most expers and ample manner, given to the colony; and that the governor had always commanded it for the common safety: That in the charter there was a clause for the most beneficial construction of it for the corporation; and another of Non obstante to all statutes repugnant to said grant. It was stated, that whoever commanded the persons in a colony would also command their purse, and be the governor of that colony: That there was such a connection between the civil authority and the command of the militia, that one could not subsist without the other: That it was designed to govern the colonies, in America, as nearly as might be, in conformity to the laws of England. And that the king and his lieutenants could not draw out all the militia of a county; but a certain part only, in proportion to its numbers and wealth. It was therefore pleaded, that Governor Fletcher's commission ought to be construed with the same restriction: That were not the command of the king and his lieutenants restricted, by acts of parliament, the subjects could not be free; and that for the same reason, Governor Fletcher's command ought to be restrained, by the laws of Connecticut, so far as they were not repugnant to the laws of England. It was further stated, that it was impossible for Governor Fletcher so well to judge of the dispositions and abilities of each town and division in Connecticut, or be so much master of the affections of the people, in time of need, as those who dwelt among them and had been chosen to command them; and therefore he could not be so well qualified for the local and ordinary command of the militia; nor serve the interests of his majesty, or the colony, in that respect, so satisfactorily and effectually as its own officers†

Statement of the case of Connecticut respecting the command of the militia.

His majesty's attorney and solicitor general, gave their

† Statement on file.

**BOOK I.** opinion in favor of Connecticut's commanding the militia; and on the 19th of April 1694, his majesty in council determined according to the report which they had made. † The quota of Connecticut, during the war, was fixed at one hundred and twenty men, to be at the command of Governor Fletcher, and the rest of the militia to be commanded, as had been usual, by the governor of Connecticut.

Agents sent to treat with the Five nations.

Committee to run the line between Connecticut and Massachusetts.

Application to the general court of Massachusetts, Oct. 10, 1695.

UPON the solicitations of Governor Fletcher and Sir William Phips, agents, and a number of troops, were sent to attend a treaty with the Five nations. The expense of it to the colony was about £400.

A COMMITTEE was appointed again, in the May session, to run the partition line between Connecticut and Massachusetts. Massachusetts were invited to join with them, but as the court refused, the committee of Connecticut, by the direction of the assembly, ran the line without them. In October 1695, the general assembly renewed their application to the general court of Massachusetts, intreating them to unite amicably in running the boundary line, or to agree to it, as it had been run by Connecticut. They acquainted them how it ran, what encroachments they had made upon the colony, and how they injured it, by declining a mutual and friendly settlement of the line. However they insisted upon the old line, run by Woodward and Saffery, and would take no measures to accommodate the difference.

1696.

AT the court of election, May 1696, Eleazar Kimberly was chosen secretary. Upon the requisition of Governor Fletcher, a company of sixty men were ordered to Albany, under the command of Captain William Whiting. Forty dragoons were also forwarded to the county of Hampshire, for the security of the inhabitants in that part of Massachusetts.

ABOUT this time, the town of Danbury was incorporated. The whole number of families was twenty four.

General court May 13, 1697.

AT the general court, May 1697, Colonel Hutchinson and Captain Byfield were sent from Boston, to solicit the raising of such a number of troops as should enable the Massachusetts to attack the eastern enemy, at their head quarters. The legislature judged themselves unable to furnish such a number, as would be necessary for that purpose, in addition to the troops they must raise for the defence of their own frontiers, of New-York, and

† Appendix No. XXIV.



the county of Hampshire. The court agreed to furnish a party of about sixty Englishmen and forty Indians, to range the woods, near the walk of the enemy, and to defend the frontiers of the county of Hampshire.

Book I.  
1698.

AT a general assembly, January 22d, 1698, an alteration was made in the constitution of the county court. It was enacted, that it should consist of one chief judge and four justices of the quorum, in each county, appointed by the assembly.

January 22d, 1698.

MAJOR GENERAL Fitz John Winthrop, having returned from his successful agency, at the court of Great-Britain, was received with great joy, by the legislature and the people in general. The assembly presented him with their thanks, for the good services he had rendered to the government; and as a further testimonial of the high sense which they entertained of his merit, fidelity, and labors for the public, they voted him a gratuity of three hundred pounds.

Major General Winthrop, on his return, receives the thanks of the legislature.

ON the 18th of June 1697, Richard, Earl of Bellomont, received his commission to be governor of New-York and Massachusetts; and was, at this time, every day expected at New-York. The general court of Connecticut were desirous of honoring his majesty, by an exhibition of all proper respect and complaisance to his governor; and, at the same time, they wished to conciliate the good graces of so important a character. They therefore appointed General Winthrop, Major Jonathan Sillick, and the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall, upon the first notice of his arrival at New-York, to wait upon him, and, in the name of the general assembly of Connecticut, to congratulate his excellency, upon his safe arrival at the seat of government. The earl arrived at New-York, the 2d of April 1698. The committee, appointed to wait on him, were gentlemen of a good appearance and elegant manners; and they presented their congratulations with such dignity and address, as not only did honor to themselves and the colony, but highly pleased his excellency. Mr. Saltonstall, was particularly noticed, by the earl, as appearing the most like a nobleman of any person he had ever seen before in America.

Earl of Bellomont appointed governor of Massachusetts and New-York.

Congratulated by Connecticut.

NOTWITHSTANDING the determination of Lieutenant governor Cranfield and his majesty's commissioners, and the report to his majesty concerning the right of Connecticut to the Narraganset country, the controversy between Connecticut and Rhode-Island still continued. It

**BOOK I.** was not the king's pleasure to confirm the judgment and report of his commissioners. The Rhode-Islanders, though they had violated every article of the agreement between Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Clark, yet were ready to plead it against Connecticut, whenever it would suit their turn. A letter from the Lords of trade and plantations was laid before the assembly, advising Connecticut to a settlement of boundaries with that colony. Upon this recommendation, the general court appointed Major James Fitch, Captain Daniel Witherel, and the Reverend James Noyes, commissioners to treat with Rhode-Island, and, by all means in their power, to attempt an amicable settlement.

Committee appointed to settle boundaries.

Peace.

Expense and vexations of the war.

THE peace of Rislewick, September 11th, 1697, once more delivered Great-Britain and her colonies from the calamities of war. The Americans rejoiced at the return of peace. Connecticut had been happy in the preservation of her frontiers, in the loss of few men, and in the effectual aid which she had given to her sister colonies. Nevertheless the war had been very expensive and exceedingly vexatious. The whole amount of taxes, during the war, was about twenty pence on the pound. By the close of the year 1695, the colony had expended £7,000 in the defence of Albany and the frontiers of the county of Hampshire in Massachusetts; exclusive of the expedition against Canada, under Major General Winthrop. This cost the colony more than £3,000. The expense of the troops, sent to the eastward, to the defence of that part of New-England, is also excluded. It is probable that the remaining years of the war cost about £2,000. The whole expence of the war probably considerably exceeded £12,000.†

THE expence of Mr. Winthrop's agency, and the trouble respecting the militia were very considerable.

GOVERNOR Fletcher made the colony much unnecessary trouble and expence. Upon almost every rumor of danger, he would send on his expresses to Connecticut; and the governor and council, and sometimes the assembly, were obliged to meet, and dispatch troops to one place and another. Often, by the time they had marched, orders would come to recal them. By the time they were returned, some new and groundless alarm

† The accounts, to the close of the year ninety five, are particularly stated. After that time, they do not appear to be ascertained.

would be made, and pressing orders sent on for them forthwith to march again. In this manner, he almost wore out the governor and council with meetings, and beyond measure harassed the militia, and occasioned great trouble and expence of time and money both to the soldiers and officers. The whole colony was so troubled with his vexatious management, that the governor wrote to Mr. Winthrop, while he was in England, desiring him to represent his conduct to his majesty, and pray for relief.

BOOK I.

1698.

BUT the clouds were now dissipated. The successful agency of General Winthrop, his safe return to the arms of his country, the blessings of peace, and the appointment and arrival of the Earl of Bellomont to the government of the neighbouring provinces, united their influence to diffuse universal joy. The legislature appointed a day of public thanksgiving, and the people, with glad hearts and voices, celebrated the beneficence and glories of their COMMON BENEFACITOR.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

**GENERAL WINTHROP** is elected governor. The assembly divide and form into two houses. Purchase and settlement of several towns. The boundary line between Connecticut and New-York surveyed and fixed. Attempts for running and establishing the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Owaneco and the Moheagans claim Colchester and other tracts in the colony. Attempts to compose all differences with them. Grant to the volunteers. The assembly enacts, that the session, in October, shall, for the future, be in New-Haven. An act enlarging the boundaries of New-London, and acts relative to towns and patents. Measures adopted for the defence of the colony. Appointment of king's attorneys. Attempts to despoil Connecticut of its charter. Bill for re-uniting the charter governments to the crown. Sir Henry Ashurst petitions against and prevents the passing of the bill. Governor Dudley, Lord Cornbury, and other enemies conspire against the colony. They exhibit grievous complaints against it. Sir Henry Ashurst defends the colony and defeats their attempts. Quakers petition. Moheagan case. Survey and bounds of the pretended Moheagan country. Dudley's court at Stonington. The colony protest against it. Dudley's

BOOK I.

1698.

*treatment of the colony. Judgment against it. Petition to her majesty on the subject. New commissions are granted. Act in favor of the clergy. State of the colony.*

Court of  
election  
May 12th,  
1698.

AT the election, in 1698, there was a considerable alteration in the legislature. Major General Fitz John Winthrop, by his address and the success of his agency in England, had rendered himself so popular, that he was elected governor. The former governor, Treat, who had, for many years, presided, and who had grown old in the service of the colony, was elected deputy governor; William Jones, Esquire, who, for a number of years, had been deputy governor, was left out of the council.\* Mr. Joseph Curtis was chosen magistrate to fill the vacancy made by the preferment of General Winthrop.

Oct. 13th,  
1698, the  
assembly  
made two  
houses.

UNTIL the session in October 1698, the assembly consisted of but one house, and the magistrates and deputies appear to have acted together. But, at this time, it was enacted, that the General Assembly should consist of two houses: That the governor, or, in his absence, the deputy governor and magistrates should compose the first, which should be called the upper house: That the other should consist of the deputies, regularly returned from the several towns in the colony, which should be called the lower house. This house was authorized to choose a speaker to preside, and when formed, to make such officers and rules as they should judge necessary for their own regulation. It was also enacted, that no act should be passed into a law of this colony, nor any law, already

\* DEPUTY Governor Jones was son in law to Governor Eaton. He brought over a good estate, from England, and made a settlement at New-Haven. He was, for the term of about six and thirty years, either magistrate or deputy governor of the colony of New-Haven or Connecticut. In 1662, he was chosen magistrate for the colony of New-Haven. Two years after, he was elected deputy governor. Upon the union, in 1665, he was chosen one of the magistrates of Connecticut, in which office he served until July 9th, 1691, when the assembly elected him deputy governor. In May 1662, he was chosen to the same office by the freemen. He was annually re chosen until May 12th, 1698. At that period he was about 74 years of age, and retired from public business. He died October 17th, 1706, aged 82 years. The general assembly was sitting at New-Haven, at the time of his decease, and voted, "That in consideration of the many good services, for many years done by that honored and religious gentleman, Mr. William Jones then deceased, a sum should be paid out of the treasury towards defraying the charges of his funeral."

enacted, be repealed, nor any other act, proper to this general assembly, be passed except by the consent of both houses.

Book I.

1698.

AT the general court, in October, an act passed, regulating the county court. It ordained, that it should consist of one chief judge and two justices of the quorum.

IN 1699, the governor and deputy governor were elected. Richard Christophers was chosen into the magistracy, and Captain Joseph Whiting, treasurer.

May 11th,  
1699.

AT this session, the lower house, for the first time, formed separately, and chose Mr. John Chester speaker and Captain William Whiting, clerk. This assembly passed an act exempting the clergy from taxation. Several acts were also passed relative to the settlement of new townships.

IN June 1659, Governor Winthrop obtained liberty of the assembly, to purchase a large tract at Quinibaug. Soon after he made a purchase of Allups, alias Hyemps and Mashauhawit, the native proprietors, of the lands comprised in the townships of Plainfield and Canterbury, lying on both sides of Quinibaug river. There were a small number of families, on the lands, at the time of the purchase; but the planters were few until the year 1689, when a number of people, chiefly from Massachusetts, made a purchase of the heirs of Governor Winthrop, and began settlements in the northern part of the tract. At their session, in May 1699, the general assembly vested the inhabitants with town privileges. The next year, it was named Plainfield.

Purchase  
and settle-  
ment of  
Plainfield.

THE legislature, in the October session, 1698, enacted, that a new plantation should be made at Jeremy's farm. It was determined, that it should be bounded southerly on Lyme, westerly on Middletown, and easterly on Norwich and Lebanon. This was most commonly termed the plantation at twenty mile river. The settlement began about 1701. In 1703, the assembly gave them a patent confirming to them the whole tract. Some of the principal planters were the Reverend John Bulkley, Samuel Gilbert, Michael Tainter, Samuel Northam, John Adams, Joseph Pomeroy, and John Loomis.

Grant and  
settlement  
of Col-  
chester.

AT the same session, a plantation was granted, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Guilford, at a place called Cogingchaug. It was bounded northerly on Middletown, easterly on Haddam, westerly on Wallingford, and southerly on Guilford. The petitioners were thirty one, but few of them moved on to the lands. For this reason,

Coging-  
chaug,  
Durham,  
granted &  
settled.

BOOK I. the settlement went on very slowly. The two first planters were Caleb Seward and David Robinson, from Guilford. Some others afterward removed from the same town and made settlements there. May 11th, 1704, it was named Durham. But the whole number of inhabitants was very small. In 1707, the number of families was no more than fifteen. The inhabitants held meetings and acted as a town, but were not incorporated with town privileges until May 1708. After this time, the plantation increased rapidly. There was a great accession of inhabitants from Northampton, Stratford, Milford and other towns.

COMMITTEES were again appointed, at the session in October, to attempt a settlement of the boundaries between Massachusetts and Connecticut, and between this colony and Rhode-Island. However, like all former ones, they were unsuccessful.

King William establishes the agreement in 1683.

MARCH 28th, 1700, his majesty, King William, in council, was pleased to confirm the agreement made between Connecticut and New-York, in 1683, respecting the boundary line between the two colonies. New-York neglected, however, to run the line. Connecticut, therefore, about twelve years after, applied to Governor Hunter to appoint commissioners to complete the running of the line, and mark it with proper bounds. He laid the affair before the legislature of New-York. But as they would adopt no measures for that purpose; and, as there was no appearance that they designed it, Connecticut presented a petition to his majesty King George the first, praying that he would issue his royal commands to his government of New-York, that they should forthwith appoint commissioners, in concert with Connecticut, to complete the running of the line, and the erecting of proper monuments. In consequence of this, the legislature of New-York, in 1719, passed an act empowering their governor to appoint commissioners, to run the line parallel to Hudson's river, to re-survey the former lines and to distinguish the boundary. In May 1725, the commissioners and surveyors of the two colonies met at Greenwich, and having agreed upon the manner in which the work should be accomplished, the survey was executed, in part, immediately, and a report of what they had done was made to the respective legislatures of Connecticut and New-York. On the 14th of May 1731, a complete settlement was made. By the partition line, finally established, Connecticut ceded to New-York a tract of

The line between Connecticut and New-York run and fixed.

60,000 acres, as an equivalent for lands which New-York had surrendered to Connecticut, lying upon the found. This tract from its figure has been called the Oblong.

BOOK I.

1700.

Court of election  
May 1700.

IN 1700 the governor and council were all re-elected.

MANY acts of violence, since the last session of the assembly, had been committed against the inhabitants of Windsor and Symsbury, by the people of Enfield and Suffield. They had made encroachments, two miles, upon the land of those towns, beyond all former instances. Great animosities subsisted between those towns on the account of the encroachments and damages, which the inhabitants of Connecticut suffered by them.

To compose these difficulties, if possible, the assembly appointed William Pitkin, Esquire, Mr. John Chester, and Mr. William Whiting a committee, with plenary powers, to address the general court of Massachusetts, and to represent to them the readiness of the legislature of Connecticut, to join with them, in any just measures, for an amicable settlement of the boundary line. The court of Massachusetts appointed Colonel Hutchinson, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Anthrum, and Mr. Prout a committee, but with limited powers, to find the southernmost line of Massachusetts, run by Nathaniel Woodward and Solomon Saffery. The general court also, on the 5th of June, passed an act in answer to the proposal made by Connecticut, in which they insisted on the line run by Woodward and Saffery. These were termed skilful and approved artists. The court also, in their act, insisted, that all grants, made by them to the inhabitants of Woodstock, or of any other place, should remain good and valid to the grantees, though the places should be found south of the line of Massachusetts. To these hard terms the committee conceded, upon the condition, that all the grants made by Connecticut to the inhabitants of Windsor and Symsbury, should be acknowledged as valid, and the land granted be reserved to the proprietors. But the court of Massachusetts would not concede even this. No accommodation could therefore be effected.

Attempts to settle the line between Massachusetts and Connecticut.

THE general court of Massachusetts determined to rely upon and maintain the line run by their sailors, in 1642. They insisted, that it had been the boundary between the colonies, for nearly sixty years: That the colony of Connecticut was bounded on the south line of Massachusetts, which they said was not an imaginary, but well known line. They pleaded, that Mr. Winthrop,

BOOK I. when he procured the charter, knew that to be the line, and that no other could be intended.



1700.

CONNECTICUT, on the other hand, maintained, that the south line of Massachusetts, according to the express words of their charter, was a line running due west from a point, or station, three miles south of every part of Charles river; and that the station fixed by Woodward and Saffery was too far south. It was also insisted, that, even allowing Woodward's and Saffery's station to be right, a due west line from it would run far north of Bissell's ferry house at Windsor. The committee, appointed by the court of Massachusetts, reported, that the line would run north of Bissell's house; yet the court of Massachusetts would not run the line nor come to any accommodation; but insisted on the line, as it had been run by them, in 1642, and on Connecticut's ceding their rights to all the lands which they had granted, whether they lay north or south of said line.\*

THOUGH Colchester held their lands from the colony, which claimed by virtue of Uncas's deed in 1640, Major Mason's purchase, in behalf of the colony, and surrender of the lands in the presence of the general assembly, and by virtue of Joshua's will; and though the inhabitants had deeds from Owaneco and the Mohegan sachems, covering the whole tract, yet they met with great difficulties, in the settlement of the town, from Owaneco and the Moheagans, who were made uneasy, and stirred up to mischief, by designing men. The Masons, Daniel Clark, Nicholas Hallam, Major Palms, Major Fitch and others, about this time, conceived the plan of obtaining a large tract of land, comprising Colchester, part of Lyme and New-London, Plainfield, Canterbury, and Windham, for themselves. They imagined, that the surrender of Major Mason, in the general assembly, was not legal, and that the circumstances of those early transactions were so far obliterated from the memory of the living, that they should be able to recover, in law, all the lands made over, by Uncas, to Major Mason, acting as agent of the colony in 1659.

THE legislature, though they viewed their title to the lands in the colony legal and indubitable, yet judged it expedient, rather than to have any difficulty with the Indians, to treat with them, and make them easy.

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\* Records of Connecticut, acts and letters on file.



THE governor and council were appointed a committee for these purposes. They were instructed to obtain a quit claim of the Indians upon reasonable terms, and to advise the inhabitants, with respect to their settlements. Captain Samuel Mason, who was one of the magistrates, was particularly desired to use his influence with the Indians to promote the design and quiet the planters.

BOOK I.  
1700.

FROM the first settlement of the colony it had been customary to make grants of land to officers, soldiers and others, who had been specially serviceable to the colony. Grants had been made to Major Mason, to his officers and soldiers in the Pequot war. This encouraged the volunteers, who had performed such signal feats in the Narraganset war, to make application to the assembly, for the grant of a new township, as an acknowledgement of their good services. Upon the petition of Captain Thomas Lessingwell, of Norwich, and Mr. John Frink, of Stonington, in behalf of themselves and other volunteers, the general assembly, in October 1696, granted them a township of six miles square, to be taken up in the conquered lands. A committee having surveyed the lands and made their report to the assembly, four years after, a township was confirmed to the petitioners, by the name of Voluntown. It was bounded by a due north line, from the pond at the head of Pawcatuck river, to Greenwich path, thence west to the bounds of Preston, thence bounded by Preston and Stonington to Pawcatuck river, and thence by the river to the pond, the first mentioned bounds. Nineteen years after, the assembly granted an addition of a considerable tract on the north part of the township.

Grant of  
Volun-  
town.  
Oct. 10th,  
1700.

IN 1701, Governor Winthrop and Deputy Governor Treat were re-chosen. The magistrates were Andrew Leet, James Fitch, Samuel Mason, Daniel Witherel, Nathaniel Stanley, Moses Mansfield, John Hamlin, Nathan Gould, William Pitkin, Joseph Curtis, John Chester, and Josiah Rositer, Esquires. Joseph Whiting, Esquire, was re-elected treasurer, and Eleazar Kimberly, secretary.

Court of  
election  
May 8th,  
1701.

EVER since the union of the colonies, the assembly had convened at Hartford, both in May and October; but, at this session, an act passed, that the assembly, in October, should be holden, at the usual time, in New-Haven. It was also enacted, that the court of magistrates, which had been commonly holden at Hartford, in October, should, for the future, be holden at New-Haven, on the first Tuesday of the same month. A respectable commit-

BOOK I. tee was appointed again, this year, to make a settlement  
 of the boundary line with Rhode-Island, and committees  
 were appointed, from year to year, for the same purpose,  
 but all attempts, for a long time, were unsuccessful.

May 14th, 1702. THE election in 1702, made no alteration in the legisla-  
 ture.

Mansfield made a town. THE inhabitants of Windham having agreed upon a  
 division of that town, on the 30th of January 1700, the  
 assembly, at this session, confirmed the agreement, and  
 enacted that Windham should be divided into two towns,  
 and that the town at the north end, should be called  
 Mansfield. The next May, the assembly vested them  
 with distinct town privileges. Patents were granted, at  
 the same time, to both townships. The Indian name of  
 Mansfield was Nawbefetuck. Settlements were made  
 here soon after they commenced at Windham.

Danbury made a town. DANBURY had been surveyed for a town in 1693, soon  
 after a plantation was made upon the lands. Some of  
 the principal planters were James Beebe, Thomas Tay-  
 lor, Samuel and James Benedict, John Hoit, and Josiah  
 Starr. The general court, at this session, gave them a  
 patent, granting them a township extending eight miles  
 in length, north and south, and six miles in breadth, ac-  
 cording to the original survey.

Oct. 8th. IN October, the general assembly was holden at New-  
 Haven.

THE colony having received intelligence of the demise  
 of King William, and a gracious letter from Queen Anne,  
 voted, that a letter should be addressed to her majesty,  
 congratulating her upon her happy accession to the throne  
 of her ancestors, and expressing their thanks for the fa-  
 vorable notice she had taken of the colony.

Election May 13th, 1703. THE only alteration made, by the election, in May  
 1703, was the choice of Peter Burr, Esquire, into the ma-  
 gistracy.

AT this assembly, an addition was made to the town  
 of New-London of all that tract, lying north of the for-  
 mer bounds, included in a line drawn from the northeast-  
 ern corner of Lyme, to the southwestern corner of Nor-  
 wich, as it goes down to trading cove. A patent was, at  
 the same time, given to the inhabitants, confirming this  
 and all other parts of the town to them forever.

Act rela- AT the same session, it was enacted, that all the town-  
 tive to the ships in this colony, to which the assembly had given pa-  
 patented tents, should remain a full and clear estate, with all the  
 towns. privileges and immunities therein granted, in fee simple

to the proprietors, their heirs and assigns for ever. It was also enacted, that all lands sequestered, and given to public or private uses, should remain forever, for the ends for which they had been given.

BOOK I.

1703.

QUEEN ANNE, the emperor of Germany, and the States General, in May 1702, declared war against France and Spain. Consequently the American colonies were again involved in a French and Indian war. The legislature, in the session in October, found it necessary to adopt measures for the safety of the country. A requisition was made, by Governor Dudley, and the general court of Massachusetts, of a detachment of a hundred men, to assist them in the war against the eastern Indians. Soldiers were detached and sent forth for the defence of the western towns in Connecticut. A committee of war was appointed to send troops into the county of Hampshire, in Massachusetts, and to the frontier towns in this colony, as emergencies should require.

Oct. 14th,  
1703.

AT this assembly, it was enacted, that the town of Plainfield should be divided, and that the inhabitants on the west side of the river should be a distinct town, by the name of Canterbury. It seems, that the settlement of this tract commenced about the year 1690. The principal settlers, from Connecticut, were Major James Fitch and Mr. Solomon Tracy, from Norwich, Mr. Tixhall Elsworth and Mr. Samuel Ashley, from Hartford; but much the greatest number was from Newtown, Woborn, Dorchester, Barnstable, and Medfield, in Massachusetts. Among these were John, Richard, and Joseph Woodward, William, Obadiah, and Joseph Johnson, Josiah and Samuel Cleaveland, Elisha Pain, Paul Davenport, and Henry Adams.

Canterbury made a town.

ON the 15th of March 1704, a special assembly was convened to provide for the common safety. To prevent mischief from the friendly Indians, and preserve them from being corrupted and drawn away by the enemy, both the civil and military officers, in the respective towns, were directed to take special care of them; to keep them within their own limits, and not to suffer them, upon their peril, to remove from the places which should be assigned them, nor to hold any correspondence with the enemy or any foreign Indians, nor by any means to harbour them. A premium of ten pounds was proposed, as an encouragement to every friendly Indian, who should bring in and deliver up one who was an enemy.

Special assembly  
March  
15th, 1704

Orders for the common safety.

## BOOK I.

1704.

ORDERS were given, requiring every particular town, in the colony, to convene and determine upon the manner of fortifying and defending themselves. In case of any sudden attack or invasion, the commissioned officers, in the several towns, were authorized to detach and send forth any number of soldiers, not exceeding half the militia, to repel and pursue the enemy. It was resolved, that a grand scout should be employed by the committee of war, upon the frontiers, for the discovery and annoyance of the enemy. Until this could be sent forth, it was determined, that small scouts, from the frontier towns, should be constantly kept out, to discover and give notice of the motions of the enemy. It was ordered, that the hundred men, solicited by the Massachusetts, should be raised forthwith, to act against the eastern Indians, and that Governor Dudley should be requested to call them out immediately. A detachment of sixty men was ordered for the public service, principally with a view to the defence of the county of Hampshire. These were to be under the command of the committee of war in Connecticut and the commanding officer in that county.

Election  
May 11th,  
1704.

AT the court of election, May 1704, the former governors and magistrates were re-chosen. John Allen, Esquire, was chosen magistrate, to fill the vacancy made by the death of Moses Mansfield, Esquire.

COMMITTEES were appointed in the several counties to meet together, to consult and determine upon the best measures for the general defence and safety.

As the deserting or giving up of any place would encourage the enemy, disserve her majesty's interests and the welfare of the colony, it was enacted, that if any persons or families, in any of the frontier towns, should desert their habitations or places of residence, without leave from the assembly, they should forfeit their freehold of lands and tenements in that place. It was further enacted, that if any male person, of the age of sixteen years, should so remove from any frontier town, he should pay a fine of ten pounds, and that the fine should be applied to the defence of the town from which he had removed.

GOOD policy required, that as great a number of the friendly Indians, as possible, should be employed in the public service. Gentlemen were therefore appointed to enlist them as volunteers. Good encouragements were given for this purpose. Indians were the best troops to scout and range the woods, and in proportion as they of-

ferred themselves, Englishmen, whose labors were much more useful, were kept at home. Book I.

BESIDES the hundred men dispatched to the eastward, four hundred were raised for the defence of this colony and of the county of Hampshire. They were required to be always ready. That they might be completely ready, both in summer and winter, to march immediately, upon any emergency, it was ordered, that they should be furnished with snow shoes, that they might travel and run upon the snow. A number of men in every town were obliged to prepare themselves in this manner.\* 1704.

FOR the maintenance of good morals, the suppression of vicious and disorderly practices, and the preservation of the common peace, the assembly ordered, that a sober religious man, be appointed, by the county court, in each of the counties, to be an attorney for her majesty, to prosecute all criminal offenders. Appointment of king's attorneys.

THE colony, at this time, was in the most critical situation. It was not only in danger, and put to great expense, by reason of the war, to defend itself, but to still greater, to defend the neighbouring colonies of Massachusetts and New-York. It was continually harassed by the demands of Joseph Dudley, Esquire, governor of Massachusetts, and of Lord Cornbury, governor of New-York and the Jerseys, for men and money, as they pretended for the defence of their respective governments. Critical state of the colony.

AT the same time the colony had a number of powerful enemies, who by misrepresentation and every other artifice in their power were seeking to deprive them both of their lands and all their chartered rights and privileges. Governor Dudley, Lord Cornbury, and their instruments, combined together to despoil the colony of its charter, and subject it entirely to their government. It appears, from the letters and acts on file, that Dudley wished to unite all New-England under his own government. At the same time, it seems that he flattered Lord Cornbury, that, if they could effect the re-union of all the charter governments to the crown, he should not only have the government of the southern colonies, but of Connecticut. Dudley was a man of great intrigue and duplicity, well versed in court affairs, and had powerful connections in England. He had been connected with Sir Edmund Andross in the government of New-England, and was an enemy to all the chartered rights of the colonies. While Arts of its enemies Dudley & Cornbury.

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\* Records of the colony.

BOOK I.

1704.

he was soliciting the government of Massachusetts, he had a view to the government of all New-England. As he had conceived this plan, as early as the latter part of the reign of King William, he opposed whatever he suspected would operate against it, and prevent the suspension of all government by charter. When he found, therefore, that Sir Henry Ashurst was appointed agent for Connecticut, about the beginning of the present century, he opposed his undertaking the agency with all his influence, because he knew his friendship to the colonies, and that he was a powerful man. He united all his influence with the court party, and the enemies to the liberties of the colonies, to vacate all the charters in America. He so far succeeded, that, in the latter part of the reign of King William, a bill was prepared for re-uniting all the charter governments to the crown. Early in the reign of Queen Anne, it was brought into parliament. It imported, that the charters given to the several colonies in New-England, to East and West New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina, the Bahama and Lucay islands, were prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of the kingdom and the welfare of his majesty's subjects in the other plantations, and to his majesty's revenue arising from the customs. It also further alledged, that irregularities, piracies, and unlawful trade were countenanced and encouraged by the authority in the chartered colonies. It therefore enacted, "That all and singular, the clauses, matters, and things, contained in any charters, or letters patents, granted by the great seal of England, by any of his royal predecessors, by his present majesty, or the late Queen, to any of the said plantations, or to any persons in them, should be utterly void and of none effect. It further enacted, that all such power, authority, privileges, and jurisdictions should be and were re-united, annexed to, and vested in his majesty, his heirs and successors, in right of the crown of England, to all intents and purposes, as though no such charters or letters patent had been had or made.\*

SIR Henry Ashurst, viewing the act as unjust, and subversive of the civil and religious rights of the colony, preferred a petition to the Lords spiritual and temporal in parliament assembled, representing that said bill would do great injustice to the inhabitants of Connecticut: That it would make void the charter granted to the colony by

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\* Copy of the bill on file.

Attempts  
to vacate  
the charter.

Bill for re-  
uniting it  
to the  
crown.

Petition  
against the  
bill.

King Charles the second : That the government was by Book I.  
 said charter granted to them, and was so interwoven with 1704.  
 their property, that it could not be taken away, without  
 exposing them to the utmost confusion, if not to utter ru-  
 in : That the inhabitants had never been accused of male-  
 administration, piratical or unlawful trade, and that their  
 case was different from his majesty's other plantations in  
 America. He therefore humbly prayed to be heard, by  
 his council, at the bar of the house, in their behalf.\* In  
 consequence of this, it was granted, May 3d, 1701, that  
 the petitioner should be heard against the bill.

SIR HENRY was a faithful man, had honorable connex-  
 ions, and his influence at court was very considerable. He  
 raised all the opposition to the passing of the bill in his  
 power. Representations were made not only of the ample  
 rights and privileges granted to Connecticut, by char-  
 ter, but that they were granted for important considera-  
 tions, and particular services performed : That the inhabi-  
 tants, at great expense and danger, had purchased, subdued,  
 and planted an extensive country, had defended it against  
 the Dutch, French, and other enemies of the nation, had  
 enlarged his majesty's dominions, and increased com-  
 merce : That the charter not only gave the inhabitants  
 powers of government, but secured the title of their lands  
 and tenements ; and that, in these views, the passing of  
 the bill would be an act of great injustice, would be ruin-  
 ous to the colony and prejudicial to the general interest.  
 It was insisted, that it would be still more arbitrary and  
 unjust, as the colony had not been even accused of male-  
 administration, piratical or illegal practices, or so much  
 as heard on the subject. It was pleaded, that the colony  
 had ever been loyal and obedient, and if any irregularities,  
 or inadvertencies should finally be found in the govern-  
 ment, it would, on the first notice of it, undoubtedly be  
 reformed. At the same time, the taking away of so many  
 charters was, at once, calculated to destroy all confidence  
 in the crown, in royal patents and promises, to discour-  
 age all further enterprize, in settling and defending the  
 country, to create universal discontent and disaffection in  
 the colonies, and to produce effects much more prejudi-  
 cial to the nation than any of those, which were then mat-  
 ter of complaint. It would also afford a precedent most  
 alarming to all the chartered corporations in England. It miscar-  
ries.  
 These various considerations operated so powerfully a-

\* Petition on file.

BOOK I. gainst the bill, that it could not be carried through the  
 ~~~~~ houses.

1704.

Enemies
of the col-
ony not
discoura-
ged.

They are
powerful.

GOVERNOR DUDLEY and Lord Cornbury however, were not discouraged. They determined to make a more open and powerful opposition to the charter rights of Connecticut. And they determined, as much had been made of this argument, that Connecticut had never been accused of male-administration, piracy or any illegal trade, to remove it out of the way, by a direct impeachment of the colony of high misdemeanors. They were both powerful enemies. Governor Dudley was not only a man of great intrigue, but had a party at court, who were men of art and influence. Lord Cornbury was nearly related to her majesty, Queen Anne, and had many noble connexions, whose weight, with her royal person and the court, was not inconsiderable. Exclusive of these, the colony had enemies among themselves. Nicholas Hallam, Major Palms, Captain Mason, Daniel Clark, and others, had either appealed to England against the colony, or were scheming to possess themselves of large tracts of land, and for that purpose were encouraging the Mohegan controversy. Hallam had appealed to England against the colony and lost his case. The king in council had established the judgment given against him in the courts of Connecticut. Major Palms, who had married the daughter of John Winthrop, Esquire, the first governor of Connecticut, under the charter, had imagined himself injured by the administrators on the governor's estate, and had brought an action against them. Losing his case before the courts in this colony, he had appealed to England. He was particularly irritated against the colony, and against his brother in law, Fitz John Winthrop, Esquire, then governor of the colony. These malecontents all united their influence, by the grossest misrepresentations, and all other means in their power, to injure the colony in its most essential interests.

Unite
their influ-
ence a-
gainst the
colony.

LORD Cornbury was poor, and not unwilling, by any means, to get money. He had made a demand of four hundred and fifty pounds, upon the colony, for the defence of New-York. Connecticut judged, that it was not their duty to comply with his demand, as their expenses already were as great as the colony was able to bear.

DUDLEY and Cornbury, therefore, proceeded to draw up articles of complaint, against the colony. Dudley employed one Bulkeley to write against the government. He drew up a large folio book, which he termed the

DOOM or MISERIES of Connecticut. In this, he not only exceedingly misrepresented and criminated the colony, but expatiated on the advantages of a general governor of New-England, and highly recommended the government of Sir Edmund Andros.*

BOOK I.

1704.

Com-
plaints a-
gainst the
colony.

AMONG other complaints, the principal articles particularly charged were, summarily, these: That the governor did not observe the acts of trade and navigation, but encouraged illegal commerce and piracy: That the colony was a receptacle of pirates, encouraged and harboured by the government: That the government harboured and protected soldiers, seamen, servants, and malefactors, who made their escape from other parts, and would not deliver them up when demanded. It was also charged against the colony, that it harboured great numbers of young men, from Massachusetts and New-York, where they were obliged to pay taxes for the expenses of the war, and induced them to settle there, principally, because it imposed no taxes for that purpose: That the colony would not furnish their quota for the fortification of Albany and New-York, and the assistance of Massachusetts Bay, against the French and Indians: And, that if any of her majesty's subjects, of the other colonies, sued for debt, in any of the courts of the colony, no justice could be done them, if the debt were against any of its inhabitants. It was also charged, that Connecticut, under the colour of their charter, made capital laws, tried murders, robberies, and other crimes, and punished with death and banishment; and that their courts of judicature were arbitrary and unjust: That the legislature would not suffer the laws of England to be pleaded in their courts, unless it were to serve a turn for themselves: That they had refused to grant appeals to her majesty in council, and had given great vexation to those, who had demanded them: That the government had refused to submit to her majesty, and to his royal highness's commission of vice-admiralty, and for commanding its militia; and had defeated the powers, which had been given to the governors of her majesty's neighbouring colonies, for that purpose. Finally, it was charged, that the legislature had made a law, that christians, who were not of their communion, should not meet to worship God, without licence from their assembly, which law extended even

* Letter of Sir Henry Ashurst, on file.

BOOK I.



1704.

Moheagan
affair.


to the church of England, as well as to christians of other denominations tolerated in England.

WHILE Governor Dudley was thus attempting the ruin of the colony, in the court of England, he kept up the appearance of the most entire friendship towards it, in this country; and in a letter, of about the same date with his complaints, thanked the legislature for the great supplies which they had given him and the colony.

THE general assembly had appointed the most respectable committees, and taken great pains to compromise all difficulties with Owaneco and the Moheagans; and tho' they had made repeated purchases and obtained ample deeds of their lands, yet, rather than have any uneasiness among the Indians, they offered Owaneco such a sum of money, to make him easy, as was entirely satisfactory to him; but Mason and the other malecontents, who wished to possess the Indian lands, would not suffer him to accept it, and frustrated all attempts for an accommodation.

WHILE Mason and other enemies were practising their arts, in Connecticut, Hallam, assisted by Dudley and his party, with other malecontents, on both sides of the water, was making grievous complaints, in England, of the injustice and cruelty of the colony towards Owaneco, in driving him from his lands, and depriving the Moheagans even of their planting grounds. It was pretended, that, in the late grant and patent to the town of New-London, the legislature had conveyed away all his lands in that quarter, whereas particular care was taken, both in the grant and patent, to secure all the property and privileges of the Moheagans. The assembly had taken the most faithful and tender care of them, from the first settlement of the colony to that time. According to their agreement with Major Mason, then deputy governor of the colony, when he resigned the Moheagan land to the assembly, they granted him a farm of five hundred acres, and it was laid out to him at a place called, by the Indians, Pomakuk. They had also reserved a fine tract of land, of between four and five thousand acres, to the Moheagans to plant on, which was much more than sufficient for that purpose. But the representations, which these evil minded men were constantly making to Owaneco and his people, at some times, made them uneasy, and some of them probably imagined, that they were really injured. At the same time, the affair was so represented in England, as made impressions on the minds of many very unfavorable to the colony.

IN this situation of affairs, Hallam, assisted by the malecontents in England and America, preferred a complaint and petition to her majesty, Queen Anne, representing, that the sachems of the Moheagan tribe of Indians were the original and chief proprietors of all the lands in the colony: That they were a great people, and had received and treated the first planters in a peaceable and friendly manner: That, for an inconsiderable value, they had granted their lands to them, reserving to themselves a small parcel only for planting ground; and that the general assembly of Connecticut had passed an act by which they had taken that from them, which, until that time, they had always enjoyed. For these reasons, it was prayed, that her majesty would appoint commissioners to examine into all these matters, and into all the other injuries and violences which had been done to the Moheagans, and to determine respecting them according to equity.

BOOK I.

 1704.
 Petition to her majesty in favor of the Moheagans.

HER majesty, imposed upon and deceived by these representations, and not waiting to give the colony an opportunity to be heard, on the 19th of July 1704, granted a commission to Joseph Dudley, Esquire, the great enemy of the colony, Thomas Povey, Esquire, lieutenant governor of Massachusetts, Major Edward Palms, and others, to the number of twelve, authorizing them to hear and determine the whole affair, reserving liberty to either to appeal to her majesty in council.

Her majesty appoints commissioners to hear the case.

AT the session in May, a respectable committee was appointed, with ample powers, to examine into all the complaints of Owaneco and the Moheagan Indians, and to report to the assembly in October. The committee appointed time and place, and attempted to accomplish the business, for which they had been appointed; but Captain Mason, whom Owaneco had chosen for his guardian, had art enough to frustrate the design. He made a journey to Boston, at the very time, and Owaneco would do nothing without him. In the mean time, the commission was granted by the Queen, and the colony were unhappily drawn into a long and expensive controversy.

THE Masons claimed the lands purchased by their ancestor, Deputy Governor John Mason, by virtue of a deed given to him, by Uncas, in 1659, while he acted as agent of the colony, and denied the legality of the surrender which he made of them, in the general assembly, the next year. They insisted, that it respected nothing more than the jurisdiction right, and that the title to the soil was

Book I. vested in their family, as guardians or overseers of the In-
 1704. dians. While they pretended great concern for the In-
 dians, their sole object was to hold all those lands, inclu-
 ded in said deed, for themselves and others, who had uni-
 ted with them in prosecution of the affair against the colony.


Hearing
 of the
 com-
 plaints a-
 gainst
 Connecti-
 cut before
 her majes-
 ty, 1705.

SIR Henry Ashurst, wishing to preserve the important
 privileges of the colony, had taken pains to postpone the
 hearing of the complaints against it, as far as possible, that
 the governor and company might have intelligence concer-
 ning them, and send their answer; but, on the 12th
 of February 1705, the hearing came on, before her ma-
 jesty in council. Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury
 had spared no pains to carry their point before her majes-
 ty. Dudley had been careful to procure and lay before
 her an opinion of the attorney general, in King William's
 reign, "that he might send a governor to Connecticut."
 Further, to prepare the way for the decision which he
 wished, he procured another opinion of the attorney and
 solicitor general, respecting the case of Connecticut, as it
 then appeared, "that if it were as Governor Dudley had
 represented, there was a defect in the government:
 "That the colony was not able to defend itself, and in
 "imminent danger of being possessed by the queen's ene-
 "mies: And that, in such case, the queen might send a
 "governor, for civil and military government; but not
 "to alter the laws and customs."

HER majesty had directed Sir Henry to appear and
 show reasons, if any he had, why she should not appoint
 a governor over the colony. He considered every thing
 dear to it at stake, and therefore made exertions in some
 measure proportionate to the magnitude of the cause.
 Lord Paget, a man of great influence, was his brother by
 marriage, and he was related to, or intimately connected
 with other principal characters at court. He made all
 the interest, and obtained all the influence which he pos-
 sibly could, either by himself or his connections, in favor
 of the colony. He obtained two of the best council in
 England; both parliament men, and possessing an estate
 of a thousand pounds a year. He stood firm against all
 the charges of Dudley, Lord Cornbury, Congrave, and
 others, against the colony, and by his council, for an
 hour and an half, defended it against all the art and in-
 trigue of its adversaries, and all the law learning, and
 eloquence of the attorney and solicitor general.*

* Letter of Sir Henry Ashurst, February 15th 1705, on file.

As Connecticut was entirely ignorant of the charges brought against it, and no information or evidence could be thence obtained, Sir Henry and his council were necessitated to employ such means as were in their power. They amply stated the rights and privileges granted by the royal charter, the territory it conveyed, and the powers with which it vested the governor and company. They showed, that these patents were confirmed by a *non obstante*, and always to be construed in the most favorable light for the grantees. It was demonstrated, that the legislature were vested with ample powers to make laws, criminal and capital, as well as civil; to inflict banishment, death, and all other capital punishments, in all capital cases, no less than in others. It was also represented, that the governors, or commanders in chief, were, by charter, vested with plenary powers to assemble in martial array, and put in warlike posture the inhabitants of the colony, for their defence, and to commission others, for the like purposes. It was also clearly shown, that, by charter, they had the same right to fish, trade, and do all other business, and enjoy all other privileges, by land and sea, which any other of her majesty's subjects had a right to do, or enjoy. It was therefore urged, that all those matters, charged against the colony, respecting their making capital laws and inflicting capital punishments, whether death or banishment, were no crimes; but things which the legislature not only had a right, but were bound in faithfulness to do, as circumstances might require. For the same reason it was also insisted, that the colony's claiming a right to command their own militia, and defeating the designs of the governors of the other colonies, who wished to command it, were no crimes. It was insisted, that doing them was no more than defending themselves in the enjoyment of their legal rights.

BOOK I.

 1795.
 Pleadings
 in vindica-
 tion of the
 colony.

WITH respect to the irregularity and injustice of the courts in Connecticut, it was observed, that general charges deserved no reply: That it did not appear, that what was charged was any thing more than mere hearsay and clamor. But it was pleaded, that, on the contrary, they had substantial evidence of the justice of the courts in Connecticut. That several appeals had been made, to her majesty, from the judgment of those courts: That they had been different cases, and in every instance, the judgments given by the courts in Connecticut, had been approved by her majesty and the lords committee of

BOOK I. council. This it was said, was a notable evidence of
 1705. their justice ; and that, so far as appeared, there had
 been no injustice or irregularity in any one court in the
 colony.

WITH respect to Governor Dudley's complaint, that
 Connecticut did not furnish the men which he demand-
 ed, and that of Lord Cornbury, that it did not comply
 with his demands for money, it was answered, that it did
 not appear, from the charter, that the colony was obliged
 to comply with those requisitions: That the governors
 of other colonies had no right to command the legislature
 and people of Connecticut: and that they were under no
 obligations to obey them, any further than it should be
 required by her majesty. It was further observed, with
 respect to the money, that it appeared from his lordship's
 letter, that the general assembly of Connecticut had taken
 the requisition into their consideration, and had determin-
 ed to know her majesty's pleasure before they gave away
 their money. It was affirmed, that there was nothing
 disloyal in such a determination: That the colony had a
 right to grant, or not to grant their money, as they judg-
 ed it expedient or not: That they had a right to know
 the purpose for which they granted it; and that their re-
 ferring it to her majesty's pleasure, was an implication of
 their obedience to it, whenever it should be known.

WITH reference to Connecticut's harbouring desert-
 ers, malefactors, pirates, and the like, it was observed,
 that it was a general charge of little weight, and deserved
 no answer. It was affirmed to be a common thing, even
 in England, for soldiers and others to go from one coun-
 try into another, and not to be found; yet it might not
 be any crime or fault in the country where they secreted
 themselves. As to Captain Matthews finding two sol-
 diers at Stamford, and sending for Major Silleck to se-
 cure them, it did not appear, that there was the least fault
 in the major. It was evident, from his lordship's letter,
 that he went to Stamford, that the soldiers were brought,
 and that while the major and Matthews were conversing
 together, in a private room, they made their escape. It
 was said, it might be more the fault of Matthews than of
 Silleck; for it did not appear that Matthews was kept
 there by any force or constraint, but was examining into
 the affair, or talking generally upon the subject.

WITH relation to the complaint of Lord Cornbury in
 his letter of June 1703, "that he labored under great
 " misfortunes, in relation to the neighbouring provinces:

“ That the coast of Connecticut is opposite to two thirds BOOK I.
 “ of Long-Island ; by which means, they filled all that 1705.
 “ part of the island with European goods, cheaper than
 “ their merchants could, because they paid duties, and
 “ those of Connecticut paid none ; nor would they be
 “ subject to the acts of navigation ; by which means
 “ there had been no trade between the city of New-York
 “ and the east end of Long-Island, from whence the
 “ greatest part of the whale oil came ; and that it was
 “ difficult to persuade those people that they belonged to
 “ that province,” it was replied, that there appeared to
 be no fault in Connecticut in this respect. It was main-
 tained, that the inhabitants had a right to trade where
 they pleased, if it were not repugnant to the laws of Eng-
 land. It also was pleaded, that there was no evidence,
 that they had been guilty of any illegal trade or practices ;
 and that they were a poor people and carried on little
 trade.

In a letter of the same date, with the former, his lord-
 ship had observed, “ that he was satisfied this vast conti-
 “ nent, which might be made very useful to England, if
 “ right measures were taken, would never be so till all
 “ the propriety and charter governments were brought
 “ under the crown.” To this it was replied, that this
 might, or it might not be the case : That the same, as
 circumstances might be, might be said of all the charters
 in England. It was however insisted, that the words
 founded harsh and had an ill relish.

It was, however, much insisted on, that the attorney
 and solicitor general had reported, “ That her majesty
 might appoint a governor for Connecticut.” To this,
 the council for the colony answered, that the report was
 hypothetical, founded on the supposition, that the colony
 was not able to defend itself, and was in danger of falling
 into the hands of her majesty’s enemies ; but that there
 was no evidence of these facts. It did not appear, they
 said, that Connecticut was in a more defenceless state, or
 in greater danger of becoming a prey to her majesty’s
 enemies, than any of the other colonies. It was plead-
 ed, that the attorney and solicitor general had not report-
 ed that either of these was the case, and therefore their
 opinion could not be made a plea for sending a governor
 to Connecticut.

FURTHER, it was strenuously maintained, that it was
 an essential right of every individual and corporation to
 be heard before they were condemned ; and that the

BOOK I. governor and company of Connecticut ought to be heard upon the articles, exhibited against them, before any judgment be formed respecting them. It was observed, that governors, who, by enlarging their own territories, might increase their honors and profits, were apt to complain: That they were under peculiar temptations, especially at such a distance, where it was so difficult to make enquiry and obtain the truth: That there was more reason to suspect the governors complaining, than the governor of Connecticut, who acted with a council and an assembly. It was therefore affirmed, that there was every reason, that the colony should be heard in its own defence. If either the governor of New-England or New-York were impeached, and the same complaints made against them, said the council, which they have brought against Connecticut, her majesty would do nothing, with respect to them, until they had been heard. It would be contrary to all law and reason; much more so, to treat a whole colony in this manner, in a case in which their charter might be forfeited and their fortunes ruined. It was observed, that governors appointed during pleasure often committed barbarous acts to enrich themselves; and that they had nothing to lose but their office; whereas the colony of Connecticut was of great substance, and had every thing to lose: That even in ordinary cases, in which the property and character of one man only were concerned, nothing was determined but upon sufficient evidence, given upon oath, and that it could never be reasonable to condemn a colony upon mere suggestions: That it might appear upon a full examination, that the governor of Connecticut was much better qualified to govern, than the governor of New-York or Massachusetts. It was therefore pleaded, that the articles of complaint might be sent to the governor and company of Connecticut, and that they might have an opportunity to answer for themselves: That there could be no danger in this; and if any irregularities should be found, in the management of their government, they would most certainly reform and obey her majesty's commands.*

Her majesty's determination ref.

UPON this full hearing, it was determined, that the lords of trade should draw out the principal articles of complaint, and send a copy of them to the governor of Connecticut, and to the two principal complainants,

* Case of Connecticut stated, and pleadings before her majesty, February 12th, 1705, on file.

Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury, and that Connecticut should send their answer with evidence respecting the several articles, legally taken and sealed with the public seal of the colony. Governor Dudley and Lord Cornbury were also directed to transmit their evidence of the articles charged publicly and legally taken.

By this means Dudley, Cornbury, and their abettors were caught in their own snare, their selfishness and duplicity were made to appear, in a strong point of light, and their whole scheme at once totally ruined. They were totally unable to support the charges which they had brought against the colony. At the same time, the legislature of Connecticut were able to produce the most substantial evidence, that the very reverse of what had been pretended was true. They had the last and this year between five and six hundred men in actual service. Four hundred of this number had been employed, principally, in the defence of Massachusetts and New-York. The committee of war, consisting of the governor, most of the council, and other principal men in the colony, had met with officers and commissioners from Massachusetts, and most harmoniously united with them in opinion, and measures for the common defence. The legislature were not only able to prove these facts from the records of the colony and from the resolutions of the committee of war, but, what was still more confounding to Governor Dudley, to produce a letter of his, under his own hand and signature, acknowledging their generous and prompt assistance in the war, and thanking them for the aid which they had given him.† They produced substantial evidence, that when they had scarcely two thousand pounds, in circulating medium, in the whole colony, they had, in three years, expended more than that sum, in the defence of her majesty's provinces of Massachusetts and New-York. They were able to evince, that they had shewn the utmost loyalty and attachment to the queen; been punctual in their observance of the acts of trade and navigation; had not been pirates themselves, nor, at any time, harboured pirates, deserters, servants, or criminals, among them.

WITH respect to appeals to her majesty, the legislature affirmed, they had not refused to admit them only

† They were able to produce letters of thanks, from the commanding officers, ministers, and principal gentlemen in the county of Hampshire, for the assistance which they had given them. Those letters are now on file.

BOOK I.

1705.
pecting
Connecti-
cut, Feb.
12, 1705.

Frustrates
the designs
of Dudley
and Corn-
bury.

Facts ref-
pecting
the colo-
ny.

BOOK I.



1705.

in cases in which proper security or sufficient bondsmen had not been offered. In the appeals of Major Palms, which seem to have been the only instances of which complaint had been made, the court judged, that the security offered was insufficient. The men, who offered themselves to be bound, appeared to have little or no property. As to the vexations complained of, these respected the obtaining of copies of the judgments of the courts in his case. It seems he applied to the assembly for them; but the assembly declined giving them, insisting, that it was not their province to give copies of the doings of other courts. He was therefore referred to the courts in which the judgments had been given.

IN the appeals of Major Palms, and in all other instances, the judgments of the courts in Connecticut were finally established. Upon a full examination of the complaints, they appeared not only groundless but invidious. The loyalty, justice, and honor of the colony appeared more conspicuous than they had done before. But it was some time before the evidence of the true state of the case could be collected and transmitted to England.

MEANWHILE Dudley and Cornbury never lost sight of their object, but vigorously prosecuted the design of subverting the government. There had been, nearly fifty years before, a law enacted against the quakers, but it does not appear, that it had ever been acted upon, in Connecticut, and was, at that time, become obsolete. It appears, by a letter of the governor's, to Sir Henry Ashurst, that he did not know of one person, then in the colony, who was acknowledged to be a quaker. But Governor Dudley, by some means, obtained a copy of the law, and procured a publication of it in Boston. The knowledge of it was communicated to the quakers in England, and they were spirited up to petition for a repeal of the law of Connecticut against the quakers. A petition, about the beginning of April, was preferred to her majesty, on the subject, reciting said law, and representing, that it was calculated to extirpate their friends from that part of her majesty's dominion, and praying that she would disallow the said law. Sir Henry Ashurst presented a petition to the lords of trade and plantation, to whom the petition of the quakers had been referred, praying them to advise her majesty to come to no determination on the subject, until the colony should have notice of the petition, and have time to send their answer. He represented, that the law was made against

Quakers
petition to
her majesty.

Adamites and Ranters: That it was become obsolete, and quakers lived as peaceably in Connecticut, as in any of her majesty's plantations. He represented to their lordships, that there had been more complaints exhibited against this poor colony, in three or four years, without any crime proved, than had been before from the time of its first settlement, which made him believe, that there were disaffected persons, who were attempting, by all means, to make them weary of their charter government: That before the appointment of a certain governor for New-England, the colony had enjoyed uninterrupted peace, for many years, and would have done to that time, had it not been for his misrepresentations. He assured them, that he had been informed, that Governor Dudley had, about two years before, ordered the act against the quakers to be printed, in Boston, on purpose, that the quakers, in England, might join with his other instruments in clamors against Connecticut, to deprive it of its charter privileges.*

HER majesty, upon the advice of the lords of trade and plantation, declared the act against the quakers null and void, without giving the colony a hearing.

SIR Henry Ashurst, writing to the colony soon after, says, "You see how you are every way attacked."

THE enemies of the colony in Connecticut and New-England were no less active than those on the other side of the water. As they had obtained a commission for the trial of the case between Connecticut and the Moheagans, they spared no pains to carry their point. On the 5th of July 1705, Captain John Chandler, in behalf of Owaneco, Captain Samuel Mason, Hallam, and others, who interested themselves in recovering the lands from the colony, began the survey of the Moheagan country, and having accomplished the work drew a map of it, with a view to the trial, before Dudley's court, which was approaching. The governor sent an officer and prohibited his entering upon the survey; but the party gave large bonds to indemnify him, and he proceeded notwithstanding. The boundaries, as surveyed and reported by Chandler, Captain John Parke, Edward Culver, and Samuel Sterry, who assisted him, were, on the south, from a large rock, in Connecticut river, near eight mile island in the bounds of Lyme, eastward, through Lyme, New-London, and Groton, to Ah-yo-sup-suck, a pond in the northeastern part of Stonington; on the east, from

BOOK I.

1705.

She re-
vokes the
act against
them.

Survey of
the Mo-
heagan
country.

Bounda-
ries.

* Petition on file.

Book I. this pond northward, to Mah-man-suck, another pond, thence to Egunk-fank-a-poug, whetstone hills; from
 1705. thence to Man-hum-squeeg, the whetstone country. From this boundary, the line ran south-west, a few miles, to Acquiunk, the upper falls in Quinibaug river. Thence the line ran, a little north of west, through Pomfret, Ashford, Willington, and Tolland, to Mo-she-nup-suck, the notch of the mountain, now known to be the notch in Bolton mountain. From thence the line ran south-erly, through Bolton, Hebron, and East-Haddam, to the first mentioned bounds. This, it appears, was the Pe-quot country, to the whole of which the Moheagans laid claim, after the conquest of the Pequot nation, except some part of New-London, Groton, and Stonington, which had been the chief seat of that warlike tribe. The Moheagans claimed this tract as their hereditary country, and the Wabbequasset territory, which lay north of it, they claimed by virtue of conquest.

Dudley's
 court, Au-
 gust 23,
 1705.

On the 23d of August 1705, the court of commissioners, appointed by her majesty, to examine into the affair of the Moheagan lands, convened at Stonington. Writs had been previously issued, summoning the governor and company, with the claimers of lands in controversy, and all parties concerned, to attend at time and place. The court consisted of Joseph Dudley, Esquire, president, Edward Palms, Giles Sylvester, Jahleel Brenton, Nathaniel Byfield, Thomas Hooker, James Avery, John Avery, John Morgan, and Thomas Lessingwell.

Instruc-
 tions to
 the colo-
 ny's com-
 mittee.

It seems that the governor and general assembly of Connecticut had not been served with a copy of the commission, by which the court was instituted, and viewed it as a court of enquiry only, to examine and make report to her majesty, and not to try and determine the title of the lands in dispute. The committee, appointed by the assembly, to appear before the court, were conditionally instructed. Provided the court was instituted for enquiry only, they were to answer and show the unreasonableness of the Moheagan claims, and the false light in which the affair had been represented; but if the design was to determine with respect to the title of the colony, they were directed to enter their protest against the court, and withdraw. All inhabitants of the colony, personally interested in any of the lands in controversy, were forbidden to plead or make any answer before the court.

GOVERNOR Winthrop addressed the following letter to the president.

“ New-London, August 21st, 1705. BOOK I.

“ SIR,

“ I UNDERSTAND, by your excellency’s letter of July 1705. Governor
 “ 30th, your intentions to be at Stonington, on the 23d Winthrop’s
 “ instant, to hear the complaints of Owaneco against letter to
 “ this government. I have therefore, in obedience to the court.
 “ her majesty’s commands, directed and empowered
 “ William Pitkin, John Chester, Eleazar Kimberly, Es-
 “ quires, Major William Whiting, Mr. John Eliot, and
 “ Mr. Richard Lord to wait on your excellency, and
 “ show the unreasonableness of those complaints, and
 “ the unpardonable affront put upon her majesty, by
 “ that false representation, and the great trouble to your-
 “ self thereby; and I conclude, in a short hearing, your
 “ excellency will be able to represent to her majesty,
 “ that those complaints are altogether groundless. The
 “ gentlemen shall assist your excellency’s enquiry, in
 “ summoning such persons as you shall please to desire,
 “ and all things else, reserving the honor and privileges
 “ of the government.”

WHEN the committee came before the court they perceived, that they determined to try the title of the colony to the lands, and judicially to decide the whole controversy. They resolved therefore, not to make any answer or plea before them, but to protest against their proceedings. The protest is entered as followeth,

“ To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esquire, captain
 “ general and governor in chief of her majesty’s
 “ colony of Massachusetts Bay, &c.

“ WE, the commissioners of her majesty’s colony of Connecticut, are obliged, by our instructions from this government, to certify your excellency, that, in obedience to her majesty’s commands to this colony, we are ready to show the injustice of those complaints against the government, made by Owaneco, to her majesty in council, if your excellency sees good that the complaints be produced, (provided the commissioners, mentioned in her majesty’s commission, with your excellency, be qualified to act as members of the court of enquiry constituted thereby) that so your excellency and commissioners may, upon enquiry, be enabled to make such a true and just report of the matters of fact, mentioned in said complaints to her majesty, as you shall see meet. But if your excellency (as appears to us) does construe any expressions in the said commission, so as to empower the

Protest
 against the
 proceed-
 ings of the
 court.

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1705.

“ said commissioners, by themselves to enquire and judicially determine concerning the matter in controversy, mentioned in the said complaint, concerning the title of land or trespass, and do resolve to proceed accordingly, as we cannot but judge it to be contrary to her majesty’s most just and legal intentions, in said commission; so we must declare against and prohibit all such proceedings, as contrary to law and to the letters patent under the great seal of England, granted to this her majesty’s colony, and contrary to her majesty’s order to this government, concerning the said commission and complaint, as well as to the known rights of her majesty’s subjects, throughout all her dominions, and such as we cannot allow of. We only add, that it seems strange to us, that your excellency should proceed in such a manner, without first communicating your commission to the general assembly of this her majesty’s colony.”

“ WILLIAM PITKIN, &c.”

“ August 24th, 1705.”

Judgment
and proceedings
of the
court.

THE inhabitants who had deeds of the lands in controversy made default, as well as the colony; but the court proceeded to an *ex parte* hearing. Owaneco, Mason, Hallam, and their council produced such papers and evidence, and made such representations, as they pleased, without any person to confront them. After such a partial hearing, of one day only, the court determined against the colony, and adjudged to Owaneco and the Mohegans a tract of land called Massapeag, lying in the town of New-London; and another tract, of about eleven hundred acres, in the northern part of the town, which the assembly had granted as an addition to that township, in 1703. The court also adjudged to them a tract, in the town of Lyme, two miles in breadth and nine miles in length, with the whole tract contained in the town of Colchester. The court ordered Connecticut immediately to restore all those lands to Owaneco, and filed a bill of cost against the colony of £573 : 12 : 8.* Thus a cause of such magnitude, in which the essential interests of a whole colony, and the fortunes of hundreds of individuals were concerned, was carried wholly by intrigue and the grossest misrepresentations. The commission was granted, by her majesty, wholly upon an *ex parte*

* Mohegan case in print.

hearing, upon the representation of the enemies of the colony; and the men who carried on the intrigue were appointed judges in their own case. Without hearing the case, contrary to all reason and justice, they gave judgment against the colony, and hundreds of individuals. They gave away lands holden by conquest, purchase, ancient deeds from the original proprietors, well executed and recorded, by charter, acts and patents from the assembly, and by long possession. The chief judge had been using all his art and influence to ruin the colony, and was now supposed to be scheming for a portion of its lands, as well as for the government. Major Palms had been a long time in controversy with the colony, was exceedingly embittered against it and against the governor, his brother in law. Others of the commissioners were supposed to be confederate with Mason and Clarke, and interested in the lands in controversy. Hallam, Clarke, and several of the commissioners were witnesses in the case. They were witnesses and judges in their own cause, heard themselves and no others. Owaneco was placed, in state, on the right hand of the president, and the colony were treated worse than criminals, with dishonor and contempt.*

AFTER the court had given judgment against the colony, on the 24th of August, they spent three days, in hearing such complaints, as Owaneco, Mason, and other persons interested in the lands, or inimical to the colony, were pleased to make. When they had heard all the complaints and misrepresentations which they had to make, they represented to her majesty, that Owaneco complained he was disseised of a tract of land, containing about seven thousand acres, called Mamaquaog, lying northward of Windham; of another tract called Plainfield, and considerable skirts and parcels of land, encroached upon and taken in, by the towns of Lebanon, Windham, and Canterbury. The court prohibited all her majesty's subjects from entering upon, or improving any of those lands, until a further hearing and determination of the case. Further, in the plenitude of their power, they appointed Captain John Mason to be trustee or guardian to Owaneco and his people, and to manage all their affairs. They represented, from the evidence of Major James Fitch and Captain John Mason, that the colony had left the Indians no land to plant on, and that

BOOK I.
1705.

* Petition to her majesty printed in Mohegan trial.

BOOK I. they consisted of a hundred and fifty warriors, one hundred of whom had been in the actual service of the country that very year.†

1705.

THESE Indians were enlisted and sent out by the colony of Connecticut, and went as cheerfully into service, this year, as they had done at any time before. This gave demonstrative evidence, that there was no general uneasiness among the Moheagans. Had there been, two thirds of their warriors would not have enlisted into the service of the government. Indeed, Owaneco himself was not uneasy only at turns, when the Masons, Clarke, Fitch, Hallam, and others made him so; who were scheming to deprive him and the Moheagans of their lands.

So far was it from being true, that Connecticut had injured them, or taken their lands from them, that they had treated them with great kindness, defended them, by their arms and at their own expense, and prevented their being swallowed up by their enemies. They had left them a fine tract of land, of between four and five thousand acres, between New-London and Norwich; and both in the grant and patent to New-London, there was an express reservation of all the rights and property of the Indians.* The colony had not only reserved lands for the Moheagans, but for all other Indians in it, to plant upon. They suffered them to hunt, fish, and fowl, in all parts of it, and even to build their wigwams, and cut such wood and timber, as they needed in any of their uninclosed lands.

DUDLEY'S court, having finished such business as was agreeable to its wishes, adjourned until the next May; but it never met again. Before that time, the intrigue and duplicity of Governor Dudley and the malecontents became so evident, that all their designs were frustrated.

The assembly appoint a committee to represent the affair to their agent.

THE assembly, at their session in October, appointed a committee, to examine into all matters respecting the Indians, and the complaints which had been made against the colony, and, as soon as possible, to transmit a particular and full answer to their agent. They were instructed fully to acquaint him with a true statement of the Moheagan case, and of the whole management of Dudley and his court. They were to represent, that Dudley, Palms, and others of the commissioners were interested, and par-

† Proceedings and judgment of the court in print, Moheagan case, p. 26 to 67.

* Records of the colony and Moheagan case in print.

ties in the cause, and to insist, that the manner in which the commission was procured to Governor Dudley, Major Palms, and others, was matter of intrigue, and the whole process arbitrary and illegal.

SIR Henry Ashurst, on receiving the papers relative to the case, presented a petition to her majesty, representing the title of the colony to all the lands in controversy, by conquest, purchase, royal charter, long possession and improvement : That Uncas, when the English became first acquainted with him, was a revolted Pequot, expelled his country; and had not a sufficient number of men to make a hunt; and that the lands reserved to him, were not reserved to him in consequence of any right of his, but was a matter of mere permission : That Joseph Dudley, Esquire, Hallam, Palms, the Averys, Morgan, and Lessingwell, had grants of several parts of the controverted lands, and in their own names, or in the name of John Mason, were attempting to set up their titles to them : That Dudley and Hallam, by misrepresentation, had obtained a commission from her majesty, by surprise, under the great seal of England, directed to the said Dudley, Palms, the two Averys, Morgan, Lessingwell, and others, most of whom were of Dudley's and Hallam's denomination, and under his influence; and that in the court, thus instituted, they were the accusers, parties, and judges : That they had assumed to themselves jurisdiction, in a summary way, to try her majesty's petitioners' titles to their lands, and to evict and disseise them of their freeholds, properties, and ancient possessions, without any legal process, or so much as the form of a trial. This, it was represented, tended to the destruction of all the rights of the colony, and was directly contrary to divers acts of parliament made and provided in such cases. The agent therefore, in behalf of the colony, appealed from the judgment of said court to her majesty in council, and prayed that the case might be heard before her.*

IN consequence of this petition, her majesty, sometime after, appointed a commission of review. The affair was kept in agitation nearly seventy years. It was always upon a legal hearing, determined in favor of the colony. The final decision was by King George the III. in council.

THE commissioners of review, in 1743, not only determined the title of the lands to be in the colony of Con-

BOOK I.
1705.

Sir Henry Ashurst petitions her majesty.

Connecticut always get their case.

Adjudication of the

* Petition in print, Mohegan case, p. 153-157.

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1705.
court of
review
1743.

Connecticut, but, "That the governor and company had treated the said Indians with much humanity, at all times, and had, at all times, provided them with a sufficiency, at least, of lands to plant on; and that no act or thing appeared either before the judgment of Joseph Dudley, Esquire, or since, by which they, the said governor and company, had taken from the Indians, or from their sachem, any tracts of land, to which the Indians or their sachem had any right, by reservation or otherwise, either in law or equity."† The proceedings of the several courts of review, and the pleadings before them and his majesty in council, will most properly be noticed in the time of them, and will not be anticipated in this volume.

THE agent of the colony petitioned her majesty, in its behalf, to hear the complaints exhibited by Governor Dudley and his accomplices, that it might have an opportunity of demonstrating how false and groundless they were. He also prayed, that as Dudley had surpris'd her, to grant a commission of high powers to the subversion of the rights of her loyal subjects, and contrary to her gracious intentions towards them, and had abus'd her name and authority to serve his own dark designs, that her majesty would, in some exemplary manner, discountenance the said Dudley and his abettors.

HOWEVER, it does not appear, that Dudley or Lord Cornbury were ever obliged to bring forward any evidence in support of the charges which they had exhibited, or that her majesty, by any public act, discountenanced their intrigue and falsehood. They had such powerful friends at court, that they seem to have palliated and kept the affair, as far as possible, out of public view; and it seems to have been pass'd by without any further examination.

May 1706. THERE was no alteration made in the legislature, at the election in 1706.

THE assembly adopted the same measures, for the defence of Connecticut and the neighbouring colonies, which they had done the year preceding. The same officers were appointed, and the same number of men sent into the field.

THE colony had assurances, from their agent, Sir Henry Ashurst, that they had a clear right to command their own militia; that the governors of the neighbouring col-

† Judgment in print, Mohegan case, p. 140.

onies had no right to command their men, or money ; and that this was the opinion of the best council in the nation. He assured them, that they were under no obligations to them, to do any thing more, than to furnish such quotas as her majesty should require. Book I.
1706.

CONNECTICUT had done much more than this, both in the reign of King William and Queen Anne. Nevertheless, notwithstanding the abusive treatment of Governor Dudley, Lord Cornbury, and their associates in mischief, and the great expense which had been brought upon them, not only by the war, but in consequence of the defence which their agent had been obliged to make for them, in England, such was their zeal for her majesty's service, and their concern and good will for their sister colonies, that they exerted themselves no less for their defence, than if they had been under the command of their respective governors. It was declared to her majesty, that had this been the case they could have done no more.

AT the session in October, the assembly passed the following act in favor of the clergy, "That all the ministers of the gospel that now are, or hereafter shall be settled in this colony, during the continuance of their public service in the gospel ministry, shall have their estates, lying in the same town where they dwell, and all the polls belonging to their several families exempted, and they are hereby exempted and freed from being entered in the public lists and payment of rates." By virtue of this act, for the encouragement of the clergy of this colony, they have always, from that to the present time, been exempted from taxation. Act for the encouragement of the clergy, Oct. 1706.

THE colony, at this period, was in very low circumstances. Its whole circulating cash amounted only to about two thousand pounds. Such had been its expense in the war, and in defending itself against the attempts of its enemies, in England and America, that the legislature had been obliged to levy a tax, in about three years, of more than two shillings on the pound, on the whole list of the colony. The taxes were laid and collected in grain, pork, beef, and other articles of country produce. These commodities were transported to Boston and the West-Indies, and by this means money and bills of exchange were obtained, to pay the bills drawn upon the

* The legislature had before released their persons from taxation, but not their families and estates.

BOOK I.



1706.

colony, in England, and to discharge its debts at home. These low circumstances, these misrepresentations, abuse, and dangers, from their enemies, our venerable ancestors endured with an exemplary patience and magnanimity. Under the pressure of all this expense and danger, they cheerfully supported the gospel ministry and ordinances, in their respective towns and parishes. They contemplated their dangers and deliverances with wonder and thanksgiving, rejoiced in the enjoyment of their privileges, and in the divine care and beneficence.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE country is alarmed. Means of defence. The assembly decline the affording of any assistance in the expedition against Port Royal. Grant assistance to the frontier towns. New townships granted and settled. The Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall chosen governor. Act empowering the freemen to choose the governor from among themselves at large. Acts relative to the settlement of the boundary line with Massachusetts. Garrisons erected in the towns on the frontiers. Expedition against Canada. First emission of paper money. Address to her majesty. Loss of the colony at Wood Creek. Expedition against Port Royal. Expedition against Canada under the command of Admiral Walker and General Nicholson. Fleet cast away and the enterprise defeated. The colony petition her majesty, and send the only pilot from Connecticut, to England, to represent to her majesty the loss of the fleet truly as it was. Acts respecting the superior court. Settlement of the boundary line between Massachusetts and Connecticut. Reasons why the colony consented to such a settlement. Return of peace. The colony happy in the preservation of their frontiers. Towns settled under Massachusetts. State of the colony. Observations.

Reports of an expedition from Canada alarm the country.

SUCH reports of the preparations of the French and Indians, to make a descent upon some part of New-England, were spread abroad, about the beginning of the year 1707, as gave a general alarm to the country. On the 6th of February 1707, a council of war, consisting of the governor, most of the council, and a considerable number of the chief military officers in the colony, convened at Hartford. A letter was received from Deputy

Governor Treat, and another from Major Schuyler at Albany, giving intelligence, that the French, and Indians in their interest, were about to make a descent upon New-England. Information was also communicated, that suspicions were entertained, that the Pohtatuck and Owiantuck Indians designed to join the French and Indians from Canada.

BOOK I.
1707.

THE committee resolved, that the western frontier towns, Symsbury, Waterbury, Woodbury, and Danbury, should be fortified with all possible dispatch. As Waterbury had sustained great losses, by inundations, it was resolved, for their encouragement to fortify their houses well, that the governor and council would use their influence with the assembly, that their country rates should be abated. It was resolved, that each of these four towns should keep a scout of two faithful men, to be sent out every day, to discover the designs of the enemy, and give intelligence should they make their appearance near the frontier towns.

Measures adopted for the common safety.

To prevent damages from the Pohtatuck and Owiantuck Indians, Captain John Minor and Mr. John Sherman were appointed to remove them to Stratford and Fairfield. If by reason of sickness or any other cause they could not be removed, it was ordered, that a number of their chief men should be carried down to those towns, and kept as hostages to secure the fidelity of the rest.

ON the second of April, a special assembly was convened in consequence of letters from Governor Dudley. He had proposed to send an army of a thousand men against L'Acadia, and requested Connecticut to join with Massachusetts in the expedition.

Special assembly, April 2nd.

AFTER the affair had been maturely considered, the assembly determined not to comply with the proposal. The reasons given were, that they had not been consulted, nor had opportunity to consent to the expedition: That they did not understand that the neighbouring colonies, who were equally interested in the expedition, with themselves, were called upon, nor had consented to do any thing; and, that the vast expence of defending the county of Hampshire and their own frontiers, incapacitated them to join in the enterprize.

The assembly will not join in the expedition to L'Acadia.

AT the general election this year, the governor and council were all re-elected.

Court of election, May 8,

UPON the petition of John Prat, Robert Chapman, John Clark, and Stephen Post, appointed a committee

1707.

BOOK I. in behalf of the legatees of Joshua Uncas,* the assembly granted a township which they named Hebron. The settlement of the town began in June 1704. The first people who made settlements in the town were William Shipman, Timothy Phelps, Samuel Filer, Caleb Jones, Stephen Post, Jacob Root, Samuel Curtis, Edward Sawyer, Joseph Youngs, and Benoni Trumbull. They were from Windsor, Saybrook, Long-Island, and Northampton. The settlement, at first, went on but slowly; partly, by reason of opposition made by Mason and the Mohegans, and partly, by reason of the extensive tracts claimed by proprietors, who made no settlements. Several acts of the assembly were made, and committees appointed to encourage and assist the planters. By these means they so increased in numbers and wealth that in about six or seven years they were enabled to erect a meeting-house and settle a minister among them.

1707.
Hebron
made a
town.

Oct. 9th.

AT the session in October, the assembly granted a township to Nathan Gould, Peter Burr, Captain John Wakeman, Jonathan Sturges, and other inhabitants of the town of Fairfield, bounded southerly on Danbury, easterly on New-Milford, and westerly upon the colony line. It extended fourteen miles northward from Danbury. It was afterwards named New-Fairfield. The war, for several years, prevented all attempts for the settlement of this tract.

As the frontier towns had exhibited much zeal in fortifying themselves agreeably to the directions of the governor and council, the assembly made them a liberal compensation.

Special assembly,
Dec. 17th
1707.

ABOUT this time the colony sustained a great loss in the death of the honorable Fitz John Winthrop, Esquire,† and a special assembly was convoked on the 17th of December, by Deputy Governor Treat, at New-Haven, for

* By the last Will of said Uncas, all the lands in Hebron were bequeathed to Thomas Buckingham, Esquire, William Shipman and others, called the Saybrook legatees, except about 2,600 acres at the northeast corner, and about 4,000 acres at the south end of the town. There were also about 700 within the parish of Marlborough. These lands were claimed by Mason.

† He was the son of the honorable John Winthrop, Esquire, the first governor of Connecticut, under the charter. His birth was at Ipswich, in Massachusetts, 1638. Upon the assumption of the charter, May 1689, he was chosen into the magistracy. In 1690, he was appointed major general of the land army designed against Canada. On the dispute relative to the command of the militia he was sent agent, for the colony, to the British court, 1694. After his return, May 1698, he was chosen governor, and



Engraved for Dr. Trumbull's History of
Connecticut from an Original Painting in
the Museum at Yale College.



The Honorable
GURDON SALTONSTALL, Esq.
Governor of Connecticut from
1 Jan. 1707 to September 20 1724

the purpose of electing another governor. The assembly ordered, that the votes of both houses should be mixed before they were sorted and counted, and that the majority of votes should determine the choice. Upon counting the votes, the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall was declared to be chosen governor.

BOOK I.

1707.

The Rev. Mr. Saltonstall chosen

governor

Dec. 17th.

FOUR of the magistrates, the speaker of the house, with three of the other deputies, were appointed a committee to acquaint him with the choice, and solicit his acceptance of the important trust to which he had been chosen. A letter was addressed to him, by the assembly, desiring him to accept of the choice which they had made, and with the committee, appointed to wait on him, to answer the letters of their agent and transact whatever the exigencies of the government might require. A letter was also addressed to his church and congregation at New-London, acquainting them with the call, which the assembly imagined Mr. Saltonstall had to leave the ministry, and to dispose them to submit to such a dispensation.

THE magistrates, upon Mr. Saltonstall's acceptance of the trust to which he had been chosen, were directed to administer to him the oath of the governor, and the oath respecting trade and navigation.

ON the first of January 1708, Governor Saltonstall accepted of his office, and took the oaths appointed by law.

January

1st 1708.

THIS assembly repealed the law which required, that the governor should always be chosen from among the magistrates in nomination, and gave liberty for the freemen to elect him from among themselves at large.

AT the election May 13th, 1708, Governor Saltonstall was chosen governor by the freemen. Nathan Gould, Esquire, was elected deputy governor.* The former

Election

May 13th,

1708.

was annually re-chosen during his life. He died November 27th 1707, in the 69th year of his age.

He appears to have been a popular gentleman, and to have sustained a character without blemish.

* The honorable Robert Treat, Esquire, being, at this period, eighty six years of age, retired from the scene of public action. He had been three years a magistrate, and thirty two years governor, or deputy governor of the colony. He was elected magistrate May 1673, deputy governor 1676, and governor in 1683. To this office he was annually elected, fifteen years, until 1698. He was then chosen deputy governor until the year 1708. He died about two years after, July 12th 1710, in the 89th year of his age. Few men have sustained a fairer character, or rendered the public more important services. He was an excellent military officer: A man of singular courage and resolution, tempered with caution and prudence. His administration of government

BOOK I. magistrates were re-chosen, and Mr. John Haynes, for
 1708. the first time, was elected one of the council. The former treasurer and secretary were re-chosen.

A TOWNSHIP was granted, in the course of this session, at Pohatuck, afterwards named Newtown.

Act for
 quieting
 the inhab-
 itants of
 Windsor
 and Suff-
 field, and
 fixing the
 line be-
 tween
 Massachu-
 setts and
 Connecti-
 cut. May
 13th 1708.

CONNECTICUT, for a long course of years, had been at great trouble and expense, in attempting the settlement of the boundary line between this colony and Massachusetts. The inhabitants of Windsor and Symsbury had been often exceedingly injured, in their persons and property, by the people of Suffield and Enfield, especially by the former. They had not only encroached upon their lands and cut down their timber, but often seized upon their tar and turpentine, and even upon their persons and forcibly carried them off to Suffield. In consequence of these outrages, great animosities had arisen between the inhabitants of those towns, and many lawsuits had been commenced. The assembly, as far as possible, to prevent and terminate these evils, enacted, that commissioners should be appointed with full powers to run the line, with such commissioners as Massachusetts should appoint for that purpose. They were directed to take care that the line should be run by skilful artists, with good instruments; and to take their station three miles south of every part of Charles river, whence Mr. James Taylor and the commissioners of this colony ran the line in 1702. They were instructed to run a due west line from that station, and to make and set up fair marks and monuments in the line between the colonies. And to prevent all further contention, it was enacted, that the inhabitants of Windsor, Symsbury, Suffield, and Enfield, should not make any improvement on the contested lands until the line should be run and settled. It was also enacted, that all suits should continue and rest, until the county court at Hartford, in October, and then to cease. It was provided nevertheless, that the court of Massachusetts should give the same orders to the people of that province, who claimed upon the line, and should immediately unite with Connecticut in settling the boundary between the colonies. Otherwise, it was determined, that all causes, bonds, and the like should be and remain as though this act never had been passed.

was with wisdom, firmness and integrity. He was esteemed courageous, wise, and pious. He was exceedingly beloved and venerated by the people in general, and especially, by his neighbours, at Milford, where he resided.

FURTHER, it was enacted, that upon running the line, BOOK I.
1708. all the most ancient grants, made to the proprietors, by either government, should give title and property to the settlers on either side of the line. It was determined, that unless the court of Massachusetts would agree to the running of the line in this manner, a petition should be addressed to her majesty, praying her to give orders, that the divisional line might be run.

THE assembly, at this session, ordered, that a township should be laid out east of Woodstock, eight miles in length and six in breadth. The inhabitants were vested with the privileges of a distinct town, by the name of Killingly.* Killingly made a town.

THE affairs of the war were conducted this year in the same manner as they had been the preceding. Colonel William Whiting commanded a body of horse and infantry in the county of Hampshire, and scouting parties and garrisons were maintained on the frontiers of the colony.

AT the session in October, it was enacted, that two garrisons should be maintained, at the public expense, at Symsbury, and two at Waterbury. Garrisons were to be kept at Woodbury and Danbury, as the council of war should judge expedient.

AT the election in 1709, Mr. Saltonstall was re-chosen governor, and Nathan Gould, deputy governor. The magistrates were Daniel Witherel, Nathaniel Stanley, John Hamlin, William Pitkin, John Chester, Joseph Curtis, Josiah Rossiter, Richard Christophers, Peter Burr, John Allen, John Haynes, and Samuel Eells, Esquires. Captain Joseph Whiting was treasurer, and Caleb Stanley secretary. Court of Election May 12th, 1709.

A LETTER was laid before this assembly from her majesty, relative to an expedition against the enemy. The design was the reduction of the French in Canada, Acadia, and Newfoundland. The letters from the earl of Sunderland, advising that her majesty would dispatch a squadron of ships to Boston, by the middle of May, with five regiments of regular troops, required Connecticut Expedition against the French.

* At this session, the assembly ordered, "That the ministers of the gospel preach a sermon to the freemen, on the day appointed by law to choose their civil rulers, in the towns where they meet, proper for their direction in the work before them." This seems to have been the origin of preaching freemen's meeting sermons in Connecticut.

BOOK I.



1709.

to raise 350 men. The governments eastward of Connecticut were required to raise 1200 men, and furnish them with transports, flat bottomed boats, pilots, and provisions for three months service. With this force, it was designed to make an attack upon Quebec. At the same time, it was proposed to raise 1500 men in the governments of Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, and the southern colonies. This corps was to proceed by the way of the lakes, and make a descent upon the island of Montreal.

THE legislature of Connecticut voted and raised their quota, with cheerfulness and expedition. Colonel Whiting was appointed to command them. The assembly also voted an address of thanks to her majesty for her royal care and favor to the colonies, in devising means for the removal of an enemy by whom the colonies had been so great and repeated sufferers.

ALL the colonies except Pennsylvania furnished their quotas. The troops with provisions, transports, and articles necessary for the enterprise, were ready in season. The provincials, from the eastern colonies, were ready to sail for Quebec by the 20th of May. Francis Nicholson, who had been lieutenant governor of New-York, under Andross, and afterwards lieutenant governor of Virginia, was appointed to command the troops by land, and march as far as Wood Creek. There he was to wait until the arrival of the fleet expected at Boston, and then to advance, so that the attack upon Quebec and Montreal might be made at the same time. The colonies made great exertions for the public service. Besides their quotas, independent companies were raised and sent on to the army. More than a hundred battoes, and an equal number of birch canoes, were constructed for crossing the lake. Three forts, several block houses, and stores for provisions were erected. But the armament expected from England did not arrive. The defeat of the Portuguese and the straits to which the allies were reduced, occasioned the sailing of the fleet, designed for America, to Portugal, and the expedition was defeated. No intelligence arriving from England, and a great mortality prevailing among the troops, General Nicholson, early in the fall, returned to Albany. This fruitless undertaking was a capital loss and expence to the colonies. One quarter or more of the troops died. Connecticut only sustained the loss of ninety men.

THIS expedition occasioned the first emission of paper money in Connecticut. Book I.

AT a special assembly, on the 8th of June, it was enacted, "That to assist in the expedition, for want of money otherwise to carry it on, there be forthwith imprinted a certain number of bills of credit on the colony, in suitable sums from two shillings to five pounds, which, in the whole, shall amount to the sum of £8,000 pounds and no more." It was enacted, that the bills should be issued from the treasury as money, but should be received in payments at one shilling on the pound better than money. One half only was to be signed and issued at first, and the other was to remain unsigned until it should be found necessary to put it into circulation. Taxes were imposed for the calling in of one half of it within the term of one year, and the other at the expiration of two years.

1709.
First emission of bills of credit June 1709.

THE expectations of the people, in the spring, had been wrought up to a high degree of assurance, that Canada would be reduced before the close of the campaign. Joy brightened in every countenance, with the pleasing prospect, that a period would immediately be put to all the encroachments and ravages of a merciless enemy. Every heart was gladdened at the prospect of the enlargement of the British empire and the augmentation of the national commerce. When therefore, from such harmonious and general exertion, and such uncommon expence, they experienced nothing but loss and disappointment, the chagrin and depression were proportionably great.

Expectations of the country disappointed.

HOWEVER, the importance of driving the French from Canada, and the necessity of immediate exertions to preserve the friendship and keep up the spirit of the five nations, without which the frontiers would become a field of blood, induced the colonies to keep the object still in view. A congress of governors was appointed and met at Rehoboth, the beginning of October, to deliberate on the subject. General Nicholson, Colonel Vetch, and others met with them. An address was agreed upon to her majesty, representing the great harmony and exertions of the colonies, in her majesty's service, the importance of reducing the French in North America to her majesty's obedience, praying her majesty to grant the colonies an armament, with their assistance, adequate to the design.

Convention of governors.

BOOK I.

1709.
Assembly
Oct. 13th,
1709.

WHEN the general assembly convened, in October, Governor Saltonstall communicated the transactions of the governors of the several colonies, and the address, which they had prepared, to her majesty. The assembly approved the address, and determined on a similar one themselves. Governor Saltonstall was appointed agent to make a voyage to England, and present it in person to her majesty. Provision was also made for the expense of his agency.

Ridgefield
purchased
and made
a town.

NOTWITHSTANDING the war, the colony made progress in settlement. In 1708, John Belden, Samuel Keeler, Matthew Seymour, Matthias St. John, and other inhabitants of Norwalk, to the number of twenty-five, purchased a large tract, between that town and Danbury, bounded west on the partition line between Connecticut and New-York. The purchase was made of Catoonah, the chief sachem, and other Indians, who were the proprietors of that part of the country. The deed bears date September 30th, 1708. At this session, it was ordained, that it should be a distinct township, by the name of Ridgefield.

Election
May 11th,
1710.

THE only alteration made, by the election, in 1710, was the choice of Matthew Allen, Esquire, in the place of Daniel Witherel, Esquire.

Measures
adopted
to obtain
an arma-
ment from
England.

NEW-YORK, as well as Connecticut and the other New-England colonies, had made great exertions, the last campaign, for the reduction of Canada. New-York, by means of the great influence of Colonel Schuyler, had been able to bring six hundred of the Indians of the Five nations into the field. The colonel was extremely discontented at the late disappointment. No man had more extensive views of the importance of expelling the French from this northern continent, and more zeal in the cause than he. So powerful was the influence, which the affair had upon his mind, that he determined to make a voyage to England, at his own private expense, and to carry with him five sachems of the Five nations, that by their representations, the more sensible impressions might be made upon her majesty and the British court. The assembly of New-York had determined to address her majesty on the subject; and no sooner was the house apprized of his design, than they unanimously resolved, that he should present their address to her sacred majesty. Accordingly Colonel Schuyler went to England, and presented the address. The Indian sachems were also introduced to the Queen. They represented

their long war, in conjunction with her children, against her enemies, the French : That they had been a strong wall of defence to her colonies, to the loss of their best warriors ; and that they mightily rejoiced when they heard their great Queen had resolved to send an army to Canada. They said, that, in token of their friendship, they had, with one consent, hung up the kettle and taken up the hatchet and assisted General Nicholson ; but when they found, that their great Queen, by some important affairs, had been diverted from her design of subduing the French, it made them sorrowful, lest the enemy, who hitherto had dreaded them, should now imagine, they were unable to make war upon them. They represented, that the reduction of Canada was of great weight to them, that they might hunt freely. They insisted, that if their great Queen should be unmindful of them, they and their families must forsake their country and seek other habitations, or they must stand neuter ; neither of which suited their inclinations. In hope of their great Queen's favor they referred the affair to her gracious consideration.

GENERAL Nicholson went to England, in the fall of 1709, on the same business, to solicit a force against Canada. Governor Saltonstall, for some reason, did not accept of the agency to which he had been appointed. The address of Connecticut, it seems, was sent to be presented by another hand. In consequence of these united applications, great encouragements were given, that an expedition would be again undertaken against Canada. In July, advice arrived in New-England, that Lord Shannon, with a fleet destined for that service, was under sailing orders. Nicholson, who sailed with several ships of force and some transports from England, in the spring, came over with that expectation. However it finally proved, that the reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia was the only object.

IN consequence of a letter from her majesty, requiring the assistance of her subjects, in this colony, in the expedition, a special assembly was convoked, on the 14th of August. Beside the loss of lives the last year, many of the soldiers then in service remained in a sickly and weak condition. The enemy insulted the frontier towns, and the colony was obliged to keep a large number of men in pay for their defence. Nevertheless, such was the obedience of the legislature to her majesty's commands, and their zeal for her service, that they cheerfully voted three hundred men for the expedition. Vessels and sailors

BOOK I.

 1710.
 Address of
 the Indian
 Kings to
 Queen
 Anne.

Special as-
 sembly
 Aug. 14th.

BOOK I.

1710.

Expedition
against Port
Royal.It surrenders
Oct.
22d.

were procured, and all necessary provision was made for the transportation and support of the troops. In about a month they were raised and transported to Boston.

ON the 18th of September, a fleet of thirty-six ships of war and transports sailed from Nantasket for Port Royal. There were fourteen transports in the pay of Massachusetts, five in the pay of Connecticut, two of New-Hampshire, and three of Rhode-Island. The chief command was given to General Nicholson. On the 24th, the fleet and army arrived at Port Royal. The troops landed without opposition and made an easy conquest. On the 21st of October, the engineers opened three batteries of two mortars and twenty four cohorns in the whole. At the same time, a bomb ship, called the Star bomb, plied the enemy with her shells. The next day Monsieur Subercafè capitulated, surrendering the fort and country to the crown of Great Britain.

GENERAL Nicholson left a sufficient garrison under the command of Colonel Vetch, his adjutant general, who had been appointed to the government of the country. In this expedition, the Mary Galley, commanded by Captain Taye, a transport in the service of Connecticut, ran aground and was lost. Twenty-six men were drowned.* Fourteen or fifteen were lost in the expedition, while the troops were investing and besieging the fort. This was the whole loss sustained in the enterprise. From this time the name was changed, and the port was named Annapolis Royal.

GENERAL Nicholson, animated with his late success, in the fall, made a second voyage to England, to solicit another expedition against Canada.

June 8th,
1711.

THE country in general had no expectations, that he would succeed in his design. They could not imagine, that Queen Anne's tory ministry would attempt any thing of this nature for New-England. Contrary, however, to all expectation, the affair was resumed. In June, General Nicholson arrived, at Boston, with the news, that a fleet might soon be expected from England, and with her majesty's orders that the several governments of New-England, New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania should have their respective quotas in immediate readiness for the expedition.

June 24th.
Fleet ar-
rives.

CONSEQUENTLY a general meeting of the governors of the several colonies was immediately appointed at New-

* This transport was hired of one Mr. Vryling, of Boston, and the colony paid him about £1,000 for the loss of his vessel.

London. Sixteen days after the arrival of General Nicholson, the fleet arrived at Boston. But it was very extraordinary that the fleet had neither pilots nor provisions. Ten weeks provisions were demanded for the army. It had been suspected before this, that the reduction of Canada was not really designed by the ministry. These circumstances increased the suspicion. It was much doubted, whether, in the then state of the country, it were possible, in so short a time, as was necessary, to procure such a quantity of provisions, as had been demanded. There was, at the same time, a strong suspicion, that if the expedition should miscarry, it was designed to throw the whole blame upon New-England. Whether these suspicions were well grounded or not, it is certain, that they had great influence, together with the zeal which the colonies had for the service, to draw forth their utmost exertions.

WHEN the fleet arrived at Boston the governors were met in convention, at New-London, concerting measures for prosecuting the expedition with the utmost harmony and dispatch. The general courts of Massachusetts and Connecticut were in actual session. The general assembly of Connecticut convened on the 19th of June. A letter was communicated from her majesty and another from General Nicholson respecting the expedition. The assembly resolved, that three hundred and sixty men should be raised forthwith, as the quota of this colony in the expedition. It was also resolved, that four months provisions should be immediately procured, and that a suitable vessel should be provided to transport them to Albany, and to accommodate the sick and convey them back to Connecticut.

THE assembly also addressed a letter to her majesty, returning her their most humble and dutiful acknowledgements, for that great expression of her royal care for her colonies and their peace and welfare, which she had manifested in the appointment of the present expedition against the common enemy. They particularly thanked her majesty for her royal bounty towards the colony, in furnishing the troops with clothing, arms, and ammunition, by which they were better enabled to bear the annual expenses of the war. They represented to her majesty, in a strong point of light, the horrible manner in which the enemy carried on the war; lying in ambush, killing and scalping single persons, upon the frontiers, surprising and cutting off families, stealing captives, tor-

BOOK I.

1711.

Suspensions
of the
country.

Conduct
of the as-
sembly re-
specting
the expe-
dition,
June 19th,
1711.

BOOK I. turing and enslaving them. They promised a hearty
 1711 concurrence with the royal requisitions, and a zealous
 performance of whatever might contribute to the success
 of the expedition.

To animate the general, and ingratiate themselves with him, the legislature appointed a committee to return him their thanks, for the good services he had rendered to her majesty's plantations in North America; and especially to Connecticut, in his former good conduct of the troops under his command. They thanked him, not only for his important services in the reduction of Port Royal and Nova Scotia, but for the great pains he had taken since, in making a voyage to England, and representing to her majesty the true state and interest of the colonies, and by that means obtaining her orders for the then present expedition.

Universal
 harmony
 and exertion.

A PUNCTUAL compliance with her majesty's orders was universally recommended by the governors in convention and by the several legislatures. Not only the several colonies but individuals exerted themselves beyond what had been known upon any other occasion.

The ar-
 mament
 sails from
 Boston
 July 30th.

IN a little more than a month, from the arrival of the fleet, the new levies and provisions, for that and the army, were ready. Upon the 30th of July, the whole armament sailed from Boston for Canada. It consisted of fifteen men of war, twelve directly from England, and three which had before been stationed in America; forty transports, six store ships, and a fine train of artillery with all kinds of warlike stores. The land army on board consisted of five regiments from England and Flanders, and two regiments raised in Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and New-Hampshire; amounting in the whole to nearly seven thousand men. The fleet was commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker; and the army by Brigadier Hill, brother to Mrs. Masham, then the Queen's favorite. The land force was about equal to that which, under General Wolf, afterward reduced Quebec, though at that time it was not half so strong, as when it was reduced by that famous general.

UPON the same day, on which the fleet sailed from Boston, General Nicholson began his journey for Albany, where, a few days after, he appeared at the head of four thousand men, from the colonies of Connecticut, New-York, and New-Jersey. The troops from Connecticut were commanded by Colonel William Whiting, who was an experienced officer, and had commanded

them the last year, at Port Royal. The New-York and New-Jersey troops were commanded by Colonels Schuyler and Ingoldsby. Connecticut, besides victualling its own troops, furnished New-York with two hundred fat cattle and six hundred sheep. Thus, in about five weeks, the colonies had raised two considerable armies and furnished them with provisions. More than this could not have been expected.

ADMIRAL Walker arrived in the mouth of St. Lawrence, on the 14th of August. That he might not lose the company of the transports, as was pretended, he put into the bay of Gaspee, on the 18th, where he continued until the 20th of the month. On the 22d, two days after he sailed from the bay, the fleet appeared to be in the most hazardous circumstances. It was without foundings, without sight of land; the sky was darkened with a thick fog, and the wind high at east south east. In this situation the ships brought to, with their heads to the southward. This was done with an expectation that the wind would drive them into the midst of the channel. But instead of this, about midnight, the seamen discovered that they were driven upon the north shore among rocks and islands, upon the verge of a total shipwreck. Eight or nine of the British transports were cast away, on board of which were about seventeen hundred officers and soldiers. Nearly a thousand men were lost. The admiral and general were in the most imminent danger, and saved themselves by anchoring. Such was the violence of the storm that they lost several anchors. Upon this disaster, the admiral bore away for Spanish river bay; but the wind shifting to the east it was eight days before all the transports arrived. In the same time, as the wind was, they might have easily arrived at Quebec. It was there determined, by a council of land and naval officers, that as they had but ten weeks provision, and could not expect a supply from New-England, to make no further attempt. The admiral sailed directly for England, and arrived at Portsmouth on the 9th of October. Here the fleet suffered another surprising calamity. The Edgar, a 70 gun ship, blew up, having on board four hundred men, besides many persons who were just come on board to visit their friends. As the cause of this event was wholly unknown, jealous minds were not without suggestions, that even this, as well as the other disaster, was the effect of horrid design.

BOOK I.
1711.

Ship-
wreck
Aug. 22.

BOOK I.

1711.
The blame
imputed
to the col-
onies.

THE admiral and English officers, to exculpate themselves, laid the blame wholly upon the colonies, that they were delayed so long for provision and the raising of the provincials, and that they had such unskilful pilots. The admiral declared, that it was the advice of the pilots that the fleet should come to in the manner it did, but the pilots, from New-England, declared, upon oath, that they gave no such advice. If any such was given it must have been by the French pilots on board, either through mistake or upon design. Charlevoix represents, that the French pilots warned the admiral of his danger, but that he did not sufficiently regard them.

THE whigs, in England, generally censured the ministry for their conduct respecting the expedition. Lord Harley represented the whole affair as a contrivance of Bolingbroke, More, and the Lord Chancellor, Harcourt, to cheat the public out of twenty thousand pounds. Lord Harcourt was pleased to say, "No government was worth serving, that would not admit of such jobs." Another English writer observes, "That if the ministry were sincere in the prosecution of the war, they were certainly the most consummate blunderers that ever undertook the government of a state."*

GENERAL Nicholson had not advanced far before he received intelligence of the loss sustained by the fleet, and the army soon after returned.

THE Marquis De Vaudreuil, governor of Canada, received intelligence of the arrival of the fleet from England, and of the preparations making in the colonies for the invasion of Canada, and had omitted nothing in his power to put it into a state of defence. No sooner was he apprized of so many ships wrecked and so many bodies with red coats driven on shore, and that the river was clear of ships, than he ordered the whole strength of Canada towards Montreal and lake Champlain. At Chambly he formed a camp of three thousand men to oppose General Nicholson. Had the general crossed the lake it might have been difficult for him to have returned in safety.

VERY providential it was, that all the provincial transports, except a small victualler, were preserved. The crew of the victualler were saved, and not a provincial lost. The loss and disappointment, nevertheless, were exceedingly grievous to the colonies. Many pious peo-

* Rider's Hist. of England, vol. XXXII. p. 189, 190.

ple, after so many attempts had been blasted, gave up all expectations of the conquest of Canada. They imagined it was not the design of providence, that this northern continent should ever wholly belong to any one nation.†

BOOK I.
1711.

UPON the return of General Nicholson's army, and the report of Vaudreuil's force, the country were not only chagrined with disappointment, but alarmed with fear. They were apprehensive, that the enemy, in different parties, by different routes, would, with redoubled fury, harass and desolate the country.

To return to the affairs of Connecticut, the history of which has been in some measure interrupted with the general account of the war, it should be observed, that Joseph Talcott was this year chosen into the magistracy in the stead of Josiah Rositer, Esquire. An important alteration was also made, at the session in May, respecting the superior court. Until this time, it had been holden at two places only, Hartford and New-Haven, and at two terms annually. This was found to be an affair of expense and inconvenience. It was therefore resolved, that the superior court should sit twice annually, in each of the counties, and that all actions should be tried in the county in which they originated.

Superior court made circular May 1711.

WHEN the assembly met in October, an address was prepared to be presented to her majesty representing the exertions of the colony in her service, condoling her on the disappointment with respect to the expedition, and praying for the continuance of her favor to the colony.

Oct. 11th.

AT the session in May 1708, the assembly made a grant of a township at a place called Pohtatuck, from a river of that name upon which part of it lies. At this session it was incorporated and named Newtown.

Newtown incorporated.

A TOWNSHIP had been given, several years before this time, by Joshua, sachem of the Moheagans, lying north of Lebanon and west of Mansfield, to certain honorable legatees in Hartford. The donation was approved by the assembly. The legatees conveyed their right to William Pitkin, Joseph Talcott, William Whiting, and Richard Lord, to be a committee to lay out said township and make settlements on the lands. On the 9th of May 1706, the general assembly authorized those gentlemen to act as a committee for those purposes. October 11th, 1711, this committee was re-appointed, with one Nathaniel Rust, who had already settled upon the lands,

Coventry settled and incorporated.

† Hutchinson Vol. II. p. 193—196. Smith's Hist. of New-York, p. 130, 131.

BOOK I.



1711.

Special as-
sembly
Nov. 3d,
1711.

more effectually to carry into execution the design of their former appointment. The township, at the same session, was named Coventry. Nathaniel Rust and some others settled in the town about the year 1700; but the settlement of it has generally been dated from 1709. In the spring of this year, a number of good householders, from Northampton and other places, moved into the town, and the inhabitants were so increased, in about two years, that they were incorporated with the privileges of other towns. The planters were from a great variety of places, but principally from Northampton and Hartford.

IN consequence of letters from Governor Dudley, of Boston, and from General Nicholson, relative to the unsuccessfulness of the late expedition, a special assembly was called, November 3d, 1711. The design of it was to consult the best means of acquainting her majesty truly how the affair was; what exertions the colonies had made, and that it was not through any fault of theirs that the enterprise was frustrated. It was judged best, that the colonies should make a joint representation, and that the pilots should be sent to England, to be examined and declare before her majesty what they knew concerning the shipwreck. The assembly determined, that the affair was of great importance to the colonies; and that John Mayhew, of New-London, who was the only pilot from Connecticut, should, forthwith, proceed to Great Britain, with the pilots from Massachusetts. It was also resolved jointly, with the other colonies, to petition her majesty for another armament, in the spring, to assist them in the reduction of Canada. In the petition from Connecticut, the legislature lamented the miscarriage of the expedition, and the fatal consequences of it to these colonies. They represented it would put them to great expense to employ such a number of men as were necessary to defend such extensive frontiers as theirs were; and that, after all their exertions, one family and town after another would be swept away by the enemy. They expressed their apprehensions, that unless another expedition should be undertaken against the enemy, they would, in the spring, send out a greater number of scalping and plundering parties, than they had done in the preceding years of the war; and that her majesty's subjects would be greatly distressed. It was also suggested, that there was danger that the enemy would draw off many of the Indians who dwelt among them, as well as the Indians of the Five nations, and engage them against the colo-

nies. It was also urged, that the colonies were of great importance to her majesty's interest, and that it would be impolitic to suffer the enemy to possess so large a proportion of her majesty's dominions in North America, as they actually inhabited and claimed. It was insisted, that, by the smiles of providence on her majesty's arms, the settlements in Canada might be easily reduced to her majesty's obedience. They prayed her to revive the expedition, and promised a cheerful obedience to her commands in contributing their proportion to the common service.*

BOOK I.
1711.

THE petitions were sent over seasonably, and the pilots were a considerable time in London, waiting to be examined and give information, relative to the loss of the transports, and the miscarriage of the expedition. However no examination was ever made concerning the failure of the enterprize. It did not appear, that much had been expected from it, in England, nor that people were discontented at the issue, or interested themselves very greatly in the affair. The court shewed no disposition to make any further attempt upon Canada.

THE election in 1712 made little or no alteration with respect to public officers. Nothing very material appears to have been transacted this year. The legislature made the usual provision for the defence of this colony and the county of Hampshire.

Election
May 8th,
1712.

NATHAN Gould, Esquire, the deputy governor, was appointed chief judge of the superior court. William Pitkin, Richard Christophers, Peter Burr, and Samuel Eells, Esquires, were appointed assistant judges. In the absence of the deputy governor, William Pitkin was appointed chief judge; and in case either of the other judges were absent, any one of the magistrates was authorized to sit in his stead. Until this time, the judges of the superior court had been allowed nothing more than the fees of it. An act was therefore passed, at the October session, that the judges, for the time being, upon laying their accounts before the assembly, should be allowed an honorable compensation for their expenses and services.

Regulation of the
superior
court May
1712.

ABOUT this time, the inhabitants of New-Milford were incorporated and vested with town privileges.†

New-Milford
incorporated
Oct. 9th.

* Petition on file.

† About this time, William Patridge, Esquire, of Newbury, and Jonathan Belcher, of Boston, opened a copper mine at Simsbury; and for their encouragement the assembly exempted the miners, operators and laborers from military duties, for the term of four years.

BOOK I. AT the election in May 1713, Mr. John Sherman, who had been some time speaker of the lower house, was chosen into the magistracy.

1713.

Pomfret
incorporated May
1713.

In October 1687, a grant of lands, commonly called the Mashamoquet purchase, was made, by the general assembly, to Major James Fitch, Lieutenant William Ruggles, Mr. John Gore, Mr. John Pierpont, Mr. John Chandler, Mr. Benjamin Sabin, Mr. Samuel Craft, Mr. John Grosvenor, Mr. Joseph Griffin, Mr. Samuel and John Ruggles, and Mr. Nathan Wilson. The most of these planters were from Roxbury in Massachusetts. Some of them moved on to the lands in 1686, before the grant was made. At the session in May 1713, the inhabitants were incorporated and vested with town privileges. The name was changed from Mashamoquet to Pomfret.

Settle-
ment of
the line
with Mas-
sachu-
setts.

IN 1708, the assembly of Connecticut determined, that, unless the province of Massachusetts would accept of the terms which they had proposed, relative to the line between them, they would make application to her majesty, desiring that orders might be given, that Massachusetts forthwith should mutually join with Connecticut in running and settling the boundary line between the colonies. Massachusetts, at that time, would not consent to run the line, as it had been proposed. They would not grant, that there had been any mistake in running it; but if there had been, they insisted, that, as it was run so long before the charter granted to Connecticut, and they had been in possession of the lands in controversy for sixty six years, and several towns and plantations had been settled upon them, it was not then reasonable to draw it into question. The assembly of Connecticut therefore, in 1709, approved a letter, addressed to the Lords of trade, giving reasons why the line run by Woodward and Saffery ought not to be established; and it seems to have been the determination of the legislature to have appealed to her majesty with respect to the partition line; but several circumstances finally prevented. Governor Dudley, who was a man of uncommon intrigue and duplicity, had many friends and great influence at court. Connecticut had no such friends or influence with the court party. Sir Henry Ashurst, their agent for many years, appears now to have been no more; and they had not yet sufficient time to fix upon and have proof of the fidelity and ability of another in his place. The colony was poor, and had been put to great expense in defending itself against the complaints of Governor Dudley, Lord Corn-

Reasons of
settling it
without
an appeal
to her ma-
jesty.

bury, and other enemies, and against the claims of Mason and his party. The ministry were high Tories, and inimical to all charter governments. The legislature were apprehensive that their enemies were again concerting measures to deprive them of all the privileges, which they had so dearly bought. Massachusetts also, in some good measure, agreed to part of the terms proposed in 1708. It was therefore, in full view of these circumstances, judged most expedient to make the best settlement which could be obtained, without an appeal to her majesty.

BOOK I.
1713.

UPON the 13th of July 1713, commissioners, fully empowered from each of the colonies, came to an agreement which was adopted by each court. They were both careful to secure the property to the persons to whom they had made grants of lands, and to maintain the jurisdiction over the towns which they had respectively settled. It was therefore expressly stipulated, as a preliminary, that the towns should remain to the governments, by which they had been settled; and that the property of as many acres as should appear to be gained, by one colony from the other, should be conveyed out of other unimproved land, as a satisfaction or equivalent. With respect to about two miles, claimed by Windfor upon the town of Suffield, concerning the validity of which there had been a long contest, it was agreed, that, if the tract fell within the line, it should belong to Connecticut.

Settlement of boundaries with Massachusetts.

ON running the line it was found, at Connecticut river, to run ninety rods north of the northeast bounds of Suffield; and it appeared, that Massachusetts had encroached upon Connecticut 107,793 acres, running a due west line from Woodward's and Saffery's station. Massachusetts made a grant of such a quantity of land to Connecticut, and it was accepted as equivalent. The whole was sold, in sixteen shares, in 1716, for the sum of £683 New-England currency.* The money was applied to the use of the college.

NOTWITHSTANDING the long and expensive controversy of Connecticut with the colony of Rhode-Island, relative to the Narraganset country, and notwithstanding the king's commissioners, and attornies of the greatest

With Rhode-Island.

* This was a little more than a farthing per acre, and shows of what small value land was esteemed at that day. It affords also a striking demonstration, that considering the expence of purchasing them of the natives, and of defending them, they cost our ancestors five, if not ten times their value.

BOOK I. fame, determined, that the title was undoubtedly in the
 1713. governor and company of this colony, yet it was judged
 expedient to give up the claim. Lands were of fo little
 value, and controversies before king and council fo expen-
 five, and the event fo uncertain, that the legislature de-
 termined rather to comply with Governor Winthrop's and
 Clark's agreement, than to prolong the controversy.
 The court party both in King William's and Queen
 Anne's reign, appeared reluctant to establish the charter
 limits of Connecticut, at Narraganfet river and bay, oth-
 erwise they would have advised to establish the judgment
 of the king's commissioners; and the king, or queen
 would have adopted the same opinion, and established
 the boundary according to the charter. The court prob-
 ably were influenced by political principles. The estab-
 lishment of the eastern boundary of Connecticut, at Nar-
 raganfet river and bay, would have ruined Rhode-Island,
 by reducing them to limits too small for a colony. Con-
 necticut was doubtless fully sensible of these dispositions
 of the sovereigns and court of Great Britain, and it prob-
 ably operated as a strong motive to induce them to give
 up their claim.

IN October 1702, a committee was appointed to make
 a complete settlement of the boundary line between the
 colonies, reserving to all persons concerned their entire
 property in lands and buildings, according to the agree-
 ment of Governor Winthrop and Mr. Clark. On the
 12th of May 1703, the committees from the two colonies
 agreed, " That the middle channel of Pawcatuck river,
 " alias Narraganfet river, as it extends from the salt wa-
 " ter upwards, till it come to the mouth of Ashaway
 " river, where it falls into the said Pawcatuck river, and
 " from thence to run a straight line till it meet with the
 " southwest bounds or corner of Warwick grand pur-
 " chase, which extends twenty miles due west from a
 " certain rock lying at the out most point of Warwick
 " neck, which is the southeasterly bounds of said pur-
 " chase; and from the said southwest bounds, or corner
 " of said purchase, to run upon a due north line till it
 " meet with the south line of the province of Massachu-
 " setts Bay in New-England: This to be, and forever
 " remain to be the fixed and stated line between the said
 " colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island. Always
 " provided, and it is hereby intended, that nothing in
 " the aforementioned agreement, or any clause thereof,
 " shall be taken or deemed to be the breach or making

“ void of the fourth article in the agreement made be-
 “ tween the agents of the said colonies of Connecticut
 “ and Rhode-Island, viz. John Winthrop, Esquire, and
 “ Mr. Daniel Clark, for maintaining property, dated A-
 “ pril 7th, 1663, but that the same shall be kept and
 “ justly performed, according to the true intent and
 “ meaning thereof; and that all former grants and pur-
 “ chases, granted by, or made within either of the colo-
 “ nies and all other ancient grants confirmed by the au-
 “ thority of Connecticut colony within the township of
 “ Westerly, in the colony of Rhode-Island, shall be duly
 “ preserved and maintained, as fully and amply, to all
 “ intents and purposes, as if they were lying or contin-
 “ ued within the bounds of the colony, by the authority
 “ of which it was granted or purchased.”*

BOOK I.

1713.

NOTWITHSTANDING this agreement, Rhode-Island, about this time, disowned its authenticity, pretending that their commissioners were not empowered to conclude fully and finally upon such settlement. The cause was heard by the king in council, some years after, and decided according to the agreement of the commissioners as stated above.

SEPTEMBER 27th, 1728, the line was finally ascertained and distinguished by proper monuments and boundaries. Roger Wolcott, James Wadsworth, and Daniel Palmer, on the part of Connecticut, and William Wanton, Benjamin Ellery, and William Jenckes, in behalf of Rhode-Island, were the committees for the running and final fixing of the line.

No colony, perhaps, had ever a better right to the lands comprised in its original patent than Connecticut, yet none has been more unfortunate with respect to the loss of territory. King Charles the second, in favor of his brother the Duke of York, granted a great part of the lands contained within its original limits to him, and the legislature, for fear of offending those royal personages and losing their charter, gave up Long-Island and agreed to the settlement of the boundary line with the king's commissioners. For the reasons which have been suggested they lost a considerable tract on the north and on the east. Indeed, considering the enemies and difficulties with which they had to combat, it is admirable that

Connecticut unfortunate in the loss of territory.

* Agreement on file, signed with the hands of the commissioners and sealed with nine seals

BOOK I. they retained so much territory, and so nobly defended their just rights and liberties.

1713.

Peace pro-
claimed,
Aug. 26th,
1713.

THE peace of Utrecht was signed by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain and France March 30th, 1713. Official accounts of the pacification and orders for immediately proclaiming the peace were received by the governor of Connecticut, on the 22d of August. The governor having called together the deputy governor and council, they, on the 26th, made a formal proclamation of peace between the two nations.

UPON the pacification with France, the Indians buried the hatchet, and peace, with her olive branch, once more gladdened the colonies.

CONNECTICUT had not been less fortunate in this, than in former wars. A single town had not been lost, nor had any considerable number of the inhabitants fallen by the hands of the enemy. In Philip's, King William's, and Queen Anne's wars, Connecticut lost only the buildings and part of the effects of one town. The inhabitants of Symsbury, when consisting of about forty families, as the tradition is, supposing themselves in danger of a surprise, by the enemy, buried a considerable part of their effects, and generally removed back to Windsor. The enemy, finding the town nearly deserted, fell upon it, burned the buildings and captivated several of the inhabitants. When the people moved back, such an alteration had been made, by the burning of the buildings and the growth of weeds and bushes, that the particular spot in which they had buried their effects could not be found and they were never recovered. This most probably was in the spring of 1676, when the Narraganset and other Indians appeared in strong parties upon the river above.

State of
the colony
at the
com-
mence-
ment of
peace.
Amount
of bills of
credit.

THE expense of this war was very considerable. Some years the colony paid a tax of about seven pence and eight pence on the pound, on the whole list of the colony. Besides, it was found necessary to emit, at several times, from June 1709, to October 1713, £33,500 in bills of credit. Provision had been made, by acts of assembly, for the calling in of the whole, within the term of about seven years from the termination of the war. Twenty thousand pounds only were in circulation in October 1713. The emissions were all in the same form, and, by a law of the colony, the bills of each were to be received in all payments, at the treasury, at five per cent, better than money, or more than expressed on the face of the bill. In all other payments, it was enacted, that they

should be received as money. So small was the sum, and such was the advance at which the bills were received at the treasury, that they appear to have suffered little or no depreciation. As some of the small bills had been altered, and the sum expressed made greater than in the original ones, the assembly passed an act for calling them all in, and emitting £20,000 in new bills, which the treasurer was directed to issue.

Book I.
1713.

AFTER pursuing the history of the colony nearly eighty years, from the commencement of its first settlements, it appears that, notwithstanding the many wars, numerous hardships, and difficulties with which it had almost continually to combat, its progress in numbers, plantations, husbandry, wealth, and commerce were considerable.

WITHIN the colony, and under its jurisdiction, were thirty eight taxable towns, and forty sent deputies.

COUNTIES and TOWNS October 8th, 1713.

| <i>County of</i> | <i>Time of Settlement.</i> | | <i>Number of towns, and the time of settlement or incorporation.</i> |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| <i>HARTFORD.</i> | | Lebanon incorporated | 1697 |
| Hartford | 1635 | Voluntown | 1700 |
| Wethersfield | 1634 | Pomfret incorporated | 1713* |
| Windfor | 1635 | <i>County of</i> | |
| Farmington | 1644 | <i>NEW-HAVEN.</i> | <i>Time of Settlement.</i> |
| Middletown | 1651 | New-Haven | 1638 |
| Simsbury | 1670 | Milford | 1639 |
| Haddam | 1668 | Guilford | 1639 |
| Glastenbury made a town | 1690 | Branford | 1644 |
| Waterbury | 1686 | Wallingford | 1670 |
| Windham | 1692 | East-Haven | 1607 |
| Plainfield | 1689 | Derby | 1675 |
| East-Haddam | 1713 | Durham | 1699 |
| Canterbury | 1703 | New-Milford | 1713* |
| Mansfield | 1703* | <i>County of</i> | <i>Time of Settlement.</i> |
| Colchester | 1699 | <i>FAIRFIELD.</i> | |
| Hebron | 1704* | Fairfield | 1639 |
| Killingly | 1708* | Stratford | 1639 |
| Coventry | 1709* | Greenwich | 1644 |
| <i>County of</i> | <i>Time of Settlement.</i> | Stamford | 1641 |
| <i>NEW-LONDON.</i> | | Norwalk | 1651 |
| New-London | 1648 | Woodbury incorporated | 1674 |
| Saybrook | 1639 | Danbury | 1693 |
| Norwich | 1660 | New-Town incorporated | 1711* |
| Lyme | 1667 | Ridgefield incorporated | 1709* |
| Stonington | 1658 | | |
| Killingworth | 1663 | | |
| Preston | 1686 | | |

BOOK I.

1713.

IT was customary with the assembly, from the first settlement of the colony, to release the infant towns two, three, or four years, at first, from all taxes to the commonwealth; and especially this was the universal practice while they were building meeting-houses and settling ministers. For these reasons, the eight towns marked with asterisks, at this time, appear to have been released from public taxation.

ATTEMPTS had been made for the settlement of Ashford, two families moved on to the lands in 1710 and began settlements, but it was not incorporated until October 1714. The assembly had also appointed committees and passed several acts respecting the settlement of New-Fairfield but it does not appear to have been incorporated at this time. Exclusive of the towns on Long-Island, and some others in New-York, and the town of Westerly in Rhode-Island, Connecticut had settled forty five towns under its own jurisdiction. Forty of them sent deputies. The house of representatives, when full consisted of eighty members.

List of the colony, number of militia and inhabitants.

THE grand list of the colony was £281,083. The militia consisted of a regiment in each county, and amounted to nearly four thousand effective men. The number of inhabitants was about seventeen thousand.

Shipping.

THE shipping consisted of two brigantines, about twenty sloops, and some other small vessels. The number of seamen did not exceed a hundred and twenty.

Towns granted & settled by Massachusetts.

THERE were three considerable towns in the colony under the government of Massachusetts, Suffield, Enfield, and Woodstock. Suffield and Enfield were part of Springfield, which was purchased by Mr. Pyncheon and his company of the natives, the original proprietors of the soil. This township, like Windsor, was of great extent. At first it was supposed to belong to Connecticut, and it always would have done had not the boundary line been fixed contrary to the expectations of the first planters. In 1670 a grant of Suffield was made to Major John Pyncheon, Mr. Elizur Holyoke, Mr. Thomas Cooper, Mr. Benjamin Cooly, George Cotton, and Rowland Thomas, by the general court of Massachusetts, as a committee to lay it out and plant a township. And about that time it was settled, and incorporated with town privileges.

ENFIELD was settled by people from Massachusetts, about the year 1681. A grant of the township, which is six miles square, was made to several planters about two

years before. The planters came on with numbers and strength. They brought with them two young gentlemen, one Mr. Whittenton for a schoolmaster, and Mr. Welch a candidaté for the ministry to be their preacher. In the year 1769, the number of families in the town was 214, and the number of inhabitants was 1,380. The town was named after one of the same name in England.*

COURTS in Connecticut.

THE general court, or assembly in May and October. The sessions, at this period, generally, did not exceed ten or twelve days. The expense of government was very inconsiderable. The expense of the two sessions annually hardly amounted to £400. The salary of the governor was £200, and that of the deputy governor £50. The whole expense of government, probably did not exceed eight hundred pounds annually.†

THE Superior court, which was made circular in 1711. At the May session, 1711, it was enacted, that there should be one superior court of judicature over the whole colony: That this court should be holden annually, within and for the county of Hartford on the third Tuesdays in March and September: Within and for the county of New-Haven on the second Tuesdays in March and September: Within and for the county of Fairfield, at Fairfield, on the first Tuesdays in March and September; and within and for the county of New-London on the fourth Tuesdays in said months.

THIS court consisted of one chief judge and four other judges, three of whom made a quorum. The judges of the court were all magistrates. William Pitkin, Esquire, was chief judge. Richard Christophers, Peter Burr, Samuel Eells, and John Haynes, Esquires, were assistant judges. The wages of the chief judge was ten shillings a day, while on the public service. The other judges were allowed the fees, by law, payable to the bench.

THE inferior, or county courts. At the session in May 1665, counties were first made. From that time each county had a court of its own. This, after a few years, from its first institution, consisted of a chief judge and four justices of the quorum. The business of these courts has been already sufficiently noticed.

* With respect to Woodstock there are no records or minutes.

† The expense of government in Connecticut did not generally amount to the salary of a king's governor.

BOOK I.

1713.

IN each county there was a court of probates, consisting of one judge and a clerk. In this all testamentary affairs were managed. From this court appeals might be had to the county court. One of the magistrates of the county was commonly judge of this court. It met frequently, business was done with ease and dispatch, and with little expense to the fatherless and widow.

The manufactures of Connecticut at this time, were very inconsiderable. There was but one clothier in the colony. The most he could do was to full the cloth which was made. A great proportion of it was worn without shearing or pressing.*

THE trade of the colony was not considerable. Its foreign commerce was indeed next to nothing. The only articles exported directly from it to Great Britain were turpentine, pitch, tar, and fur. But these more generally were sent directly to Boston or New-York, and were traded for such European goods as were consumed in the colony. Its principal trade was with Boston, New-York, and the West-Indies. To the two former they traded in the produce of the colony, wheat, rye, barley, indian corn, peas, pork, beef, and fat cattle.

To the West-Indies the merchants exported horses, staves, hoops, pork, beef, and cattle. In return they received rum, sugar, molasses, cotton wool, bills of exchange, and sometimes small sums of money. But little more was imported, than was found necessary for home consumption.

At this period there was not a printer in the colony. For this reason a great proportion of the laws were only in manuscript. The assembly had now desired the governor and council to procure a printer to settle in the colony. It was determined soon to revise and print the laws which made the assembly more urgent in the affair at that time. The council obtained Mr. Timothy Green, a descendant of Mr. Samuel Green of Cambridge in Massachusetts, the first printer in North-America. The assembly for his encouragement agreed that he should be printer to the governor and company and that he should have fifty pounds, the salary of the deputy governor, annually. He was obliged to print the election sermons, the proclamations for fasts and thanksgivings, and laws which were enacted at the several sessions of the assembly. In 1714, he came into Connecticut, and fixed his resi-

* Answer to questions from the lords of trade and plantations, 1710.

dence at New-London. He and his descendants were, BOOK I.
 for a great number of years, printers to the governor and 1713.
 company of Connecticut.* At the period to which the
 history is brought down, almost all that part of the colony
 on the east side of Connecticut was settled. Ashford,
 Tolland, Stafford, Bolton, and two or three other towns
 have been settled in that part of the colony, and the great-
 est part of the county of Litchfield since. The settle-
 ment of these has been attended with little difficulty in
 comparison with what was experienced in the planting
 and defending of the former.

Who can contemplate the hardships, labors, and dangers of our ancestors, their self-denial, magnanimity, firmness, and perseverance, in defending their just rights, and the great expense, though they were poor, at which they maintained and transmitted the fairest inheritance to us, and not highly esteem and venerate their characters? If they had some imperfections, yet had they not more excellencies, and did they not effect greater things, for themselves and posterity, than men have generally done? Is it possible to review the sufferings, dangers, expense of blood and treasure, with which our invaluable liberties, civil and religious, have been transmitted to us, and not esteem them precious? Not most vigilantly and vigorously defend them? Shall we not at all hazards, maintain and perpetuate them? Can we contemplate the sobriety, wisdom, integrity, industry, economy, public spirit, peaceableness, good order, and other virtues, by which this republic hath arisen from the smallest beginnings, to its present strength, opulence, beauty, and respectability and not admire those virtues? Not be convinced of their high importance to society? Shall we not make them our own? And by the constant practice of them hand down our distinguished liberties, dignity and happiness to the latest ages?

* The first printer in this colony was Thomas Short. He was recommended to the colony by Mr. Green. He came to New-London about the year 1709. In 1710, he printed Saybrook Platform, and soon after died.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER XIX.

A VIEW of the churches of Connecticut, from 1665, to 1714, continued from chapter XIII. The general assembly appoint a synod to determine points of religious controversy. The ministers decline meeting under the name of a synod. The assembly alter the name, and require them to meet as a general assembly of the ministers and churches of Connecticut. Seventeen questions were proposed to the assembly to be discussed and answered. The assembly of ministers and churches meet and discuss the questions. The legislature declare, that they had not been decided, and give intimations that they did not desire, that the ministers and churches of Connecticut should report their opinion upon them. They express their desires of a larger council from Massachusetts and New-Plimouth. The Reverend Mr. Davenport removes to Boston. Dissension at Windsor. Mr. Bulkley and Mr. Fitch are appointed by the assembly to devise some way in which the churches might walk together, notwithstanding their different opinions relative to the subjects of baptism, church communion, and the mode of church discipline. The church at Hartford divides, and Mr. Whiting and his adherents are allowed to practise upon congregational principles. The church at Stratford allowed to divide and hold distinct meetings. Mr. Walker and his hearers, upon advice, remove and settle the town of Woodbury. Deaths and characters of the Reverend Messieurs John Davenport and John Warham. General attempts for a reformation of manners. Religious state of the colony in 1680. Attempts for the instruction and christianizing of the Indians in Connecticut. Act of the legislature respecting Windsor. The people there required peaceably to settle and support Mr. Mather. Owning or subscribing the covenant introduced at Hartford. College founded, and trustees incorporated. Worship according to the mode of the church of England performed, in this colony, first at Stratford. Episcopal church gathered there. Act of assembly requiring the ministers and churches of Connecticut to meet and form a religious constitution. They meet and compile the Saybrook Platform. Articles of discipline. Act of the legislature adopting the Platform. Associations, consociations. General association. Its recommendations relative to the examination of candidates for the ministry, and of pastors elect previous to their ordination. Ministers, churches, and ecclesiastical societies in Connecticut in 1713. Degree of instruction. The whole number of ministers in the colony from its first settlement to that period.

ALTHOUGH the legislature of Connecticut, during the controversy respecting the union of the colonies, judged it expedient, to transact nothing relative to the religious controversies then in the country, yet, as soon as the union was well established, they entered seriously upon measures to bring them to a final issue. For this purpose they passed the following act.

BOOK I.

1666.

“ THIS court doth conclude to consider of some way or means to bring those ecclesiastical matters, that are in difference in the several plantations, to an issue, by stating some suitable accommodation and expedient thereunto. And do therefore order, that a synod be called to consider and debate those matters; and that the questions presented to the elders and ministers, that are called to this synod, shall be publicly disputed to an issue. And this court doth confer power to this synod, being met and constituted, to order and moderate the disputation, so as may most conduce, in their apprehension, to attain a regular issue of their debates.”

Oct 11th;

1666.

Act appointing a synod.

THE court ordered, that all the preaching elders, or ministers who were or should be settled in this colony, at the time appointed for the meeting of the synod, should be sent to, to attend as members of it. It was also ordered by the legislature, that Mr. Mitchel, Mr. Brown, Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Glover, of Massachusetts, should be invited to assist as members of the synod. It was also ordered, that upon the meeting of a majority of the preaching elders in the colony, they should proceed as a synod. Further, it was enacted, that the questions proposed by this assembly, should be the questions to be disputed by the synod. The meeting of the synod was appointed on the third Wednesday in May 1667. The secretary was directed to transmit to all the ministers in this colony, and those invited from the Massachusetts, a copy of this act of assembly and of the questions to be disputed.

It seems, that the ministers had objections to meeting as a synod, and to the order of the assembly vesting them with synodical powers. Numbers of the ministers and churches appear to have been too jealous for their liberties to admit of the authority of synods appointed by the assembly. The legislature, to ease this difficulty, in their May session, judged it expedient to alter the name of the council, and to call it an assembly of the ministers of

Name of the council altered, May 9th, 1667.

BOOK I. Connecticut, called together by the general court, for the discussing of the questions stated according to their former order.

1667.

The assembly of ministers meet.

THE assembly of ministers convened at the time appointed, and having conversed on the questions, and voted not to dispute them publicly, adjourned until the fall, determining then to meet again, and make their report, should it be the desire of the legislature. The questions were the same which had been exhibited ten years before.* The same points of controversy still subsisted. The churches continued in their former strict method of admitting members to their communion, and maintained their right to choose their ministers, without any control from the towns or parishes of which they were a part. It does not appear, that one church in the colony had yet consented to the baptism of children upon their parents owning the covenant, as it was then called. It was insisted, as necessary to the baptism of children, that one of the parents, at least should be a member in full communion with the church, and in regular standing.

Design of inviting ministers from the Massachusetts.

IT seems, that the assembly's particularly inviting the gentlemen from the Massachusetts, in their name, to attend the general assembly of ministers and churches, was to enlighten and soften the minds of the ministers of Connecticut in those points, and to obtain a majority in the assembly for a less rigid mode of proceeding. Mr. Mitchel was the most powerful disputant of his day, in New-England, in favor of the baptism of children upon their parents owning the covenant, though they neglected to obey and honor Christ in attending the sacrament of the LORD'S Supper. It appeared, however, that this party were not able to carry any point in the assembly, and that the questions were not likely to be determined according to the wishes of the majority of the legislature. Measures were therefore adopted to prevent the meeting and result of the assembly, at their adjournment in the fall.

Resolution of the commissioners Sept. 1667.

IN September, the commissioners of the United colonies met at Hartford, and they interposed in the affair. They resolved, " That when questions of public concernment, about matters of faith and order, do arise in any colony, that the decision thereof should be referred to a synod, or council of messengers of churches, indifferently called out of the United colonies, by an orderly

* See chapter XIII. p. 316, 317.

“ agreement of all the general courts; and that the place
 “ of meeting be at or near Boston.” This vote was
 doubtless obtained by the art of those gentlemen, among
 the civilians and ministers, who wished to prevent the
 meeting of the assembly of ministers and their resulting
 upon the questions.

BOOK I.

1667.

THE Reverend elders Warham, Hooker, and Whiting, in a writing under their hands, represented to the assembly, at their session in October, that it was the desire of the assembly of ministers, that there might be a more general meeting of ministers from Massachusetts, to assist in the consideration and decision of the questions proposed. It was also represented to the assembly, that though they and others were for disputing the questions publicly, and offered to do it, yet the major part of the assembly refused the offer.

Application of Messrs. Warham, Hooker & Whiting.

THE Reverend Mr. Bulkley and Mr. Haynes, on the other hand, in a letter addressed by them to the assembly, represented, that the assembly had authorized a major part of the ministers to methodize the proceedings of the assembly, and that a majority were against a public disputation of the questions: That it was viewed as what would dishonor God, disserve the peace and edification of the churches and the general interests of religion, and it was judged most expedient to deliberate upon and decide the questions among themselves, as was usual in councils, without a public disputation. They therefore observed, that whatever fair offers were made them to dispute the questions publicly, they could not consistently do it, as it was contrary to a major vote of the assembly of the ministers, and in their opinion would disserve the interest of the churches. With respect to the present application made by Messrs. Warham, Hooker, and Whiting, they observed, that it appeared strange to them, as a considerable number of the ministers were positively against it, and others were neuter and not in the vote for a more general council, and that it was the vote of the assembly of ministers to meet again on the third Wednesday in October. They assured the legislature, that they were ready and determined to obey all their lawful commands, and they desired information from them, whether the assembly of ministers should meet again, according to adjournment, or not? The general assembly voted, that the questions had not been decided, and desired the several churches and plantations in the colony to send their teaching elders, at their own expense, to sit in council, with such of

Representations of Messrs. Bulkley & Haynes.

BOOK I.

1667.

the elders of Massachusetts and Plimouth as should be appointed, to consider and determine the points in controversy. The assembly desired, that the general court of Massachusetts might be certified of the affair, and would appoint time and place for the meeting of a synod, if they should judge it expedient.

WHETHER the assembly really wished to have a general council, or whether this was only a matter of policy to prevent a determination of the questions contrary to their wishes, is not certain. No general council however was called; nor does it appear, that any motion was made afterwards for that purpose. Indeed the legislature seem to have fallen under the conviction, that the clergy and churches would not give up their private opinions; in faith and practice, to the decisions of councils; that honest men would think differently, and that they could not be convinced and made of one mind by disputing. No further attempts were ever made by them, to bring those points to a public discussion.

WHILE these affairs were transacting in Connecticut, a remarkable transaction took place in the first church at Boston, and the most considerable in New-England. Their pastor, the Reverend Mr. Wilson, was one of the synod in 1662, and one who adopted its determinations relative to the subjects of baptism. His church also appeared to have consented to the practice of admitting persons to own their covenant and bring their children to baptism. Nevertheless, after Mr. Wilson's decease, they elected the Reverend Mr. Davenport of New-Haven for their pastor, as the only gentleman worthy to succeed the distinguished lights, which had illuminated that golden candlestick. He had publicly written against the synod, and was one of the most strict and rigid ministers, with respect to the admission of members to full communion, the subjects of baptism, and with respect to church discipline, in New-England. He had now arrived nearly to seventy years of age, yet, in 1667, upon the application of the church and congregation at Boston he accepted their invitation and the next year removed to that capital. He had been about thirty years minister at New-Haven, had been greatly esteemed and beloved by his flock. This circumstance, with his advanced period of life, made his removal very remarkable. His church and people were exceedingly unwilling that he should leave them, and it seems, never formally gave their consent. The affair, on the whole, was unhappy. It occa-

The church at Boston chose Mr. Davenport for their pastor.

He removes to Boston.

sioned a separation from the first church in Boston; and the church and congregation, at New-Haven, for many years, remained in an uncomfortable state unable to unite in the choice of any person to take the pastoral charge of them.

BOOK I.
1667.

THE town of Windsor had, for many years, been almost in perpetual controversy, relative to the settlement of a minister. After Mr. Warham became advanced in years, he wished for a colleague, to assist him in ministerial labors. Various young gentlemen were invited to preach in the town; but such as one part of the people chose for the minister, the other would violently oppose. Sometimes one party would appear with great zeal for one candidate, and the other would strive with equal engagedness for another. In such case advice had been given, that both the persons, for whom they were thus contending, should leave the town, and that application should be made to some other candidate. Much heat and obstinacy, however, continued between the parties, and all attempts to unite them were unsuccessful. It seems, that their passions were so inflamed, that, upon occasion of their meetings, their language and deportment were unbrotherly and irritating. One Mr. Chauncy was now preaching in the town, and parties were warmly engaged for and against him. The general assembly, in this state of their affairs, enacted, "That all the freemen and householders in Windsor and Massacoe should meet at the meetinghouse, on Monday morning next, by sun an hour high, and bring in their votes for a minister, to Mr. Henry Wo'cott: That those who were for Mr. Chauncy to be the settled minister of Windsor, bring in a written paper, and those who were not for him to give in a paper without any writing upon it: That the inhabitants during the meeting forbear all discourse and agitation of any matter, which may serve to provoke and disturb each other's spirits, and when the meeting is over return to their several occasions."

Contentions at Windsor.

Act of assembly respecting the inhabitants, Oct. 10th, 1667.

MR. Wolcott reported to the assembly the state of the town, that there were eighty six votes for Mr. Chauncy and fifty five against him. The assembly, upon the petition of the minor party, and a full view of the state of the town, gave them liberty to settle an orthodox minister among themselves, and to the church and majority of the town to settle Mr. Chauncy, if they judged it expedient. It was enacted, that the minority should pay Mr. Chauncy until they should obtain another minister to preach and

BOOK I reside in the town. Mr. Chauncy was not finally ordain-
 ed, but the affair was carried so far that a separation was
 soon after made in the church, and a distinct church was
 formed by the minority. The town continued in an un-
 happy state of division, for about sixteen years from this
 time.

1667.

1668.

Attempt
for a plan
of union
among the
churches.

THE legislature, having given over all further attempts to compose the divisions in the colony, by public disputation and the decisions of general councils, determined to pursue a different course. They conceived the design of uniting the churches in some general plan of church communion and discipline, by which they might walk, notwithstanding their different sentiments, in points of less importance. With this view, an act passed authorizing the Reverend Messieurs James Fitch, Gershom Bulkley, Joseph Eliot, and Samuel Wakeman to meet at Saybrook, and devise a way in which this desirable purpose might be effected. This appears to have been the first step towards forming a religious constitution. From this time it became more and more a general object of desire and pursuit, though many years elapsed before the work could be accomplished.

Church of
Hartford
divided
into two
churches.

NOTWITHSTANDING the divisions in the church at Hartford, some years since, had been so far composed and healed, that it had been kept together until this time, yet there were really different sentiments among the brethren and between the ministers, relative to the qualifications of church members, the subjects of baptism, and the mode of discipline. Mr. Whiting and part of the church were zealous for the strictly congregational way, as it has been called, practised by the ministers and churches, at their first coming into New-England. Mr. Haynes and a majority of the congregation were not less engaged against it. The difference became so great, that it was judged expedient, both by an ecclesiastical council and the assembly, that the church and town should be divided. An ecclesiastical council having first advised to a division, the general assembly, in October 1669, passed the following act.

An act of as-
sembly re-
specting it.

“ UPON the petition presented by Joseph Whiting, &c.
 “ to this court, for a distinct walking in congregational
 “ church order, as hath been settled according to the
 “ council of the elders, the court doth commend it to
 “ the church at Hartford to take some effectual course,
 “ that Mr. Whiting, &c. may practise the congregational
 “ way, without disturbance, either from preaching or

“ practice, diversely to their just offence; or else to grant **Book I.**
 “ their loving consent to their brethren to walk distinct, 1669.
 “ according to such their congregational principles;
 “ which this court allows liberty in Hartford to be done.
 “ But if both these be refused and neglected by the
 “ church, then these brethren may, in any regular way,
 “ relieve themselves without offence to this court.”*

THE next February, Mr. Whiting and his adherents 1670.
 resolved and covenanted in the manner following, and
 formed the second church in Hartford.

“ HAVING had the consent and countenance of the **Declara-**
 “ general court, and the advice of an ecclesiastical council to encourage us in embodying as a church by our- **tion of the**
 “ selves, accordingly upon the day of completing our dis- **brethren**
 “ tinct state, (viz. February 12th, 1669†) this paper **forming**
 “ was read before the messengers of the churches and **the second**
 “ consented to by ourselves. **Viz.** **church.**

“ THE holy providence of the MOST HIGH so dispos-
 “ ing, that public opposition and disturbance hath, of late
 “ years, been given, both by preaching and practice, to
 “ the congregational way of church order, by all man-
 “ ner of orderly establishments settled, and for a long
 “ time unanimously approved and peaceably practised in
 “ this place, all endeavours also (both among ourselves
 “ and from abroad) with due patience therein, proving
 “ fruitless and unsuccessful to the removing of that dis-
 “ turbance; WE, whose names are after mentioned, be-
 “ ing advised by a council of the neighbouring churches,
 “ and allowed also by the honorable general court, to
 “ dispose ourselves into a capacity of distinct walking, in
 “ order to a peaceable and edifying enjoyment of all
 “ God’s holy ordinances, Do declare, that according to
 “ the light we have hitherto received, the forementioned
 “ congregational way (for the substance of it) as former-
 “ ly settled, professed and practised under the guidance
 “ of the first leaders of this church of Hartford, is the
 “ way of Christ; and that as such we are bound in duty
 “ carefully to observe and attend it, until such further
 “ light, (about any particular points of it) shall appear to
 “ us, from the scripture, as may lead us, with joint or
 “ general satisfaction, to be otherwise persuaded. Some

* Parties ran high at this time in the colony; four assistants and fourteen deputies dissented, and desired their dissent and names to be recorded.

† This, according to the present mode of dating, was February 1670.

BOOK I. “ main heads or principles of which congregational way
 of church order are those that follow. Viz.

1670.

“ 1. That visible saints are the only fit matter, and
 confederation the only form of a visible church.

“ 2. That a competent number of visible saints, (with
 their seed) embodied by a particular covenant are a
 true, distinct, and entire church of CHRIST.

“ 3. That such a particular church, being organized,
 or having furnished itself with those officers which
 Christ hath appointed, hath all power and privileges of
 a church belonging to it.

“ In special,

“ 1. To admit or receive members.

“ 2. To deal with, and if need be, reject offenders.

“ 3. To administer and enjoy all other ecclesiasti-
 cal ordinances within itself.

“ 4. That the power of guidance, or leading, belongs
 only to the eldership, and the power of judgment,
 consent or privilege belongs to the fraternity, or breth-
 ren in full communion.

“ 5. That communion is carefully to be maintained
 between the churches of CHRIST according to his or-
 der.

“ 6. That counsel, in cases of difficulty, is to be sought
 and submitted to according to GOD.”

HAVING made this declaration the brethren proceeded
 to covenant in the following manner.

“ SINCE it hath pleased GOD, in his infinite mercy, to
 manifest himself willing to take unworthy sinners near
 unto himself, even into covenant relation to and inter-
 est in him, to become a GOD to them, and avouch
 them to be his people, and accordingly to command
 and encourage them to give up themselves and their
 children also to him ;

“ WE do therefore, this day, in the presence of GOD, his
 holy angels and this assembly, avouch the LORD JEHO-
 VAH, the true and living GOD, even GOD the FATHER,
 the SON, and the HOLY GHOST to be our GOD, and
 give up ourselves and ours also unto him, to be his sub-
 jects, and servants ; promising through grace and
 strength in CHRIST (without whom we can do nothing)
 to walk in professed subjection to him as our LORD
 and LAWGIVER, yielding universal obedience to his
 blessed will, according to what discoveries he hath
 made, or shall hereafter make, of the same to us ; in
 special, that we will seek him in all his holy ordi-

“ nances, according to the rules of the gospel, submitting Book I.
 “ to his government in this particular church, and walk- 1670.
 “ ing together therein, with all brotherly love and mu-
 “ tual watchfulness, to the building up of one another in
 “ faith and love unto his praise. All which we promise
 “ to perform, the LORD helping us, through his grace in
 “ JESUS CHRIST.”

NEARLY at the same time, when the contentions com-
 menced in the church at Hartford, the people at Strat-
 ford fell into the same unhappy state of controversy and
 division. During the administrations of Mr. Blackman,
 their first pastor, the church and town enjoyed great
 peace, and conducted their ecclesiastical affairs with ex-
 emplary harmony. However he was far advanced in
 years, and about the year 1663 became very infirm, and
 unable to perform his ministerial labors. The church
 therefore applied to Mr. Israel Chauncy, son of the presi-
 dent Charles Chauncy of Cambridge, to make them a
 visit and preach among them. A majority of the church
 and town chose him for their pastor, and in 1665 he was
 ordained.† But a large and respectable part of the
 church and town were opposed to his ordination. To
 make them easy, it was agreed, that if, after hearing Mr.
 Chauncy a certain time, they should continue dissatisfied
 with his ministry, they should have liberty to call and set-
 tle another minister, and have the same privileges in the
 meeting house as the other party. Accordingly, after
 hearing Mr. Chauncy, the time agreed upon, and not
 being satisfied with his ministerial performances, they in-
 vited Mr. Zechariah Walker to preach to them, and fi-
 nally chose him for their pastor. He was ordained to
 the pastoral office in a regular manner, by the Reverend
 Mr. Haynes and Mr. Whiting, the ministers of Hart-
 ford, sometime about the year 1667, or 1668. Both
 ministers performed public worship in the same house.
 Mr. Chauncy performed his services at the usual hours,
 and Mr. Walker was allowed two hours in the middle
 of the day. But after some time, it so happened, that
 Mr. Walker continued his service longer than usual.
 Mr. Chauncy and his people coming to the house and

Contro-
 versy and
 division in
 the church
 at Strat-
 ford.

Mr.
 Chauncy
 ordained.

Mr.
 Walker
 ordained.

† His ordination was in the independent mode. It has been
 the tradition, that Elder Brinmaid laid on hands with a leathern
 mitten. Hence it has been termed the leathern mitten ordina-
 tion.

BOOK I. finding that Mr. Walker's exercises were not finished, retired to a private house, and there performed their afternoon devotions. They were however so much displeased, that the next day they went over to Fairfield and exhibited a complaint to Major Gould, one of the magistrates, against Mr. Walker. The major, upon hearing the case, advised to pacific measures, and that Mr. Walker should be allowed three hours for the time of his public exercises.

1670.

IN May 1669, the general assembly advised the town to grant Mr. Walker full three hours for his exercises, until the next assembly in October. In the mean time, the parties were directed to call an able council to give them advice and assistance, and if possible to reconcile them. All attempts for a reconciliation, however, were unsuccessful. The parties became more fixed in their opposition to each other, and their feelings and conduct more and more unbrotherly. At length Mr. Chauncy and the majority excluded Mr. Walker and his hearers the meeting house, and they convened and worshipped in a private dwelling.

GOVERNOR Winthrop, affected with the unhappy controversy and animosities subsisting in the town, advised, that Mr. Walker and his church and people should remove, and that a tract of land, for the settlement of a new township, should be granted for their encouragement and accommodation. Accordingly Mr. John Sherman, † Mr. William Curtis, and their associates, were authorized to begin a plantation at Pomperaug. Consequently, Mr. Walker and his people removed and settled the town of Woodbury, about the years 1673, and 1674. This gave peace to the town of Stratford, and Mr. Walker and his church and congregation walked in harmony among themselves and with their sister churches.

1672.

THE tradition is, that Mr. Walker and his church were not so independent, in their principles, as the church of Stratford; and, that Mr. Walker was a more experimental, pungent preacher than Mr. Chauncy. Mr. Chauncy was learned and judicious. They both became sensible that their conduct towards each other, during the controversy at Stratford, had not, in all instances,

† Mr. Sherman was son of the Reverend John Sherman of Watertown, he was some years speaker of the lower house, and afterwards one of the magistrates of this colony. He was one of Mr. Walker's principal hearers.

been brotherly, and, after some time, made concessions to each other, became perfectly reconciled, and conducted towards each other with brotherly affection.

DURING these transactions, those venerable fathers, who had been singularly instrumental in planting, and had long illuminated the churches of Connecticut and New-England, the Reverend John Davenport and the Reverend John Warham, finished their course. Mr. Davenport died, at Boston, of an apoplexy, March 15th, 1670, in the 72d year of his age. He was born in the city of Coventry, in Warwickshire, 1597. His father was mayor of the city. At about fourteen years of age, he was supposed to become truly pious, and was admitted into Brasen-Nose college in the university at Oxford. When he was nineteen, he became a constant preacher in the city of London. He appears, from his early life, to have been a man of public spirit, planning and attempting to serve the general welfare of the church. About the year 1626, he united with Dr. Gouge, Dr. Sibs, and Mr. Offspring, the Lord mayor of London, the king's serjeant at law, and with several other attorneys and citizens, in a design of purchasing impropriations, and with the profits of them to maintain a constant, able, and laborious ministry, in those parts of the kingdom, where the poor people were destitute of the word and ordinances, and such a ministry was most needed and would be of the greatest utility. Such incredible progress was made in this charitable design, that all the church lands, in the hands of laymen, would have been soon honestly recovered to the immediate service of the reformed religion. But Bishop Laud, viewing the undertaking with a jealous eye, lest it might serve the cause of non-conformity, caused a bill to be exhibited in the exchequer chamber, by the king's attorney general, against the feoffees, who had the management of the affair. By this means an act of court was procured condemning the proceedings, as dangerous to the church and state. The feoffments and contrivances made to the charitable design were declared to be illegal, the company was dissolved and the money was confiscated to the use of his majesty. But as the affair met with general approbation, and multitudes of wise and devout people extremely reprobated the conduct of the court, the crime was never prosecuted. Laud however watched Mr. Davenport with a jealous eye, and as he soon after discovered inclinations to non-conformity, he marked him out as an object of his

BOOK I.

1670.

Death and character of Mr. Davenport. 1670.

Book I.

3670.

vengeance. Mr. Davenport therefore, to avoid the storm, by the consent of his people, resigned his pastoral charge, in Colemanstreet. He hoped, by this means, to enjoy a quiet life; but he found his expectations sadly disappointed. He was so constantly harassed by one busy and furious pursuivant after another, that he was obliged to leave the kingdom and retire into Holland. In 1633 he arrived at Amsterdam, and at the desire of the people, who met him on his way, became colleague pastor with the aged Mr. Paget. After about two years, finding that he could not conscientiously administer baptism in that loose way to all sorts of children, practised in the Dutch churches, he desisted from his ministry at Amsterdam. While he was in this city, he received letters from Mr. Cotton, at Boston, acquainting him, that the order of the churches and commonwealth was then so settled, in New-England, by common consent, that it brought into his mind the new heaven and the new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. He therefore returned to London, and having shipped himself, with a number of pious people, came into New-England; and, as has been related, settled at New-Haven. He was a preacher of the gospel about fifty four years, nearly thirty of which were spent at New-Haven. He was eminently pious, given to devotion in secret and private; and it was supposed that he was abundantly in ejaculatory prayer. He is characterized as a hard student and universal scholar; as a laborious, prudent, exemplary minister; as an excellent preacher, speaking with a gravity, energy, and agreeableness, of which few of his brethren were capable. It is said he was acquainted with great men, and great things, and was great himself.*

THE Reverend John Warham survived Mr. Davenport but a short time. He expired on the 1st of April 1670. He was about forty years minister in New-England; six at Dorchester, and thirty four at Windsor. He was distinguished for piety and the strictest morals; yet, at times, was subject to great gloominess and religious melancholy. Such were his doubts and fears, at some times, that when he administered the Lord's Supper to his brethren, he did not participate with them, fearing that the seals of the covenant did not belong to him. It

* Magnalia B. III. p. 51—57. He left a respectable family, and his descendants have supported its dignity to the present time. Some of them have been in the ministry, and others magistrates of this colony.

is said, he was the first minister in New-England, who used notes in preaching, yet he was applauded by his hearers, as one of the most animated and energetic preachers of his day. He was considered as one of the principal fathers and pillars of the churches of Connecticut.

Book I.
1670.

AFTER the close of the war with Philip and the Narraganset Indians, the general assembly recommended it to the ministers through the colony to take special pains to instruct the people in the duties of religion, and to stir up and awaken them to repentance and a general reformation of manners. They also appointed a day of solemn fasting and prayer, to supplicate the divine aid, that they might be enabled to repent and sincerely amend their ways. The same measures were recommended, at the May session, the next year, and the people were called to humiliation and prayer, under a deep sense of the abounding of sin and the dark aspects of providence.

Oct. 1676.
Recommendation of a reformation of manners

THE general court, about three years after, for the more effectual preservation and propagation of religion to posterity, recommended it to the ministry of this colony, upon the Lord's day, to catechise all the youth in their respective congregations, under twenty years of age, in the assembly of divines, or some other orthodox catechism. To continue and increase unity in religious sentiments among the people, and that they might have the advantage of participating in the variety of ministerial gifts, it was also recommended to the ministers to attend a weekly lecture in each county, on Wednesday, in such manner as they should judge most subservient to these purposes.†

May 1680
Catechising recommended.

County lectures recommended.

THE religious state of the colony, at this time, is given in an answer to the queries of the lords of trade and plantations. It is to the following effect.

“OUR people, in this colony, are some of them strict congregational men, others more large congregational men, and some moderate presbyterians. The congregational men of both sorts are the greatest part of the people in the colony. There are four or five seventh day men, and about so many more quakers.”

Religious state of the colony.

“GREAT care is taken for the instruction of the people in the christian religion, by ministers catechising of them and preaching to them twice every sabbath day, and some times on lecture days; and by masters of families instructing and catechising their children and

† Records of the colony.

Book I. “ servants, which they are required to do by law. In
 “ our corporation are twenty six towns, and twenty one
 “ churches. There is in every town in the colony a
 “ settled minister, except in two towns newly begun.”
 In some towns there were two ministers; so that there
 were, on the whole, then about the same number of min-
 isters as of towns. There was about one minister, upon
 an average, to every four hundred and sixty persons, or
 to about ninety families.

Attempts
 to christ-
 ianize the
 Indians.

WHILE settlements and churches were forming in va-
 rious parts of the colony, and the English inhabitants were
 providing for their own instruction, some pains were ta-
 ken to instruct and christianize the Connecticut Indians.
 A law was made obliging those under the protection of
 the government to keep the christian sabbath. The Rev-
 erend Mr. Fitch was particularly desired to teach Uncas
 and his family christianity. A large Bible, printed in
 the Indian language, was provided and given to the Mo-
 heagan sachems, that they might read the scriptures.
 When the council of ministers met, at Hartford, in 1657,
 the famous Mr. Eliot, hearing of the Podunk Indians,
 desired, that the tribe might be assenbled, that he might
 have an opportunity of offering CHRIST to them for their
 Saviour.

By the influence of some principal gentlemen, they
 were persuaded to come together, at Hartford, and Mr.
 Eliot preached to them in their own language, and labor-
 ed to instruct them concerning their CREATOR and RE-
 DEEMER. When he had finished his sermon, and ex-
 plained the matter to them, he desired an answer from
 them, whether they would accept of JESUS CHRIST, for
 their SAVIOUR, as he had been offered to the *Indians*? But their
 chief men, with great scorn and resentment, utterly re-
 fused. They said the English had taken away their lands
 and were attempting now to make them servants.

MR. STONE and Mr. Newton, before this time, had both
 been employed, at the desire of the colony, to teach the
 Indians in Hartford, Windsor, Farmington and that vi-
 cinity; and one John Minor was employed as an inter-
 preter, and was taken into Mr. Stone's family, that he
 might be further instructed and prepared for that service.
 Catechisms were prepared by Mr. Eliot and others, in the
 Indian language, and spread among the Indians. The
 Reverend Mr. Pierfon, it seems learned the Indian lan-
 guage and preached to the Connecticut Indians. A con-
 siderable sum was allowed him by the commissioners of

the United colonies; and a sum was also granted by them, BOOK I.
 for the instruction of the Indians in the county of New-
 Haven. † The ministers of the several towns, where In- 1680.
 dians lived, instructed them, as they had opportunity;
 but all attempts for christianizing the Indians, in Connect-
 icut, were attended with little success. They were enga-
 ged, a great part of their time, in such implacable wars
 among themselves, were so totally ignorant of letters and
 the English language, and the English ministers, in gene-
 ral, were so entirely ignorant of their dialect, that it was
 extremely difficult to teach them. Not one Indian church
 was ever gathered, by the English ministers, in Connect-
 icut. Several Indians however, in one town and another,
 became christians, and were baptized and admitted to full
 communion in the English churches. Some few were
 admitted into the church at Farmington, § and some into
 the church at Derby. ¶ One of the sachems of the Indians
 at Naugatuck falls, was a member of the church at Derby,
 and it has been said that he was a sober well conducted
 man. Some few of the Moheagans have professed chris-
 tianity, and been, many years since, admitted to full com-
 munion in the north church in New-London.

THE gospel however hath had by far the most happy
 effect upon the Quinibaug, or Plainfield Indians of any
 in Connecticut. They ever lived peaceably with the
 English, and about the year 1745, in the time of the great
 awakening and reformation in New-England, they be-
 came greatly affected with the truths of the gospel, pro-
 fessed christianity, and gave the strongest evidence of a
 real conversion to God. They were filled with the knowl-
 edge of salvation, and expressed it to admiration. They
 were entirely reformed as to their manner of living. They
 became temperate, and abstained from drinking to excess,
 which it had before been found utterly impossible to effect
 by any other means. They held religious meetings, and
 numbers of them formed into church state and had the
 sacraments administered to them. ||

UPON the assembly's granting liberty to the minor party
 in Windsor to call and settle an orthodox minister, they

† Records of the United colonies.

§ There was an Indian school formerly kept in this town, at the
 expense of the society for propagating christian knowledge among
 the Indians. The number of Indian scholars was sometimes fif-
 teen or sixteen

|| Manuscripts from Plainfield. These Indians were numerous,
 at the time when the town was settled, amounting to 4, or 500.

BOOK I. immediately called one Mr. Woodbridge to preach among
 them. Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Woodbridge continued to
 preach, one to one party, and the other to the other, from
 1667 to 1680. Several councils had been called to advise
 and unite the parties, but it seems none had judged it ex-
 pedient to ordain either of the gentlemen; but after a
 separation of about ten years, a council advised, that both
 ministers should leave the town, and that the churches and
 parties should unite, and call and settle one minister over
 the whole. As the parties did not submit to this advice,
 it seems, that another council was called three years after-
 wards, May 1680, which gave the same advice, but the
 parties did not comply. The general assembly therefore
 interposed and passed the following act.

Act of as-
 sembly
 relative to
 Windfor,
 Oct. 14th,
 1680.

“ THIS court, having considered the petition of some
 “ of Windfor people and the sorrowful condition of the
 “ good people there, and finding, that notwithstanding
 “ all means of healing afforded them, they do remain in
 “ a bleeding state and condition, do find it necessary for
 “ this court to exert their authority towards issuing or
 “ putting a stop to the present troubles there; and this
 “ court do hereby declare, that they find all the good
 “ people of Windfor obliged to stand to, and rest satisfi-
 “ ed with the advice and issue of the council they chose
 “ to hear and issue their matters; which advice being
 “ given and now presented to the court, dated January
 “ 1677, this court doth confirm the same, and order that
 “ there be a seasonable uniting of the second society in
 “ Windfor with the first, according to order of council,
 “ by an orderly preparation for their admission; and if
 “ there be objection against the life or knowledge of any,
 “ then it be according to the council’s advice heard and
 “ issued by Mr. Hooker and the other moderator’s suc-
 “ cessor; and that both the former ministers be released:
 “ And that the committee appointed to seek out for a
 “ minister, with the advice of the church and town col-
 “ lectively, by their major vote, do vigorously pursue
 “ the procuring of an able, orthodox minister, qualified
 “ according to the advice of the governor and council,
 “ and ministers, May last; and all the good people of
 “ Windfor are hereby required to be aiding and assisting
 “ therein, and not in the least to oppose and hinder the
 “ same, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.”*

IN consequence of this act, Mr. Samuel Mather was
 invited to preach to the people, and about two years after,

* Records of the colony.

was ordained to the pastoral office over the whole town. BOOK I.
 The two parties were generally united in him, and to ~
 complete the union of the town and churches, the assembly 1682.
 enacted, "That the people at Windfor should quietly settle Mr. Mather and communicate to his support :
 " That such as, on examination, should satisfy Mr. Mather of their experimental knowledge, should, upon
 " proper testimony of their good conversation, be admitted on their return from the second church."*

Act of assembly respecting Windfor May 1682.

BOTH churches, and the whole town were united under Mr. Mather, and their ecclesiastical affairs were, under his ministry, conducted with harmony and brotherly affection.

NOTWITHSTANDING the result of the synod, in 1662, and the various attempts which had been made to introduce the practice of what has been generally termed owning the covenant, it does not appear to have obtained in the churches of this colony until the year 1696. It appears first to have been introduced by Mr. Woodbridge at Hartford. The covenant proposed, bearing date February 1696, is for substance as follows,

" WE do solemnly, in the presence of GOD and this congregation, avouch GOD, in JESUS CHRIST, to be
 " our GOD, one GOD in three persons, the FATHER, the
 " SON, and the HOLY GHOST ; and that we are by nature children of wrath, and that our hope of mercy
 " with GOD, is only through the righteousness of JESUS
 " CHRIST, apprehended by faith ; and we do freely give
 " up ourselves to the LORD, to walk in communion with
 " him, in the ordinances appointed in his holy word, and
 " to yield obedience to all his commandments, and submit to his government. And whereas, to the great
 " dishonor of GOD, scandal of religion, and hazard of
 " the damnation of many souls, drunkenness and uncleanness are prevailing amongst us, we do solemnly engage before GOD, this day, through his grace, faithfully and conscientiously to strive against these evils and
 " the temptations leading therunto."

Covenant owned, Feb. 1696.

SIXTY nine persons, male and female, subscribed this in February ; on the 8th of March, one fortnight after, eighty three more subscribed. In about a month, the number of subscribers amounted to one hundred and ninety two ; which appears to have been nearly the whole body of young people in that congregation.

* Records of the colony.

BOOK I. THE like practice was, about the same time, or not many years after, introduced into the other church, and the practice of owning the covenant, by people and offering their children to baptism, was gradually introduced into other churches.

1696.

THE practice of the ministers and churches at Hartford, in some respects, was different from that in other churches. The ministers, Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, with their deacons, went round among the young people and warned them, once every year, to come and publicly subscribe, or own the covenant. When such persons as had owned or subscribed it came into family state, they presented their children to baptism, though they made no other profession of religion, and neglected the sacrament of the Lord's supper and other duties peculiar to members in full communion. In other churches, the covenant was owned by persons, sometimes before marriage, but more generally not until they became parents, and wished to have baptism administered to their children.

THE practice of making a relation of christian experiences, and of admitting none to full communion, but such as appeared to be christians indeed, yet prevailed; and the number of church members, in full communion, was generally small. In those churches where the owning of the covenant was not practised, great numbers of children were unbaptized.

Design of
founding a
college in
Connecti-
cut, 1698.

Reasons
for it.

WHILE the inhabitants and churches, in Connecticut, were constantly increasing, and the calls for a learned ministry, to supply the churches, became more and more urgent, a number of the ministers conceived the purpose of founding a college in Connecticut. By this means, they might educate young men, from among themselves, for the sacred ministry, and for various departments in civil life, and diffuse literature and piety more generally among the people. The clergy, and people in general, by long experience, found the great inconvenience of educating their sons at so great a distance as Cambridge, and in carrying so much money out of the colony, which otherwise might be a considerable emolument to this commonwealth. A well founded college might not only serve the interests of the churches in this government, but in the neighbouring colonies, where there were no colleges erected; might not only prevent a large sum of money annually from being carried abroad, but bring something considerable into it, from the extensive country

around them. Colleges had been anciently considered as the schools of the church; and not only the prophets had been encouragers and heads of them; but the apostles and their immediate successors had taken great care to establish schools, wherever the gospel had been preached, for the propagation of the truth, and to transmit the religion of the REDEEMER to all succeeding ages. The ministers therefore conceived it to be entirely in character, and as happily corresponding with the great design of the first settlement of New-England and Connecticut, for them to be the planners and founders of a college.

THE design was first concerted, in 1698, by the Reverend Messieurs Pierpont of New-Haven, Andrew of Milford, and Russel of Branford. These were the most forward and active, in carrying the affair into immediate execution. The design was mentioned to principal gentlemen and ministers in private conversation, at occasional meetings of the clergy, and in councils. In this way the affair was so far ripened, that ten of the principal ministers in the colony were nominated and agreed upon to stand as trustees, to found, erect, and govern a college. The gentlemen thus agreed upon were the Reverend Messieurs James Noyes of Stonington, Israel Chauncy of Stratford, Thomas Buckingham of Saybrook, Abraham Pierston of Killingworth, Samuel Mather of Windfor, Samuel Andrew of Milford, Timothy Woodbridge of Hartford, James Pierpont of New-Haven, Noadiah Russel of Middletown, and Joseph Webb of Fairfield.

IN 1700, these gentlemen convened at New-Haven, and formed themselves into a body or society, to consist of eleven ministers including a rector, and determined to found a college in the colony of Connecticut. They had another meeting, the same year, at Branford, and then founded the university of Yale college. The transaction was in this manner. Each gentleman gave a number of books, and laying them upon a table, pronounced words to this effect "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." About forty volumes in folio were thus given. The trustees took possession of them, and appointed Mr. Russel of Branford to be keeper of their library.

VARIOUS other donations, both of books and money, were soon after made by which a good foundation was laid for a public seminary. But doubts arising whether the trustees were vested with a legal capacity for the holding of lands, and whether private donations and con-

BOOK I.

1698.

1699. Gentle-
men nomi-
nated for
trustees.

College
founded
1700.

BOOK I.

1700.

tributions would be sufficient to effect the great design which they had in view, it was, upon the best advice and mature deliberation, determined to make application to the legislature for a charter of incorporation. The draught was made by the honorable judge Sewall and Mr. secretary Addington of Boston. This was presented to the general assembly with a petition signed by a large number of ministers and other principal characters in the colony praying for a charter. The petition represented, "That from a sincere regard to, and zeal for, upholding the Protestant religion, by a succession of learned and orthodox men, they had proposed that a collegiate school should be erected in this colony, wherein youth should be instructed in all parts of learning, to qualify them for public employments in church and civil state; and that they had nominated ten ministers to be trustees, partners or undertakers for the founding, endowing and ordering the said school." The gentlemen were particularly named, and it was desired, that full liberty and privilege might be granted to them for that end.

To facilitate the design, the honorable James Fitch, Esquire, of Norwich, one of the council, before the petition was heard made a formal donation under his hand, predicated on "the great pains and charge the ministers had been at in setting up a collegiate school; and therefore to encourage a work so pleasing to God, and beneficial to posterity, he gave a tract of land, in Killingly, of about 600 acres; and all the glass and nails which should be necessary to build a college house and hall."

The founders of college in incorporated by act of assembly Oct. 1701.

THE general assembly, at their session in October 1701, incorporated the trustees nominated, granting them a charter, and vesting them with all powers and privileges necessary for the government of a college, the holding of lands, and the employment of all money and estates which might be given for the benefit of the college. The charter ordained that the corporation should consist of ministers only, and that none should be chosen trustees under the age of forty years. Their number was not, at any time, to exceed eleven nor be less than seven. The assembly made them an annual grant of one hundred and twenty pounds, equal to about sixty pounds sterling.

Nov 11th, first meeting of the corporation. Rector chosen.

THE trustees, animated with their charter privileges and the countenance of the legislature, met the next November, at Saybrook, and chose the Reverend Abraham Pierson of Killingworth rector of the college, and the

Reverend Samuel Ruffel was chosen a trustee to complete the number of the corporation. They also made rules for the general government and instruction of the collegiate school. BOOK I.
1701.

IT was ordered, "That the rector take special care, as of the moral behaviour of the students at all times, so, with industry, to instruct and ground them well in theoretical divinity; and to that end, shall neither by himself, nor by any other person whomsoever, allow them to be instructed in any other system or synopsis of divinity, than such as the trustees do order and appoint: But shall take effectual care, that said students be weekly (at such seasons as he shall see cause to appoint) caused memoriter to recite the assembly's catechism in Latin, and Dr. Ames's Theological Theses, of which, as also Ames's Cases of Conscience, he shall make, or cause to be made, from time to time, such explanations as may, through the blessing of God, be most conducive to their establishment in the principles of the Christian Protestant religion."

Orders respecting the college.

"THE rector shall also cause the scriptures daily, except on the sabbath, morning and evening, to be read by the students at the times of prayer in the school, according to the laudable order and usage of Harvard college, making expositions upon the same: And upon the sabbath, shall expound practical theology, or cause the non graduated students to repeat sermons: And in all other ways, according to the best of his discretion, shall, at all times, studiously endeavour, in the education of the students, to promote the power and purity of religion, and the best edification of these New-England churches."

AT this meeting, it was debated where to fix the college. Though the trustees were not fully satisfied or agreed on the most convenient place, yet they fixed upon Saybrook, until, upon further consideration, they should have sufficient reason to alter their opinion. They desired the rector to remove himself and family to Saybrook. Until that could be effected, they ordered, that the scholars should be instructed, at or near the rector's house, in Killingworth. The corporation made various attempts to remove the rector to Saybrook, but his people were entirely opposed to it, and such other impediments were in the way that it was not effected. The students continued at Killingworth during his life. The library,

College appointed to be at Saybrook, but the rector does not remove.

BOOK I. for that reason, was removed from Branford to the rector's house.

1701. THE ministers had been several years in effecting their plan and a number of young men had been preparing for college, under the instructions of one and another of the trustees. As soon as the college became furnished with a rector and tutor, eight of them were admitted and put into different classes, according to the proficiency which they had respectively made. Some, in a year or two, became qualified for a degree.

1702.
First commencement in Connecticut.

THE first commencement was at Saybrook, September 13th, 1702. The following gentlemen appear, at this time, to have received the degree of master of arts, Stephen Buckingham, Salmon Treat, Joseph Coit, Joseph Mofs, Nathaniel Chauncy, and Joseph Morgan. Four of them had been previously graduated at Cambridge. They all became ministers of the gospel, and three of them, Mr. Buckingham, Mr. Mofs, and Mr. Chauncy were afterwards fellows of the college.


To avoid charge and other inconveniences, for some years at first, the commencements were private. Mr. Nathaniel Lynde of Saybrook, was pleased generously to give a house and land for the use of the college, so long as it should be continued in that town. For the further encouragement and accommodation, in 1703, there was a general contribution through the colony, to build a college house at Saybrook, or any other place wherever it should finally be judged most convenient to fix the college.*

* This year, that venerable man, the Reverend James Fitch, pastor of the church in Norwich, finished his course, at Lebanon, in the 80th year of his age. His history and character are given in the inscription upon his monumental stone.

In hoc Sepulchro depositæ sunt Reliquiæ Viri verè Reverendi D. JACOBI FITCH; natus fuit apud Boking, in Comitatu Essexiæ, in Anglia, Anno Domini 1622, Decem. 24. Qui, postquam Linguis literatis optimè instructus fuisset, in Nov-Angliam venit, Ætate 16; et deinde Vitam degit, Hartfordiæ, per Septennium, sub Instructione Virorum celeberrimorum D. HOOKER & D. STONE. Postea Munere pastorali functus est apud Say-Brook per Annos 14. Illinc cum Ecclesiæ majori Parte Norvicum migravit; et ibi cæteros Vitæ Annos transegit in Opere Evangelico. In Senectute, vero, præ Corporis infirmitate necessarie cessabit ab Opere publico; tandemque recessit Liberis, apud Lebanon; ubi Semianno fere exacto obdormivit in Jesu, Anno 1702, Novembris 18 Ætat. 80.

Vir Ingenii Acumine, Pondere Judicii, Prudentia, Charitate, sanctis Laboribus, et omni modâ Vitæ sanctitate, Peritia quoque et Vi concionandi nulli secundus.

DURING the term of about seventy years from the settlement of Connecticut, the congregational had been the only mode of worship, in the colony. But the society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, in 1604, fixed the Reverend Mr. Muirson as a missionary at Rye. Some of the people at Stratford had been educated in the church of England mode of worship and administering of the ordinances, and others were not pleased with the rigid doctrines and discipline of the New-England churches, and they made an earnest application to Mr. Muirson to make a visit at Stratford, and preach and baptize among them. About the year 1706, upon their invitation, he came to Stratford, accompanied with Colonel Heathcote, a gentleman zealously engaged in promoting the episcopal church. The ministers and people in that, and the adjacent towns, it seems, were alarmed at his coming, and took pains to prevent their neighbours and families from hearing him. However, the novelty of the affair, and other circumstances, brought together a considerable assembly; and Mr. Muirson baptized five and twenty persons, principally adults. This was the first step towards introducing the church worship into this colony. In April 1707, he made another visit to Stratford. Colonel Heathcote was pleased to honor him with his company, as he had done before. He preached, at this time, at Fairfield as well as Stratford; and in both towns baptized a number of children and adult persons. Both the magistrates and ministers opposed the introduction of episcopacy, and advised the people not to attend

Book I.

 1706.
 Introduction of the Church of England into Connecticut.

In English to this effect.

In this grave are deposited the remains of that truly reverend man, MR. JAMES FITCH. He was born at Eoking, in the county of Essex, in England, the 24th of December, in the year of our LORD 1622. Who, after he had been most excellently taught the learned languages, came into New-England, at the age of sixteen; and then spent seven years under the instruction of those very famous men, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone. Afterwards, he discharged the pastoral office, fourteen years, at Saybrook. Thence he removed, with the major part of his church to Norwich; where he spent the other years of his life in the work of the gospel. In his old age, indeed, he was obliged to cease from his public labors, by reason of bodily indisposition; and at length retired to his children, at Lebanon; where, after spending nearly half a year, he slept in Jesus, in the year 1702, on the 18th of November, in the 80th year of his age.

He was a man, as to the smartness of his genius, the solidity of his judgment, his charity, holy labors, and every kind of purity of life, and also as to his skill and energy of preaching, inferior to none.

BOOK I. the preaching of the church missionaries ; but the oppo-
 sition only increased the zeal of the church people. Mr.
 1706. Muirson, after this, made several journies to Connecticut,
 and itinerated among the people. But there was no
 missionary, from the society, fixed in Connecticut, until
 the year 1722, when Mr. Pigot was appointed missionary,
 at Stratford. The churchmen at first, in that town, con-
 sisted of about fifteen families, among whom were a few
 husbandmen, but much the greatest number were trades-
 men, who had been born in England, and came and set-
 tled there. Some of their neighbours joined them, so
 that Mr. Pigot had twenty communicants and about a
 hundred and fifty hearers. In 1723 CHRIST Church
 in Stratford was founded, and the Reverend Mr. Johnson,
 afterwards Dr. Johnson, was appointed to succeed Mr.
 Pigot.*

Original
 plan of
 college.

THE first plan of the college was very formal and mi-
 nute, drawn in imitation of the ancient Protestant col-
 leges and universities in France. It was proposed, that
 it should be erected by a general synod of the confociated
 churches of Connecticut. It was designed, that it should
 be under the government of a president and ten trustees,
 seven of whom were to be a quorum: That the synod
 should have the nomination of the first president and
 trustees, and have a kind of general influence in all future
 elections, that the governors might be preserved in ortho-
 dox sentiments. It was designed also, that the synod
 should agree upon a confession of faith to which the pre-
 sident, trustees, and tutors should, upon their appoint-
 ment to office, be required to give their consent; and that
 the college should be called the school of the church.
 Indeed it was proposed that the churches should contri-
 bute to its support.

Proposal
 for a gene-
 ral synod
 1703.

THOUGH this plan was not formally pursued, yet at a
 meeting of the trustees, at Guilford, March 17th, 1703,
 they wrote a circular letter to the ministers, proposing
 "to have a general synod of all the churches in the col-
 "ony of Connecticut, to give their joint consent to the
 "confession of faith, after the example of the synod in
 "Boston, in 1680." As this proposal was universally
 acceptable, the churches and ministers of the several coun-
 ties met in a confociated council, and gave their assent
 to the Westminster and Savoy confessions of faith. It
 seems, that they also drew up certain rules of ecclesiastical

* Manuscripts from Stratford, and Dr. Humphrey's History of
 the Incorporated Society's missionaries.

union in discipline, as preparatory to a general synod, which they had still in contemplation.

BOOK I.



1703.

Customary meetings of ministers.

THE Cambridge platform, which, for about sixty years, had been the general plan of discipline and church fellowship in New-England, made no provision for the general meeting of ministers, or for their union in associations or in confociations, yet, at an early period, they had a general meeting, both in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and began to form into associations. Their annual meetings were at the times of the general election at Boston and Hartford. At this time, they had handsome entertainments made for them at the public expence.* In these general meetings, they went into consultations respecting the general welfare of the churches, the supplying them with ministers, providing for their stated enjoyment of divine ordinances, and the preservation of their peace and order. The general interests of literature were consulted, and advice given in cases in which it was requisite. Sometimes measures were adopted to assist the poor and afflicted, in particular instances of distress. The affair of civilizing and christianizing the Indians came under their serious deliberations. Sometimes they consulted measures, and gave general directions respecting candidates for the ministry, and the orderly manner of introducing them into the churches.

THE ministers of particular neighbourhoods, in various parts of the country, held frequent meetings, for their mutual assistance, and to instruct and advise the churches and people as circumstances required. This particularly was the practice in Connecticut.

THE venerable Mr. Hooker was a great friend to the meeting and confociation of ministers and churches, as a grand mean of promoting purity, union, and brotherly affection, among the ministers and churches. During his life the ministers, in the vicinity of Hartford, had frequent meetings at his house. About a week before his death, he observed, with great earnestness, "We must agree upon constant meetings of ministers, and settle the confociation of churches, or else we are done." Soon after his decease, ministers, in various parts of New-England, and especially in Connecticut, be-

Mr. Hooker's conduct and opinion.

* The legislature have continued this generosity to the present time. A genteel entertainment is made not only for the clergy of Connecticut, but of the neighbouring colonies, who are present on the occasion.

BOOK I. gan to establish constant meetings, or associations, in particular vicinities, and agreed on the business to be done, and the manner in which they would proceed.

1703.

THEY did not however all adopt the same mode. Some of the meetings, or associations, fasted and prayed, and discussed questions of importance for mutual instruction and edification. A moderator was chosen to conduct the business of the meetings with order and decency, to receive all communications which might be made from the churches, or other similar meetings, and to call the associated brethren together on particular emergencies. These meetings were always opened and concluded with prayer.

SOME of the associations were very formal and particular in covenanting together, in fixing the business which should be transacted by them. They covenanted to submit to the counsels, reproofs, and censures of the associated brotherhood; and that they would not forsake the association, nor neglect the appointed meetings, without sufficient reasons. They engaged, that in the meetings they would debate questions immediately respecting themselves and their conduct: That they would hear and consider all cases proposed to them from neighbouring churches or individuals; answer letters directed to them from particular churches or persons; and discuss any question, which had been proposed at a preceding meeting. In some of these associations, it was agreed to meet statedly once in six weeks or two months.* As the design was for their own mutual improvement and the advancement of christianity in general, the associations attended a lecture in the parishes in which they convened for the instruction and edification of the people. In Connecticut, after the resolution of the assembly, in 1680, the ministers had county meetings every week.

BUT these associations and meetings were merely voluntary, countenanced by no ecclesiastical constitution, attended only by such ministers, in one place and another, as were willing to associate, and could bind none but themselves. The churches might advise with them if they chose it, or neglect it at pleasure. There was no regular way of introducing candidates to the improvement of the churches, by the general consent either of themselves or the elders. When they had finished their collegiate studies, if they imagined themselves qualified, and

* Magnalia B. V. p. 58.

could find some friendly gentleman in the ministry to introduce them, they began to preach, without an examination or recommendation from any body of ministers or churches. If they studied a time with any particular minister or ministers, after they had received the honors of college, that minister, or those ministers introduced them into the pulpit at pleasure, without the general consent and approbation of their brethren. Many judged this to be too loose a practice, in a matter of such immense importance to the divine honor, the reputation of the ministry, and the peace and edification of the churches. Degrees at college were esteemed no sufficient evidence of men's piety, knowledge of theology, or ministerial gifts and qualifications.

BOOK I.

1703.

BESIDES, it was generally conceded, that the state of the churches was lamentable, with respect to their general order, government, and discipline. That for the want of a more general and energetic government, many churches ran into confusion; that councils were not sufficient to relieve the aggrieved and restore peace. As there was no general rule for the calling of councils, council was called against council, and opposite results were given upon the same cases, to the reproach of councils and the wounding of religion. Aggrieved churches and brethren were discouraged, as in this way their case seemed to be without remedy. There was no such thing, in this way, as bringing their difficulties to a final issue.*

FOR the relieving of these inconveniences, there were many, in the New-England churches, not only among the clergy but other gentlemen of principal characters, who earnestly wished for a nearer union among the churches. A great majority of the legislature and clergy in Connecticut were for the association of ministers and the consociation of churches. The synod, in 1662, had given their opinion fully in favor of the consociation of churches. The heads of agreement drawn up and assented to by the united ministers, in England, called presbyterian and congregational, in 1692, had made their appearance on this side of the Atlantic; and, in general, were highly approved. The VII. article of agreement, under the head of the ministry makes express provision for the regular introduction of candidates for the ministry. The united brethren say, "It is expedient, that they who enter on the work of preaching the gospel,

* Wise's vindication, p 165, Boston edition 1772.

BOOK I. “ be not only qualified for the communion of saints ;
 “ but also, that except in cases extraordinary, they give
 1708. “ proof of their gifts and fitness for the said work, unto
 “ the pastors of the churches of known abilities to dis-
 “ cern and judge of their qualifications ; that they may
 “ be sent forth with solemn approbation and prayer ;
 “ which we judge needful, that no doubt may remain
 “ concerning their being called unto the work ; and for
 “ preventing, as much as in us lieth, ignorant and rash
 “ intruders.” In these articles, it is also agreed,
 “ that in so great and weighty a matter as the calling
 “ and choosing a pastor, we judge it ordinarily requisite,
 “ that every such church consult and advise with the pas-
 “ tors of the neighbouring congregations.”

IN this state of the churches, the legislature passed an act, at their session in May 1708, requiring the ministers and churches to meet and form an ecclesiastical constitution. The apprehensions and wishes of the assembly will, in the best manner, be discovered by their own act, which is in the words following.

Act ap-
 pointing
 a synod,
 May 13th,
 1708.

“ THIS assembly, from their own observation, and the
 “ complaint of many others, being made sensible of the
 “ defects of the discipline of the churches of this govern-
 “ ment, arising from the want of a more explicit assert-
 “ ing of the rules given for that end in the holy scrip-
 “ tures ; from which would arise a permanent establish-
 “ ment among ourselves, a good and regular issue in
 “ cases subject to ecclesiastical discipline, glory to CHRIST,
 “ our head, and edification to his members ; hath seen
 “ fit to ordain and require, and it is by the authority of
 “ the same ordained and required, that the ministers of
 “ the several counties in this government shall meet to-
 “ gether, at their respective county towns, with such
 “ messengers as the churches, to which they belong, shall
 “ see cause to send with them, on the last Monday in
 “ June next ; there to consider and agree upon those
 “ methods and rules for the management of ecclesiasti-
 “ cal discipline, which by them shall be judged agreeable
 “ and conformable to the word of GOD, and shall at the
 “ same meeting appoint two or more of their number to
 “ be their delegates, who shall all meet together at Say-
 “ brook, at the next commencement to be held there ;
 “ where they shall compare the results of the ministers of
 “ the several counties, and out of and from them, to draw a
 “ form of ecclesiastical discipline, which, by two or more
 “ persons delegated by them, shall be offered to this

“ court, at their session, at New-Haven, in October next, BOOK I.
 “ to be considered of and confirmed by them : And the ~
 “ expence of the above mentioned meetings shall be de- 1708.
 “ frayed out of the public treasury of this colony.”

“ A true copy of the record,

“ Test. ELEAZAR KIMBERLY, Secretary.

ACCORDING to the act of assembly, the ministers and churches of the several counties convened, at the time appointed, and made their respective draughts for discipline, and chose their delegates for the general meeting at Saybrook in September.

THE ministers and messengers chosen for this council and its result will appear from their minutes.

“ AT a meeting of delegates from the councils of the several counties of Connecticut colony, in New-England in America, at Saybrook, Sept. 9th, 1708.

P R E S E N T,

From the coucil of Hartford county.

The { *Timothy Woodbridge,*
 Rev. { *Noadiab Ruffell,*
 { *Stephen Mix.*
 Messenger,
 John Haynes, Esquire.

From the council in Fairfield county.

The { *Charles Chauncy,*
 Rev. { *John Davenport.*
 Messenger,
 Deacon *Samuel Hsit.*

From the council in New-London county.

The { *James Noyes,*
 Rev. { *Thomas Buckingham,*
 { *Moses Noyes,*
 { *Jno Woodward.*
 Messengers,
 Robert Chapman,
 Deacon *Wm. Parker.*

Names of the synod Sept. 9th, 1708.

From the council of New-Haven county.

The { *Samuel Andrew,*
 Rev. { *James Pierpont,*
 { *Samuel Ruffel.*

“ The Rev. James Noyes and Thomas Buckingham being chosen moderators. The Rev. Stephen Mix and Jno. Woodward being chosen scribes.

“ IN compliance with an order of the general assembly, May 13th, 1708, after humble addresses to the throne of grace for the divine presence, assistance, and blessing upon us, having our eyes upon the word of GOD and the constitution of our churches, WE agree that the confession of faith owned and assented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New-England, May 12th, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honorable general assembly of this colony, at the next session, for their public testimony thereunto, as the FAITH of the churches of this colony.”*

* This was the Savoy confession, with some small alterations.

BOOK I.

1708.

“ WE agree also that the heads of agreement assented to by the united ministers, formerly called presbyterian and congregational, be observed by the churches throughout this colony.”

“ AND for the better regulation of the administration of church discipline, in relation to all cases ecclesiastical, both in particular churches and councils, to the full determining and executing the rules in all such cases, it is agreed,”

“ I. That the elder, or elders of a particular church, with the consent of the brethren of the same, have power and ought to exercise church discipline, according to the rule of GOD’S word, in relation to all scandals, that fall out within the same. And it may be meet, in all cases of difficulty, for the respective pastors of particular churches, to take advice of the elders of the churches in the neighbourhood, before they proceed to censure in such cases.”

“ II. That the churches which are neighbouring each to other, shall confociate for mutual affording to each other such assistance, as may be requisite, upon all occasions ecclesiastical. And that the particular pastors and churches, within the respective counties in this government, shall be one confociation (or more if they shall judge meet) for the end aforesaid.”

“ III. That all cases of scandal, that fall out within the circuit of any of the aforesaid confociations shall be brought to a council of the elders, and also messengers of the churches within the said circuit, i. e. the churches of one confociation, if they see cause to send messengers, when there shall be need of a council for the determination of them.”

“ IV. That, according to the common practice of our churches, nothing shall be deemed an act or judgment of any council, which hath not the act of the major part of the elders present concurring, and such a number of the messengers present, as makes the majority of the council: provided that if any such church shall not see cause to send any messengers to the council, or the persons chosen by them shall not attend, neither of these shall be any obstruction to the proceedings of the council, or invalidate any of their acts.”

“ V. That when any case is orderly brought before any council of the churches, it shall there be heard and determined, which (unless orderly removed from thence) shall be a final issue; and all parties therein concerned

shall sit down and be determined thereby. And the council so hearing, and giving the result or final issue, in the said case as aforesaid, shall see their determination, or judgment, duly executed and attended, in such way or manner, as shall in their judgment be most suitable and agreeable to the word of GOD." BOOK I.
1708.

" VI. That if any pastor and church doth obstinately refuse a due attendance and conformity to the determination of the council, that hath the cognizance of the case, and determineth it as above, after due patience used, they shall be reputed guilty of scandalous contempt and dealt with as the rule of GOD's word in such case doth provide, and the sentence of non-communion shall be declared against such pastor and church. And the churches are to approve of the said sentence, by withdrawing from the communion of the pastor and church, which so refused to be healed."

" VII. That, in case any difficulties shall arise in any of the churches in this colony, which cannot be issued without considerable disquiet, that church, in which they arise (or that minister or member aggrieved with them,) shall apply themselves to the council of the consociated churches of the circuit, to which the said church belongs, who, if they see cause shall thereupon convene, hear and determine such cases of difficulty, unless the matter brought before them, shall be judged so great in the nature of it, or so doubtful in the issue, or of such general concern, that the said council shall judge best that it be referred to a fuller council, consisting of the churches of the other consociation within the same county, (or of the next adjoining consociation of another county, if there be not two consociations in the county where the difficulty ariseth) who, together with themselves, shall hear, judge, determine, and finally issue such case according to the word of GOD."

" VIII. That a particular church, in which any difficulty doth arise, may, if they see cause, call a council of the consociated churches of the circuit, to which the church belongs, before they proceed to sentence therein, but there is not the same liberty to an offending brother, to call the council, before the church to which he belongs, proceed to excommunication in the said case, unless with the consent of the church."

" IX. That all the churches of the respective consociations shall choose, if they see cause, one or two members of each church, to represent them, in the councils

BOOK I. of the said churches, as occasion may call for them, who shall stand in that capacity, till new be chosen for the same service, unless any church shall incline to choose their messengers anew, upon the convening of such councils.”

1708.

“ X. That the minister or ministers of the county towns, or where there are no ministers in such towns, the two next ministers to the said town, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, appoint time and place, for the meeting of the elders and messengers of the churches in said county, in order to their forming themselves into one or more confociations, and notify the time and place to the elders and churches of that county who shall attend at the same, the elders in their persons, and the churches by their messengers, if they see cause to send them. Which elders and messengers so assembled in council, as also any other council hereby allowed of, shall have power to adjourn themselves, as need shall be, for the space of one year, after the beginning or first session of the said council, and no longer. And that minister who was chosen at the last session of any council, to be moderator, shall, with the advice and consent of two more elders (or in case of the moderator’s death, any two elders of the same confociation) call another council within the circuit when they shall judge there is need thereof. And all councils may prescribe rules, as occasion may require, and whatever they judge needful within their circuit, for the well performing and orderly managing the several acts, to be attended by them, or matters that come under their cognizance.”

“ XI. That if any person or persons, orderly complained of to a council, or that are witnesses to such complaints, (having regular notification to appear) shall refuse, or neglect so to do, in the place, and at the time specified in the warning given, except they or he give some satisfying reason thereof to the said council, they shall be judged guilty of scandalous contempt.”

“ XII. That the teaching elders of each county shall be one association, (or more if they see cause,) which association or associations shall assemble twice a year, at least, at such time and place, as they shall appoint, to consult the duties of their office, and the common interest of the churches, who shall consider and resolve questions and cases of importance which shall be offered by any among themselves or others ; who also shall have power of

examining and recommending the candidates of the ministry to the work thereof." BOOK I.

" XIII. That the said associated pastors shall take notice of any among themselves, that may be accused of scandal or heresy, unto or cognizable by them, examine the matter carefully, and if they find just occasion shall direct to the calling of the council, where such offenders shall be duly proceeded against."

1708.

" XIV. That the associated pastors shall also be consulted by bereaved churches, belonging to their association, and recommend to such churches such persons, as may be fit to be called and settled in the work of the gospel ministry among them. And if such bereaved churches shall not seasonably call and settle a minister among them, the said associated pastors shall lay the state of such bereaved church before the general assembly of this colony, that they may take order concerning them, as shall be found necessary for their peace and edification."

" XV. That it be recommended as expedient, that all the associations in this colony do meet in a general association, by their respective delegates, one or more out of each association, once a year, the first meeting to be at Hartford, at the general election next ensuing the date hereof, and so annually in all the counties successively, at such time and place, as they the said delegates shall in their annual meetings appoint."

The confession of faith, heads of agreement, and these articles of discipline having unanimously passed, and been signed by the scribes, were presented to the legislature the succeeding October, for their approbation and establishment. Upon which they passed the following adopting act.

AT a general court holden at New-Haven October 1708.

" THE reverend ministers, delegates from the elders and messengers of this government, met at Saybrook September 9th 1708, having presented to this assembly a Confession of Faith, and Heads of Agreement, and regulations in the administration of church discipline, as unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches in this government; this assembly doth declare their great approbation of such an happy agreement, and do ordain, that all the churches within this government, that are, or shall be, thus united in doctrine, worship, and discipline be, and for the fu-

Act of assembly adopting the Saybrook platform Oct. 1708.

BOOK I.

1708.


“ ture shall be owned and acknowledged established by
 “ law ; provided always, that nothing herein shall be in-
 “ tended or construed to hinder or prevent any society or
 “ church, that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this
 “ government, who soberly differ or dissent from the
 “ united churches hereby established, from exercising
 “ worship and discipline, in their own way, according to
 “ their consciences.”

“ A true copy, Test,
 “ ELEAZAR KIMBERLY, Secretary.”

THOUGH the council were unanimous in passing the platform of discipline, yet they were not all of one opinion. Some were for high consociational government, and in their sentiments nearly presbyterians, others were much more moderate and rather verging on independency ; but exceedingly desirous of keeping the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, they exercised great christian condescension and amicableness towards each other.

As it was stipulated, that the heads of agreement should be observed through the colony, this was an important mean of reconciling numbers to the constitution, as these did not carry points so far as the articles of discipline. These did not make the judgments of councils decisive, in all cases ; but only maintained, that particular churches ought to have a reverential regard to their judgment, and not to dissent from it without apparent grounds from the word of God. Neither did these give the elders a negative in councils over the churches ; and in some other instances they gave more latitude than the articles of discipline. These therefore served to reconcile such elders and churches, as were not for a rigid consociational government, and to gain their consent. Somewhat different constructions were put upon the constitution. Those who were for a high consociational government, construed it rigidly according to the articles of discipline, and others by the heads of agreement ; or, at least, they were for softening down the more rigid articles, by construing them agreeably to those heads of union.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Savoy confession was adopted, as the faith of the Connecticut churches, yet, by adopting the heads of agreement, it was agreed, that with respect to soundness of judgment in matters of faith, it was sufficient, “ That a church acknowledge the scriptures to
 “ be the word of GOD, the perfect and only rule of faith
 “ and practice, and own either the doctrinal part of those

“ commonly called the articles of the church of England, BOOK I.
 “ or the confession or catechisms, shorter or longer, com-
 “ piled by the assembly at Westminster, or the confession 
 “ agreed on at the Savoy, to be agreeable to the said rule.” 1708.

THE Saybrook platform, thus unanimously recommen-
 ded by the elders and messengers of the churches, and
 adopted by the legislature, as the religious constitution
 of the colony, met with a general reception, though some
 of the churches were extremely opposed to it.*

THE elders and messengers of the county of Hartford Feb. 1st,
 met in council, at Hartford, the next February, and formed 1709.

into two distinct consociations and associations for
 the purposes expressed in the constitution. The minist-
 ters and churches of the other three counties afterwards
 formed themselves into consociations and associations.
 There were therefore, soon after, five consociations and
 the same number of associations in the colony. The as-
 sociations met annually, by a delegation of two elders
 from each association, in a general association. This has
 a general advisory superintendency over all the ministers
 and churches in the colony. Its advice has generally
 been acceptable to the ministers and churches, and cheer-
 fully carried into execution. The meeting of the general
 association was anciently in September; but the time
 of meeting, after some years, was altered, and for more
 than sixty years has been on the third Tuesday in June.

THE corporation of college having now obtained a
 confession of faith, adopted by the churches and legisla-
 ture of the colony, adopted it for college, and the trustees
 and officers of college, upon their introduction to office,
 were required to give their assent to it, and to the West-
 minster confession and catechisms.

BUT before this could be effected Mr. Pierpont, the
 president, was no more. He died on the 5th of March
 1704, to the unspeakable loss and affliction both of the
 college and the people of his charge. He had his educa-
 tion at Harvard college, where he was graduated 1668.
 He appears first to have settled in the ministry at New-

Death &
 character
 of Presi-
 dent Pier-
 pont.

* Though Messieurs Andrew, Pierpont, and Russell were in-
 fluential characters, yet it is observable, that the churches, in that
 county, sent no messengers to the synod; and the tradition is
 that the church and people of Norwich were so offended with
 their minister, Mr. John Woodward, for consenting to it, that
 they never would forgive him and be reconciled; but made such
 opposition to his ministry, that, by the advice of council, he re-
 signed it and left the town.

Book I. ark in New-Jersey. Thence he came to Killingworth
 1709. and was installed in 1694. He had the character of a
 hard student, good scholar, and great divine. In his
 whole conduct, he was wise, steady, and amiable. He
 was greatly respected as a pastor, and he instructed and
 governed college with general approbation.

Students
 removed
 to Say-
 brook.

UPON the death of Rector Pierſon, the Reverend Mr.
 Andrew was choſen rector pro tempore. The ſenior
 claſs was removed to Milford to be under his immediate
 inſtruction, until the commencement. The other ſtu-
 dents were removed to Saybrook, and put under the care
 and inſtructions of two tutors. Mr. Andrew moderated
 at the commencements and gave general directions to the
 tutors. Mr. Buckingham alſo, who was one of the
 truſtees and reſided at Saybrook, during his life, had a
 kind of direction and inſpection over the college. In
 this ſtate it continued, without any material alteration,
 until about the year 1715.

Sept. 12,
 1712.

THE miniſters of Connecticut were exceedingly atten-
 tive to the morals and qualifications of thoſe, whom they
 recommended to the improvement of the churches, or
 ordained to the paſtoral office. The general aſſociation,
 in 1712, at a meeting of theirs, at Fairfield, agreed upon
 the following rules and recommended them to the con-
 ſideration of the ſeveral aſſociations for their approbation
 and concurrence.

“ RULES agreed upon for the examination of CANDI-
 DATES for the miniſtry.”

Direc-
 tions ref-
 ecting
 candi-
 dates for
 the miniſ-
 try.

“ AGREED upon, that the perſon to be examined con-
 cerning his qualifications for the evangelical miniſtry,
 ſhall be dealt with, in his examinations, with all candor
 and gentleneſs.”

“ 1. That he be able to give ſatisfaction, to the aſſoci-
 ation examining him, of his ſkill in the Hebrew, Greek,
 and Latin tongues.”

“ 2. That he be able to give ſatisfaction, to the aſſoci-
 ation examining him, of his ſkill in Logic and Philoſo-
 phy.”

“ 3. He ſhall be examined what authors, in divinity,
 he hath read; and alſo concerning the main grounds or
 principles of the chriſtian religion; and ſhall therein offer
 juſt matter of ſatisfaction to the aſſociation examining
 him; and ſhall give his aſſent to the confeſſion of faith
 publicly owned and declared to be the confeſſion of the
 faith of the united churches of this colony.”

“ 4. That if the life and conversation of the person to be examined be not well known to the association examining him, then said person shall offer sufficient evidence to said association of his sober and religious conversation.” BOOK I.
~~~~~  
(712.

“ 5. That the person to be examined shall publicly pray, and also preach, in the presence of the association examining him, from some text of scripture which shall be given him by said association, and at such time and place as they shall appoint, in order to prove his gifts for the ministerial work.”

“ RULES relating to the ordination of a person to the work of the ministry.”

“ AGREED, 1. In case of ordination, those who are to ordain ought to be satisfied, that the person to be ordained is apt to teach, and of his inclination to the work of the ministry.” Respect-  
ing minist-  
ters to be  
ordained.

“ 2. That they shall be satisfied with his prudence and fitness for the management of so great a trust, as that of the work of the ministry.”

“ 3. The persons to ordain shall be satisfied, that his preaching and conversation be acceptable to the people over whom he is to be ordained.”

“ 4. That he shall be able to explain such texts of scripture as shall be proposed to him.”

“ 5. That he shall be able to resolve such practical cases of conscience as shall be proposed to him.”

“ 6. That he shall shew, to the satisfaction of the pastors to ordain him, his competent ability to refute dangerous errors, and defend the truth against gainfayers.”

“ 7. That he shall give his consent to the church discipline of this colony as established by law ; yet the pastors to ordain are not to be too severe and strict with him to be ordained, upon his sober dissent from some particulars in said discipline.”

SUCH has been the pious care of the venerable fathers of the churches in Connecticut, to preserve in them a learned, orthodox, experimental ministry. The associations have examined all candidates for the ministry and recommended them to the churches previously to their preaching in them. In their examinations, they have carefully enquired into their knowledge in divinity, their experimental acquaintance with religion, their ministerial gifts and qualifications, and have paid a special attention to their morals, and good character. Hence these churches have been distinguished and singularly happy in a learned, pious, laborious, and prudent ministry.

## BOOK I.

1713.  
Dona-  
tions  
made to  
college.

ABOUT this time a very valuable addition of books was made to the college library, at Saybrook. In 1713, Sir John Davie, of Groton, who had an estate descended to him in England, with the title of baronet, gave a good collection. The next year a much greater donation was made by the generosity and procurement of Jeremiah Dummer, Esquire, of Boston. He was then in London, in the capacity of an agent for several of the New-England colonies. He sent over above 800 volumes. About 120 of them were procured at his own charge. The rest were from principal gentlemen in England, through his solicitation and influence. Particularly from Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Richard Steel, Doctors, Brumet, Halley, Bently, Kennet, Calamy, and Edwards; and from the Reverend Mr. Henry and Mr. Whiston. These severally gave a collection of their own works, and Governor Yale put in about 40 volumes. The library now consisted of about nine hundred volumes.

Number  
graduated  
at college  
before the  
year 1714.

FROM 1702 to 1713 inclusively, forty six young gentlemen were graduated, at Saybrook. Of these, thirty four became ministers of the gospel, and two were elected magistrates. Notwithstanding the infant state of the college, numbers of them, through their native strength of genius and the instructions of those excellent tutors, Mr. John Hart and Mr. Phineas Fisk, became excellent scholars, and shone not only as distinguished lights in the churches, but made a figure in the republic of letters. Seven of them afterwards were fellows of the college, at New-Haven; and another of them was that excellent man, the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, president of the college in New-Jersey.

Number  
of ordain-  
ed minis-  
ters in  
1713.

THE number of ordained ministers in the colony, this year, exclusive of those in the towns under the government of Massachusetts, was forty three. Upon the lowest computation there was as much as one ordained minister to every four hundred persons, or to every eighty families. It does not appear, that there was one bereaved church in the colony. Besides there were a considerable number of candidates preaching in the new towns and parishes, in which churches were not yet formed. At or about this time, Mr. Thomas Towsey, began to preach at Newtown, Mr. Joseph Meacham at Coventry, Mr. John Blifs at Hebron, and Mr. John Fisk at Killingly, at which places churches were soon after gathered and those gentlemen ordained. Several other candidates were preaching in other places.



A CATALOGUE of the ministers of CONNECTICUT, from 1630 to 1713 inclusively.  
County of HARTFORD.

<i>Names of ministers.</i>	<i>Names of towns.</i>	<i>Ordained or Installed.</i>	<i>Died or Removed.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>Churches gathered.</i>	<i>Historical Notes.</i>
Thomas Hooker	HARTFORD 1st Church	Oct. 11, 1633	July 1647	61	Oct. 11, 1633	* MR. EDWARDS was nearly 64 years in the ministry, and able to preach until he was about 84 years of age.
Samuel Stone		do.	do. 20, 1663			
Joseph Haynes	HARTFORD 2d Church	Nov. 18, 1685 1669	May 24, 1679			† MR. BULKLEY was son of the Rev. Peter Bulkley of Concord in Massachusetts, and a gentleman of a very eminent character. It is thus given upon his monument. "Who was of rare abilities, extraordinary industry, excellent in learning, master of many languages, exquisite in his skill in divinity, physic and law; and of a most exemplary and christian life." By reason of infirmity he resigned the ministry many years before his death.
Samuel Whiting			April 30, 1732			
Mr. Foster	WINDSOR 2d Church	May 1639 1682	April 1, 1670	88	Feb. 12, 1669 March 1630	"Who was of rare abilities, extraordinary industry, excellent in learning, master of many languages, exquisite in his skill in divinity, physic and law; and of a most exemplary and christian life." By reason of infirmity he resigned the ministry many years before his death.
Timothy Woodbridge			Sept. 4, 1644			
Samuel Whiting	WINDSOR 2d Church	May 1694	March 18, 1726		May 1694 1641	"Who was of rare abilities, extraordinary industry, excellent in learning, master of many languages, exquisite in his skill in divinity, physic and law; and of a most exemplary and christian life." By reason of infirmity he resigned the ministry many years before his death.
Thomas Buckingham			Jan. 27, 1758 1641			
John Warham	WETHERSFIELD	Inf. 1666	{ Dif. 1667 }	78		"Who was of rare abilities, extraordinary industry, excellent in learning, master of many languages, exquisite in his skill in divinity, physic and law; and of a most exemplary and christian life." By reason of infirmity he resigned the ministry many years before his death.
Ephraim Heuet			{ Died 1713 }			
Samuel Mather	WETHERSFIELD	Inf. 1679	Aug. 28, 1738	66	Oct. 1652	† MR. ROWLANDSON, the 4th minister of Wethersfield, removed from Lancaster in Massachusetts, after that town was burnt by the Indians, in 1676.
Timothy Edwards*			Inf. 1694			
Henry Smith	FARMINGTON	Oct. 13, 1652	Remo. 1657		July 6, 1661	† MR. ROWLANDSON, the 4th minister of Wethersfield, removed from Lancaster in Massachusetts, after that town was burnt by the Indians, in 1676.
Jonathan Ruffell			July 1661			
Gersthom Bulkley†	KENSINGTON 2d Church	Dec. 10, 1706	Nov. 6, 1697		Dec. 10, 1712	† MR. ROWLANDSON, the 4th minister of Wethersfield, removed from Lancaster in Massachusetts, after that town was burnt by the Indians, in 1676.
Joseph Rowlandson†			Dec. 10, 1712			
John Woodbridge						
Stephen Mix						
Roger Newton						
Samuel Hooker						
Samuel Whitman						
William Burbanck						

BOOK I.  
1713.

## County of HARTFORD.

<i>Names of ministers.</i>	<i>Names of towns.</i>	<i>Ordained or Installed.</i>	<i>Died or Removed.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. of males.*</i>	<i>Historical Notes.</i>
Nathaniel Collins	MIDDLETOWN*†	Nov. 4, 1668†	Dec. 18, 1684			
Noadiah Ruffell	GLASTENBURY	Oct. 24, 1688	April 16, 1725	60	7	
Timothy Stephens	WATERBURY	Aug. 26, 1669†	June 7, 1699	77	12	
John Southmaid	SYMSBURY	May 30, 1705	August 3, 1710			
Dudley Woodbridge	HADDAM	March 3, 1696	August 28, 1742			
Timothy Woodbridge	WINDHAM	1712	died Nov. 6, 1715	85		
Jeremiah Hobart†	COLCHESTER	Nov. 14, 1700†	Sept. 27, 1725		15	
Samuel Whiting	EAST-HADDAM	Dec. 4, 1700†	June			
John Bulkeley	PLAINFIELD	Dec. 20, 1703†				
Stephen Holmer	MANSFIELD	May 3, 1704†	Dismissed 1748		10	
Joseph Coit	DURHAM	Jan. 6, 1706†			8	
Eleazar Williams	CANTERBURY	Oct. 18, 1710†	Died Feb. 1, 1756		14	
Nathaniel Chauncy		Feb. 7, 1711†	D. June 26, 1727			
Samuel Easterbrook		June 13, 1711				

\* As the gathering, or forming of the churches, as far as can be found, was universally on the day of ordination, no column is made to certify the time of their formation; but wherever this mark † is set after the figures expressing the time of ordination it gives notice that the church was formed at the same time.

\*† Mr. Samuel Stow preached some years at Middletown, but as he was dismissed before the church was gathered he is not reckoned in the list of its ministers.

† THE Rev. Mr. Hobart was first ordained at Topsfield in Massachusetts. Thence he removed to Long-Island, and afterwards to Haddam, where he died in the ministry at a very advanced age. Before him, Mr. Nicholas Noyes preached thirteen years in the town; but during this time no church was formed; and he left the town, and was afterwards ordained to the pastoral office in a church at Salem, in Massachusetts.

County of NEW-HAVEN.

Names of ministers.	Names of towns.	Ordained or installed.	Did or removed.	Age.	No. of males.	Historical Notes.
John Davenport	NEW-HAVEN	Installed 1639	Removed 1668	72	Pill'rs 7	* AFTER the removal of Mr. Davenport, Mr. Street continued the only instructor of the church until his death; and after his decease the church and people were eleven years without a pastor. A great variety of preachers were invited into the town, but none could unite them until Mr. Pierpont was called. Under his ministry they enjoyed great peace and were edified.
William Hook		Ordain. 1644	1656			
Nicholas Street *		Ordain. 1659	Di. Ap. 22, 1674			
James Pierpont		July 2, 1685	Di. Nov. 22, 1714			
Peter Prudden	MILFORD	April 18, 1640	1656	54	Pil. 7	
Roger Newton		In. Au. 22, 1660	June 7, 1683	56		
Samuel Andrew	GUILFORD	Nov. 18, 1685	Removed 1738		Pil. 7	† THE committee of New-Haven for settling the town of Wallingford, for the safety of the church, obliged the undertakers and all the successive planters to subscribe the following engagement, viz. "He or they shall not by any means disturb the church, when settled there, in their choice of minister or ministers, or other church officers; or in any of their other church rights, liberties, or administrations; nor shall withdraw due maintenance from such ministry." This shows how strongly the churches in this part of the colony were, at that time, opposed to towns and parishes having any thing to do in the choice of a minister, or in any church affairs.
Henry Whitfield			Removed 1650			
John Higginson			Removed 1659			
Joseph Eliot			May 24, 1694			
Thomas Ruggles	2d S EAST-GUILFORD	Nov. 20, 1695	June 1, 1728	58		
John Hart		Nov.	March 1732			
Abraham Pierfon	BRANFORD	1644	Removed 1665	71		
Samuel Ruffell		March 1687†	June 25, 1731			
John Bowers	DERBY					
John James						
Joseph Mofs	WALLINGFORD†					
Samuel Street						
Samuel Whittelsey	EAST-HAVEN	May 1674	Jan. 16, 1717	80		
James Hemmway		May 1710	April 15, 1732	66		
		1707†	Oct. 7, 1754	70		

" Ifractions; nor shall withdraw due maintenance from such ministry." This shows how strongly the churches in this part of the colony were, at that time, opposed to towns and parishes having any thing to do in the choice of a minister, or in any church affairs.

County of NEW-LONDON.

<i>Names of ministers.</i>	<i>Names of towns.</i>	<i>Ordnained or installed.</i>	<i>Died or removed.</i>	<i>Age.</i>	<i>No. of males.</i>	<i>Historical Notes.</i>
Richard Blynnan	NEW-LONDON	1648	Removed 1666		12	* There seems to have been no church formed in New-London until the ordination of Mr. Bradstreet, and it is probable that neither Mr. Blynnan nor Mr. Bulkeley were installed or ordained in the town.
Gerthom Bulkeley		Oct. 5. 1670	Died 1683			
Simon Bradstreet*		Nov. 25. 1691	Rem. Jan. 1707			
Gurdon Saltonstall		Feb. 1709	Died April 1753			
Eliphalet Adams	SAYBROOK				8	† The Reverend Mr. Noyes preached at Stonington more than ten years before his ordination. It appears by the church records, that he preached in the town 55 years and 6 months.
James Fitch						
Thomas Buckingham	STONINGTON	Sept. 10. 1674†	D. Dec. 30. 1719	80		† Mr. Pierpont, returning from a visit which he had made his friends, at New-Haven, was drowned in Connecticut river, March 1725. He attempted to cross the river in a canoe, but an unexpected gulf of wind arose, by which it was overfet. His body wafted to Fisher's island, where it was taken up and buried.
James Noyes†	NORWICH	1660	1702	80		
James Fitch		Dec. 6. 1699	Dif. Sep. 13. 1716			
John Woodward	KILLINGWORTH	1666	Rem. to W. 1679		7	
John Woodbridge						
Abraham Pierfon	LYME	1694	Died Ma. 5. 1707	78		
Jared Eliot		Oct. 26. 1709	April 22. 1763			
Moses Noyes	PRESTON	1693†	March. 1725		12	
Samuel Pierpont†		Dec. 10. 1724	Ref. Mar. 14. 1744			
Salmon Treat	LEBANON	Nov. 16. 1698	Dismissed 1708		9	
Joseph Parsons		Nov. 27. 1700				
Samuel Welles		Dec. 5. 1711	1722			

County of FAIRFIELD.

Names of ministers.	Names of towns.	Ordained or installed.	Died or removed.	Age.	No. of males.	Historical Notes.
Mr. Jones*	FAIRFIELD	Sept. 30. 1665	March 8. 1692			* Mr. Jones was episcopally ordained in England, and came into this country at an early period, but as the first records of Fairfield were burnt, no particular account can be given of his installation or the time of his death. † Mr. Denton died at Hempsted upon Long island, about the year 1663, where he left posterity. ‡ Mr. Bowers removed from Derby and settled at Rye about the year 1688. Mr. Webb then preached at Derby about 12 years but was not ordained.    Mr. Collens, after laboring more than twenty years at Enfield, resigned his ministry in that place, but preached to other congregations and continued in it until his death.
Samuel Wakeman	FAIRFIELD	Aug. 15. 1694	Sept. 19. 1732			
Joseph Webb	FAIRFIELD	1640†	Died 1665			
Adam Blackman	STRATFORD	1665	March 14. 1722			
Israël Chauncy	2d Church	Jan. 11. 1709	R. to Y. C. 1719			
Timothy Cutler	2d Church	1641	R. to Woodbury			
Zachariah Walker	2d Church	1644	Removed 1644			
Richard Denton†	STAMFORD	1644	Died 1694			
John Bishop	STAMFORD	1694	D. Feb. 5. 1731			
John Davenport	NORWALK	1654	Ref. Feb. 24. 1727			
Thomas Hanford	NORWALK	1697				
Stephen Buckingham	GREENWICH	1697				
Joseph Morgan	DANBURY	1697				
Seth Shove	WOODBURY	1697				
Zachariah Walker	WOODBURY	1697				
John Bowers‡	RYE	1697				
MINISTERS within the boundaries of CONNECTICUT, but under the jurisdiction of MASSACHUSETTS, in 1713.						
Nathaniel Collens	ENFIELD	1697	Ref. died 1757	79		
Benjamin Ruggles	SUFFIELD	May 1698	Sept. 5. 1708			
Josiah Dwight	WOODSTOCK					

WITHIN the boundaries of the colony, including those under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, there were forty six churches, which had been illuminated with about ninety ministers. The churches enjoyed peace, and increased in numbers, knowledge, and beauty.



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# A P P E N D I X.

*ORIGINAL papers illustrating the preceding History.*

## N U M B E R I.

*THE old patent of Connecticut 1631.*

1631.

To all people, unto whom this present writing shall come, Robert, Earl of Warwick, sendeth greeting, in our LORD GOD everlasting.

**K** NOW ye, that the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, for divers good causes and considerations him thereunto moving, hath given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed, and by these presents doth give, grant, bargain, sell, enfeoff, aliene, and confirm, unto the right honorable William, Viscount Say and Seal, the right honorable Robert, Lord Brook, the right honorable Lord Rich, and the honorable Charles Fiennes, Esq. Sir Nathaniel Rich, Knt. Sir Richard Saltonstall Knt. Richard Knightly, Esq. John Pym, Esq. John Hampden, Esq. John Humphrey, Esq. and Herbert Pellam, Esq. their heirs and assigns, and their associates forever, all that part of New-England, in America, which lies and extends itself from a river there called Narraganset river, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea shore towards the south-west, west and by south, or west, as the coast lieth towards Virginia, accounting three English miles to the league; and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude of and within, all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the western ocean to the south sea, and all lands and grounds, place and places, soil, wood, and woods, grounds, havens, ports, creeks and rivers, waters, fishings, and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the said space, and every part and parcel

thereof. And also all islands lying in America aforesaid, in the said seas, or either of them, on the western or eastern coasts, or parts of the said tracts of lands, by these presents mentioned to be given, granted, bargained, sold, infeoffed, aliened, and confirmed, and also all mines and minerals, as well, royal mines of gold and silver, as other mines and minerals whatsoever, in the said land and premises, or any part thereof, and also the several rivers within the said limits, by what name or names soever called or known, and all jurisdictions, rights, and royalties, liberties, freedoms, immunities, powers, privileges, franchises, preeminencies, and commodities whatsoever, which the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, now hath or had, or might use, exercise, or enjoy, in or within any part or parcel thereof, excepting and reserving to his majesty, his heirs, and successors the fifth part of all gold and silver ore, that shall be found within the said premises, or any part or parcel thereof: To HAVE and to HOLD the said part of New-England in America, which lies and extends and is abutted as aforesaid. And the said several rivers and every part and parcel thereof, and all the said islands, rivers, ports, havens, waters, fishings, mines, minerals, jurisdictions, powers, franchises, royalties, liberties, privileges, commodities, hereditaments and premises, whatsoever with the appurtenances, unto the said William, Viscount Say and Seal, Robert, Lord Brook, Robert, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey and Herbert Pellam, their heirs and assigns and their associates, to the only proper and absolute use and behoof of them the said William, Viscount Say and Seal, Robert, Lord Brook, Robert, Lord Rich, Charles Fiennes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humphrey, and Herbert Pellam, their heirs and assigns, and their associates for ever more. In witness whereof the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, hath hereunto set his hand and seal, the nineteenth day of March, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign Lord Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. Annoq. Domini 1631.

*Signed sealed and delivered, in the presence of*

WALTER WILLIAMS.

THOMAS HOWSON.

ROBERT WARWICK. *A Seal.*



## N U M B E R II.

*MR. WINTHROP'S commission to erect a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, with articles of agreement between him and their lordships Say and Seal, Brock, &c. 1635.*

KNOW all men, by these presents, that we Arthur Hasselring, Bart. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt. Henry Lawrence, Henry Darly, and George Fenwick, Esquires; in our own names and in the name of the right honorable Viscount Say and Seal, Robert, Lord Brook and the rest of our company, Do ordain and constitute John Winthrop, Esquire, the younger, governor of the river Connecticut, with the places adjoining thereunto, for and during the space of one whole year, after his arrival there, giving him, from and under us, full power and authority, to do and execute any such lawful act and thing, both in respect of the place and people, as also of the affairs we have or shall have there, as to the dignity or office of a governor doth or may appertain. In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands and seals, this 18th day of July, 1635.

RICHARD SALTONSTALL,   ARTHUR HASSELRING,  
HENRY LAWRENCE,        GEORGE FENWICK,  
                                          HENRY DARLEY,

Five seals appendant impressed in one large piece of Wax.

*ARTICLES made between the right honorable the Lord Viscount Say and Seal, Sir Arthur Hasselring, Baronet, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, Henry Lawrence, Henry Darley, and George Fenwick, Esquires, on the one part, and John Winthrop, Esq. the younger, of the other, the 7th July 1635.*

FIRST, That we, in our names, and the rest of the company, do by these presents appoint John Winthrop the younger, governor of the river Connecticut in New-England, and of the harbour and places adjoining, for the space of one year, from his arrival there. And the said John Winthrop doth undertake and covenant for his part, that he will, with all convenient speed, repair to those places, and there abide as aforesaid for the best advancement of the company's service.

SECONDLY, That so soon as he comes to the bay, he shall endeavour to provide able men to the number of fifty, at the least, for making of fortifications and building of houses at the river Connecticut, and the harbour

adjoining, first for their own present accommodations, and then such houses as may receive men of quality, which latter houses we would have to be builded within the fort.

THIRDLY, That he shall employ those men, according to his best ability, for the advancement of the company's service, especially in the particulars abovementioned, during the time of his government, and shall also give a true and just account of all the monies and goods committed to his managing.

FOURTHLY, That for such as shall plant there now, in the beginning, he shall take care that they plant themselves either at the harbour or near the mouth of the river, that these places may be the better strengthened for their own safety, and to that end, that they also set down in such bodies together, as they may be most capable of an entrenchment, provided that there be reserved unto the fort, for the maintenance of it, one thousand or fifteen hundred acres, at least, of good ground as near adjoining thereunto as may be.

FIFTHLY, That forasmuch as the service will take him off from his own employment, the company do engage themselves, to give him a just and due consideration for the same. In witness whereof we have interchangeably hereunto subscribed our names.

W. SAY and SEAL,	GEORGE FENWICK,
HENRY LAWRENCE,	ARTHUR HASSELRING,
RICHARD SALTONSTALL,	HENRY DARLEY.

### N U M B E R III.

*THE original constitution of Connecticut, formed by voluntary compact, 1639.*

April,  
1639.

FORASMUCH as it hath pleased the Almighty GOD, by the wise disposition of his Divine Providence, so to order and dispose of things, that we the inhabitants and residents of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, are now cohabiting and dwelling in and upon the river of Connecticut and the lands thereunto adjoining, and well knowing where a people are gathered together the word of GOD requireth that, to maintain 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 affairs of the people at all seasons, as occasion should require; do therefore associate and conjoin

ourselves to be as one public STATE or COMMONWEALTH; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together, to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the gospel of our LORD JESUS, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of said gospel, is now practised amongst us; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders, and decrees, as shall be made, ordered, and decreed, as followeth.

I. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that there shall be yearly two general assemblies or courts, the one on the second Thursday of April, the other the second Thursday of September following: The first shall be called the COURT of ELECTION, wherein shall be yearly chosen, from time to time, so many magistrates and other public officers as shall be found requisite, whereof one to be chosen governor for the year ensuing, and until another be chosen, and no other magistrate to be chosen for more than one year; provided always there be six chosen besides the governor, which being chosen and sworn according to an oath recorded for that purpose, shall have power to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the rule of the word of GOD; which choice shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the oath of fidelity, and do cohabit within this jurisdiction, having been admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town where they live, or the major part of such as shall be then present.

II. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the election of the aforesaid magistrates shall be on this manner; every person present and qualified for choice shall bring in (to the persons deputed to receive them) one single paper, with the name of him written on it whom he desires to have governor, and he that hath the greatest number of papers shall be governor for that year: And the rest of the magistrates or public officers to be chosen in this manner; the secretary for the time being shall first read the names of all that are to be put to choice, and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the person nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written upon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blank,

and every one that has more written papers than blanks shall be a magistrate for that year, which papers shall be received and told by one or more that shall be then chosen, by the court, and sworn to be faithful therein; but in case there should not be six persons as aforesaid besides the governor out of those which are nominated, then he, or they which have the most written papers shall be a magistrate, or magistrates for the ensuing year, to make up the aforesaid number.

III. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the secretary shall not nominate any person new, nor shall any person be chosen newly into the magistracy, which was not propounded in some general court before, to be nominated the next election: And to that end it shall be lawful for each of the towns aforesaid, by their deputies, to nominate any two whom they conceive fit to be put to election, and the court may add so many more as they judge requisite.

IV. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that no person be chosen governor above once in two years, and that the governor be always a member of some approved congregation, and formerly of the magistracy within this jurisdiction, and all the magistrates freemen of this commonwealth; and that no magistrate or other public officer shall execute any part of his or their office before they are severally sworn, which shall be done in the face of the court if they be present, and in case of absence by some deputed for that purpose.

V. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that to the aforesaid court of election, the several towns shall send their deputies, and when the elections are ended they may proceed in any public service, as at other courts; also the other general court in September shall be for making of laws and any other public occasion which concerns the good of the commonwealth.

VI. It is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the governor shall, either by himself or by the secretary, send out summonses to the constables of every town, for the calling of those two standing courts, one month at least before their several times; and also if the governor and the greatest part of the magistrates see cause, upon any special occasion, to call a general court, they may give order to the secretary so to do within fourteen days warning; and if urgent necessity so require, upon a shorter notice, giving sufficient grounds for it to the deputies when they meet, or else be questioned for the same. And if

the governor, or major part of the magistrates shall either neglect or refuse to call the two general standing courts, or either of them, as also at other times when the occasions of the commonwealth require, the freemen thereof, or the major part of them shall petition to them so to do; if then it be either denied or neglected, the said freemen, or the major part of them, shall have power to give order to the constables of the severall towns to do the same, and so may meet together and choose to themselves a moderator, and may proceed to do any act of power which any other general courts may.

VII. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that after there are warrants given out for any of the said general courts, the constable or constables of each town shall forthwith give notice distinctly to the inhabitants of the same, in some public assembly, or by going or sending from house to house, that at a place and time by him or them limited and set, they meet and assemble themselves together, to elect and choose certain deputies to be at the general court then following, to agitate the affairs of the commonwealth, which said deputies shall be chosen by all that are admitted inhabitants in the severall towns, and have taken the oath of fidelity; provided, that none be chosen a deputy for any general court which is not a freeman of this commonwealth: The aforesaid deputy shall be chosen in manner following; every person that is present and qualified, as before expressed, shall bring the names of such, written on severall papers, as they desire to have chosen, for that employment; and those three or four, more or less, being the number agreed on to be chosen, for that time, that have the greatest number of papers written for them, shall be deputies for that court; whose names shall be indorsed on the back side of the warrant, and returned into the court with the constable or constables hand unto the same.

VIII. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield shall have power, each town, to send four of their freemen as their deputies, to every general court; and whatsoever other towns shall be hereafter added to this jurisdiction, they shall send so many deputies as the court shall judge meet; a reasonable proportion to the number of freemen that are in said towus, being to be attended therein; which deputies shall have the power of the whole town to give their votes, and allowance to all such laws and orders, as may be for

the public good, and unto which the said towns are to be bound.

IX. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that the deputies, thus chosen, shall have power and liberty to appoint a time and a place of meeting together, before any general court, to advise and consult of all such things as may concern the good of the public; as also to examine their own elections, whether according to the order; and if they or the greatest part of them find any election to be illegal, they may seclude such for the present from their meeting, and return the same and their reasons to the court; and if it prove true the court may fine the party or parties so intruding, upon the town, if they see cause, and give out a warrant to go to a new election in a legal way, either in part or in whole; also the said deputies shall have power to fine any that shall be disorderly at their meeting, or for not coming in due time or place, according to appointment; and they may return said fine into the court, if it be refused to be paid, and the treasurer to take notice of it, and to estreat or levy the same as he doth other fines.

X. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that every general court (except such as, through neglect of the governor and the greatest part of the magistrates, the freemen themselves do call,) shall consist of the governor, or some one chosen to moderate the court, and four other magistrates at least, with the major part of the deputies of the several towns legally chosen; and in case the freemen, or the major part of them, through neglect or refusal of the governor and major part of the magistrates, shall call a court, that shall consist of the major part of the freemen that are present, or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them; in which said general court shall consist the SUPREME POWER of the COMMONWEALTH, and they only shall have power to *MAKE LAWS or repeal them, to grant levies, to admit freemen, to dispose of lands undisposed of*, to several towns or persons, and also shall have power to *call* other courts, or magistrate, or any other person whatsoever, into question for any misdemeanor; and may for just causes displace or deal otherwise, according to the nature of the offence; and also may deal in any other matter that concerns the good of this commonwealth, except election of magistrates, which shall be done by the whole body of freemen; in which court the governor or moderator shall have power to order the court, to give liberty of speech, and silence

unreasonable and disorderly speaking, to put all things to vote, and in case the vote be equal to have a casting voice; but none of these courts shall be adjourned or dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court.

XI. IT is ordered, sentenced, and decreed, that when any general court, upon the occasions of the commonwealth, have agreed upon any sum or sums of money to be levied upon the several towns within this jurisdiction, that a committee be chosen to set out and appoint what shall be the proportion of every town to pay, of the said levy, provided the committee be made up of an equal number out of each town. 14th January 1638.\*

#### N U M B E R I V.

*THE fundamental articles, or original constitution of the colony of New-Haven, June 4th, 1639.*

THE 4th day of the 4th month, called June, 1639, all the free planters assembled together in a general meeting, to consult about settling civil government, according to GOD, and the nomination of persons that might be found, by consent of all, fittest in all respects for the foundation work of a church, which was intended to be gathered in Quinipiack. After solemn invocation of the name of GOD, in prayer for the presence and help of his spirit and grace, in those weighty businesses, they were reminded of the business whereabout they met, (viz. for the establishment of such civil order as might be most pleasing unto GOD, and for the choosing the fittest men for the foundation work of a church to be gathered. For the better enabling them to discern the mind of GOD, and to agree accordingly concerning the establishment of civil order, Mr. John Davenport propounded 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 should stand upon record for posterity.

THIS being earnestly pressed by Mr. Davenport, Mr. Robert Newman was intreated to write, in characters,

\* This as we now date was 1639.

and to read distinctly and audibly in the hearing of all the people, what was propounded and accorded on, that it might appear, that all consented to matters propounded, according to words written by him.

*Query I.* WHETHER the scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men in all duties which they are to perform to GOD and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church? This was assented unto by all, no man dissenting, as was expressed by holding up of hands. Afterwards it was read over to them, that they might see in what words their vote was expressed. They again expressed their consent by holding up their hands, no man dissenting.

*Query II.* WHEREAS there was a covenant solemnly made by the whole assembly of free planters of this plantation, the first day of extraordinary humiliation, which we had after we came together, that as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so likewise in all public officers which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotments of inheritance, and all things of like nature, we would all of us be ordered by those rules which the scripture holds forth to us; this covenant was called a plantation covenant, to distinguish it from a church covenant, which could not at that time be made, a church not being then gathered, but was deferred till a church might be gathered, according to GOD: It was demanded whether all the free planters do hold themselves bound by that covenant, in all businesses of that nature which are expressed in the covenant, to submit themselves to be ordered by the rules held forth in the scripture?

THIS also was assented unto by all, and no man gaineday it; and they did testify the same by holding up their hands, both when it was first propounded, and confirmed the same by holding up their hands when it was read unto them in public. John Clark being absent, when the covenant was made, doth now manifest his consent to it. Also Richard Beach, Andrew Law, Goodman Banister, Arthur Halbridge, John Potter, Robert Hill, John Brocket, and John Johnson, these persons, being not admitted planters when the covenant was made, do now express their consent to it.

*Query III.* THOSE who have desired to be received as free planters, and are settled in the plantation, with a purpose, resolution and desire, that they may be admitted,



into church fellowship, according to CHRIST, as soon as GOD shall fit them thereunto, were desired to express it by holding up hands. Accordingly all did express this to be their desire and purpose by holding up their hands twice (viz.) at the proposal of it, and after when these written words were read unto them.

*Query IV.* ALL the free planters were called upon to express, whether they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity according to GOD? In answer hereunto they expressed by holding up their hands twice as before, that they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the ends aforesaid.

THEN Mr. Davenport declared unto them, by the scripture, what kind of persons might best be trusted with matters of government; and by sundry arguments from scripture proved that such men as were described in Exod. xviii. 2, Deut. i. 13, with Deut. xvii. 15, and 1 Cor. vi. 1, 6, 7, ought to be intrusted by them, seeing they were free to cast themselves into that mould and form of commonwealth which appeared best for them in reference to the securing the peace and peaceable improvement of all CHRIST his ordinances in the church according to GOD, whereunto they have bound themselves, as hath been acknowledged.

HAVING thus said he sat down praying the company freely to consider, whether they would have it voted at this time or not. After some space of silence, Mr. Theophilus Eaton answered, it might be voted, and some others also spake to the same purpose, none at all opposing it. Then it was propounded to vote.

*Query V.* WHETHER free burgessees shall be chosen out of the church members, they that are in the foundation work of the church being actually free burgessees, and to choose to themselves out of the like estate of church fellowship, and the power of choosing magistrates and officers from among themselves, and the power of making and repealing laws, according to the word, and the dividing of inheritances, and deciding of differences that may arise, and all the businesses of like nature are to be transacted by those free burgessees? This was put to vote and agreed unto by lifting up of hands twice, as in the former it was done. Then one man stood up and expressed his dissenting from the rest in part; yet granting,  
1. That magistrates should be men fearing GOD. 2. That

the church is the company where, ordinarily, such men may be expected. 3. That they that choose them ought to be men fearing God; only at this he stuck, that free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands. Another stood up and answered, that nothing was done, but with their consent. The former answered, that all the free planters ought to resume this power into their own hands again, if things were not orderly carried. Mr. Theophilus Eaton answered, that in all places they choose committees in like manner. The companies in London choose the liveries by whom the public magistrates are chosen. In this the rest are not wronged, because they expect, in time, to be of the livery themselves, and to have the same power. Some others intreated the former to give his arguments and reasons whereupon he dissented. He refused to do it, and said, they might not rationally demand it, seeing he let the vote pass on freely and did not speak till after it was past, because he would not hinder what they agreed upon. Then Mr. Davenport, after a short relation of some former passages between them two about this question, prayed the company that nothing might be concluded by them on this weighty question, but what themselves were persuaded to be agreeing with the mind of God, and they had heard what had been said since the voting; he intreated them again to consider of it, and put it again to vote as before. Again all of them, by holding up their hands, did show their consent as before. And some of them confessed that, whereas they did waver before they came to the assembly, they were now fully convinced, that it is the mind of God. One of them said that in the morning before he came reading Deut. xvii. 15, he was convinced at home. Another said, that he came doubting to the assembly, but he blessed God, by what had been said, he was now fully satisfied, that the choice of burgesses out of church members, and to intrust those with the power before spoken of is according to the mind of God revealed in the scriptures. All having spoken their apprehensions it was agreed upon, and Mr. Robert Newman was desired to write it as an order whereunto every one, that hereafter should be admitted here as planters, should submit, and testify the same by subscribing their names to the order: Namely, that church members only shall be free burgesses, and that they only shall choose magistrates and officers among themselves, to have power of transacting all the public civil affairs of this plantation; of making and re-

pealing laws, dividing of inheritances, deciding of differences that may arise, and doing all things and businesses of like nature.

THIS being thus settled, as a fundamental agreement concerning civil government, Mr. Davenport proceeded to propound something to consideration about the gathering of a church, and to prevent the blemishing of the first beginnings of the church work, Mr. Davenport advised, that the names of such as were to be admitted might be publicly propounded, to the end that they who were most approved might be chosen; for the town being cast into several private meetings, wherein they that lived nearest together gave their accounts one to another of God's gracious work upon them, and prayed together and conferred to their mutual edification, sundry of them had knowledge one of another; and in every meeting some one was more approved of all than any other; for this reason and to prevent scandals, the whole company was intreated to consider whom they found fittest to nominate for this work.

*Query VI.* WHETHER are you all willing and do agree in this, that twelve men be chosen, that their fitness for the foundation work may be tried; however there may be more named yet it may be in their power who are chosen to reduce them to twelve, and that it be in the power of those twelve to choose out of themselves seven, that shall be most approved of by the major part, to begin the church?

THIS was agreed upon by consent of all, as was expressed by holding up of hands, and that so many as should be thought fit for the foundation work of the church, shall be propounded by the plantation, and written down and pass without exception, unless they had given public scandal or offence. Yet so as in case of public scandal or offence, every one should have liberty to propound their exception, at that time, publicly against any man, that should be nominated, when all their names should be writ down. But if the offence were private, that mens names might be tendered, so many as were offended were intreated to deal with the offender privately, and if he gave not satisfaction to bring the matter to the twelve, that they might consider of it impartially and in the fear of God.

*THE first agreement with George Fenwick, Esquire, 1644.*

Dec. 5th,  
1644.

ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded betwixt George Fenwick, Esq. of Saybrook fort, on the one part, and Edward Hopkins, John Haynes, John Mason, John Steele and James Boosy, for and on the behalf of the jurisdiction of Connecticut river, on the other part, the 5th of December 1644.

THE said George Fenwick, Esq. doth, by these presents, convey and make over to the use and for the behoof of the jurisdiction of Connecticut river aforesaid, the fort at Saybrook, with the appurtenances hereafter mentioned, to be enjoyed by them forever. Two demiculvering cast pieces, with all the shot thereunto appertaining, except fifty, which are reserved for his own use; two long saker cast pieces with all the shot thereunto belonging; one murderer with two chambers and two hammered pieces; two barrels of gun powder, forty muskets, with bandoleers and rests, as also four carabines, swords, and such irons as are there for a draw bridge; one sow of lead, and irons for the carriages of ordinance, and all the housing within the pallisado.

IT is also provided and agreed, betwixt the said parties, that all the land upon the river of Connecticut shall belong to the said jurisdiction of Connecticut, and such lands as are yet undisposed of shall be ordered and given out by a committee of five, whereof George Fenwick, Esq. aforesaid is always to be one.

IT is further provided and agreed, that the town of Saybrook shall be carried on according to such agreements, and in that way which is already followed there, and attended betwixt Mr. Fenwick and the inhabitants there.

IT is also provided and agreed, betwixt the said parties, that George Fenwick, Esq. shall have liberty to dwell in, or make use of any or all the housing belonging to the said fort, for the space of ten years; he keeping those which he makes use of in sufficient repair (extraordinary casualties excepted;) and in case he remove his dwelling to any other place that he should give half a year's warning thereof, that provision may be made accordingly; only it is agreed that there shall be some convenient part of the housing reserved for a gunner, and

his family to live in, if the jurisdiction see fit to settle one there.

IT is further provided and agreed, betwixt the said parties, that George Fenwick, Esq. shall enjoy to his own proper use, these particulars following.

1st. THE house near adjoining to the wharf, with the wharf and an acre of ground thereunto belonging ; provided that the said acre of ground take not up above eight rods in breadth by the water side.

2d. THE point of land and the marsh lying under the barn already built by the said George Fenwick.

3d. THE island commonly called six mile island, with the meadow thereunto adjoining, on the east side the river.

4th. THE ground adjoining to the town field which is already taken off and inclosed with three rails, by the said George Fenwick ; only there is liberty granted to the said jurisdiction, if they see fit, to build a fort upon the western point, whereunto there shall be allowed an acre of ground for a house lot.

5th. IT is also provided and agreed, that the said George Fenwick, Esq. shall have free warren in his own land, and liberty for a floater for his own occasions ; as also the like liberty is reserved for any others of the adventurers, that may come unto these parts, with a double house lot in such place where they make choice to settle their abode.

ALL the forementioned grants (except before excepted) the said George Fenwick, Esq. doth engage himself to make good to the jurisdiction aforesaid, against all claims that may be made, by any other to the premises by reason of any disbursements made upon the place.

THE said George Fenwick doth also promise, that all the lands from Narraganset river to the fort of Saybrook, mentioned in a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick to certain nobles and gentlemen, shall fall in under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, if it come into his power. For and in regard of the premises, and other good considerations, the said Edward Hopkins, John Haynes, John Mason, John Steele, and James Boofy, authorized thereunto, by the general court for the jurisdiction of Connecticut, do, in behalf of the said jurisdiction, promise and agree, to and with the said George Fenwick, Esq. that for and during the space of ten full and complete years, to begin from the first of March next ensuing the date of these presents, there shall be allowed and paid to the said

George Fenwick or his assigns, the particular sums hereafter following.

1st. EACH bushel of corn, of all sorts, or meal that shall pass out of the river's mouth, shall pay two pence per bushel.

2d. EVERY hundred of biscuit that shall in like manner pass out of the river's mouth shall pay six pence.

3d. EACH milk cow, and mare of three years or upwards, within any of the towns or farms upon the river, shall pay twelve pence per annum during the foresaid term.

4th. EACH hog or fow, that is killed by any particular person, within the limits of the river and the jurisdiction aforesaid, to be improved either for his own particular use, or to make market of, shall in like manner pay twelve pence per annum.

5th. EACH hoghead of beaver, traded out of this jurisdiction, and passed by water down the river, shall pay twenty shillings.

6th. EACH pound of beaver, traded within the limits of the river, shall pay two pence. Only it is provided, that in case the general trade with the Indians, now in agitation, proceed, this tax upon beaver, mentioned in this and the foregoing articles, shall fall.

7th. THE said committee, by the power aforesaid, consent and agree, to and with the said George Fenwick, Esq. that he, the said George Fenwick, and his heirs, shall be free of any impositions or customs, that may hereafter, by the jurisdiction, be imposed at the fort.

It is agreed, that the aforesaid payments shall be made in manner following. What shall be due from the grain that is exported shall be paid in grain, according to the proportion of the several kinds of grain that do pass away at the common current price; neither attending such prices on the one hand, that the court may set; nor yet on the other hand, such as corn may be sold at, through the necessities of men. And in case of any difference, then the price shall be set by two good men, the one chosen by Mr. Fenwick, and the other by the court. What shall be due otherwise shall be paid in beaver, wampum, barley, wheat or pease; the former consideration for the price, to be herein also attended. And it is provided and agreed, that a strict order and course shall be taken in observing what grain is put a board any vessel that goeth down the river, from any of the towns. And due notice being taken thereof, every boat or vessel shall be

enjoined to take a note of some person deputed by the court in each town, what quantities and kinds of grain are aboard the said vessel: And to deliver to Mr. Fenwick, or his assigns, at Saybrook, so much as will be due to him according to the forementioned agreements. And likewise, for the other payments, due care shall be taken, that they be made at the place aforesaid, in as convenient a way as may comfortably be attended, and that all indirect courses be prevented, whereby the true intent and meaning of these agreements may be evaded. In witness whereof the parties before mentioned have hereunto put their hands, the day and year aforesaid.

EDWARD HOPKINS.

JOHN HAYNES.

JOHN MASON.

JOHN STEELE.

JAMES BOOSY.\*

GEORGE FENWICK.

#### N U M B E R VI.

*THE second agreement with George Fenwick, Esquire, February 17th, 1646.*

Feb. 17th,  
1646.

IT was agreed betwixt Edward Hopkins, on the behalf of George Fenwick, Esq. and John Cullick, John Talcott, John Porter, and Henry Clark, James Boosy, and Samuel Smith, on the behalf of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, that the agreement formerly made with Mr. Fenwick, shall be afterwards, and what was to be received by him according to that, reduced to the terms hereafter expressed. Viz. There shall yearly, for ten years, be paid to Mr. Fenwick, or his assigns, one hundred and eighty pounds per annum, to be paid every year before the last of June, as it shall be required by the assigns of the said George Fenwick, either to such vessels as shall be appointed, or to such house or houses, in Wethersfield or Hartford, as he shall direct and order. To be paid one third in good wheat, at 4s per bushel, one third in pease at 3s per bushel, one third in rye or barley at 3s per bushel: And if rye or barley be not paid, then to pay it in wheat and pease, in an equal proportion; and this present year some Indian corn shall be accepted; but as little as may be. Also there is to be received by

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\* Records of the colony of Connecticut. Folio Vol. II. page 59, 60, 61, and 62.

the said George Fenwick what is due from Springfield, for the foresaid term of ten years. As also what else may be due upon the beaver trade, according to the former agreement with him. Also whereas the town of Saybrook is to pay in this sum of £180, for this year, £10, when that town increaseth, so as they pay a greater proportion in other rates in reference to what these towns, Windsor, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Farmington do pay, they shall increase their pay to Mr. Fenwick accordingly. Also whereas Mattabeeseck may hereafter be planted, they shall pay unto Mr. Fenwick in the same proportion they pay other rates, to these towns. These four towns being accounted at one hundred and seventy pounds.\*

EDWARD HOPKINS.  
JOHN CULLICK.

JOHN TALCOTT.

### N U M B E R VII.

£661.

*PETITION to his majesty, King Charles II. 1661, for charter privileges.*

The humble petition of the general court, at Hartford upon Connecticut, in New-England, to the high and mighty Prince CHARLES the second, humbly shewing.

THAT whereas your petitioners have not had, for many years past, since their possession and inhabiting these western and inland parts of this wilderness, any opportunity, by reason of the calamities of the late sad times, to seek for, and obtain such grants, by letters patents from your excellent majesty, their sovereign lord and king, as might assure them of such liberties and privileges, and sufficient powers, as might encourage them to go on through all difficulties, hazards and expenses, in so great a work of plantation, in a place so remote from the christian world, and a desert so difficultly subdued, and no way improveable for subsistence, but by great cost and hard labor, with much patience and cares.

AND whereas besides the great charge that hath been expended by our fathers and some of their associates yet surviving, about the purchases, building, fortifying, and other matters, of culturing and improving to a condition of safety and subsistence, in the places of our present a-

\* Records of the colony of Connecticut, Fol. Vol. II. p. 63.



bode, among the heathen, whereby there is a considerable and real addition to the honor and enlargement of his majesty's dominion, by the sole disbursements of his majesty's subjects here; of their own proper estates, they have laid out a very great sum for the purchasing a jurisdiction right of Mr. George Fenwick, which they were given to understand was derived from true royal authority, by letters patent, to certain lords and gentlemen therein nominated, a copy whereof was produced before the commissioners of the colonies, and approved by them, as appears by their records, a copy whereof is ready to be presented at your majesty's command, though, either by fire at an house where it had been sometimes kept, or some other accident, is now lost, with which your poor subjects, were rather willing to have contented themselves, in those afflicting times, than to seek for power or privileges, from any other than their lawful prince and sovereign.

MAY it therefore please your most gracious and excellent majesty, to confer upon your humble petitioners, who unanimously do implore your highness's favor and grace therein, those liberties, rights, authorities, and privileges, which were granted by the aforementioned letters patent, to certain lords and gentlemen so purchased as aforesaid, or which were enjoyed from those letters patent, granted to the Massachusetts plantation, by our fathers, and some of us yet surviving, when there, in our beginning inhabiting; and upon which those large encouragements, liberties, and privileges, so great a transplantation from our dear England was undertaken, and supposed to be yet our inheritance, till the running of that western line, the bounded limits of those letters patent, did since our removal thence, determine our lot to be fallen without the limits of that so bounded authority.

MAY it please your majesty graciously to bestow upon your humble supplicants, such royal munificence, according to the tenor of a draft or instrument, which is ready here to be tendered at your gracious order.

AND whereas, besides those many other great disbursements as aforesaid, in prosecution of this wilderness work, your poor petitioners were forced to maintain a war against one nation of the heathens, that did much interrupt the beginnings of your servants, by many bloody and hostile acts, whereby divers of our dear countrymen were treacherously destroyed, and have also been ever since, and are still, at much charge in keeping such a corres-

pondence of peace and amity with the divers sorts of the heathen nations, that are round about your plantations thus far extended into the bowels of the country, besides the maintenance of all public charges for church and civil affairs, which are very great in respect of our great poverty.

MAY it please your most excellent majesty, out of your princely bounty, to grant such an immunity from customs as may encourage the merchants to supply our necessities in such commodities as may be wanting here, for which we have neither silver nor gold to pay, but the supply in that kind may enable, in due time, to search the bowels of the earth for some good minerals, whereof there seems to be fair probabilities, or produce some such other staple commodities, as may in future time appear to be good effects of your majesty's goodness and bounty. If your poor colony may find this gracious acceptance with your majesty, as to grant their humble desire, whereby they may be encouraged to go on cheerfully and strenuously in their plantation business, in hope of a comfortable settlement for themselves and their posterity, that under your royal protection they may prosper in this desert; they shall, as is their acknowledged duty, ever pray for your great tranquillity and perpetual happiness; and humbly craving leave they subscribe themselves your majesty's loyal subjects and servants the general court of the colony of Connecticut in New-England, per their order signed.\*

DANIEL CLARK, Secretary.

January 7th, 1661.

## N U M B E R VIII.

June 7th, 1661. *THE letter of Connecticut to Lord Say and Seal, June 7, 1661.*

RIGHT HONORABLE,

THE former encouragements that our fathers, and some of their yet surviving associates, received from your honor to transplant themselves and families into these inland parts of this vast wilderness, where (as we have been given to understand) your honor was, and as we conceive and hope are still interested, by virtue of patent power and authority, doth not only persuade us, but assure us of your patronage and favor, in that which may come within your power, wherein our comfort and settlement,

\* Old Book of Patents, Letters, &c. p. 12—14.

and the well being of our posterity and the whole colony, both in civil and ecclesiastical policy, is so deeply concerned: Honorable Sir, not long after that some persons of note amongst us, and well known to yourself, whose names in that respect we forbear to write, had settled upon this river of Connecticut, and some plantations up the river were possessed, and in some measure improved, Mr. George Fenwick took possession of Saybrook fort, there residing for certain or several years; at length he was moved for ends best known to himself, to return to England, and thereupon propounded by himself, our agent, the sale of the fort, with the housing there, and several appurtenances, together with all the lands on the river, and so to the Narragansett Bay, with jurisdiction power to this colony, which was exceedingly opposed by several amongst us, whom some of us have heard to affirm that such a thing would be very distasteful to your honor, with the rest of the noble patentees, who had very bountiful intentions to this colony; nevertheless, though there was a stop for the present, yet in some short time (God removing some from us by death, that were interested in the hearts and affections of several of those nobles and gentlemen the patentees in England) the business of purchase was revived by Mr. Fenwick and expressions to this purpose given out by him, or his agents or both; that he had power to dispose of the premises, the rest of the patentees deserting, it fell into his hands by agreement, and in case the towns on the river refused to comply with such terms as he proposed for the purchasing of the said fort, &c. it was frequently reported that he purposed either to impose customs on the river or make sale thereof to the Dutch our noxious neighbours; at last for our peace, and settlement, and security, (as we hoped) we made, by our committee, an agreement with the said Mr. Fenwick, a copy whereof is ready to be presented unto your honor, which cost this river one thousand six hundred pounds or thereabouts, wherein your honor may see the great abuse that we received at Mr. Fenwick's hands, he receiving a vast sum from a poor people, and we scarcely at all advantaged thereby, nay we judge our condition worse than if we had contented ourselves with the patronage of the grand patentees, for we have not so much as a copy of a patent to secure our standing as a commonwealth, nor to ensure us of the continuance of our rights and privileges and immunities

which we thought the jurisdiction power and authority, which Mr. Fenwick had engaged to us, and we paid for at a dear rate, nor any thing under his hand to engage him and his heirs, to the performance of that which was aimed at and intended in our purchase: the lands up the river, for a long tract, the Massachusetts colony doth challenge, and have run the line, which as they say, falls into one of our towns; on the other side towards Narraganset, we know not how to claim being destitute of patent and a copy to decide the bounds. Be pleased, noble sir, to consider our condition, who have taken upon us this boldness to address to his majesty, our sovereign Lord, and to petition his grace and favor towards us, in granting us the continuance of his protection and the continuance of those privileges and immunities, that we have hitherto enjoyed in this remote western part of the world; and likewise for a patent whereby we may be encouraged and strengthened in our proceedings. Right honorable, our humble request to yourself is, that you would be pleased to countenance our enterprize, and so far to favor us as to counsel and advise our agent who is to represent this poor colony, and to act in our behalf, John Winthrop, Esq. our honored governor, whom we have commissioned and also directed to await your honor's pleasure for advice and counsel, both respecting our petition to the king's majesty, as also respecting the case forementioned, that if there be any relief for us, we may not lose such a considerable sum of money, and be exposed to further expence for the obtaining a patent. If we may find this favor with your honor to afford your advice and counsel, and helpfulness to bring to pass our desires, we shall still acknowledge your enlarged bounty and favorable respect to us and ours, and ever pray an inundation of mercies may flow in upon your lordship from the AUTHOR and FOUNTAIN of blessing. With all due respects, we subscribe, sir your lordship's humble servants, the general assembly of the colony of Connecticut. Per their order signed.

PER DANIEL CLARK, Secretary\*

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\* Old book of letters, &c. p. 9—11.

## N U M B E R IX.

*LETTER of Lord Say and Seal to Governor Winthrop, De-* December  
*cember 11th, 1661.* 11, 1661.

MR. WINTHROP,

I RECEIVED your letter, by Mr. Richards, and I would have been glad to have had an opportunity of being at London myself, to have done you and my good friends, in New-England, the best service I could; but my weakness hath been such, and my old disease of the gout falling upon me, I did desire leave not to come up this winter, but I have wrote to the Earl of Manchester, lord chamberlain of his majesty's household, to give you the best assistance he may; and indeed he is a noble and a worthy lord, and one that loves those that are godly. And he and I did join together, that our godly friends of New-England might enjoy their just rights and liberties; and this Colonel Crowne, who, I hear, is still in London, can fully inform you. Concerning that of Connecticut, I am not able to remember all the particulars; but I have written to my lord chamberlain, that when you shall attend him, (which I think will be best for you to do, and therefore I have inclosed a letter to him, in yours) that you may deliver it, and I have desired him to acquaint you where you may speak with Mr. Jesup, who, when we had the patent, was our clerk, and he I believe, is able to inform you best about it, and I have desired my lord to wish him so to do. I do think he is now in London. My love remembered unto you, I shall remain,

Your very loving friend,

W. SAY and SEAL.

## N U M B E R X.

*LETTER of New-Haven to Connecticut, November 5th, 1662.* Nov. 5,  
1662.

HONORED GENT.

WE have heard both the patent and that writing read, which those gentlemen (who said they were sent from your general assembly) left with our committee, and have considered the contents according to our capacities. By the one we take notice of their declared sense of the patent, and also of your desire of our uniting with yourselves upon that account, by the other, we understand, that his majesty hath been graciously pleased (at your

earnest petition) to grant liberty to the colony of Connecticut, to acquire, have, possess, purchase, &c. whatever lands, &c. you have gained or shall gain by lawful means within the precincts or lines therein mentioned: And also, of his abundant grace, to allow and establish you to be one body politick for managing all your public affairs and government, in a religious and peaceable manner, to the intents and purposes by his majesty, and the adventurers therein professed, over all persons, matters and things so gained by purchase or conquest at your own proper costs and charges, according as yourselves informed you had already done. Now whatever is so yours we have neither purpose nor desire to oppose, hurt or hinder in the least; But what ourselves (by like lawful means) have attained as to inheritances, or jurisdiction, as a distinct colony, upon our most solemn and religious covenants, so well known to his majesty, and to all, we must say that we do not find in the patent any command given to you, nor prohibition to us, to dissolve covenants, or alter the orderly settlements of New-England, nor any sufficient reason, why we may not so remain to be as formerly; also your beginning to procure, and proceeding to improve the patent without us, doth confirm this belief; but rather it seems that a way is left open to us to petition for the like favor, and to enter our appeal from your declared sense of the patent, and signify our grievances. Yet if it shall appear (after a due and full information of our state) to have been his majesty's pleasure so to unite us, as you understand the patent, we must submit according to God; but, for the present, we cannot answer otherwise than our committee hath done, and likewise to make the same request unto you, that we may remain distinct as formerly, and may be succoured by you as confederates; at least, that none occasion be given by yourselves for any to disturb us in our ancient settlements, until that, either by the honored Mr. Winthrop, by our other confederates, or from his majesty we may be resolved herein: All which means are in our thoughts to use, except you prevent, for the gaining of a right understanding, and to bring a peaceable issue or reconciliation of this matter; and we wish you had better considered than to act so suddenly, to seclude us from patent privileges at first, if we are included, as you say, and to have so proceeded since, as may seem to give advantage unto disaffected persons to slight or disregard oaths and covenants, and thereby to rend and make division, manage

contention and troubles in the townships and societies of this colony, and that about religious worships, as the inclosed complaint may declare, which seems to us a great scandal to religion before the natives, and prejudicial to his majesty's pious intention, as also to hold forth a series of means very opposite to the end pretended, and very much obscured from the beauty of such a religious and peaceable walking among English brethren, as may either invite the natives to the christian faith or unite our spirits in this juncture; and this occasion given before any conviction tendered, or publication of the patent among us, or so much as a treaty with us in a christian, neighbourly way. No pretence for our dissolution of government till then could rationally be imagined. Such carriage may seem to be against the advice and mind of his majesty in the patent; as also of your honored governor, and to cast reflection upon him, when we compare these things with his letters to some here, for the avoiding whereof we earnestly request that the whole of what he hath written to yourselves, so far as it may respect us in this business, may be fully communicated to our view in a true copy or transcript of the same. We must profess ourselves grieved hereat, and must desire and expect your effectual endeavours to repair these breaches, and restore us to our former condition as confederates, until that by all, or some of these ways intimated we may attain a clear resolution in this matter. Unto what we have herein propounded we shall add, that we do not in the least intend any dislike to his majesty's act, but show our sense of your actings first and last so much to our detriment, and to manifest the consequent effects to God's dishonor, as also to give you to know how we understand the patent, hoping that you will both candidly construe, and friendly comply, with our desires herein, and so remove the cause of our distraction and sad affliction, that you have brought upon this poor colony; then shall we forbear to give you further trouble, and shall pray to the God of spirits to grant us all humility, and to guide us by his heavenly wisdom to a happy issue of this affair in love and peace. Resting

Gent. your very loving friends and neighbours,

The freemen of the colony of New-Haven.

Per James Bishop, *Secretary*, In the name and by order and consent of the committee and freemen of New-Haven colony.

May 6,  
1663.

*NEW-HAVEN'S remonstrance againſt Connecticut, May 6th,  
1663.*

GENT.

THE professed grounds and ends of your and our coming into these parts are not unknown, being plainly expressed in the prologue to that solemn confederation entered into by the four colonies of New-England, printed and published to the world, viz. to advance the kingdom of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace, for which we left our dear native country, and were willing to undergo the difficulties we have since met with, in this wilderness, yet fresh in our remembrance; being the only ends we still pursue, having hitherto found by experience so much of the presence of GOD with us, and of his goodness and compassion towards us in so doing, for these many years. Yet considering how unanswerable our returns have been to GOD, how unfruitful, unthankful, and unholy under so much means of grace, and such liberties we cannot but lament the same, judge ourselves, and justify GOD, should he now at last (after so long patience towards us) bring desolating judgments upon us, and make us drink of the dregs of that cup of indignation, he hath put into the hands of his people in other parts of the world, or suffer such contentions (in just displeasure) to arise among us, as may hasten our calamity, and increase our wo; which we pray the Lord in mercy to prevent. And whereas in the pursuance of the said ends, and upon other religious and civil considerations, as the security of the interest of each colony, within itself in ways of righteousness and peace, and all, and every of the said colonies from the Indians and other enemies, they did judge it to be their bounden duty, for mutual strength and helpfulness, for the future in all their said concerns to enter into a confociation among themselves, thereupon fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or jurisdictions, in divers and sundry articles, and at last ratified as a perpetual confederation by their several subscriptions: Whereunto we conceived ourselves bound to adhere until with satisfaction to our judgments and consciences, we see our duty, with the unanimous consent of the confederates orderly to recede leaving the issue unto the most wise and righteous Gop. As for the patent, upon your



petition, granted to you by his majesty, as Connecticut colony, so far and in that sense we object not against it, much less against his majesty's act in so doing, the same being a real encouragement to other of his subjects to obtain the like favor, upon their humble petition to his royal highness, in the protection of their persons and purchased rights and interests, is also a ground of hope to us. But if the line of your patent doth circumscribe this colony by your contrivement, without our cognizance or consent, or regard to the said confederation, on your parts, we have, and must still testify against it, as not consistent (in our judgment) with brotherly love, righteousness and peace: And that this colony (for so long time a confederate jurisdiction, distinct from yours and the other colonies) is taken in under the administration of the said patent, in your hands, and so its former being dissolved and distinction ceasing, there being no one line or letter, in the patent, expressing his majesty's pleasure that way. Although it is your sense of it, yet we cannot so apprehend; of which we having already given our grounds at large in writing, we shall not need to say much more; nor have we met with any argumentative or rational convictions from you, nor do we yet see cause to be of another mind.

As for your proceedings upon pretence of the patent towards us, or rather against us, in taking in sundry of the inhabitants of this colony under your protection and government, who, as you say, offered themselves, from which a good conscience, and the obligation under which most of them stood to this colony, should have restrained them, without the consent of the body of this colony first had, and in concurrence with them, upon mature deliberation and conviction of duty yet wanting, we cannot but again testify against as disorderly in them, and which admission, on your parts, we conceive, your christian prudence might have easily suspended, for prevention of that great offence to the consciences of your confederate brethren, and those sad consequences which have followed, disturbing the peace of our towns, destroying our comforts, hazard of our lives and liberties, by their frequent threats and unsufferable provocations, hath been, and is with us, matter of complaint both to God and man; especially when we consider, that thus you admitted them and put power into their hands, before you had made any overture to us, or had any treaty with us, about so

weighty a business, as if you were in haste to make us miserable, as indeed, in these things, we are at this day.

AND seeing upon the answer returned to your propositions made by you afterwards, of joining with you in your government, finding ourselves so already dismembered, and the weighty grounds and reasons we then presented to you, we could not prevail so far with you, as to procure a respite of your further proceedings until Mr. Winthrop's return from England, or the grant of any time that way, which was thought but reasonable by some of yourselves, and the like seldom denied in war to very enemies, we saw it then high time and necessary (fearing these beginnings) to appeal unto his majesty, and so we did, concluding according to the law of appeals, in all cases and among all nations, that the same, upon your allegiance to his majesty, would have obliged you to forbear all further process in this business; for our own parts resolving (notwithstanding all that we had formerly suffered) to sit down patient under the same, waiting upon God for the issue of our said appeal. But seeing that notwithstanding all that we had presented to you by word and writing, notwithstanding our appeal to his majesty, notwithstanding all that we have suffered (by means of that power you have set up, viz. a constable at Stamford) of which informations have been given you, yet you have gone further, to place a constable at Guilford in like manner, over a party there to the further disturbance of our peace and quiet, a narrative whereof, and of the provocations and wrongs we have met with at Stamford, we have received, attested to us by divers witnesses, honest men. We cannot but on behalf of our appeal to his majesty, whose honor is highly concerned therein, and of our just rights, but (as men exceedingly afflicted and grieved) testify in the sight of GOD, angels, and men against these things. Our end therein being not to provoke or further any offence, but rather as a discharge of duty, on our parts, as brethren and christian confederates, to call upon you, to take some effectual course to ease and right us in a due redress of the grievances you have caused by these proceedings; and that after you had complimented us with large offers of patent privileges, with desire of a treaty with us for union of our colonies, and you know as your good words were kindly accepted, so your motion was fairly answered by our committee. That in regard we were under an appeal to his majesty, that being limited by our freemen, not to conclude any

thing for altering our distinct colony state and government without their consent, and without the approbation of the other confederate colonies, they were not in present capacity so to treat; but did little suspect such a design on foot against us, the effect whereof quickly appeared at Guilford, before mentioned.

BUT we shall say no more at this time, only tell you, whatever we suffer by your means, we pray the LORD would help us to choose it, rather than to sin against our consciences, hoping the righteous GOD will in due time, look upon our affliction and incline his majesty's heart to favor our righteous cause.

Subscribed in the name and by order of  
the general court of New-Haven colony.

Per JAMES BISHOP, *Secretary.*

New-Haven, May 6th, 1663.

## N U M B E R XII.

*GOVERNOR WINTHROP'S letter to Connecticut, March 3d, 1663.* March 3d,  
1663.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM informed by some gentlemen, (who are authorized to seek remedy here) that since you had the late patent, there hath been injury done to the government of New-Haven, and in particular at Guilford and Stamford, in admitting of several of the inhabitants there unto freedom with you, and appointing officers, which hath caused divisions in the said towns which may prove of dangerous consequence, if not timely prevented; though I do hope the rise of it is from misunderstanding and not in design of prejudice to that colony, for whom I gave assurance to their friends that their rights and interests should not be disquieted, or prejudiced by the patent, but if both governments would with unanimous agreement unite in one, their friends judged it for advantage to both: And further I must let you know, that testimony here doth affirm, that I gave assurance before authority here, that it was not intended to meddle with any town or plantation that was settled under any other government; had it been any otherwise intended, or declared, it had been injurious in taking out the patent, not to have inserted a proportionable number of their names in it. Now, upon the whole, having had serious conference

Y y y

with their friends, authorized by them, and with others who are friends to both, to prevent a tedious and chargeable trial, and uncertain event here, I promised them, to give you speedily this representation, how far you are engaged. If any injury have been done, by admitting of freemen, or appointing officers, or other unjust intermeddling with New-Haven colony, in one kind or other, without the approbation of the government, that it be forthwith recalled, and that, for the future, there will be no imposing in any kind upon them, nor admitting of any members without mutual consent; but that all things be acted as loving neighbouring colonies, as before such patent granted, and unto this I judge you are obliged, I having engaged to their agent here, that this will be by you performed, and they have thereupon forbore to give you or me any trouble; but they do not doubt, but upon future consideration, there may be such a right understanding between both governments, that an union and friendly joining may be established to the satisfaction of all; which at my arrival I shall also endeavour (God willing) to promote. Not having more at present in this case I rest,

Your humble servant,

JOHN WINTHROP.

London, March 3d, 1662.\*

### N U M B E R XIII.

*HIS majesty's commission to Colonel Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, and others, for the settlement of boundaries, &c.*  
*April 26th, 1664.*

April 26th  
 1664.

### C H A R L E S R.

CHARLES the second, by the grace of GOD, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

WHEREAS we have received several addresses from our subjects of several colonies of New-England, all full of duty and affection, and expressions of loyalty and allegiance to us, with their humble desires to us, that we would renew their several charters, and receive them into our favorable opinion and protection: And several of our colonies there, and other our loving subjects, have

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\* This according to the present way of dating was March 3d, 1663.

likewise complained of differences and disputes arisen upon the limits and bounds of their several charters and jurisdictions, whereby unneighbourly, and unbrotherly contentions have and may arise, to the damage and discredit of the English interest; and that all our good subjects residing there and being planters within the several colonies do not enjoy the liberties and privileges granted unto them by our several charters, upon confidence and assurance of which they transported themselves and their estates into those parts: And we having received some addresses from the great men and natives of those countries, in which they complain of breach of faith, and acts of violence and injustice, which they have been forced to undergo from our subjects, whereby not only our government is traduced, but the reputation and credit of the christian religion brought into prejudice and reproach, with the Gentiles and inhabitants of those countries, who know not God, the reduction of whom to the true knowledge and fear of God is the most worthy and glorious end of these plantations. Upon all which motives, and as an evidence and manifestation of our fatherly affection towards all our subjects in those several colonies of New-England (that is to say,) of the Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Plymouth, Rhode-Island, and Providence plantations, and all other plantations which are in that tract of land known under the appellation of New-England, and to the end that we may be truly informed of the state and condition of our good subjects there, that so we may the better know how to contribute to the further improvement of their happiness and prosperity:

KNOW ye therefore, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the fidelity, wisdom and circumspection of our trusty and well beloved Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, have made, ordained, constituted. and appointed, and do by these presents make, ordain, constitute, and appoint the said Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick Esqrs. our commissioners; and do hereby give and grant unto them or any three or two of them, or of the survivors of them, (of whom we will the said Colonel Richard Nichols, during his life shall be always one, and upon equal division of opinions, to have the casting and decisive voice,) in our name, to visit all and every the several colonies aforesaid, and also full power to

hear and receive, and to examine and determine all complaints and appeals in all causes and matters as well military as criminal and civil, and proceed in all things for the providing for and settling the peace and security of the said country, according to their good and sound discretions, and to such instructions as they or the survivors of them have, or shall from time to time receive from us in that behalf, and from time to time as they shall find expedient, to certify us or our privy council of their actings or proceedings touching the premises, and for the doing thereof, or any other matter or thing relating thereunto, these presents, or the enrolment thereof shall be unto them, and every of them a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given at the court at Whitehall the 26th day of April 1664, and in the sixteenth year of our reign. BARKER.

#### N U M B E R   X I V .

*His majesty's gracious letter, to the governor and company of Connecticut, accompanying the commission, April 23d, 1664.*

#### C H A R L E S   R .

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well, having, according to the resolution we declared to Mr. John Winthrop, at the time when we renewed your charter, now sent these persons of known abilities and affections to us, that is to say, Colonel Richard Nichols, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq. and Samuel Maverick, Esq. our commissioners, to visit those our several colonies and plantations in New-England, to the end that we may be the better informed of the state and welfare of our good subjects, whose prosperity is very dear to us; we can make no question but that they shall find that reception from you which may testify your respect to us, from whom they are sent for your good. We need not tell you how careful we are of your liberties and privileges, whether ecclesiastical or civil, which we will not suffer to be violated in the least degree; and that they may not be is the principal business of our said commissioners, as likewise to take care that the bounds and jurisdictions of our several colonies there may be clearly agreed upon; that every one may enjoy what of right belongeth unto them, without strife or contention;

and especially that the natives of that country, who are willing to live peaceably and neighbourly with our English subjects, may receive such justice and civil treatment from them, as may make them the more in love with their religion and manners; so not doubting of your full compliance and submission to our desire, we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 23d day of April 1664, in the sixteenth year of our reign.

By his majesty's command.

HENRY BENNET.

N U M B E R X V.

*THE Duke and Dutcheſs of Hamilton's petition to King Charles ſecond; and his majeſty's reference of the caſe to his commiſſioners, May 6th, 1664.*

May 6th,  
1664.

To the King's moſt excellent majeſty.

THE humble petition of William, Duke Hamilton, and Anne, Dutcheſs of Hamilton; Sheweth,

THAT whereas in the eleventh year of the reign of your royal father, of ever bleſſed memory, the council eſtabliſhed at Plymouth in the county of Devon, for planting, ordering and governing of New-England in America (according to the power given them in the eighteenth year of the reign of the late king James, by his letters patent, bearing date the third day of November) did for a competent ſum of money and other valuable conſiderations, bargain and ſell unto the petitioners' father, by the name of James, Marquiſs Hamilton, his heirs and aſſigns, all that part and portion of the main lands in New-England, lying and beginning, at the middle part of the mouth of the river Connecticut, to proceed along the ſea coaſt to be accounted about ſixty miles, and ſo up to the weſtward arm of the river into the land northweſtward till ſixty miles be finiſhed, and ſo to croſs ſouthweſtward till ſixty miles, all which part and portion of lands were to be called by the name of the county of New-Cambridge, with ſeveral other lands and privileges as by the ſaid deed of feoffment doth more fully appear, a copy whereof is hereunto annexed. Since which time and by reaſon of the late unhappy war ſeveral perſons have poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt and moſt conſiderable parts of the ſaid lands, without any acknowledgement of your petitioners' right. Your petitioners therefore moſt humbly pray, that your majeſty will be graciously pleaſed to recommend

the premises to your majesty's commissioners for New-England, and that care may be taken that your petitioners may be restored to their just right, and that nothing be done to their prejudice.

*At the court at Whitehall the 6th May, 1664.*

His majesty is graciously pleased to refer this petition to the commissioners now employed by his majesty to settle the affairs of New-England, who are to examine the allegations thereof, and upon due consideration had, to preserve and restore to the petitioners their just right and interest, or otherwise to report their opinions thereupon to his majesty, who will then declare his further pleasure, for the honorable petitioners' just satisfaction.\*

HENRY BENNET.

## N U M B E R X V I.

*THE determination of his majesty's commissioners, relative to the boundaries of his royal highness the Duke of York's patent and of the patent of Connecticut, November 30th, 1664.*

Nov. 30th,  
1664.

BY virtue of his majesty's commission, we have heard the differences about the bounds of the patents granted to his royal highness the Duke of York, and his majesty's colony of Connecticut—and having deliberately considered all the reasons alledged by Mr. Allen, senior, Mr. Gould, Mr. Richards, and Capt. Winthrop, appointed by the assembly held at Hartford, the 13th day of October, 1664, to accompany John Winthrop, Esq. the governor of his majesty's colony of Connecticut, to New-York, and by Mr. Howell and Capt. Young of Long-Island, why the said Long-Island should be under the government of Connecticut; which are too long here to be recited: WE do declare and order, that the southern bounds of his majesty's colony of Connecticut, is the sea; and that Long-Island is to be under the government of his royal highness the Duke of York; as is expressed by plain words in the said patents respectively. And also by virtue of his majesty's commission and by the consent of both the governor and the gentlemen above named, we also order and declare, that the creek or river called Momo-ronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of West-Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt, at

\* Old Book of Letters, &c. p. 138.



highwater mark, north-northwest, to the line of the Massachusetts, be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut, and the plantations lying westward of that creek, and line so drawn to be under his royal highness's government; and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut. Given under our hands at Fort James, in New-York, on Manhattans Island, this 30th day of Nov. 1664.

RICHARD NICHOLS,  
GEORGE CARTWRIGHT,  
SAMUEL MAVERICK.

WE underwritten, on behalf of the colony of Connecticut, have assented unto this determination of his majesty's commissioners, in relation to the bounds and limits of his royal highness the duke's patent, and the patent of Connecticut.\*

JOHN WINTHROP,  
MATTHEW ALLEN,  
NATHAN GOULD,  
JAMES RICHARDS,  
JOHN WINTHROP.

November 30, 1664.

## N U M B E R XVII.

*LETTER of New-Haven to Connecticut, December 14, 1664.* Dec. 14,  
1664.

HONORED GENTLEMEN,

WE have been silent hitherto, as to the making of any grievance known unto the king's commissioners, notwithstanding what may be with us of such nature, from the several transactions that have been among us, and are desirous so to continue the managing of these affairs in ways consistent with the ancient confederation of the united colonies, choosing rather to suffer, than to begin any motion hazardful to New-England settlements; in pursuance whereof (according to our promise to your gentlemen, sent lately to demand our submission, though in a divided if not dividing way, within our towns, severally seeking to bring us under the government of yourselves already settled, wherein we have had no hand to settle the same, and before we had cleared to our conviction, the certain limits of your charter, which may justly increase the scruple of too much haste in that and former actings

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\* Old Book, &c. p. 2.

upon us) the generality of our undivided people have orderly met this 13th of the tenth month (64) and by the vote endorsed, have prepared for this answer to be given of our submission, which being done by us, then for the accommodation of matters betwixt us in an amicable way, by a committee impowered to issue with you on their behalf, and in the behalf of all concerned, according to instructions given to the said committee. We never did, nor even do intend to damuify your moral rights or just privileges, consistent with ourlike honest enjoyments, and we would hope that you have no further step towards us, not to violate our government interest, but to accommodate us with that we shall desire, and the patent bear, as hath been often said you would do; and surely you have the more reason to be full with us herein, seeing that your success for patent bounds with those gentlemen now obtained, seems to be debtor unto our silence before them, when as you thus by single application and audience issued that matter: you thus performing to satisfaction, we may still rest silent, and according to profession, by a studious and cordial endeavour with us to advance the interest of Christ in this wilderness, and by the LORD's blessing thereupon, love and union between us may be greatly confirmed, and all our comforts enlarged, which is the earnest prayer of, gentlemen, your loving friends and neighbours the committee, appointed by the freemen and inhabitants of New-Haven colony, now assembled.

JAMES BISHOP, Secretary.

New-Haven, Dec. 14, 1664.

### N U M B E R XVIII.

Dec. 21st, *LETTER of Connecticut to New-Haven, in answer to the preceding letter, December 21st, 1664.*

*Hartford, December 21st, 1664.*

HONORED GENTLEMEN,

WE have received yours, dated the 14th of this instant, signed by James Bishop, &c. wherein you are pleased to mention your silence hitherto, as to the making any grievance known to his majesty's commissioners, notwithstanding what may be with you, &c. we can say the same, tho' we had fair opportunities to present any thing of that nature; as for your desire to manage affairs consistent with the confederation, the present motion will, we

hope, upon a candid review, not appear any ways dissonant therefrom ; for besides the provision made in one of the articles of confederation for two colonies uniting in one, there was special provision, as you well know, made at the last session of the commissioners to that purpose, conjoined with pathetical advice and counsel, to an amicable union. Our too much forwardness, with New-Haven, &c. is not so clear, seeing those plantations you inhabit are much about the center of our patent, which our charter limits, as also the inclosed determination of his majesty's honorable commissioners, will, to your conviction, be apparent ; that our success for patent bounds with the king's commissioners is debtor to your silence, seems to us strange, when your non-compliance was so abundantly known to those gentlemen, yea, the news of your motions, when Mr. Joseph Allen was last with you, was at New-York, before our governor's departure thence ; notwithstanding your silence, and yet so good an issue obtained, we desire such reflections may be buried in perpetual silence, which only yourselves necessitating thereunto, shall revive them, being willing to pursue truth and peace as much as may be with all men, especially with our dear brethren in the fellowship of the gospel, and fellow-members of the same civil corporation, accommodated with so many choice privileges, which we are willing, after all is prepared to your hands, to confer upon you equal with ourselves, which we wish may at last produce the long desired effect of your free and cordial closure with us, not attributing any necessity imposed by us, further than the situation of those plantations in the heart of our colony, and therein the peace of posterity in these parts of the country is necessarily included, and that after so long liberty to present your plea when you have seen meet. Gentlemen we desire a full answer as speedily as may be, whether those lately empowered, accept to govern according to their commission, if not, other meet persons to govern may by us be empowered in their room ; thus desiring the LORD to unite our hearts and spirits in ways well pleasing in his sight, which is the prayer of your very loving friends, the council of the colony of Connecticut.

Signed by their order, by me,  
JOHN ALLEN, Secretary.

Jan. 5th,  
1665.

*THE final reply of New-Haven to Connecticut.*

New-Haven, January 5, 1664-5.

HONORED GENTLEMEN,

WHEREAS by yours, dated December 21st 1664, you please to say, that you did the same as we, not making any grievances known to the commissioners, &c. unto that may be returned, that you had not the same cause so to do from any pretence of injury, by our intermeddling with your colony or government interest, unto which we refer that passage for our expressing desires to manage all our matters in confederacy with the confederation, we hope you will not blame us. How dissonant or consonant your actings with us have been, we leave to the confederation to judge, as their records may show—that article, which allows two colonies to join, doth also, with others, assert the justness of each colony's distinct rights, until joined to mutual satisfaction, and the provision made in such case the last session, we gainsay not, when the union is so completed, and a new settlement of the confederation, by the respective general courts, accomplished. Their pathological advice for an amicable union, we wish may be so attended—in order thereunto, we gave you notice of a committee prepared to treat with you, for such an accommodation, unto which you gave us no answer, but instead thereof, sent forth your edict from authority upon us, before our conviction for submission was declared to you. The argument from our intermixt situation, is the same now as it was before our confederating and ever since, and affords no more ground now to disannul the government than before. We might marvel at your strange, why we should think your success should be debtor to our silence, and that because the news of our non-compliance was with the commissioners, as if the mere news of such a thing contained the strength of all we had to say or plead. Gentlemen, we intreat you to consider, that there is more in it than so, yea, that still we have to alledge things of weight, and know where and how, if we chose not rather to abate and suffer, than by striving to hazard the hurting yourselves or the common cause. We scope not at reflections, but conviction and conscience satisfaction, that so brethren in the fellowship of the gospel might come to a cordial and regular closure, and so to walk together in love and

peace, to advance CHRIST his interest among them, which is all our design : But how those high and holy ends are like so to be promoted between us, without a treaty for accommodation we have cause to doubt; yet that we may not fail in the least to perform whatever we have said, we now signify, that having seen the copy of his majesty's commissioners' determination (deciding the bounds betwixt his highness the Duke of York, and Connecticut charter) we do declare submission thereunto according to the true intent of our vote, unto which we refer you. As to that part of yours concerning our magistrates and officers acceptance, their answer is, that they having been chosen by the people here to such trust and sworn thereunto, for the year ensuing, and until new be orderly chosen, and being again desired to continue that trust, they shall go on in due observance thereof according to the declaration left with us by Mr. John Allen and Mr. Samuel Sherman, bearing date November 19th 1664; in hopes to find that in a loving treaty for accommodating matters to the ends professed by you; unto which our committee stands ready to attend, upon notice from you; that so truth and peace may be maintained. So shall we not give you further trouble, but remain, gentlemen, your very loving friends and neighbours, the committee appointed by the freemen and inhabitants of New-Haven colony.

Signed per their order, per me,  
JAMES BISHOP, Secretary.

### N U M B E R XX.

*THE answer of Connecticut to the claim and petition of the Duke and Dutchess of Hamilton, March 25th, 1665.* March 25,  
1665.

THE king's commissioners had written to the colony requesting, " That they might have something in writing  
" to return to the king, concerning the grant of sixty  
" miles square on the eastern side of Connecticut river,  
" to James Marquis of Hamilton, from the council of  
" Plymouth in Devon 1631, and to know in what par-  
" ticulars it was desired, that they should be solicitors to  
" his majesty for the advantage of the colony," which they declared they would cordially endeavour.

In consequence of which the following answer was given.

To the Honorable Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esquire, and Samuel Maverick, Esquire, his majesty's honorable commissioners.

IN answer to Duke Hamilton's petition, respecting a grant of land of sixty miles square, on the east side the river Connecticut.

1. WE are wholly ignorant of any river within the extent of our charter, that is known under such an appellation, and therefore cannot conceive that any part or tract of land, under this government, is concerned in this demand.

2. YET upon supposition that it may be conceived to intend Connecticut river, we humbly conceive that the original patent grant, from royal authority to the Lord Say and other nobles and gentlemen, which we purchased at a dear rate, is lately ratified and confirmed by our gracious sovereign, under the broad seal of England (the most absolute and unquestionable security of the English subjects) in which grants the lands forementioned are comprised. The grant to Connecticut was precedent to that of Duke Hamilton's several years, which gives us to conclude that priority of title will be settled by priority of grant.

3. A considerable tract of this land which the duke's petition refers to (if as before supposed, it be determined Connecticut) was possessed by a people most malignantly spirited against his majesty's English subjects, and at our first settling here, when we were weak and few, they grew very insolent against us, making invasion upon us, murdering many of our people, thereby necessitating us to a hazardous undertaking, to cast ourselves into the arms of God's providence, in endeavouring to suppress those bloody heathen; and through divine benediction we found a good success; and though that wilderness land would not afford any considerable recompence for the loss of lives and great expenses, yet our peace attained by that conquest did greatly rejoice us.

4. WE have had peaceable possession this thirty years, free from the least claim of any other, that we heard of, to this day; which persuades us that if the duke's highness had ever reason, by virtue of his grant, to make claim, yet that right pretended is extinct in law many years since.

HIS majesty, our gracious sovereign, was pleased of his abundant favor and grace, to his subjects of this colony, so far to declare his free reception of the reasons foremen-

tioned, of our purchase made, and conquest recovered, and likewise of our improvement and labor bestowed upon those lands, as to insert them as motives to that late renewal of our charter.

WE humbly crave, that as it hath been his majesty's royal pleasure to manifest his tender affection to, and care of his subjects' welfare in these his colonies of New-England, in sending over his honorable commissioners to compose and issue those things that might be of ill consequence between the several colonies, so likewise that it be well pleasing to his majesty, that this his colony of Connecticut might be freed from further trouble or inconvenience by this claim, that we understand hath been presented by the Marquis Hamilton.

AND whereas your honors are pleased so far to exercise your thoughts about the promotion of the welfare of his majesty's subjects in this his colony, as to vouchsafe us so favorable a tender to be solicitors in our behalf to his majesty our gracious sovereign, in any particulars wherein we may be advantaged, we crave your honors' assistance as followeth.

1. THAT his majesty would be graciously pleased to silence the claim of Duke Hamilton, if any be by him pretended or presented, to any tract of land lying or being within the precincts of our charter (renewed and established to us by our royal sovereign) and possessed and improved by several poor people, whose progress in their labors and endeavours for their subsistence (at the best very mean) will be impeded and obstructed through fear of the event of such claims.

2. WHEREAS the colony is at a very low ebb in respect of traffick, and although, out of a respect to our relation to the English nation, and that we might be accounted a people under the sovereignty and protection of his majesty the King of England, we presumed to put the name or appellation of New-London upon one of our towns, which nature hath furnished with a safe and commodious harbour, though but a poor people and discapacitated in several respects to promote traffick; we humbly crave of our gracious sovereign, that he would be pleased out of his princely bounty, to grant it be a place of free trade for seven, ten, or twelve years, as his royal heart shall incline to confer as a boon upon his poor, yet loyal subjects.

3. WE request of your honors, 1. That you will please to represent unto his majesty our allegiance, with our rea-

dy acknowledgement of his princely grace in the late renewal of our charter. 2. His more abundant grace in re-ratifying our privileges both civil and ecclesiastic, in his late gracious letter sent to us by your honors. 3. Our ready compliance with his majesty's royal will and pleasure therein expressed. 4. Our christian moderation to men of different persuasions. 5. We humbly implore the continuance of the shines of his royal favor upon our mean beginnings, that so we may flourish under the benign aspect of our Lord the King.\*

N U M B E R 'XXI.

THE Reverend Mr. John Davenport's resignation of Governor Hopkins's donation to the general court of New-Haven, May 4th, 1660.

May 4th,  
1660.

Quod felix faustumque fit!

ON the 4th day of the 4th month 1660, John Davenport pastor of the church of CHRIST at New-Haven, presented to the honorable general court at New-Haven, as followeth;

MEMORANDUM,

I. That, sundry years past, it was concluded by the said general court, that a small college, such as the day of small things will permit, should be settled in New-Haven, for the education of youth in good literature, to fit them for public services, in church and commonwealth, as it will appear in the public records.

II. Thereupon the said John Davenport wrote unto our honored friend Edward Hopkins, Esquire, then living in London, the result of those consultations. In answer whereunto, the said Edward Hopkins wrote unto the said John Davenport a letter, dated the 30th of the 2d month, called April, 1656, beginning with these words,

MOST DEAR SIR,

The long continued respects I have received from you, but especially, the speakings of the Lord to my heart, by you, have put me under deep obligations to love and a return of thanks beyond what I have or can express, &c. Then after other passages (which being secrets hinder me from shewing his letters) he added a declaration of his purpose in reference to the college about which I wrote

\* This is an attested copy, in the old letter book, p. 128, 129, 130.



unto him, That which the Lord hath given me in those parts, I ever designed, the greatest part of it for the furtherance of the work of CHRIST in those ends of the earth, and if I understand that a college is begun and like to be carried on, at New-Haven, for the good of posterity, I shall give some encouragement thereunto. These are the very words of his letter. But,

III. Before Mr. Hopkins could return an answer to my next letter it pleased GOD to finish his days in this world: Therefore, by his last will and testament (as the copy thereof transcribed and attested, by Mr. Thomas Yale, doth shew) he committed the whole trust of disposing his estate in these countries (after some personal legacies were paid out) unto the public uses mentioned, and bequeathed it to our late honored governor, Theophilus Eaton, Esq. his father in law, and to the aforesaid John Davenport, and joined with them, in the same trust, Captain John Cullick, and Mr. William Goodwin.

IV. It having pleased the most high to afflict this colony greatly by taking from it to himself, our former ever honored governor, Mr. Eaton, the surviving trustees and legatees met together, to consider what course they should take for the discharge of their trust, and agreed that each of them should have an inventory of the aforesaid testator's estate in New-England, in houses and goods and lands, (which were prized by some in Hartford intrusted by Captain Cullick and Mr. Goodwin) and in debts, for the gathering in whereof some attorneys were constituted, empowered and employed by the three surviving trustees, as the writing in the magistrates' hand will shew.

V. Afterwards, at another meeting of the said trustees, they considering that by the will of the dead, they are joined together in one common trust, agreed to act together, with mutual consent, in performance thereof; and considering, that by the will of the testator, two of New-Haven were joined with two of Hartford, and that Mr. Hopkins had declared his purpose to further the college intended at New-Haven, they agreed that one half of that estate which should be gathered in, should be paid unto Mr. Davenport for New-Haven, the other half to Captain Cullick and Mr. Goodwin, to be improved for the uses and ends fore noted where they should have power to perform their trust, which, because they would not expect to have at Hartford, they concluded it would be best done by them in that new plantation unto which sundry of Hartford were to remove, and were now gone:

yet they agreed that out of the whole £100 should be given to the college at Cambridge, in the Bay; the estate being £1000 as Captain Cullick believed it would be, which we now see cause to doubt, by reason of the sequestrations laid upon that estate, and still continued by the general court at Hartford, whereupon some refuse to pay their debts and others forsake the purchases they had made, to their great hindrance of performing the will of the deceased, according to the trust committed to them, and to the great endamage of the estate.

VI. The said John Davenport acquainted the other two trustees with his purpose to interest the honored magistrates and elders of this colony in the disposal of that part of the estate, that was by their agreement to be paid thereunto, for the promoting the college work in a gradual way, for the education of youth in good literature, so far as he might, with preserving in himself, the power committed to him for the discharge of his trust: they consented thereunto. Accordingly on the election day it being the 30th day of the third month, he delivered up unto the hands of the honored governor and magistrates the writings that concern this business: (viz. the copy of Mr. Hopkins his last will and testament, and the inventory of his estate in New-England, and the appraisement of his goods, and the writings signed by the surviving trustees for their attornies, and some letters between the other trustees and himself) adding also his desire of some particulars for the well performing the trust as followeth.

I. HE desireth of New-Haven town,

*First*, That the rent of the oyster shell fields, formerly separated and reserved for the use and benefit of a college be paid from this time forward towards the making of some stock for disbursements of necessary charges towards the college till it be set up, and afterwards to continue for a yearly rent as belonging to it, under the name and title of college land.

*Secondly*, That if no place can be found more convenient Mrs. Eldred's lot be given for the use of the college, and of the colony grammar school, if it be in this town, else only for the college.

*Thirdly*, That parents will keep such of their sons constantly to learning in the schools, whom they intend to train up for public serviceableness, and that all their sons may learn at least to write and cast up accounts competently, and may make some entrance into the Latin tongue.

*Fourthly*, That if the colony settle £40 per annum, for a common school, and shall add £100 to be paid towards the building or buying of a school house and library in this town, seeing thereby this town will be freed from the charges which they have been at hitherto to maintain a town school, they would consider what part of their former salary may be still continued for future supplies towards a stock for necessary expenses about the college or school.

2. HE humbly desireth the honored general court of the colony of New-Haven,

*First*, That the £40 per annum formerly agreed upon, to be paid by the several plantations, for a common grammar school, be now settled in one of the plantations which they shall judge fittest, and that a school master may forthwith be provided to teach the three languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, so far as shall be necessary to prepare them for the college, and that if it can be accomplished, that such a school master be settled by the end of this summer, or the beginning of winter. The payments from the several plantations may begin from this time.

*Secondly*, That if the common school be settled in this town, the honored governor, magistrates, elders, and deputies, would solemnly and together visit the grammar school once every year, at the court for elections, to examine the scholars' proficiency in learning.

*Thirdly*, That for the payments to be made by the plantations, for the school, or out of Mr. Hopkins' estate, towards the college, one be chosen by themselves, under the name and title of steward, or receiver, for the school and college, to whom such payments may be made with full power given him by the court to demand what is due, and to prosecute in case of neglect, and to give acquittances in case of due payments received, and to give his account yearly to the court, and to dispose of what he receiveth in such provisions as cannot be well kept, in the best way for the aforesaid uses according to advice.

*Fourthly*, That unto that end a committee of church members be chosen to meet together and consult and advise, in emergent difficult cases, that may concern the school or college, and which cannot be well delayed till the meeting of the general court, the governor being always the chief of that committee.

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*Fifthly*, The said John Davenport desireth, that while it may please GOD to continue his life, and abode in this place, (to the end that he may the better perform his trust) in reference to the college, that he be always consulted in difficult cases, and have the power of a negative vote, to hinder any thing from being acted which he shall prove by good reason to be prejudicial to the true intendment of the testator, and to the true end of this work.

*Sixthly*, That certain orders be speedily made for the school, and when the college shall proceed for it also; that the education of youth may be carried on suitably to CHRIST's ends, by the counsel of the teaching elders in this colony; and that what they shall conclude with consent, being approved by the honored magistrates, be ratified by the general court.

*Seventhly*, Because it is requisite that the writings which concern Mr. Hopkins his estate be safely kept, in order thereunto, the said John Davenport desireth that a convenient chest be made with two locks and two keys, and be placed in the house of the governor, or of the steward, in some safe room; till a more public place (as a library or the like) may be prepared; and that one key be in the hands of the governor, the other in the steward's hands. That in this chest all the writings now delivered by him to the magistrates may be kept, and all other bills, bonds, acquittances, orders or whatsoever writings that may concern this business be put and kept there, and that some place may be agreed on where the steward or receiver may lay up such provisions as may be paid in till they may be disposed of for the good of the school or college.

*Eighthly*, Because our sight is narrow and weak, in viewing and discerning the compass of things that are before us, much more in foreseeing future contingencies, he further craveth liberty for himself and other elders of this colony, to propound to the honored governor and magistrates, what hereafter may be found to be conducing to the well carrying on of this trust, according to the ends proposed, and that such proposals may be added unto these, under the name and title of USEFUL ADDITIONALS; and confirmed by the general court.

*Lastly*, He hopeth he shall not need to add, what he expressed by word of mouth, that the honored general court will not suffer this gift to be lost from the colony, but as it becometh fathers of the commonwealth will use all good endeavours to get it into their hands and to assert their right in it for the common good; that posterity

may reap the good fruit of their labors, and wisdom, and faithfulness, and that JESUS CHRIST may have the service and honor of such provision made for his people; in whom I rest.

JOHN DAVENPORT.

N U M B E R XXII.

*LETTER of his majesty King Charles II. to Connecticut  
April 10th, 1666.*

April 10,  
1666.

C H A R L E S R.

TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well, having received so full and satisfactory an account from our commissioners both of the good reception you have given them, and also of your dutifulness and obedience to us, we cannot but let you know how much we are pleased therewith, judging that respect of yours towards our officers to be the true and natural fruit which demonstrates what fidelity and affection towards us is rooted in your hearts, and although your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with the more lustre by the contrary deportment of the colony of the Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts; you may therefore assure yourselves that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behavior, but shall, upon all occasions, take notice of it to your advantage, promising you our constant protection and royal favor, in all things that may concern your safety, peace and welfare; and so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall the 10th day of April 1666, in the eighteenth year of our reign. By his majesty's command,

WILLIAM MORRICE.

Superscribed to our trusty and well-beloved  
the governor and council of the colony of  
Connecticut, in New-England.

*AN address to King William, June 13th, 1689.*

June 13,  
1689.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

THE humble address of your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the governor and company of your majesty's colony of Connecticut, in New-England.

GREAT SOVEREIGN,

GREAT was that day when the Lord, who sitteth upon the floods, and sitteth king forever, did divide his and your adversaries from one another like the waters of Jordan forced to stand upon an heap, and did begin to magnify you like Joshua, in the sight of all Israel, by those great actions that were so much for the honor of GOD and the deliverance of the English dominions from popery and slavery, and all this separated from those sorrows, that usually attend the introducing of a peaceable settlement in any troubled state; all which doth affect us with a sense of our duty to return the highest praise unto the KING of KINGS and LORD of HOSTS, and bless HIM, who hath delighted in you, to set you on the throne of his Israel, and to say because the LORD loved ISRAEL forever, therefore hath he made you king to do justice and judgment, &c. also humble and hearty acknowledgment for that great zeal, that by your majesty hath been expressed in those hazards, you have put your royal person to, and in the expense of so great treasure, in the defence of the protestant interest. In the consideration of all which, we, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, of your said colony, are encouraged humbly to intimate that we, with much favor, obtained a charter of King Charles the II. of happy memory, bearing date April 23d, 1662, in the 14th year of his reign, granted to the governor and company of his majesty's colony of Connecticut, the advantages and privileges whereof made us indeed a very happy people, and by the blessing of GOD upon our endeavours, we have made a considerable improvement of your dominions here, which, with the defence of ourselves from the force of both foreign and intestine enemies, has cost us much expense of treasure and blood; yet in the 2d year of the reign of his late majesty, King James the II. we had a *quo-warranto* served upon us, by Edward Randolph, requiring our appearance before his majesty's court, in England; and although the time of our appearance was elapsed before the serving the said *quo-war-*

*ranto*, yet we humbly petitioned his majesty for his favor, and the continuance of our charter with the privileges thereof; but we received no other favor but a 2d *quowarranto*, and we well observing that the charter of London and other considerable cities in England were condemned, and that the charter of the Massachusetts had undergone the like fate plainly saw what we might expect, yet we not judging it good or lawful to be active in surrendering what had cost us so dear, nor to be altogether silent we impowered an attorney to appear on our behalf and to prefer our humble address to his majesty to entreat his favor quickly upon it; but as Sir Edmund Andros informed us he was impowered by his majesty to regain the surrender of our charter, if we saw meet so to do, and to take ourselves under his government, also Col. Thomas Dungan, his majesty's governor of New-York, labored to gain us over to his government; we withstood all these motions and in our reiterated addresses, we petitioned his majesty to continue us in the full and free enjoyment of our liberties and property, civil and sacred, according to our charter. We also petitioned, that if his majesty should not see meet to continue us as we were, but was resolved to annex us to some other government, we then desired, that (in as much as Boston had been our old correspondents and people whose principles and manners we had been acquainted with) we might be annexed rather to Sir Edmund Andros his government than to Col. Dungan's which choice of ours was taken for a resignation of our government, though that was never intended by us for such, nor had it the formalities in law to make it a resignation, as we humbly conceive, yet Sir Edmund Andros was commissioned, by his majesty, to take us under his government; pursuant to which about the end of October 1687, he with a company of gentlemen and grenadiers, to the number of sixty or upwards came to Hartford (the chief seat of this government) caused his commission to be read and declared our government to be dissolved, and put into commission both civil and military officers through our colony, as he pleased, where he passed through the principal parts thereof. The good people of the colony, though they were under a great sense of the injuries they sustained hereby, yet chose rather to be silent and patient than to oppose, being indeed surpris'd into an involuntary submission to an arbitrary power, but when the government we were thus put under, seem'd to us, to be determin'd,

and we being in daily fear and hazard of those many inconveniences, that will arise from a people in want of government, being also in continual danger of our lives by reason of the natives being at war with us, with whom we had just fears of our neighbouring French to join, not receiving any order or direction what method to take for our security, we were necessitated to put ourselves into some form of government, and there being none so familiar to us as that of our charter, nor what we could make so effectual for the gaining the universal compliance of the people, and having never received any intimation of an enrolment of that, which was interpreted a resignation of our charter, we have presumed, by the consent of the major part of the freemen, assembled for that end, May 9th, 1689, to resume our government, according to the rules of our charter and this to continue till further order, yet as we have thus presumed to dispose ourselves, not waiting orders from your majesty we humbly submit ourselves herein, intreating your majesty's most gracious pardon, and that what our urgent necessity hath put upon us, may no ways interrupt your majesty's grace and favor towards us, your most humble and dutiful subjects, but that in your clemency, you would be pleased to grant us such directions as to your princely wisdom may seem meet, with such ratifications and confirmations of our charter, in the full and free enjoyment of all our properties, privileges, and liberties both civil and sacred, as therein granted to us, by your royal predecessor, King Charles the II. which may yet further ensure it an inheritance to us and our posterities after us, with what farther grace and favor your royal and enlarged heart may be moved to confer upon us; which, we trust, we shall not forget nor be unprofitable under; but as we have this day with the greatest expressions of joy proclaimed your majesty and royal consort King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland with the dominions thereto belonging, so we shall ever pray, that God would grant your majesties long to live, and prosperously to reign over all your dominions, and that great and happy work you have begun may be prospered here and graciously rewarded with a crown of glory hereafter.

ROBERT TREAT, Governor.

Per order of the general court of Connecticut signed,

JOHN ALLEN, Secretary.



## N U M B E R XXIV.

*LETTER to Governor Liesler, requiring the release of Major general Winthrop, &c. September 1st, 1690.* Sept. 1, 1690.

Hartford, Sept. 1st, 1690.

HONORABLE SIR,

BY an express from our captains, at Albany, of the 27th August last, we are certified, that Major general Winthrop is made a prisoner, and that on our officers' request to the commander of the fort for his liberty to officiate in the army, yourself being present at Albany, their answer was, that if they would speak with the general, they might go to York, also that our commissary is under restraint; these are very unexpected and surprising as well as grievous tidings to us, and put us upon signifying to you, that it was upon a certain knowledge of Major Winthrop's fidelity, prudence, and valor that we did solicit him to undertake this service, and used our interest in the Massachusetts gentlemen to prevail with him therein, who having the same confidence in his virtues did so, and we thereon recommended him to you who gave us to understand as great a value of him, and therefore desired his acceptance, which his honor accepting, though he were worthy of a tenfold greater command, he waited on you and his country; sir, these things are so radicated in all New-England, that your thus dealing cannot raise a jealousy in us of any thing unworthy so generous a soul, as is this gentleman, and though in honor to you, in your present capacity we will suspend any censures which we might make on your unadvisedness in this action, yet we must in justice remember you of that article concluded by the commissioners at York whereof you were one, namely, what was referred to the commander in chief and his council of war, which you in particular are not to overrule; if the return from Wood-Creek done by a council of war be the matter which offends you, as it is generally said to be, consider how far that article, and the reason it is grounded on, lead to it; also that the army being confederate, if you be concerned so are we, and the rest, and that you alone should judge upon the general's and council of war's actions will infringe our liberty; but that which is worst in event, is that such actions will render our friendly correspondence too weak, to join in future attempts, which we may have but too much occasion for; for if our sending our best friends to join

with you prove a pitfall to them, it will necessitate our future forbearance, whatever the consequence be.

AND sir, you necessitate us to tell you, that a prison is not a catholicon for all state maladies though so much used by you, nor are you incapable of need of, nor aid from their majesty's subjects in New-England; nor could you in any one action have more disoblged all New-England, and if you shall proceed in this way you will certainly put all that gentleman's friends on his vindication, be the matter controverted what it will, he is of such estate and repute, as could not shun a just trial, and if your adherence to Mr. Milborn (whose spirit we have sufficient testimony of) and other emulators of the major's honor be greater than to ourselves and the gentlemen of the bay, you may boast of the exchange, by what profit you find. Sir you cannot expect but we shall be warm with these matters, unless you prevent us by a timely and honorable release of the major, which is the thing we advise unto, and desire to hear from you with all speed, what our expectations may be on this account. We are giving account of this matter to the governor and council of Massachusetts, it is justly expected that your declaration to us all of the grounds of this your action should have been as forward as the thing itself. We also move you to set our commissary at liberty, since he is of such use to our soldiers as he cannot be spared.

#### N U M B E R XXV.

*THE determination of the king, in council, relative to the militia of Connecticut, April 19th, 1694.*

April 19,  
1694.

A PETITION having been presented to his majesty by Major General Fitz John Winthrop, agent for the English colony of Connecticut in New-England in America, in behalf of the said colony, by the name of the governor and company of the English colony of Connecticut in New-England in America, setting forth that the petitioners by letters patents under the great seal of England, in the fourteenth year of the reign of the late King Charles the second, were incorporated by the name of the governor and company of the English colony of Connecticut in America, with powers as well for the civil administration of affairs, as the lieutenancy for the ordering, arraying, modelling, and conducting the militia, for the special defence of the colony; that from the date of the said grant until the month of October last, they have enjoyed the said liberties and privileges, without forfeiture or molest-

ation, except some interruption they received in the reign of King James the second; that Colonel Fletcher, governor of New-York, in October last, by colour of his majesty's commission, whereby for the uniting the forces of the said province and colony he was created commander in chief of the militia of the said colony, did demand of the petitioners not only to submit to him, as lieutenant general and commander in chief over the full quota of the militia of that colony, in conjunction with those of New-York and the adjacent governments, but likewise the particular lieutenancy of the said colony and the power of assessing, modelling, and establishing the militia thereof, the petitioners therefore humbly praying the said commission may receive such explanation and restriction, as to his majesty in his royal justice and wisdom shall seem meet; and his majesty having been pleased to refer the said petition to the right honorable the lords of the committee of trade and plantations to consider the matter of the said petition, and to report what they conceive fit for his majesty to do therein; and the lords of the committee having received the report of their majesty's attorney general and solicitor general upon the matter of the said petition, together with the address of the colony of Rhode-Island, and touching the uniting the strength of those colonies against the French, which report is in the words following,

MAY it please your lordships,

IN obedience to your lordships' commands signified to us by Mr. Blathwait, the 2d of January and the 3d of February last, by which we were to consider the several charters of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, and the grants of east and west New-Jersey, and to report our opinion upon the whole matter what may be done for the uniting the strength of those colonies and New-York under a chief commander, to be commissioned by their majesties for the defence of their majesties' subjects in those parts against the French, and also to consider the annexed copy of the petition of the governor and company of Connecticut, and to report our opinion thereupon, we have considered the matter to us referred, and do find that King Charles the II. by his charter dated the 23d of April in the 14th year of his reign, did incorporate John Winthrop and several other persons therein named and all others who then were or after should be admitted and made free of the company, to be a corporation by the name of the governor and company of the English colony

of Connecticut in New-England in America, with such powers, privileges and capacities, as are usually granted to corporations of like nature, and to have continuance and succession forever, and therein the bounds of the colony are described and a grant thereby made to the corporation of all land, soil, ground, havens, ports, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and hereditaments, within the same or thereunto belonging, **TO BE HOLDEN** to the corporation and their successors in trust for the benefit of themselves and their associates, freemen of that colony, their heirs and assigns of the kings of England as of the manor of East-Greenwich, by the 5th part of the oar of gold and silver there found, with power to the corporation to make laws, elect governors, deputy governors and assistants, erect judicatures and courts, and choose officers for the civil government, and thereby also power is granted to the chief commanders, governors and officers of the company and others inhabiting there, by their leave or direction for their special defence and safety, to assemble, martial array and put in warlike posture the inhabitants of the colony, and to commission such persons as they should think fit to lead and conduct the inhabitants and to encounter, resist, kill and slay all that should attempt or interpose the invasion or annoyance of the inhabitants or plantations, and to exercise martial laws and take and surprize the invaders or attemptors of the plantation or hurt of the company and inhabitants, and, on just occasion, to invade and destroy the natives or other enemies of the colony.

WE also find that King Charles the II. in the 15th year of his reign did incorporate divers persons by name, and such others as then were, or after should be admitted and free of the company by the name of the governor and company of the English colony of Rhode-Island and Providence plantation, in New-England in America, and granted them in effect the like powers and authorities both civil and military, as are before mentioned to be granted to Connecticut.

WE find that the civil government, in those plantations or colonies, executed the military powers conferred by the charters ; but that their majesties, in the third year of their reign, by their commission constituted Sir William Phips lieutenant and commander in chief of the militia and of the forces by sea and land within the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Providence plantation, King's province and province of New-Hampshire, and all

forts and places of strength in the same with several powers and authorities, and that their majesties by their commission under the great seal dated the 10th of June 1693, revoked so much of Sir William Phips his commission and powers as related to the colony of Connecticut and by the same commission constituted Benjamin Fletcher, Esquire, their majesties' captain general and commander in chief of New-York, Pennsylvania, New-Castle, and the territories and tracts of land depending thereupon, to be the commander in chief of the militia and of all the forces by sea and land within the colony of Connecticut and of all forts and places of strength within the same, with power to levy, arm, muster, command, or employ the militia of the said colony, and upon any necessary and urgent occasion, during this war, to transfer to the province of New-York and frontiers of the same for resisting and withstanding enemies, pirates and rebels both at land and sea, and defence of that province and colony, of which commission and the large powers therein contained as to Connecticut, the colony of Connecticut by their annexed petition do complain and pray redress against the exercise of it, in such manner over the whole militia, and therein shew their reasons against it. We have heard Colonel Winthrop and his council, on the behalf of the colony of Connecticut, and Mr. Almey and his council, on the behalf of Rhode-Island and Providence plantation, and Dr. Cox appeared on the behalf of east and west New-Jersey, and produced some writings, shewing how the same were granted out from the crown to the Duke of York, and by the Duke of York to others, but the Dr. not claiming any title to himself it doth not appear to us in whom the estate in law of those places or of the government thereof civil or military doth now reside, nor how the same is exercised. But having read the annexed estimate from Mr. Blathwait we communicated the same to the agents for Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Providence plantation, who declared their readines during times of danger to provide their respective quotas therein contained, and in case of increase of danger, or other necessary occasions, during the continuance thereof, their respective quotas to be proportionably increased with other colonies; but as to the remaining militia beyond the quotas (which it seems in those countries consists of all males between sixteen and sixty years of age) they humbly desire that it may remain under the ordinary and usual government and command of the colonies according to their charters, and not to be commanded

out, unless in times of actual invasion or imminent danger, for the necessary preservation of some of the colonies, and at such times only when such of the colonies whereout the forces shall be drawn, are not in danger, and that at all times a sufficient power of the militia may be always kept in each colony under the power of the government of it, for the safety and necessary preservation thereof.

WE are humbly of opinion that the charters and grants of those colonies do give the ordinary power of the militia to the respective governments thereof; but do also conceive that their majesties may constitute a chief commander, who may have authority, at all times, to command or order such proportion of the forces of such colony or plantation, as their majesties shall think fit; and farther, in times of invasion and approach of the enemy, with the advice and assistance of the governors of the colonies, to conduct and command the rest of the forces for the preservation and defence of such of those colonies as shall most stand in need thereof, not leaving the rest unprovided of a competent force for their defence and safety; but in time of peace, and when the danger is over, the militia within each of the said provinces ought, as we humbly conceive, to be under the government and dispositions of the respective governors of the said colonies according to their charters.

ALL which, nevertheless, is most humbly submitted to your lordships' great wisdom.

EDWARD WARD,  
THOMAS TREVES.

2d April, 1694.

AND the lords of the committee having presented to his majesty's council the report of Mr. attorney and Mr. solicitor general upon the matters above mentioned, his majesty, in council, is pleased to approve the said report, and to signify his pleasure, that the quota, not exceeding one hundred and twenty men, be the measure of the assistance to be given by the colony of Connecticut, and all times during war to be commanded by the governor of New-York; and the right honorable Sir John Trenchard, his majesty's principal secretary of state, is to prepare letters for his majesty's royal signature, for the signification of his majesty's pleasure herein to the governor of New-York and Connecticut accordingly.

WILLIAM BRIDGEMAN,

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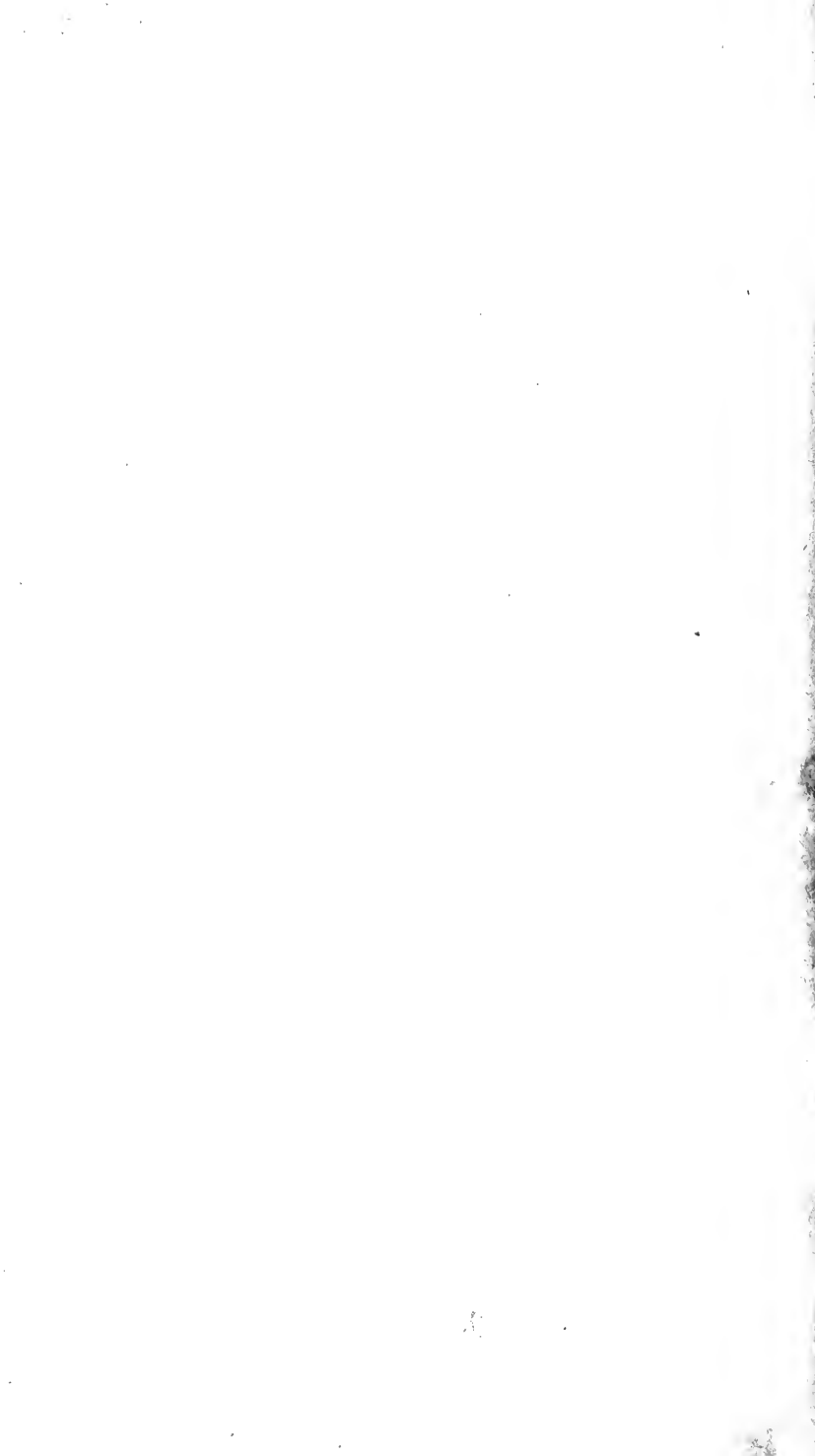
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ERRATA.

THE distance of the author from the press has prevented his correcting any part of the preceding history while it was printing. Several errors have been observed which the reader is desired to correct.

Page 3, line 15 from the bottom, for *Argale* read *Argall*. P. 14, l. 12 from the bottom, after longitude r. 74 degrees 10 minutes. P. 25, l. 10 from the top, dele the comma after *kinds* and read it after *dyes*. P. 29, l. 21 from the top, for *towns* read *towns*. P. 45, marginal note, for *Mrs.* read *Mr.* before Ruggles. P. 78, l. 8 dele *and* before *became*. P. 99 and 103 for *Delborough* read *Desborough*. P. 147, for *Tongchs* read *Toncho*. P. 180, l. 8 from the bottom, for *owned* read *aworwed*. P. 204, l. 23, for *charge* read *charged*. P. 243 and 244, for *Wekopang* read *Wekopaug*. P. 281, in the side note for *Sept.* read *August*. P. 285, for *northwest* read *northwest*. P. 343, l. 5 read *of* before *June*. P. 421, l. 10, from the bottom, for *them* read *the planters*. P. 427, l. 9 for *in* read *at* before the session. P. 478, l. 21 for *they* read *the merchants*. P. 518, l. 14 for *Brumet*, read *Burnet*.

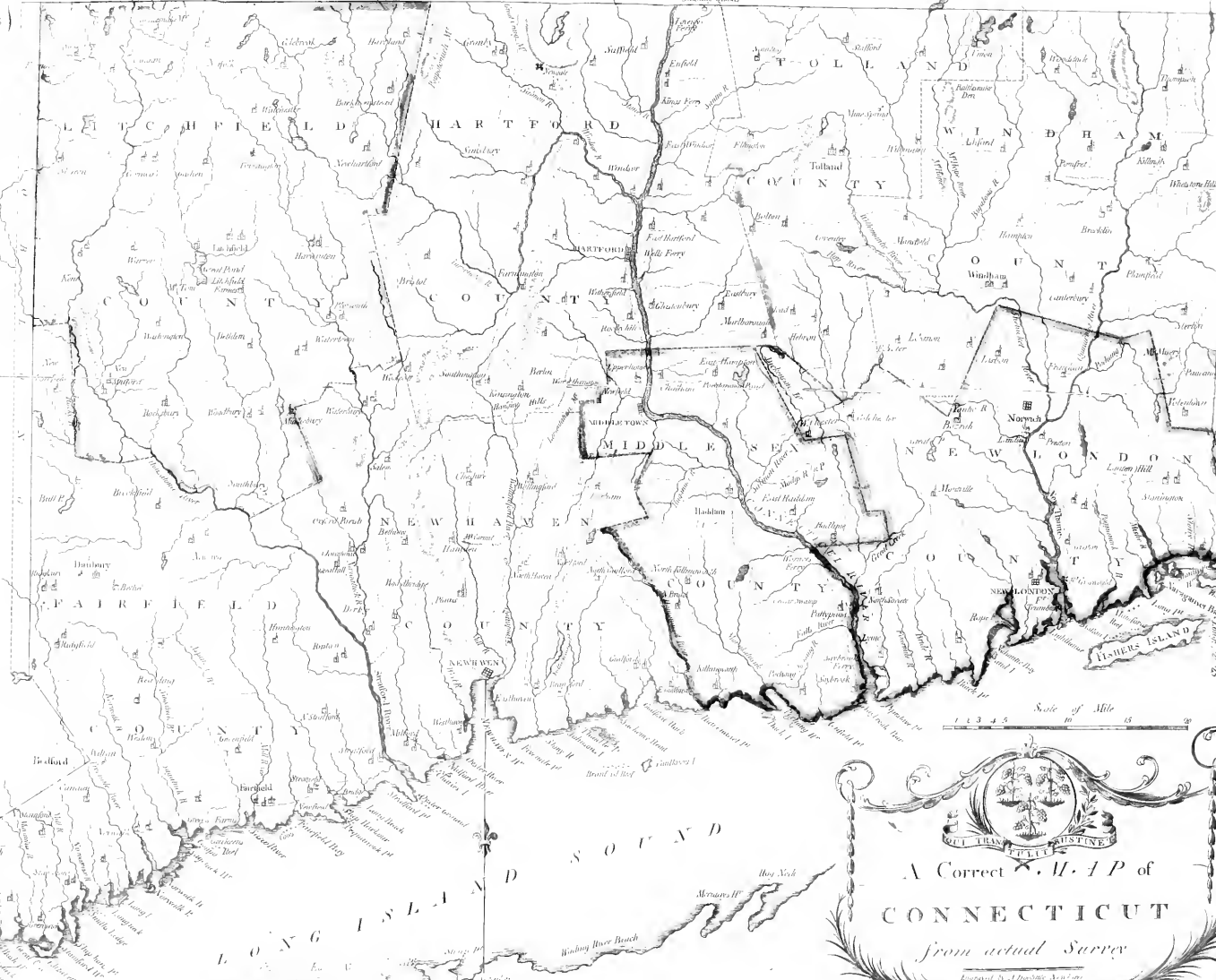


SCALE  
10 Miles  
5 Miles  
10 Miles  
10 Miles  
10 Miles


PART of the STATE of MASSACHUSETTS

PART of the STATE of NEW YORK

PART of RHODE ISLAND



Scale of Miles  
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

  
 A Correct *M. A. P.* of  
**CONNECTICUT**  
*from actual Survey*  
 Engraved by J. D. White, New York  
 1825

PART of LONG ISLAND  
Longitude 73 Deg. 14 Min West from London











