





[Peters, Samuel]

A general history of
Connecticut, from its first
settlement...

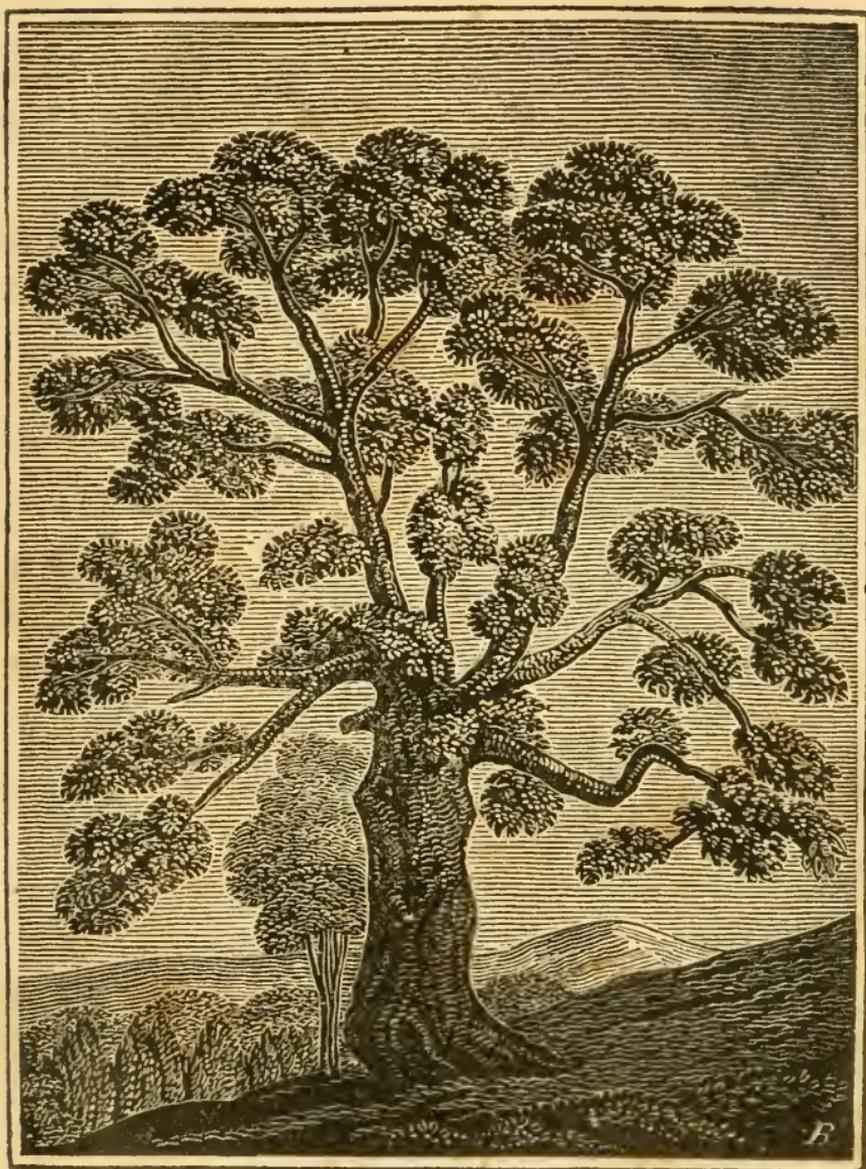
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HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT



CHARTER OAK,

As standing in Hartford in 1829.

(Page 85.)

PREFACE.

THOUGH Connecticut be the most flourishing, and proportionally, the most populous province in North America, it has hitherto found no writer to introduce it, in its own right, to the notice of the world. Slight and cursory mention in the accounts of other provinces, or of America in general, has yet only been made of it. The historians of New-England have constantly endeavored to aggrandize Massachusetts Bay as the parent of the other colonies, and as comprehending all that is worthy of attention, in that country. Thus governor Hutchinson says, in the preface to his history of that province, “that there was no importation of planters from England to any part of the continent, northward of Maryland, except to the Massachusetts, for more than fifty years after the colony began;” not knowing or willing to forget or to conceal, that Saybrook, New-Haven, and Long

Island, were settled by emigrants *from England* within half that period. Another reason for the obscurity in which the Connecticutians have hitherto been involved, is to be found among their own sinister views and purposes. Prudence dictated, that their deficiency in point of right to the soil they occupied, their wanton and barbarous persecutions, illegal practices, daring usurpations, etc. had better be concealed than exposed to public view. To dissipate this cloud of prejudice and knavery, and to bring to light truths long concealed, is the motive of my offering the following sheets to the world. I am bold to assert, that Connecticut merits a fuller account than envy or ignorance has yet suffered to be given of it; and that I have followed the line of truth freely, and unbiassed by partiality or prejudice. The reader therefore, will not be surprised, should I have placed the New Englanders in a different light from that in which they have yet appeared: their characterizers have not been sufficiently unprejudiced, unawed by power, or unaffected by the desire of obtaining it, always to set them in the true one. Dr. Mather

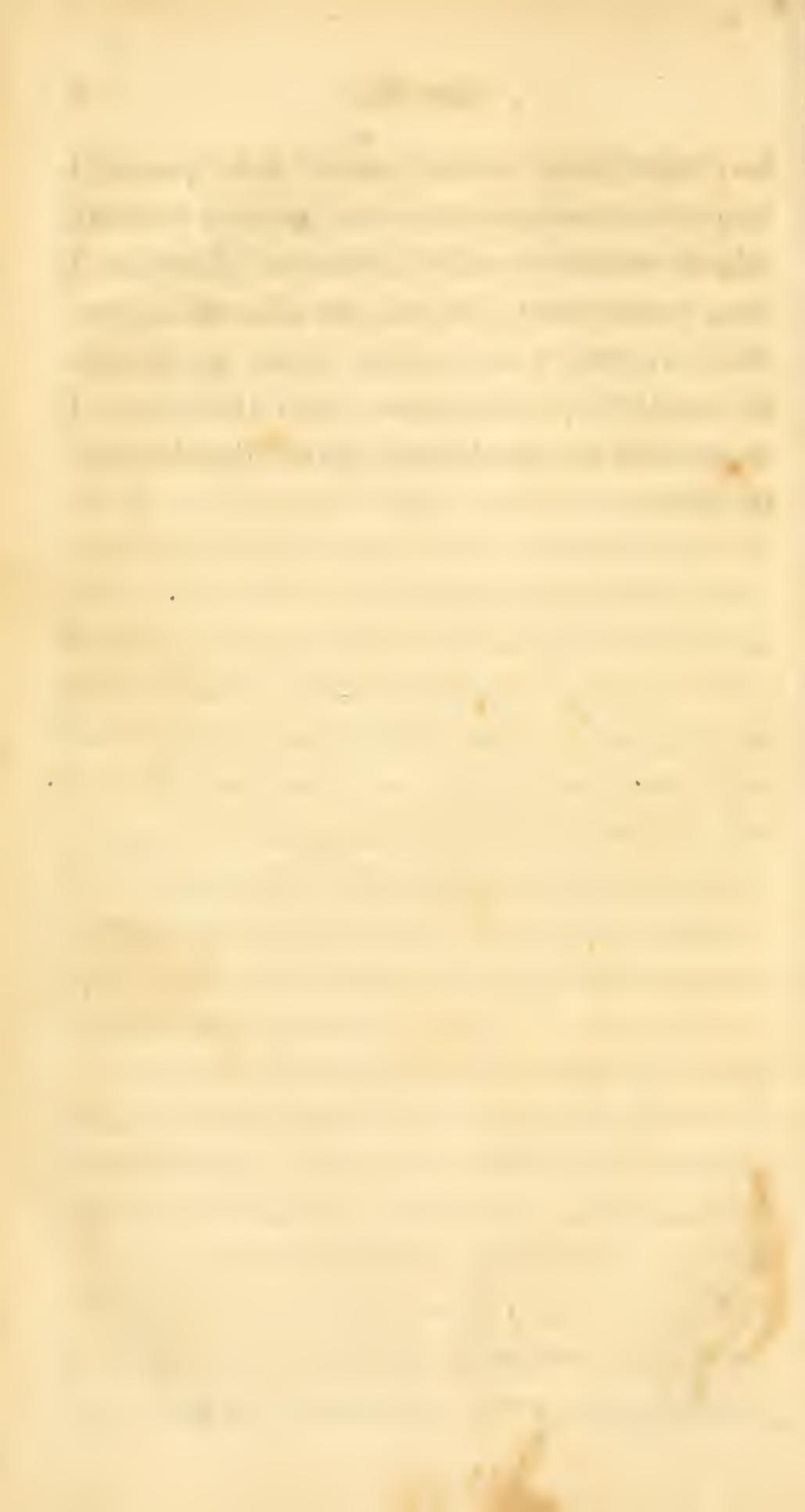
and Mr. Neal were popular writers ; but at the time they extolled the prudence and piety of the colonists, they suppressed what are called in New England *unnecessary truths*. Governor Hutchinson who loved fame, and feared giving offence, published a few only of those truths ; which failed not to procure him a proportionate share of popular distrust and odium. For my own part, I believe my readers will give me credit, for having neither the favor nor the fear of man before me in writing this history of Connecticut. I discard the one ; I court not the other. My sole aim has been to represent the country, the people and their transactions in proper colors.

Too much, however, must not be expected from me. I am very sensible of many great defects in this performance, wherein very little assistance was to be obtained from the publications, of others. Mr. Chalmers indeed who is writing "*Political Annals of the present United Colonies*," pursues that task with great pains and address. His researches have been of some use to me ; but, as to the New England writers, error, disguise, and misrepresentation, too

much abound in them to be serviceable in this undertaking, though they related more to the subject than they do. The good-natured critic, therefore, will excuse the want of a regular and connected detail of facts and events, which it was impossible for me to preserve, having been deprived of papers of my ancestors which would have given my relation that and other advantages. I hope, therefore, for much indulgence, striking, as I have done, into a new and dark path almost wholly without a guide. If I have carried myself through it, though with some digressions, yet without incurring the danger of being accounted a deceiver, my disordered garb will, I presume, find an apology in the ruggedness of the road, and my scripture phraseology be ascribed to the usage of my country.

For three generations my forefathers were careful observers of the proceedings of the Connecticut colonists; and if their papers and myself should continue in existence till a return of peace shall restore them to my possession, I trust the public will not be displeased with the design I have of committing them to the press. In the meantime,

lest that event should never take place, I beg their acceptance of the present volume, which, whatever other historical requisite it may want, must, I think, be allowed to possess originality and truth, (rare properties in modern publications,) and therefore, I hope, will not be deemed unworthy the public favor.



PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

THE authorship of the volume entitled a "General History of Connecticut," has been, as it were, traditionally ascribed in this country, to the Rev. Samuel Peters, a clergyman of the church of England and a loyalist who lived in New England during the troubles which preceded the revolutionary war. It is quite true, that Mr. Peters has never either asserted or denied his claim to the parentage of the work imputed to him ; yet, aside from the opinion universally prevalent in New England, there is the most clear and satisfactory circumstantial evidence of his and our author's identity, derived from a comparison between his anonymous and acknowledged writings. Indeed, the fact may be very easily ascertained by a slight examination of the work now published and the "History of Hugh Peters," a book avowedly written by our au-

thor ; in both of which, the most cursory and careless reader will discover in the recklessness of the style, and now and then, in the use of a pet phrase, the most certain indications of the same hand.* But besides the internal evidence which may be gathered from a perusal of the works referred to, there are circumstances in the life of Mr. Peters, which he has himself given to the world, which point him out as the undoubted author of the present volume. Certain it is, that a person answering the description given of the Rev. Samuel Peters, flourished at the time mentioned, in Hebron in Connecticut, who, by reason of his attachment to the

*The following specimen may be taken as an example of the many instances which occur in both books, *passim*.

“Ten years ago, the great majority would sooner have *run their heads against the burning mountains*, than have lifted up a finger with a view to a political separation from Great Britain.” Hist. of Conn. App.

“Had this not been the case, I believe Dr. Coke would sooner *have run his head against a burning mountain*, than have travelled over the West Indies, America and the united kingdom of Great Britain, and acted as he has done the part of a bishop.” Hist. of Hugh Peters, by the Rev. Samuel Peters, LL. D. p. 13, note.

church of England, and his open and avowed loyalty to the house of Hanover, was obliged to take refuge, from the turbulence of those times, under the wing of the royal army, which was, at that period, quartered in Boston for the purpose of enforcing obedience to the acts of the British parliament; and who was afterwards under the necessity of making his escape to England and to leave his property and family to await the issue of the struggle which was then pending between Great Britain and her rebellious colonies. His book made its first appearance in London, in the year 1791 and, if public conjecture be correct, it must have been written during our author's residence in England, while the war of the revolution was at its height, and before the power of Great Britain was completely annihilated in the colonies of New England. It is in this way that we may very reasonably account for the anonymous character of the work; a character which has been thought, perhaps unjustly, to detract from its merits as a history; as we may well suppose, that prudence would necessarily have suggested

to the loyalists the policy of avoiding any course of conduct which might expose them to the odium of a people who were already sufficiently exasperated, and among whom were situated those possessions which they had been obliged to abandon, but which, they could not but hope, they might one day resume. Our author, therefore, had the best of all reasons for preserving his *incognito*, without resorting to the supposition, that his book contained opinions and assertions which he might find it convenient, at some future period, to disavow, or which he might be ashamed to give to the world under the sanction of his own name. The work, as our author himself acknowledges in his preface, contains some "unnecessary truths," but they were "truths," nevertheless, which he might well hesitate to publish as an individual, knowing, as he must have known, that they were unwelcome "truths," which might be turned to his prejudice and render his situation unhappy in the event of a restoration of the ancient regime in the colonies. Mr. Peters was a martyr to his principles, who sacrificed every thing in the

cause of his royal master, and as such, is entitled to some indulgence in the expression of his sentiments and for the manner in which he has thought proper to give them publicity. He, certainly, of all men, has an undoubted right to his opinions, for they were purchased dearly ; and it is too much to expect, that after having sacrificed every thing but a miserable hope of a change of fortune, he should deliberately proceed to give the death-blow to that hope, by placing a weapon in the hands of his political adversaries which might be turned against himself and render that change any thing but desirable. To the same cause may also be ascribed the frequent recurrence of passages in the body of the work, in which our author occasionally indulges himself in auto-biography when speaking in the third person, and now and then, in a strain of eulogy better suited to the character of a person who had been dead a century, than to that of one who was then living ; a license which may startle the reader who has formed strict, and perhaps squeamish notions of the dignity and sobriety of historical relations.

He must not fail however, to bear in mind, as he goes along, that the Rev. Samuel Peters was too important and prominent a personage, to be passed over in silence, even in a "*general* history of Connecticut," without disclosing what our author seems to have been particularly careful to conceal. The sanction of a name, therefore, as it was not to have been expected at the time our author wrote, it would perhaps be unreasonable, at this day, to require as a means of giving credit to his narrations : especially as the purposes for which they were written have been answered, and as the course of events may possibly, have rendered such a measure prejudicial to the very numerous and respectable body of relations, now living, who have their descent from the same common ancestor. Still however, as has been before mentioned, the objection, if indeed it may be deemed just, may now be considered as in some degree obviated, as public opinion together with the internal evidence derived from the book itself, have conspired to establish its authenticity and to do for the author

what, from motives of prudence, he might perhaps scruple to do for himself.

Taking it for granted then, that the conjectures which have been formed respecting the connection of Mr. Peters with the work imputed to him, are well founded, it may justly be expected, that in the first American edition of his book, a more detailed account should be given of an author who has rendered himself famous both in Old and New England. This duty is rendered more pressing, as the means of information are at hand, which may not be very generally in the possession of a great majority of readers. Some light is thrown upon his genealogy in the present volume, but, a more particular account of his family and descent is contained in the work, to which allusion has before been made, bearing his name upon the title-page. No one however, but a pains-taking antiquary would submit to the trouble of following the author through the very minute details of that volume; nor would the most diligent inquirer find his labor rewarded by any adequate return. A meaning which does not stare one in the face, is, to the vast variety of readers,

as good as no meaning at all ; and to such it cannot but prove a most grateful service to exhibit in a clear and condensed form, what would perhaps cost them considerable time to accomplish. Genealogy, unless it be that of one's own family, is at best a barren and perplexing subject ; and that of the house of Peters is found to be peculiarly embarrassed, not only from its almost unaccountable increase, but from the perpetual recurrence of the same favorite names, which seem to have been cherished, with peculiar fondness, from generation to generation. The heads of that family left, one of them, sixteen children, and the rest without an exception, no less than six sons and a brace or two of daughters not accounted for, all of whom received and transmitted to their posterity the old family appellatives, such as John, Andrew, Thomas, William, Samuel, Joseph, with now and then, an occasional variation in favor of Bemslee, Birdseye, or Jonathan. The first law of nature seems never to have received so practical an illustration as in this case ; and without meaning to revive old jealousies or to stigmatize an ancient and certainly very

numerous family, it is to be hoped that it may be stated, without giving offence, that, from the very rapid increase of the posterity of John and Mary Peters of Hebron, since the year 1717, which amounted, in the short period of ninety years to about two hundred and fifty souls, our author himself deduces an argument against the deists in favor of the Mosaic account of the three-score and ten Jews, that went into Egypt and after four hundred years, returned to Palestine, under the command of Moses, in a body of five millions.

The Rev. Samuel Peters, the reputed author of the work now first published in this country, was the fourth son of John Peters, of Hebron in Connecticut, and the great-grand son of Wm. Peters, Esq. one of three brothers William, Thomas, and Hugh, of an ancient and opulent family in England, who migrated to this country in the year of grace 1634. The fanatical irregularities and extravagances of these men, (of whom the two last were silenced clergymen and the former a private gentleman,) had rendered them obnoxious to the Star-Chamber

Court, and were the more immediate causes of their taking refuge in what was termed, in the language of the day, "a howling wilderness." The Rev. Thomas Peters settled at Saybrook, where he established the school which has since grown up into the flourishing university of Yale College. Hugh settled in Salem in Massachusetts, and afterwards in Boston, where he attained eminence as a scholar and divine. During the discontents which afterwards arose between king Charles and his parliament, he was induced by the court at Boston, to assume the office of agent to Great Britian; an agency which was undertaken by him, under color of petitioning for some abatement of customs and excise. His real commission, however, seems to have been to assist in blowing up the coals between the king and parliament, and perhaps, to gratify a lurking spirit of revenge, which he may well be supposed to have entertained, towards the bishops and court who had turned him out of the church for his fanatical conduct. On his arrival in London, he was taken into the service of the parlia-

ment, and was afterwards liberally patronized by them at the expense of Archbishop Laud, whose library and office, as well as his estate and palace at Lambeth, fell into his hands ; all which he kept till the Restoration, when he paid for his zeal, his puritanism and rebellion on a gibbet at Charing-Cross. He left but one daughter, who was married to a gentleman in Rhode-Island; and as the Rev. Thomas Peters left no child, all of the name of Peters, in the six states of New England, have their descent from William Peters, Esq. who settled near Boston in 1664. Our author has his descent also, on the mother's side, from Major General Thomas Harrison, who figures so conspicuously in one of the Waverly novels, and who, as is well known, suffered the fate of all those who had taken an active part in the murder of the first Charles. This event, as well as the death of the martyr Hugh, is duly commemorated in one of those unique passages which have been before mentioned, as contained in the present volume ; and also in the " History of Hugh Peters," to which allusion has also

been made.* Mr. Peters became a clergyman of the church of England in 1760, and according to his account, "was the first of that name in New England, who deviated from the religious system of his renowned ancestors, and for it he was driven from his country, his property and family in 1774;"

*" Here (Hebron) also reside some of the descendants of William Peters, Esq. already spoken of, *among whom is the Rev. Samuel Peters*, an episcopal clergyman, who by his *generosity* and zeal for the church of England and loyalty to the house of Hanover, *has rendered himself famous both in New and Old England*, and in some degree made an atonement for the fanaticism and treasons of his uncle Hugh, and of his ancestor on his mother's side, Major Gen. Thomas Harrison, *both hanged at Charing-Cross* in the last century." History of Conn.

"Samuel Peters, LL. D., son of John and Mary Peters of Hebron, born A. D. 1717, a clergyman of the church of England, was rector of the churches in Hebron and Hartford in Connecticut until 1774, when he went to England to shun the turbulence and madness of those times. *He is reputed to have the faculties of his uncle Hugh, the zeal and courage of his grand parent Gen. Thomas Harrison, mixed with the benevolence that characterized his great-grand parent William Peters, Esq. of 1634.*" History of Hugh Peters, p. 116.

and, it may be added, was obliged to take refuge in England, whither his ancestors had, for the same reason, fled in 1664. It was there that he had leisure, during the American war, to prepare his book for the press, though deprived of the assistance which he might have derived from the papers and documents which he left behind him in the hurry of his removal from this country. He was afterwards elected by the suffrages of a body of episcopalians and sectarians to the episcopate of Vermont, a connection however, which was never consummated, owing to some difficulties in obtaining his consecration at the hands of the English bishops. He returned again to this country, about the year 1800, and in 1807 published in New-York his "History of Hugh Peters." For aught that is now known, he may be living at this day, to witness the triumph of what he considered as rebellion against rightful sovereignty, and to acknowledge the truth of the sentiment of the bard of Avon :

"When treason prospers, none dare call it treason."

Mr. Peters' book has certainly acquired in this country, a reputation by no means

enviable as a history; a reputation, however which was formed when the rancor of party was still unextinguished, and before men's minds had sufficiently recovered from the excitement of the Revolution, to judge fairly of a work which bore upon its face the mark of a tory's hand. Mr. Peters, in the language of his time, was a "tory" of the ultra stamp, and as appears from the free and discursive style which he adopted, evidently wrote under the influence of excited feelings. Indeed, it can hardly be expected, that writing as the author did, in a state of voluntary exile from every thing that was dear or valuable on earth, he should fail to mingle with his history, something by way of justification of the principles for which he had been content to make sacrifices; and yet, there is no man who may be said to be so little indebted to a charitable consideration of his feelings, motives, or political principles, as the author, who has dared to publish, what has been called a "libel on this country," simply because it is not eulogy. The time has been, and perhaps, has not yet gone by, when the mere mention of the

work was associated with the heart-burnings and jealousies of the whig and tory factions, and seldom failed to bring down upon the author a load of obliquy as unmerited as it was unjust and unreasonable. It is to be hoped, however, that the public are now prepared to lay aside old prejudices, and to judge of the work with candor and magnanimity. It certainly contains some facts, such as the history of Grigson's will and some others, which cannot be gainsaid, as they have happened within the recollection of many persons now living; though there are doubtless others which are to be taken with some grains of allowance, and from which some deductions will justly be made, on the score of certain predilections and prejudices which the author is known to have entertained. He probably might forgive but he could not forget that notable tetrastic, which was put into the mouth of his hero by the author of *Mc. Fingal*:

“What warnings had ye of your duty
From our old Rev'rend Sam. Auchmuty;
From priests of all degrees and metres,
To our fag-end man Parson Peters?”

As was to be expected, therefore, he has done himself ample justice, in his notice of some of the ancestors of the Trumbull family, by visiting the sins of the fathers upon some of their hudibrastic children. With these qualifications, however, and others which will suggest themselves to every one acquainted with the history of those times; with a proper degree of consideration also for the coloring which the author would naturally give to facts, the work may be safely considered as entitled to credit as a veracious history. In cases where it could be done with convenience, and without embarrassing the reader, extracts have been made from works of approved authority, and arranged in a supplement, by way of confirming the text. This has been thought necessary, not with a view to obtain a character for the work which of itself, it did not before possess, (for it must stand upon its own bottom,) but merely for the sake of doing justice to the author, by counteracting an impression which has gone abroad unfavorable to its reputation.

HISTORY, &c.

AFTER several unsuccessful attempts to form settlements in the southern parts of North America, in which little more had been done than giving the name *Virginia*, in compliment to the virgin-queen Elizabeth, to the country, a patent was obtained in 1606, from James I. by Sir Thomas Gates and associates, of all lands there between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude: and at the patentees' own solicitation, they were divided into two companies, commonly denominated the London and Plymouth Companies; to the former of which were granted all the lands between the 34th and 41st degrees of north latitude, and to the latter all those between the 38th and 45th degrees. A part of the coast of the territory last mentioned being explored in 1614, and a chart presented to the then Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. it received from him the appellation of *New England*.

In the meantime, however, notwithstanding the claim of the English in general to North America, and the particular grant to Sir Thomas Gates and associates, above mentioned, the Dutch got footing on Manhattan or New-York Island, pushed up Hudson's river as high as Albany, and were begin-

ing to spread on its banks, when in 1614, they were compelled by Sir Samuel Argal to acknowledge themselves subjects of the King of England, and submit to the authority of the governor of Virginia.*

For the better enabling them to accomplish their American undertakings, the Plymouth Company, in 1620, obtained a new patent, admitting new members of rank and fortune. By this they were styled "The Council, established at Plymouth, for planting and governing that country called New-England," and to them were now granted all the lands between the 40th and 48th degrees of north latitude, and extending east and west from the Atlantic ocean to the south sea, except such as were then actually possessed by any christian prince or people.† Not long afterwards, the patentees came to the resolution of making a division of the country among themselves by lot, which they did in the presence of James I. The map of New England, etc. published by Purchas in 1625, which is now become scarce, and probably the only memorial extant of the result, has the following names on the following portions of the coast:

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|------------------------|
| Earl of Arundel | } | Between the rivers St. |
| Sir Ferdinando Gorges | | Croix and Penobscot. |
| Earl of Carlisle | | |

*Supplement, Note A. †Supplement, Note B.

| | | |
|---------------------|---|---|
| Lord Keeper | } | Between Penobscot and Sagadahoc river. |
| Sir William Belasis | | |
| Sir Robert Mansell | | |
| Earl of Holderness | } | Between Sagadahoc and Charles river. |
| Earl of Pembroke | | |
| Lord Sheffield | | |
| Sir Henry Spelman | | |
| Sir William Apsley | | |
| Captain Love | | |
| Duke of Buckingham | | |
| Earl of Warwick | | |
| Duke of Richmond | | |
| Mr. Jennings | | |
| Dr. Sutcliffe | | |
| Lord Gorges | } | Between Charles river and Narraganset. |
| Sir Samuel Argal | | |
| Dr. Bar. Gooch | | |

In the above map, no names appear on the coast north of the river St. Croix, i. e. Nova Scotia, which was relinquished by the patentees in favor of Sir William Alexander: the coast west of Narraganset is not exhibited by Purchas, so that it is uncertain whether the division above mentioned extended to that or not. Probably, it was not then sufficiently explored. However, in 1635, the patentees, from the exigency of their affairs, thinking a surrender of their patent to the King, with reservation of their several rights in regard to the property of the land, an adviseable measure, a new division of the coast was struck

out, consisting of twelve lots, extending to and comprizing land on the west side of Hudson's river, and of course the Dutch settlements at Manhattan. The following is an account of these lots :

- “ 1. From the river St. Croix to Pemaquid.
2. From Pemaquid to Sagadahoc.
3. The land between the rivers Amarascoggin and Kennebec.
4. From Sagadahoc along the sea-coast to Piscataqua.
5. From Piscataqua to Naumkeak (or Salem.)
6. From Naumkeak, round the sea-coast by Cape Cod, to Narraganset.
7. From Narraganset to the half-way bound between that and Connecticut river, and so fifty miles up into the country.
8. From the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and so fifty miles into the country.
9. From Connecticut river, along the sea-coast, to Hudson's river, and so up thirty miles.
10. From the thirty miles end to cross up forty miles eastward.
11. From the west side of Hudson's river thirty miles up the country towards the fortieth degree, where New England beginneth.
12. From the end of the thirty miles up the said river, northward thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land forty miles.”—*Hutch. Hist. of Mass. Bay.*

These divisions were, immediately on the above-mentioned surrender, to be confirmed by the King to the proprietors; and proposed to be erected into so many distinct provinces, under one general governor of New England. It is certain that this plan was not then carried into execution in the whole. Several, if not all, of the lots were formally conveyed to their respective owners previous to the resignation of the patent. How many were confirmed by the king, is not known; there is positive evidence but of one—to Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The eighth and ninth lots nearly form the province of CONNECTICUT, taking its name from the great Indian king who reigned when the English made their first inroads into the country.

But before I give an account of that event, it may be proper to premise a few particulars concerning the Dutch, already spoken of as having seated themselves on New-York Island and the banks of Hudson's river; and also concerning the settlements formed by the English in and near the Massachusetts-Bay.

The same year which established the Council at Plymouth, established also the Dutch West-India Company, to whom the states of Holland are said to have granted, the year after, all the lands between the capes Cod and Henlopen. Under their encouragement and support, the

Dutch at New-York were induced to look upon the act of Argal with contempt ; accordingly they revolted from the allegiance he had imposed upon them, cast off the authority of their English governor, and proceeded in their colonizing pursuits under one of their own nation : in which they seem to have employed their wonted industry, having, before the year 1637, erected a fort on the spot where Hartford now stands.

A party of *Brownists*, who, in 1619, are said to have obtained a grant of land from the Virginia Company, set sail on the 6th of September, in the following year, for Hudson's river ; but making on the 11th of November, the harbor of Cape Cod, instead of the place of their destination, and finding themselves not in a fit condition to put to sea again at such a late season of the year, they ranged along the coast till a commodious situation presented itself, where they disembarked, and founded the colony of New Plymouth.

Seven years afterwards, a party of Puritans procured a grant of the lands from Merrimack river to the southernmost part of Massachusetts-Bay. They made their first settlement at Naumkeak, by them new named Salem ; and a second at Charlestown. Great numbers of the puritanic sect followed their brethren to New England ; so that within a few years were laid the foundations

of Boston and other towns upon the Massachusetts coast.*

Thus far had colinization taken place in the neighboring country, when, in 1634, the first part of English adventurers arrived in Connecticut from England,† under the conduct of George Fenwick, Esq; and the Rev. Thomas Peters, and established themselves at the mouth of the river Connecticut, where they built a town which they called Saybrook, a church and a fort.‡

In 1636 another party proceeded from Boston under the conduct of Mr. John Haynes and the Rev. Thomas Hooker; and in June settled on the west bank of the Connecticut river, where Hartford now stands, notwithstanding the Dutch had found their way thither before them.§

A third party of English settlers in Connecticut were headed by Mr. Theophilus Eaton and the Rev. John Davenport, who left England early in 1637, and contrary to the advice of the people of Massachusetts-Bay, who were very desirous of their settling in that province, fixed themselves,

* Supplement, Note C.

†Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, and other writers of New-England history, have uniformly deviated from the truth in representing Connecticut as having been first settled by emigrants from their darling Massachusetts-Bay.

‡Supplement' Notes D and E.

§Supplement, Notes F and G.

in July following, on the north side of a small bay wherein the river Quinnipiack empties itself, forty miles S. W. of Hertford, and there built the town of New-Haven.*

Thus, within the space of three years was Connecticut seized upon by three distinct English parties, in three different places, forming a triangle;—by what authority I will now beg leave to inquire.

In favor of the first, it is alleged, that they purchased part of the lands belonging to the Lords Say and Brook, which lands included the 8th and 9th lots, and had been assigned to those Lords by the Earl of Warwick, who, about the year 1630, obtained a grant of the same from the Council of Plymouth, and a patent from the King; and that Fenwick was properly commissioned to settle and govern the colony.

Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinson, speak of this grant and assignment with the greatest confidence; but make no reference where either may be consulted. They were very willing to believe what they said; and wished to palm it upon the credulity of their readers as a fact too well established to need proof. I shall endeavor to shew the futility of their assertions. Indeed, Mr. Hutchinson himself inadvertently gives rea-

*Supplement, Note H.

son to doubt the truth of them. Writing of the transactions of 1622, "The Earl of Warwick," says he, "we are assured, had a patent for the Massachusetts-Bay about the same time, but the bounds are not known." It will appear presently that a part of the territory in question was, in 1635, granted to the Marquis of Hamilton. Now, taking these several items together, the Council of Plymouth are represented to have granted, not only Massachusetts-Bay in 1622, but also, in 1630, a region of vast extent, including Connecticut, to the Earl of Warwick; and then, in 1635, to have regranted the best part of the latter to the Marquis of Hamilton. There is an infeasibility in this supposition, that, without proof, will deprive it of all credit among persons who have no particular interest in the support of it.

True it is, that Fenwick and his associates were properly authorized to settle upon lands belonging to Lords Say and Brook; but that the lands they did settle upon were the property of the Earl of Warwick, is not only without proof, but against it. It seems to be generally agreed, that the Lords Say and Brook were understood to have a right to lands upon Connecticut river; but that river being 500 miles long, and running through the greatest part of New-England, the situation of their property was by no means pointed out: whether it lay at the mouth, the middle, or the northern end, was equally unascer-

tained. The settlers, indeed, established themselves at the mouth; but without shewing their right to the spot: they licentiously chose it. There never has been produced any writing of conveyance of the land in question from the Council of Plymouth to the Earl of Warwick, or from the Earl of Warwick to the Lords Say and Brook; and therefore their title to it must be deemed not good in law. By a letter from Lord Say to Mr. Vane, in 1635, it appears, that he [Lord Say,] Lord Brook, and others, had thoughts of removing to New-England, but were not determined whether to join the adventurers in Boston, or to settle a new colony.—*Hutch. Hist.* Vol. I. p.42. If Connecticut had been assigned to Lords Say and Brook by the Earl of Warwick, as it is pretended was done in 1631, it is very strange that those Lords should have been in doubt in 1635 where to fix themselves in New-England, since interest and ambition, as well as fertility of soil, would naturally have led them to settle in Connecticut, where they had land of their own, and where a settlement was already begun, and bore a very promising appearance. Hence it seems but reasonable to suppose, that, if Lords Say and Brook were entitled to any land on Connecticut river, it could not lie within the province of Connecticut; and if their claims were derived from the Earl of Warwick, it may fairly be concluded, that their

property lay much higher up the country, since the coast appropriated to the Earl of Warwick by Purchas is that at or about Cape Ann. Lords Say and Brook, therefore, might have a right to send Fenwick, Peters, etc. to colonize upon the northern parts of Connecticut river, but not southwardly at the mouth of it: and their neglect of the colony at Saybrook may easily be accounted for, by supposing that they were sensible the settlers had fixed upon a wrong site: an idea corroborated by this circumstance, that Fenwick some years after, sold his property there for a mere trifle, when he might have sold it dear, if his title had been good.

But it may be asked, who were the real proprietors of the eighth and ninth lots?

It is asserted, that, on the Council of Plymouth's resignation of their patent to Charles I. in 1635, that monarch granted the latter to the Earl of Stirling. Possibly there is not now existing any written testimony of this grant; yet it seems authenticated by the sale which the Earl made, in 1639, by his agent Forrest, of the eastern part of Long Island as appertaining to his lot, to Mr. Howell. However, though his claim is not, perhaps, clearly to be established, it is by no means liable to the many objections urged against that of Lords Say and Brook, which will in a manner be annihilated by the additional argument I am

now going to adduce from the *positive proof* there is, to whom the eighth lot really belongs.

It stands authenticated in the office of the Lords Commissioners of Colonies, that, in April, 1635, was conveyed to James, Marquis of Hamilton, by a deed from the Council of Plymouth, the territory lying between Narraganset bay and Connecticut river.—*New-England Rec.* A. p. 201. The right to the eighth lot, therefore, was clearly vested in the Marquis; and it only remains to be shewn why his descendants are not in possession of it, to remove every doubt upon the matter.*

Unfortunately, in the civil broils of his time, the Marquis engaged and died fighting under royal banners, while the king's enemies took possession of his lands in Connecticut. At the restoration of Charles II. to his crown, reason taught the children of loyal sufferers to expect a restoration at least of their landed property; and the daughter of the Marquis of Hamilton petitioned Charles II. to grant her relief in respect to the land lying between Narraganset bay and Connecticut river; a relief she had the more reason to hope for, as "her father had died fighting for his father." But Charles had been too much polished in foreign courts to do any thing effectual for his suf-

*Supplement, Note I.

fering friends. Afterwards the Earl of Arran applied to William III. for redress in regard to the same land; but that Earl, having acted on the wrong side at the Revolution, could not but expect as little from William as the friends of Charles II. had received from *him*. However, William III. ordered the Lords Commissioners of Colonies to state his title, which they fairly did; and the Earl was referred to try his cause in Connecticut—before the very people who *had his lands in possession*. The governor and company of Connecticut gave a formal answer to the claims of the Earl of Arran, setting up a title under the Earl of Warwick, as is above mentioned, who, they said, disposed of the land in dispute to Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brook, and the Lords Say and Brook sold the same to Fenwick, Peters, and others. The Earl of Arran answered, that “when they produced a grant from the Plymouth Company of those lands to the Earl of Warwick, it should have an answer:” but the Colony was silent; and king William was silent also.—*Vide Rec. New-Eng. A.* p. 170—201.

Since, then, no proof of any title derived from the Earl of Warwick could be produced by the Governor and Company of Connecticut, when the question of right to the country was fairly brought into litigation, and since there is a record of the grant of the eastern part of it to the Marquis of Hamilton, it is evident, that the claim of the

present possessors under Lords Say and Brook is not valid. The record of the Marquis of Hamilton's grant is an irrefragible proof that those Lords had no right to the tract between Narraganset bay and Connecticut river; and thence the conclusion is fair, that they had no right to the tract between Connecticut and Hudson's river; for their title to both having but one and the same foundation, it follows of course, that what destroys it in the former, destroys it in the latter also.

However disputable the Earl of Stirling's claim to the land between Hudson and Connecticut rivers may be, the Duke of Hamilton is undoubtedly the rightful owner of that between the latter and Narraganset bay. Thus much I have proved to shew the errors of Marther, Neal, Douglas, and Hutchinson, who assert what the above Record contradicts. I differ in opinion also with divines, who say that the world grows every year worse than it was the last. I believe the world is growing better every year; and that justice will be administered to the Duke of Hamilton, and other noble proprietors of lands in New-England, who have been wickedly supplanted by the emigrations of puritans, republicans, regicides, and smugglers. The time, I hope, is hastening, when the records I have quoted will be considered, and unjust possessors be ordered to give up their possessions to the right owners; for we have a

king who honors his crown, and prefers justice to policy.

Hooker and Haynes, who conducted the second of the three English parties already spoken of as making inroads into Connecticut, and who fixed their head-quarters at Hartford, left Massachusetts-Bay for the same reason they had before left England—to avoid being persecuted, and to acquire the power to persecute. Hooker was learned, ambitious, and rigid. He lived near Boston two years, in hopes of becoming a greater favorite with the people than the celebrated Mr. Cotton; but finding himself rather unlikely to meet with the desired success, he devised the project of flying into the *wilderness* of Connecticut, to get a name. Accordingly, in 1635, he applied to the General Court for leave to remove thither, but was then refused. The next year, however, for reasons which will hereafter appear, he found the fanatics more compliant; and he and Haynes obtained permission to emigrate into Connecticut, carrying with them, as Mr. Neal expresses it, “a sort of commission from the government of Massachusetts-Bay for the administration of justice” there. But it cannot be supposed that Hooker and his associates could derive any title to the soil from this permission and commission granted by the Massachusetts Colony, who had not the least right to it themselves. The emigrants not only did not entertain any such

idea, but, as soon as they had discovered a situation which pleased them, they even set at nought the commission they took with them, the professed object of which was to secure the authority and jurisdiction claimed by the Massachusetts over them. Knowing that they had passed the limits of that province, they voted themselves an independent people, and commenced despots, pleading the old adage, *Salus Populi suprema Lex*. It has never been suggested, I believe, that this party entered Connecticut with any other semblance of authority than this ridiculous permission and commission of the Massachusetts dictators.*

As to the third party, headed by Eaton and Davenport, they took possession, as is already mentioned, without even pretending any purchase, grant, permission, or commission, from any one.

Of these three parties, then, it appears that the two last had not the least shadow of original right to the lands they possessed themselves of in Connecticut; and the claims of the first I have shewn to be ill founded. I will now consider the right they are pretended to have acquired after possession; in regard to which they seem to have been put upon the same footing, by a general war between them and the Indians, oc-

*Supplement. Notes K and L.

occasioned by the ambitious, oppressive and unjust conduct of Hooker and Davenport. This war opened a door to king-killing and king-making, violence and injustice, in America, similar to what we have of late years shuddered to hear of in India. Hence the Colonies have endeavored to establish a title to the lands by purchase of the natives; accordingly, they have produced deeds of sale signed by Sunksquaw, Uncas, Joshua, Moodus, and others, whom Mr. Neal and Dr. Mather call Sachems, and consequently owners of the soil. Whether those gentlemen knew, or did not know, that Connecticut was owned by three Sachems only, who with their wives and families were killed by the English, and who never would give a deed of any land to the Dutch or English, is not material; since it is a fact, that not one of those Indians who have signed those famous deeds, was ever a Sachem, or a proprietor of a single foot of land claimed by the Colony.

It is true, that Uncas (whom Mr. Neal calls a Sachem, because the Colonists declared him King of Mohegin, to reward him for deserting Sassacus, Sachem of the Pequods) gave deeds of lands that he had no right or title to; and so did Sunksquaw, who, after murdering his Sachem, Quin-nipiog, was also declared Sachem by the English Dominion* of New-Haven. Gratitude, or pride,

**Dominion*, in New-England, signifies a sovereign, independent state, uncontrollable by any other earthly power.

induced all those English-made Sachems to assign deeds to their creators.

After the death of Uncas, his eldest son Oneko became King of Mohegin, who refused to grant any deeds of land to the Colony; whereupon, vexed at his wisdom and honor, they declared him an incestuous son, deposed him, and proclaimed his natural brother Abimeleck to be Sachem of the Mohegins. Oneko gave a deed of all his lands to Mason and Harrison who were his friends; as did Abimileck, of the same lands, to the Colony who had made him Sachem. This laid a foundation for a suit at law, which was first tried before the Judges of the colony, where Mason of course lost his suit. He appealed to the King in Council, who ordered a special court to sit at Norwich, in Connecticut; and Mr. Dudley, a learned man, and Governor of Massachusetts-Bay, was the President of it. This Court, met, and, having heard the evidence and pleadings of both parties, gave a verdict in favor of Mason's claim. The Colony appealed home to England, but never prosecuted their suit to an issue. Mason died. The Colony kept possession under Abimeleck, their created King of Mohegin. About ten years ago, the heirs of Mason and Harrison petitioned Government to decree that Dudley's verdict should be enforced; but the Colonists found means to confound the claim of those competitors, without establishing their own. The

truth is, neither the Colonists, nor Mason and Harrison, ever had any deed or title to those lands from Sassacus, or his heirs; their deeds sprung from Uncas, already mentioned, a rebel subject of Sassacus, without any royal blood in his veins:—nevertheless, Mr. Neal, and others, who have written Histories of New-England, have taken especial care to vindicate the justice of the settlers, who always, they say, conscientiously purchased their lands of Sachems.—I have given the Reader some idea of the purchases of the first colonizers in Connecticut, who, by their iniquitous art of making Sachems, have entailed law-suits without end on their posterity; for there is not one foot of land in the whole province which is not covered by ten deeds granted by ten different nominal Sachems to ten different persons: and, what aggravates the misfortune, the Courts of justice differ every session concerning the true Sachem; so that what the plaintiff recovers at a hearing before one jury, he loses upon a re-hearing before another.

Enough, surely, has been said to nullify the Colonists plea for having bought their lands of the Indians. As to any purchases made of the Saybrook settlers, those at Hartford totally declined them, till the farcical business respecting their charter came into agitation between the two junto's who procured it, of which I shall speak hereafter: and so far were the people of

New-Haven from buying any right of Fenwick or his associates, that they scorned the idea of claiming under them; nay, it was even one of their principal views in the machinations wherein they were continually employed, to reduce the Saybrook Colony under the tyranny of their own Dominion, as having no more title to the country than possession gave them. And upon any other supposition, it is impossible to account for the neglect of the colonizers of Hartford to secure their lands by such a purchase, seeming as they did to ransack heaven and earth for a title satisfactory even in their own eyes: they were conscious no purchase of that kind could give them firmer footing than they had already. The truth therefore, undoubtedly, is, that Fenwick and Peters had no legal right to sell the lands they occupied, whatever might be their pretensions;—nor, indeed, did they pretend to the power of selling more on their own account than was granted to them severally by their patrons the Lords Say and Brook, which cannot be supposed but an inconsiderable proportion of their American property. No wonder, then, that we find another claim set up;—a claim by conquest. This was particularly agreeable to the genius of the Hartford and New-Haven heroes; but will, nevertheless, appear to make as little for their right as their honor, from the following considerations:—First, the invaders did not find Connec-

ticut in a state of nature, but cultivated and settled by its Indian inhabitants, whose numbers were thousands, and who had three kings, viz. Connecticote, Quinnipiog, and Sassacus, of whom Connecticote was Emperor, or King of Kings; a dignity he and his ancestors had enjoyed, according to the Indian mode of reckoning, twenty sticks;* i. e. time immemorial. Secondly, they had no authority to invade, make war upon, and *conquer*, the Indians, who were not at war with the King of England, nor his patentees, or their assigns. And, Thirdly, seizures, without legal commission, of however long standing, do not convey right or title by the English law.

Feeling the weight of these considerations, the Colonists have been obliged to found their claim to the country on their charter, which was obtained in 1662, more than twenty-six years after they had taken possession. Here again, they are destitute of support; for the King, any more than his subjects, could not give to others the property of the Duke of Hamilton, unless his title had been proved to be forfeited by due course of law. But the charter created no title; it merely con-

*The Indian mode of counting is from one to twenty. Every year they cut a notch in a stick; and when the stick is full, or has twenty notches on it, they lay it up, and take another. When they have thus cut twenty sticks, they reckon no more;—the number of twenty times twenty, with them, becomes infinite, or incomprehensible.

ferred on the people the authority of a legal corporation, without conveying any title to the lands. And, indeed, the prevarications of the Colonists themselves in regard to their charter-claim, sufficiently explode it. Whenever they find their property affected by any duty, custom, &c. imposed by Parliament, and warranted by charter, they allege that *they got the lands in possession by their own arm*, without the aid of the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; as Charles II. allowed in granting the charter, which conveyed no title, but was founded upon the title they possessed before the date of it. At other times, when these selfish temporizers find it convenient, either for promoting their own, or preventing their neighbours encroachments, then they plead their charter as the *one only thing needful* to prove their right of land even to the South Sea itself!

In short, and upon the whole, Possession, begun in Usurpation, is the best title the inhabitants of Connecticut ever had, or can set up, unless they can prove they hold the lands by an heavenly grant, as the Israelites did those of Canaan. This heavenly title was, indeed, set up by Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, the three first ministers that settled Connecticut; and is generally believed through the Colony to this day. They thus syllogistically stated it;—*The Heathen are driven out, and we have their lands in possession; they were numerous, and we but a few; there-*

fore the Lord hath done this great work, to give his beloved rest.

Thus much for the various pretensions of the occupiers of Connecticut in regard to their right to the soil. I shall now give some account of the proceedings of the first settlers with respect to their religious and civil establishments; and of their political transactions, &c.

The party which settled at Saybrook under George Fenwick Esq. and the Rev. Thomas Peters, in 1634, contented themselves, in framing the polity of their civil constitution, with the laws of England, and a few local regulations. As to their ecclesiastical institutions, they voted themselves to be a Church independent on Lord-bishops, and Mr. Peters to be their minister, whose episcopal ordination was deemed good, notwithstanding he had been silenced in England. They voted presbyters to be bishops, and possessed of power to ordain ministers, when invited by a proper number of people formed into a society by a licence from the Governor. They voted that a certain part of the Liturgy of the Church of England might be used; the Lord's Prayer the Apostles' Creed, together with one Chapter in the Bible, to be read at morning and evening service, or omitted, at the discretion of the Minister;—that extempore prayers might be used at the pleasure of the Minister; but that the surplice should not be worn, nor should the

sign of the cross at baptisms, the ceremony of the ring at marriages, or saints-days, &c. be observed, as in the Church of England :—that every society licensed by the Governor, after having a Minister ordained over it, be a complete Church, and invested with the keys of discipline, dependent only upon Christ, the head of his Church :—that the Minister should be the judge of the qualifications for church-membership, and should censure disorderly walkers :—that the members in full communion should have power over the Minister, and might dismiss him from his parish by a majority of voices, and with the consent of the Governor ;—that all children were the objects of Baptism, and that none should be debarred that sacrament for the sins of their parents, provided an orderly liver would engage to bring them up in the ways of Christianity :—that all sober persons might partake of the Lord's Supper, provided the Minister, upon examination, should find them sufficiently acquainted with their duty :—that what is commonly called Conversion, is not absolutely necessary before receiving the Lord's Supper, because that sacrament is a converting ordinance ;—that all Gospel Ministers were upon an equality in office ; and that it was the business of every one to admonish a transgressor, privately in the first place, and next, if no attention was paid to his advice, before his Deacons ; then, if their admonition was disregard-

ed, the offender should be presented to the Church, (that is, the Minister, Deacons, and Communicants, united by the keys of discipline,) and upon his still continuing refractory, he should be censured and rejected by the majority of voters, without any appeal:—that Deacons should be chosen by the Minister and Communicants, upon a majority of voices, and ordained by the Minister, according to the holy practice of St. Paul:—that it was the duty of the Governor and civil Magistrates to protect and nurture the Church, but not to govern it; because Christ's authority given to his Church was above principalities and all civil powers:—&c. &c.

The settlers at Hertford, having declared themselves to be an independent Colony, and that their dominion extended from sea to sea, voted Haynes to be their Governor, and appointed six Counsellors to assist him in framing laws and regulating the state. The same spirit of independence dictated their church-discipline. They voted Mr. Hooker to be their Minister, and six of their church-members to ordain him. Mr. Hooker accepted of their vote or call, renounced his episcopal ordination, and was ordained by the six lay church-members over the Church of the independents in Hertford. Thus Mr. Hooker, who was born in Leicestershire, educated in Cambridge, ordained by a Bishop, silenced by a Bishop in 1630, in England, and re-ordained by six lay-

men in America, became what he wished to be, the head of the independents in the Dominion of Hertford, where he had the honor and pleasure of exercising, over all who differed from him in opinion, that violent spirit of persecution which he and his friends so clamorously decried as too intolerant to be endured in England. Some of the characteristic doctrines of this persecuting fanatic were of the following purport :—That Christ's Church is not universal, but a particular, visible Church, formed by general consent and covenant :—that Christ has committed the power of binding and loosening to believers, without any distinction between clergy and laity :—that ruling and preaching elders are duly ordained to their office by the election and the imposition of the hands of the people :—that the tables and seals of the covenant, the offices and censures of Christ's Church, the administration of all his public worship and ordinances, are in the *cætus fidelium*, or combination of godly, faithful men, met in one congregation :—that a diocesan, provincial or national assembly, is incompatable with the nature of Christ's Church ; seeing all and every member of Christ's Church are to meet every Lord's-day in one place, for the administration of the holy ordinances of God :—that a multitude of free people may elect and ordain a king over them, although they were not, prior to that act, possessed of kingly power ; for the people of Israel imposed their

hands on the Levites, when they themselves were not Levites;—Numb. viii. 10 :—that nature has given virtual power to a free people to set up any christian form of government, both in Church and State, which they see best for themselves in the land; but Christ gave the power of the keys to his Church, i. e. to his believing people, and not to Peter or to Paul as ministers, but as professed believers, in conjunction with the rest of true believers; that the Church hath not absolute power to choose whom it will; it hath ministerial power only to choose whom Christ hath chosen, i. e. such as he hath gifted and fitted for the work of the ministry:—that neither Popes, Bishops, nor Presbyters, are necessary to ordain Ministers of Jesus Christ; because the power of the keys is given by Christ to his Church, i. e. the people in covenant with God:—that, as ordination is in the power of each Church, no Church hath power over another, but all stand in brotherly equality:—that it is unlawful for any Church of Christ to put out of its hand that power which Christ has given to it, into the hands of other Churches:—that no one Church ought to send to Ministers of other Churches to ordain its Ministers, or to censure its offenders:—that Baptism does not make any one a member of Christ's Church, because papists and other heretics are baptised: therefore, to be a member of Christ's Church, is to own the covenant of that particular Church where God

has placed such member :—that seven persons may form a church of Christ, but 15,000 cannot, because such a number cannot meet in one place, nor hear, nor partake, nor be edified together :—that no one can partake of the Lord's Supper, till he be converted and has manifested his faith and repentance before the Church :—&c. &c.*

The laws made by the Governor and Council of Hertford are, in General, much of the same stamp with those of the New-Haven legislators, of some of which an abstract will be given hereafter.

The fanatics at New-Haven, in like manner with those of Hertford, voted themselves to be a Dominion independent, and chose Eaton for their Governor, and Davenport for their Minister. The Governor and a Committee had the power of making laws for the State, and the Minister, assisted by Deacons and Elders, was to rule the Church. The following is a specimen of the tenets established by Davenport in the latter :—That Christ has conveyed all power to his people both in Church and State ; which power they are to exercise until Christ shall return on earth, to reign 1,000 years over his militant Saints :—that all other kings, besides Christ and his elected people, are pestilent usurpers, and enemies to God and Man :—that all Vicars, Rectors, Deans, Priests,

and Bishops are of the Devil; are wolves, petty Popes, and antichristian tyrants:—that Pastors, and Teachers of particular congregations are of Christ, and must be chosen by his people; i. e. the elect and chosen from the foundation of the world; or else their entrance and ministry are unlawful:—that all things of human invention in the worship of God, such as are in the Mass-book and Common-prayer, are unsavory in the sight of God:—that ecclesiastical censures ought to be exercised by the members of particular Congregations among themselves:—that the people should not suffer this supreme power to be wrested out of their hands, until Christ shall begin his reign:—that all good people ought to pray always that God would raze the old Papal foundation of episcopal government, together with the filthy ceremonies of that antichristian Church:—that every particular who neglects this duty, may justly fear that curse pronounced against Meroz, —Judg. v. 23, *Curse ye Meroz, because they came not to help the Lord against the mighty* enemies of God and his Church:—that every particular Congregation is an absolute Church; the members of it are to be all Saints; those must enter into covenant among themselves, and without such covenant there can be no Church:—that it is an heinous sin to be present when prayers are read out of a book by a Vicar or Bishop:—that subjects promise obedience to obtain help from

the Magistrates, and are discharged from their promise when the Magistrates fail in their duty:—that, without liberty from the Prince or Magistrate, the people may reform the Church and State, and must not wait for the Magistrates:—&c. &c. This Dominion, this tyrant of tyrants, adopted the Bible for its code of civil laws, till others should be made more suitable to its circumstances. The provision was politic. The lawgivers soon discovered that the precepts in the Old and New Testaments were insufficient to support them in their arbitrary and bloody undertakings: they, therefore, gave themselves up to *their own inventions* in making others, wherein, in some instances, they betrayed such an extreme degree of wanton cruelty and oppression, that even the rigid fanatics of Boston, and the mad zealots of Hertford, put to the blush, christened them the *Blue Laws*; and the former held a day of thanksgiving, because God, in his good providence, had stationed Eaton and Davenport so far from them.*

The religious system established by Peters at Saybrook was well calculated to please the moderate Puritans and zealots of all denominations; but the fanatics of the Massachusetts-Bay, who hated every part of the Common-Prayer-book worse than the Council of Trent and the papal

power exercised over heretics, were alarmed at the conduct of the half-reformed schismatics in that colony; and, thinking that their dear *Salem* might be endangered by such impure worshippers, consented, in the year 1636, to give Mr. Hooker and his associates liberty to emigrate to Hertford, notwithstanding the preceding year they had refused such liberty, seeing then no reason for Hooker's seizing the territory of other people. But when the New-England Vine was supposed to be threatened by the Bible, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, the pious people of Massachusetts-Bay permitted Hooker, in 1635, to remove into and govern Connecticut by their authority, and to impede and break up the worship of the *Peterites* in Saybrook. Hooker was faithful to his trust, excepting that, when he got to Hertford, he rejected the authority of his employers in the Massachusetts-Bay, set up a new dominion, and persecuted the *Peterites* under his own banner, though he called it the banner of Jesus. But for his and Davenport's tyrannical conduct, the Colony in Saybrook would have lived in peace with the Indians, as they did till their artful and overbearing neighbors brought on a general war between them and the English, which ended with the death of Sassacus and the destruction of all his subjects. After that war, great dissention arose among the conquerors. Fenwick was sensible, of a calm disposition, and

very religious ; yet not entirely void of ambition. He claimed the government of all Connecticut, and insisted upon payment for such lands as were possessed by Hooker and Davenport, and their associates: this he said, was but common justice due to his constituents, the Lords Say and Brook. Hooker and Davenport, however, were not fond of his doctrine of *justice*, but made *religion, liberty, and power*, the greater objects of their concern; wherein they were supported by the people of Massachusetts-Bay, whose spirits were congenial with their own. Hence no opportunity was lost of prejudicing Saybrook; and the troubles in the Mother-Country furnished their enemies with many. One step they took, in particular, operated much to its disadvantage. The Massachusetts' Colony, eager to act against Charles I. agreed with those of Hertford and New-Haven, New-Hampshire, and Rhode-Island, to send agents to England, assuring the House of Commons of their readiness to assist against the King and Bishops. The Saybrook settlers, though zealous against the Bishops, were not much inclined to rebellion against the King, and therefore took no part in this transaction. As the royal cause lost ground in England, the apprehensions of this Colony increased; and Fenwick finding himself unsupported by the Lords Say and Brook, thought it prudent to dispose of his colonial property to Peters and his as-

sociates, and return to England. Confusion being established in England, moderation became an unpardonable sin in Saybrook, which both the neighboring colonies were ready to punish by assuming the jurisdiction there: mutual jealousy alone prevented it. At length, during Cromwell's usurpation, the inhabitants fearing the effects of his displeasure for not joining in the above-mentioned address to the Commons in England especially lest he should put them under the power of the furious Davenport, and at the same time foreseeing no prospect of the Restoration, judged it adviseable, by way of preferring the lesser to the greater evil, to form a sort of alliance and junction with the people of Hertford, where Hooker now lay numbered with the dead. The Colony was not only hereby enabled to maintain its ground, but flourished greatly; and the Minister, Thomas Peters, established a school in Saybrook, which his children had the satisfaction to see become a College, denominated Yale College, of which a particular account will be given in the course of this work. He was a churchman of the puritanic order, zealous, learned, and of a mild disposition; and frequently wrote to his brother Hugh at Salem,* to ex-

* William, Thomas, and Hugh Peters, were brothers, and born at Fowey, in Cornwall, in Old England. Their father was a merchant of great property; and their mother was Elizabeth Treffry, Daughter of John Treffry, Esq. of

ercise more moderation, lest "overmuch zeal should ruin him and the cause they were embarked in." At his death, which did not happen till after the Restoration of Charles II., he be-

a very ancient and opulent family in Fowey. William was educated at Leyden, Thomas at Oxford, and Hugh at Cambridge universities. About the years 1610 and 1620, Thomas and Hugh were clergymen in London, and William was a private gentleman. About 1628, Thomas and Hugh, rendered obnoxious by their popularity and puritanism, were silenced by the Bishop of London. They then went to Holland, and remained there till 1633, when they returned to London. The three brothers sold their landed property, and went to New-England in 1634. Hugh settled at Salem, and became too popular for Mather and Cotton. He was soon appointed one of the Trustees of the College at New-Cambridge. He built a grand house, and purchased a large tract of land. The yard before his house he paved with flint-stones from England; and, having dug a well, he paved that round with flint-stones also, for the accommodation of every inhabitant in want of water. It bears the name of Peters' Spring to this day. He married a second wife, by whom he had one daughter named Elizabeth. The renown of this zealot increasing, he received an invitation to remove from Salem to Boston, and, complying with it, he there laid the foundation-stone of the great meeting-house, of which the Rev. Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the most learned of the literati in America, is the present minister. Mather and Cotton ill brooked being out-rivalled by Hugh; yet, finding him an orthodox fanatic, and more perfect than themselves, they seemingly bowed to his superiority at the same time that they laid a snare for his destruction. In 1641, those envious pastors conspired with

queathed his library to the school above mentioned.

The religious institutions of Hooker at Hertford were not only binding on the Dutch, but

the Court of Boston to convert their Bishop Hugh into a politician, and appoint him agent to Great Britain. The plot succeeded; and Hugh assumed his agency under color of petitioning for some abatement of customs and excise; but his real commission was to foment the civil discontents, jars, and wars, then prevailing between the King and Parliament. Hugh did not see into the policy of Mather and Cotton; and he had a strong inclination to chastise the Bishops and Court, who had turned him out of the Church for his fanatical conduct. On his arrival in London the Parliament took him into their service. The Earls of Warwick and Essex were also his patrons. In 1644, the Parliament gave him Archbishop Laud's library; and soon after made him head of the Archbishop's Court, and gave him his estate and palace at Lambeth:—all which Hugh kept till the Restoration, when he paid for his zeal, his puritanism, and rebellion, on a gibbet in Charing Cross.—His daughter married a merchant in Newport, Rhode Island, and lived and died with an excellent character. Her father having met with so tragical an end, I omit to mention her husband's name, whose posterity live in good reputation.—Governor Hutchinson reports that the widow of Hugh Peters was supported, till 1671, by a collection at Salem, of 30l. per annum. Were this report true, it would be much to the reputation of Salem for having *once* relieved the unfortunate. Mr. Hutchinson might have pointed out the cause of the unhappy widow's necessity; but he has left that part to me, and here it follows:—After Hugh's death, the selectmen of Salem were afraid that the King [Charles II.]

even extended to the great Connecticote himself. The Sachem did not like his new neighbors; he refused to give or sell any land to them; but told them, that, as they came to trade, and to spread

would seize on his estate in Salem, as had been the case in regard to what the Parliament had given him in England. They therefore trumped up a debt, and seized and sold the said estate to the families of Lyndes and Curwin, who possess it to the present time;—and the selectmen of Salem allowed the widow 30l. per annum for the wrong they had done her and her daughter. It is not likely that the widow was supported by any charitable collection; for William Peters was a man of great property, and had a deed of the whole peninsula whereon Boston stands, which he purchased of Mr. Blaxton, who bought it of the Plymouth Co.; though Mr. Hutchinson says Blaxton's title arose merely from his sleeping on it the first of any Englishman.* This was well said by Mr. Hutchinson, who wanted to justify the people of Salem in seizing the land and expelling Mr. Blaxton from his settlement in 1630, because he said he liked Lords-Brethren less than Lords-Bishops. Moreover, Thomas Peters, at the same time, was living at Saybrook

* The Rev. Mr. Blaxton had lived on Shawmut, or the peninsula on which Boston is built, above nine years before June, 1630. when he was driven away from his possessions by the pious people of Salem, because he was not pleased with the religious system of those new comers. They were so generous as to vote a small lot to Mr. Blaxton, near Boston Neck, as a compensation for the whole peninsula, and for his banishment on pain of death not to return. Blaxton afterwards sold his right to William Peters Esq. but who was kept out of possession of it by the supreme power of the people.

the Christian religion among his subjects, which Mr. Hooker defined to consist only in peace, love and justice, he had no objection to their building wigwams, planting corn, and hunting on his lands.

and was not poor. Those two gentlemen were able and willing to support the widow of an unfortunate brother, whom they loved very tenderly. They took great care of his daughter, and left her handsome legacies. From these considerations, I am induced to believe, that the widow of Hugh Peters never subsisted on any contributions, except what she received from her brothers, Wilham and Thomas Peters. Mr. Hutchinson makes a curious remark, viz. If Hugh Peters had returned to his parish, he would not have suffered as he did. He might have said with greater propriety, that, if Hugh Peters had not been a fanatic and a rebel more zealous than wise, he never would have left his parish for the agency of the people of New-England, who never paid him the stipulated allowance for his support in England, though he gave them thanksgiving days instead of fasting, for the space of twenty years, and procured, in 1649, from Oliver Cromwell, a charter for the Company for propagating the Gospel in New-England, which, by contributions raised in England, have supported all the missionaries among the Indians to the present time; yet Mr. Hutchinson and Neal write largely about the vast expense the Massachusetts-Bay have been at in spreading the Gospel among the poor savages!

I cannot forbear here to notice an abuse of this charter. Notwithstanding it confines the views of the Company to New England, yet they, and their Committee of Correspondence in Boston, have of late years vouchsafed to send most of their Missionaries out of New-England, among the Six-Nations. and the unsanctified episcopalians in the Southern

The wisdom and steady temper of this great Sachem, and the vast number of subjects at his command, made Haynes and Hooker cautious in their conduct. Many people of Massachusetts-Bay, hearing that Hooker had made good terms with the Sachem, left their persecutors, and fled to the fertile banks of Connecticut, that they might help Hooker spread the Gospel among the poor benighted Heathen in the wilderness. The Rev. Mr. Huet, with his disciples, fixed at Windsor,

Colonies. where was a competent number of church clergymen. Whenever this work of supererogation has met with its deserved animadversion, their answer has been, that, though Cromwell limited them to New England, yet Christ had extended their bounds from sea to sea! With what little reason do they complain of King William's charter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts? This Society have sent Missionaries to New-England, where they have an undoubted right to send them, to supply episcopal churches already established there: whereas the other Society send Missionaries beyond the limits of their charter, to alienate the minds of the episcopal Indians of the Six Nations, against the episcopal Missionaries and the Government of the Mother Country. And they have been too successful; especially since the Rev. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, Dr. Whitaker, and the Rev. Mr. Sampson Ocom. by the Charity of England, have joined in the same work. To the General Assembly, and the Consociation of Connecticut, Dr. Wheelock and his associates were much beholden for their success in converting the poor benighted savages in the howling wilderness. Their merits are great. and their reward is pending.

eight miles north of Hertford; and the Rev. Mr. Smith, at Wethersfield, four miles south of it. In the space of eighteen months, the Dominion of Hertford contained seven-hundred white people, and seven independent churches. Having converted over to the Christian faith some few Indians, among whom was Joshua, an ambitious captain under the great Sachem Connecticote, Hooker, Huet, Smith, and others, hereby found means to spread the *Gospel* into every Indian town, and, to the eternal infamy of christian policy, those renowned, pious fathers of this new colony, with the Gospel, spread the small pox. This distemper raged in every corner: it swept away the great Sachem Connecticote, and laid waste his ancient kingdom. Hereupon, Haynes and his assembly proclaimed Joshua, Sachem; and such as did not acknowledge his sachemic power, were compelled to suffer death, or fly the Dominion. Thus in three years time, by the Gospel and fanatic policy, was destroyed Connecticote, the greatest king in North America. This remarkable event was considered as the work of the Lord: and the savage nations were told that the like calamities would befall them, unless they embraced the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Joshua was grateful to the English who had made him Sachem, and gave them deeds of those lands which had constantly been refused by Connecticote. But Joshua had as little honor as virtue

and loyalty : he supported himself many years by signing deeds, and gulled the English through their own imprudence in neglecting to make a law for recording them. These colonists having driven out the Heathen, and got possession of a land which flowed with milk and honey, expelled the Dutch as a dangerous set of heretics ;—and Hooker, after doing so much for his new Dominion, expected the homage from every Church, which is due only to a Bishop. This homage, however, he could not obtain, because each Minister had pretensions not much inferior to his. Disputes arose about Doctrine and Discipline. Hooker taught that there were forty-two kinds of Grace, though all of little value, except that of “ saving Grace.” As to Discipline, he held, that, as he had received his ministerial ordination from the Laity who were members in full communion, he considered those actual communicants as *Christ’s Church here on earth*, and consequently as holding the keys of discipline ; and he maintained, that the Minister had but a single voice, and was a subject of the Church. Other Ministers, who had received episcopal ordination, but had been silenced by their Bishops, judged themselves, notwithstanding, to be Ministers of Christ ; and alleged that the installation of a Minister by prayer and imposition of hands of lay communicants, was no ordination, but a ceremony only of putting a Minister in possession of his Church,

from which he might be dismissed by a majority of voters of the members in full communion. And those Ministers taught for doctrine, that mankind were saved by Grace, and that the Gospel told us of but one Grace as necessary to salvation ; for that *he who believes that Jesue is the Son of God, is born of God, and enjoys the Grace of God which brings Salvation.* The majority of the people of course were on the side of Mr. Hooker, as his plan established their power over the Minister ; and they soon determined by vote, according to their code of laws, in his favor. But the Ministers and minority were not convinced by this vote, and, to avoid an excommunication, formed themselves into separate bodies ; nevertheless, they soon felt the thundering anathemas of Hooker, and the heated vengeance of the civil power. However, persecution, by her certain consequence, fixed the separatists in their schism, which continues to the present time. Hooker reigned twelve years high priest over Hertford ; and then died above sixty years of age, to the great joy of the separatists, but, in point of populousness, to the disadvantage of the colony of Saybrook, which was the little Zoar for Hooker's heretics.

Exact in tything mint and anise, the furies of New-Haven for once affected the *weightier matters* of justice. They had no title to the land : they applied to Quinnipiog, the Sachem, for a

deed or grant of it. The Sachem refused to give the lands of his ancestors to strangers. The settlers had teeming inventions, and immediately voted themselves to be the *Children of God*, and that *the wilderness in the utmost parts of the earth* was given to them. This vote became a law forever after. It is true, Davenport endeavored to *christianize* Quinnipiog, but in vain: however, he *converted* Sunksquaw, one of his subjects, by presents and great promises; and then Sunksquaw betrayed his master, and the settlers killed him. This assassination of Quinnipiog brought on a war between the English and Indians, which never ended by treaty of peace. The Indians, having only bows and arrows, were driven back into the woods; whilst the English with their swords and guns, kept possession of the country. But, conscious of their want of title to it, they voted Sunksquaw to be Sachem, and that whoever disputed his authority should suffer death. Sunksquaw, in return, assigned to the English those lands of which they had made him Sachem. Lo! here is all the title the settlers of the Dominion of New-Haven, ever obtained. The cruel and bloody persecutions under Eaton and Davenport in New-Haven soon gave rise to several little towns upon the sea-coast. Emigrants from England arrived every year to settle in this Dominion; but few remained in New-Haven, on account of Eaton, Davenport, the Deacons and Elders, who possessed all pow-

er there, and were determined to keep it. The new-comers, therefore, under pretence of spreading Christ's kingdom and shunning persecution, joined with the settlers at Stamford, Guilford, and Stratford, where, however, persecution domineered with as much fury as at New-Haven; for each town judged itself to be an independent Dominion; though for fear of the Dutch and the Indians, they formed a political union, and swore to bear true allegiance to the capital New-Haven, whose authority was supreme. As all officers in every town were annually elected by the freemen, and as there were many candidates, some of whom must be unsuccessful, there was always room for complaints. The complainants formed schisms in the Church, which brought on persecution; and persecution drove the minority to settle new towns, in order to enjoy Liberty, Peace, and Power to persecute such as differed from them. Thus lived those ambitious people, under far worse persecutions from one another than they ever experienced or complained of in Old England; all which they endured with some degree of patience, the persecuted one year living in hopes that the next would enable them to retaliate on their persecutors.

The laws made by this independent Dominion, and denominated *Blue-Laws* by the neighboring Colonies, were never suffered to be printed; but the following sketch of some of them will give a

tolerable idea of the spirit which pervades the whole.

“The Governor and Magistrates convened in general Assembly, are the supreme power under God of this independent Dominion.

“From the determination of the Assembly no appeal shall be made.

“The Governor is amenable to the voice of the people.

“The Governor shall have only a single vote in determining any question; except a casting vote, when the Assembly may be equally divided.

“The Assembly of the People shall not be dismissed by the Governor, but shall dismiss itself.

“Conspiracy against this Dominion shall be punished with death.

“Whoever says there is power and jurisdiction above and over this Dominion, shall suffer death and loss of property.

“Whoever attempts to change or overturn this Dominion shall suffer death.

“The judges shall determine controversies without a jury.

“No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote, unless he be converted, and a member in full communion of one of the Churches allowed in this Dominion.

“No man shall hold any office, who is not sound in the faith, and faithful to this Dominion; and whoever gives a vote to such a person, shall

pay a fine of 1*l.*; for a second offence, he shall be disfranchised.

“Each freeman shall swear by the blessed God to bear true allegiance to this Dominion, and that Jesus is the only King.

“No quaker or dissenter from the established worship of this Dominion shall be allowed to give a vote for the election of Magistrates, or any officer.

“No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other Heretic.

“If any person turns Quaker, he shall be banished, and not suffered to return but upon pain of death.

“No Priest shall abide in this Dominion: he shall be banished, and suffer death on his return. Priests may be seized by any one without a warrant.

“No one to cross a river, but with an authorized ferryman.

“No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden or elsewhere, except reverently to and from meeting.

“No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave, on the Sabbath day.

“No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting-day.

“The Sabbath shall begin at sunset on Saturday.

“ To pick an ear of corn growing in a neighbor’s garden, shall be deemed theft.

“ A person accused of trespass in the night shall be judged guilty, unless he clear himself by his oath.

“ When it appears that an accused has confederates, and he refuses to discover them, he may be racked.

“ No one shall buy or sell lands without permission of the selectmen.

“ A drunkard shall have a master appointed by the selectmen, who are to debar him from the liberty of buying and selling.

“ Whoever publishes a lie to the prejudice of his neighbor, shall sit in the stocks, or be whipped fifteen stripes.

“ No Minister shall keep a school.

“ Every rateable person, who refuses to pay his proportion to the support of the Minister of the town or parish shall be fined by the Court 2*l.* and 4*l.* every quarter, until he or she pay the rate to the Minister.

“ Men-stealers shall suffer death.

“ Whoever wears clothes trimmed with gold, silver, or bone lace, above two shillings by the yard, shall be presented by the grand jurors, and the selectmen shall tax the offender at 300*l.* estate.

“ A debtor in prison, swearing he has no estate, shall be let out, and sold, to make satisfaction,

“Whoever sets a fire in the woods, and it burns a house, shall suffer death; and persons suspected of this crime shall be imprisoned, without benefit of bail.

“Whoever brings cards or dice into this dominion shall pay a fine of 5*l*.

“No one shall read Common-Prayer, keep Christmas or Saints-days, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet, and jews-harp.*

“No gospel Minister shall join people in marriage; the magistrates only shall join in marriage, as they may do it with less scandal to Christ’s Church.†

“When parents refuse their children convenient marriages, the Magistrates shall determine the point.

“The selectmen, on finding children ignorant, may take them away from their parents, and put them into better hands, at the expense of their parents.

“Fornication shall be punished by compelling marriage, or as the Court may think proper.

“Adultery shall be punished with death.

“A man that strikes his wife shall pay a fine of

* Supplement, Note O.

† The savage Pawawwers, or Priests, never concern themselves with marriages, but leave them to the Paniesh or Magistrates.

10*l.*; a woman that strikes her husband shall be punished as the Court directs.

“A wife shall be deemed good evidence against her husband.

“No man shall court a maid in person, or by letter, without first obtaining consent of her parents: 5*l.* penalty for the first offence; 10*l.* for the second; and, for the third, imprisonment during the pleasure of the Court.

“Married persons must live together, or be imprisoned.

“Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap.”*

Of such sort were the laws made by the people of New-Haven, previous to their incorporation with Saybrook and Hertford colonies by the charter. They consist of a vast multitude, and were properly termed the *Blue Laws*; i. e. *Bloody Laws*; for they were all sanctified with excommunication, confiscation, fines, banishments whippings, cutting off the ears, burning the tongue, and death. Europe at this day might well say the Religion of the first settlers at New-Haven was fanaticism turned mad; and did not similar laws still prevail over New-England as the common law of the country, I would have left them in silence along with Dr. Mather's *Fatres conscripti*,

*The Levitical law forbids cutting the hair, or rounding the head.

and the renowned Saints of Mr. Neal, to sleep to the end of time. No one, but a partial and blind bigot, can pretend to say the projectors of them were men of *Grace, Justice, and Liberty*, when nothing but *murders, plunders, and persecutions*, mark their steps. The best apology that can be made for them is, (I write in reference to those times,) that human nature is every where the same; and that the mitred Lord and canting Puritan are equally dangerous, or that both agree in the unchristian doctrine of persecution, and contend only which shall put it in practice. Mr. Neal says, many call the first Colonizers in New-England weak men for separating from the Church of England, and suffering persecutions, rather than comply with indifferent ceremonies; and after asserting that they were men of great learning and goodness, he appeals to the world to judge, which were weak, the Bishops or the Puritans? My answer is, that those Puritans were weak men in Old England, and strong in New-England, where they out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King, and out-bishop'd the Bishops. Their murders and persecutions prove their strength lay in weakness, and their religion in ambition, wealth, and dominion.

Notwithstanding the perpetual jealousy and discordance between the three colonies of Connecticut, (Saybrook claiming the whole under the Lords Say and Brook, Hertford under Jehovah

and Conquest, and New-Haven under King Jesus and Conquest,) they judged it necessary, for their better security against the Dutch and Indians, to strengthen each other's hands by forming a general confederacy with the Colonies of New Plymouth and the Massachusetts-Bay. A measure of this kind, which they formally entered into in 1643, proved of the most salutary consequence, in a war which many years after broke out between them and Philip, sachem of the Pokanoket Indians, and which, for some time, imminently endangered the Colonies, but at length terminated in the destruction of that noted warrior and his followers.

The death of Cromwell in 1658 struck an awe throughout all New-England, Hertford and New-Haven appointed their days of fasting and prayer. Davenport prayed "the Lord to take the New-England Vine under his immediate care, as he had removed by death the great Protector of the protestant liberty:" nevertheless he lived to see the time when Charles II. obtained the possession of his Father's crown and kingdom, in spite of all his prayers. However, in the midst of sorrows, they were comforted by the presence of many regicides and refugees, who fled from England not so much for religion as for liberty; among whom were Whaley, Goffe, and Dixwell,*

* *Dixwell* died and lies buried in New-Haven. His grave is visited by the *sober dissenters* with great reverence and

three of the judges and murderers of Charles I. Davenport and Leet the then Governor received them as angels from Heaven, and blessed God that they had escaped out of the hands of "Herod the son of Barabbas.*"

New-Haven Dominion being thus suddenly filled with inhabitants, saw itself enabled to support its independence, and as usual despised Hertford and Saybrook, and withal paid no attention to the King and Parliament of England. The people of Massachusetts, who were ever forward in promoting their own consequence, observing the temper and conduct of those of New-Haven, conceived an idea at once of exalting an individual of their own province, and of attaching Hertford and Saybrook to their interest forever. They sent Mr. John Winthrop privately to Hertford, to promote a petition to Charles II. for a charter, as a security against the ambition of New-Haven. The Bostonians boasted of having had the honor of settling Hertford, which they therefore professed to consider in the light of a near and dear connection. The proposal was accepted by the few persons to whom it was communicated, but, in framing their petition, they found themselves de-

vation; nay, even held sacred as the tomb of Mecca. Here are buried also the children of Col. Jones, and many other rebels.

* Supplement, Note P.

ficient in their title to the lands. This obliged them to have recourse to a Junto at Saybrook, who claimed a title under Lords Say and Brook. A few purchases or rather exchanges, of land now took place between the Junto's; after which the petition was drawn up, containing an artful description of the lands claimed, "part of which they said they had purchased, and part they had conquered." They then as privately appointed Mr. Winthrop their agent to negotiate the business in England, which he very willingly undertook. On his arrival here, he applied to the agents of Massachusetts-Bay, and with their assistance procured from the incaution of Charles II. as ample a charter as was ever given to a palatinate state; it covered not only Saybrook, Hertford, and New-Haven, but half of New-York, New-Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and a tract of land near 100 miles wide, and extending westward to the South sea, 1,400 miles from Narraganset bay. This charter, which was obtained in 1662, well pleased the people of Hertford, because it coincided with their former vote, viz. "that their Dominion extended from sea to sea."* New-Haven dominion too late discovered the intrigues of her artful neighbors; and, after two years opposition, submitted to the charter purely out of fear lest some of her ministers and magis-

* Supplement, Note Q.

trates should suffer ignominious deaths for aiding in the murder of their King.*

To the great joy of the people of Boston and Saybrook, Mr. Winthrop was appointed by the charter, Governor of all Connecticut. Their joy, however, sprung from different motives: Saybrook hoped for effectual protection from the insults of Hertford and the persecutions of New-Haven; and Boston expected to govern the Governor.

Mr. Winthrop settled at New-London, in the kingdom of Sassacus, or colony of Saybrook, where he purchased lands of the claimants under Lords Say and Brook. Wisdom and moderation guided Mr. Winthrop. He was annually elected Governor till his death, which happened in 1676.

Whether it were owing to the discovery of any defect in the title of the people of Connecticut to the soil, or of any undue arts practised in obtaining their charter, or whether it must be considered as an instance of Charles' fickle or arbitrary disposition, that Monarch, in the short space of two years after granting that charter, comprised half Connecticut in another grant to his brother the Duke of York of the territory between the Rivers Connecticut and Delaware, called by the Dutch New-Netherlands. This step excited much discontent in Connecticut, especially when

* Supplement, Notes R and S.

an actual defalcation of its territory was discovered to be in agitation, after Colonel Nichols had succeeded in an enterprise he was sent upon against the Dutch at New-York. Commissioners were sent thither from Connecticut, the latter end of 1664, to defend the interests of the Colony; but, notwithstanding all the opposition they could make, they were constrained to yield up the whole of Long Island, and a strip of land on the east side of Hudson's river. This dismemberment is not easily to be justified: but, probably, finding it necessary to the performance of a promise he had made the Dutch of the enjoyment of their possessions, Nichols might think himself at liberty of insisting upon it, furnished as he was with almost regal powers as the Duke of York's deputy. In that capacity, he assumed the government of the conquered territory, but does not appear to have intermeddled further with that of Connecticut.

With Colonel Nichols were associated three other gentlemen, in a commission, empowering them to inquire into the state of the New-England provinces, to hear and redress complaints, settle differences, and check abuses of power: but the ill humor and obstinacy of those of Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay, in a great measure frustrated their endeavors.

By authority of the charter, the freemen choose annually, in May, a Governor, a Deputy-Gover-

nor, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and twelve Assistants, and, twice a year, two Representatives from each town. These being met, constitute the General Assembly, which has power to make laws, provided they are not repugnant to the laws of England, and enforce them without the consent of the King.

The General Assembly meets in May and October without summoning. By it the colony has been divided into six counties, viz. Hertford, New-Haven, New-London, Fairfield, Windham, and Litchfield; and these subdivided into 73 townships, and 300 parishes.

Each town has two or more justices of peace, who hear and determine, without a jury, all causes under 2*l*.

Each county has five judges, who try by a jury all causes above 2*l*.

Five judges preside over the superior court of the province, who hold two sessions in each county every year. To this court are brought appeals from the county courts when the verdict exceeds 10*l*., appeals from the courts of probate, writs of error, petitions for divorce, &c.

The General Assembly is a court of chancery, where the error or rigor of the judgments of the superior court are corrected.

The General Assembly, and not the Governor, has the power of life and death.

The courts of probate are managed by a jus-

tice of peace, appointed by the General Assembly.

Each county has its Sheriff, and each town its constables.

By charter the Governor is Captain-general of the militia. Fourteen Colonels, fourteen Lieutenant-colonels, and fourteen Majors, are appointed by the General Assembly. The Captains and Subalterns are elected by the people, and commissioned by the Governor.

The ecclesiastical courts in Connecticut are, 1. The Minister and his Communicants : 2. The Association, which is composed of every minister and deacon in the county : 3. The Consociation, which consists of four ministers and their deacons, chosen from each Association ; and always meets in May, at Hertford, with the General Assembly. An appeal from the Consociation will lie before the General Assembly ; but the clergy have always been against it, though with less success than they wished. The General Assembly declared " Sober Dissenters " to be the established religion of the province.

The laws of the colony enacted by the authority of the charter, are decent in comparison with the Blue Laws. They make one thin volume in folio. Yet exceptions may justly be made to many of them—equal liberty is not given to all parties—taxes are unfairly laid—the poor are oppressed. One law is intolerable, viz. When a

trespass is committed in the night, the injured person may recover damages of any one he shall think proper to accuse, unless the accused can prove an alibi, or will clear himself by an oath; which oath, nevertheless, it is at the option of the justice, either to administer or refuse. Queen Ann repealed the cruel laws respecting Quakers, Ranters, and Adamites; but the General Assembly, notwithstanding, continued the same in their law-book, maintaining that a law made in Connecticut could not be repealed by any authority but their own. It is a ruled case with them, that no law or statute of England be in force in Connecticut, till formally passed by the General Assembly, and recorded by the Secretary.* Above thirty years ago, a negro castrated his master's son, and was brought to trial for it before the superior court at Hertford. The Court could find no law to punish the negro. The lawyers quoted the English statute against maiming; the Court were of opinion that statute did not reach this colony, because it had not been passed in the General Assembly; and therefore were about to remand the negro to prison till the General Assembly should meet. But an *ex-post-facto* law was objected to as an infringement on civil liberty. At length, however, the Court were released from their difficulty, by having recourse to the vote of

the first settlers at New-Haven, viz. That the Bible should be their law, till they could make others more suitable to their circumstances. The Court were of opinion that vote was in full force, as it had not been revoked; and thereupon tried the negro upon the Jewish law, viz. eye for eye, and tooth for tooth. He suffered accordingly.

The idea fostered by the colony of independence on Great Britain, was not, as might be imagined, destroyed by the royal charter, but, on the contrary, was renewed and invigorated by it. Indeed, the charter is as much in favor of Connecticut, and unfavorable to England, as if it had been drawn up in Boston or New-Haven. Had it been granted jointly by the King, Lords, and Commons, and not by the King *solus*, no one could dispute the independence of Connecticut on England, any more than they could that of Holland on Spain. The people at large did not discriminate between an act of the King *solus*, and an act of the King, Lords, and Commons, conjointly; and, to prevent any one from shewing the difference, the General Assembly made a law, that "whoever should attempt to destroy the constitution of this colony as by charter established, should suffer death." The power of a British King was held up by them much higher than the constitution allowed. The King had authority, they said, to form palatinate states without consent of Parliament. Accustomed to doctrines of

this tendency, the multitude concluded the General Assembly of Connecticut to be equal to the British Parliament.

Notions of this kind did not prevail in Connecticut alone; Massachusetts-Bay still more abounded with them, and Rhode Island was not uninfected. What was the consequence? Complaints against those governments poured into the British court. A reformation, therefore, became indispensable in New-England, and was begun by a disfranchisement of the Massachusetts province. The death of Charles II. put a temporary stop to proceedings against the other colonies; but James II. soon found it expedient to remove them. In July, 1685, the following instances of mal-administration were formally exhibited against the Governor and Company of Connecticut, viz. "They have made laws contrary to the laws of England:—they impose fines upon the inhabitants, and convert them to their own use:—they enforce an oath of fidelity upon the inhabitants without administering the oath of supremacy and allegiance, as in their charter is directed:—they deny to the inhabitants the exercise of the religion of the church of England, arbitrarily fining those who refuse to come to their congregational assemblies:—his majesty's subjects inhabiting there, cannot obtain justice in the courts of that colony:—they discourage and exclude from the government all gentlemen of known loyalty, and keep it in the

hands of the independent party in the colony." (*New-Eng. Ent. vol. ii. p. 241.*) In consequence of this impeachment, James II. ordered a *Quo Warranto* to be issued against the charter of Connecticut. The people perceived that the King was in earnest; and their alarm manifested itself in humble solicitations for favor; but, it being thought adviseable, on several accounts, particularly the extensive progress the French were making in Canada, to appoint one general Governor over New-England, the submissive applications of the Connecticut colonists could no further be regarded than in allowing them their choice, whether to be annexed to New-York, or to Massachusetts. They preferred the latter; and, accordingly, Sir Edmund Andros having been appointed Captain-general over all New-England, the charter of Connecticut was surrendered to him. It is very remarkable that Messrs. Neal, Hutchinson, and other historians of New-England, have artfully passed over in silence this transaction of the surrender of Connecticut charter to Sir Edmund Andros, the General Governor over New-England. They have represented the magistrates of Connecticut as not having resigned their charter, but by an erroneous construction put on their humble supplication to James II. by the Court of London; whereas the fact is, they resigned it, *in propria forma*, into the hands of Sir Edmund Andros, at Hertford, in October,

1687, and were annexed to the Massachusetts-Bay colony, in preference to New-York, according to royal promise and their own petition.* But the very night of the surrender of it, Samuel Wadsworth, of Hertford, with the assistance of a mob, violently broke into the apartments of Sir Edmund, regained, carried off, and hid the charter in the hollow of an elm; and, in 1689, news arriving of an insurrection and overthrow of Andros at Boston, Robert Treat, who had been elected in 1687, was declared by the mob still to be Governor of Connecticut. He daringly summoned his old Assembly, who, being convened, voted the charter to be valid in law, and that it could not be vacated by any power, without the consent of the General Assembly.† They then voted, that Samuel Wadsworth should bring forth the charter; which he did in a solemn procession, attended by the High-sheriff, and delivered it to the Governor. The General Assembly voted their thanks to Wadsworth, and twenty shillings as a reward for *stealing* and hiding their charter in the elm. Thus Connecticut started from a dependent county into an independent province, in defiance of the authority that had lately been paid such humble submission. None should be surprised to find the people shewing more deference to Abimeleck King of Mohegin, than to George

* Supplement, Note U. † Supplement, Note V.

King of England ; since a vote of men, whose legislative, and even corporate capacity had been annihilated, has prevailed, for more than eighty years, over a just exertion of royal prerogative.* Nevertheless, this unconstitutional Assembly, whose authority under an assumed charter has been tacitly acknowledged by the British Parliament, have not at all times been unchecked by the Corporation of Yale College. That College, by a charter received from this self-erected Government, was enabled to give Bachelor's and Master's degrees ; but the Corporation have presumed to give Doctor's degrees. When the General Assembly accused them of usurping a privilege not conferred by their charter, they retorted, that " to usurp upon a charter, was not so bad as to usurp a vacated charter." The General Assembly were obliged to be content with this answer, as it contained much truth, and came from the clergy, whose ambition and power are not to be trifled with.

Whatever might be the reason of the English Government's winking at the contempt shewn to their authority by the people of Connecticut, it certainly added to their ingratitude and bias to usurpation. Having been in possession of that country one hundred and forty years, the General Assembly, though unsupported either by law or

* Supplement, Note W.

justice, resolved to take up and settle their lands west not only of Hudson but Susquehanna river, and extending to the South-Sea. In pursuance of this resolution, they with modesty passed over New-York and the Jerseys, because they are possessed by Mynheers and fighting christians, and seized on Pennsylvania, claimed by Quakers, who fight not either for wife or daughter. They filled up their fathers' iniquities, by murdering the Quakers and Indians, and taking possession of their lands; and no doubt, in another century, they will produce deeds of sale from Sunksquaw, Uncas, or some other suppositious Sachem. This is a striking instance of the use I have said the colony sometimes make of their charter, to countenance and support their adventurous spirit of enterprise. They plead that their charter bounds them on the west by the South Sea; but they seem to have forgotten that their charter was surreptitiously obtained; and that the clause on which they dwell is rendered nugatory, by the petitioners having described their lands as lying upon Connecticut river, and obtained partly by conquest. Now, it being a fact beyond all controversy, that they then had not conquered, nor even pretended to have purchased, any lands west of Hudson's River, it is evident that their westernmost boundary never did or ought to extend further than to that river. Not that Mr. Penn had any just title to the lands on Susquehanna

river which are the bone of contention, and which lie north of his patent: they belong to the assigns of the Plymouth Company, or to the Crown of England.

Republicanism, schisms, and persecutions, have ever prevailed in this Colony.—The religion of “*Sober Dissenters*” having been established by the General Assembly, each sect claimed the establishment in its favor. The true Independents denied that the Assembly had any further power over Christ’s Church than to protect it. Few Magistrates of any religion are willing to yield their authority to Ecclesiastics; and few disciples of Luther or Calvin are willing to obey either civil or spiritual masters. In a Colony where the people are thus disposed, dominion will be religion, and faction conscience. Hence arose contentions between the Assembly and Independents; and both parties having been brought up under Cromwell, their battles were well fought. The independent Ministers published from their pulpits, that the Assembly played off one sect against another; and that Civilians were equal enemies to all parties, and acted more for their own interest than the Glory of God. Those spiritual warriors, by their associations, fasting and prayers, voted themselves the “*Sober Dissenters*,” and got the better of the General Assembly. Indeed, none disputed their vote with impunity. Whenever a Governor manifested an

inclination to govern Christ's Ministers, Christ's Ministers were sure to instruct the freemen not to re-elect him. The Magistrates declared they had rather be under Lords-Bishops, than Lords-Associations. A Governor was appointed, who determined to reduce Christ's Ministers under the Civil Power; and, accordingly, the Assembly sent their Sheriff to bring before them certain leading men among the Ministers, of whom they banished some, silenced others, and fined many, for preaching sedition. The Ministers told the Assembly, that curst cows had short horns; and that "they were *Priests forever after the order of Melchisedec.*" However, like good christians, they submitted to the sentence of the Assembly; went home, fasted, and prayed, until the Lord pointed out a perfect cure for all their sufferings. On the day of election, they told the freemen that the Lord's cause required a man of Grace to stand at the head of the Colony, and with sure confidence recommended the Moderator of the Association to be their Governor; and the Moderator was chosen. This event greatly inflamed the lay-magistrates, who were further mortified to see Ministers among the Representatives; whereupon they cried out, "This is a presbyterian popedom." Now magistrates joined with other Churches which they had long persecuted; and the Connecticut Vine was rent more and more every day. The Ministers kept the power, but not always the

office of the Governor, whilst the weaker party paid the cost. One party was called Old Light, the other New Light: both aimed at power under pretence of religion; whichever got the power, the other was persecuted. By this happy quarrel, the various sectarians were freed from their persecutions; because each contending party courted their votes and interest, to help to pull down its adversary. This has been the religious-political free system and practice of Connecticut since 1662.

In speaking of the religious phrensies and persecutions in Connecticut, under the sanction of the charter, I must notice the words of an eminent Quaker, who, as a blasphemer, had been whipped, branded, burnt in the tongue, set on the gallows, banished, and, upon return, sentenced to be hanged. "Dost thee not think," said he to his Judges, "that the Jews, who crucified the Savior of the world, had a *Charter*?"

Many have been the disputes between Connecticut and the neighboring colonies concerning their several boundaries, and much blood has been spilt on those occasions. On the north and east, where lie the Massachusetts and Rhode Island, Connecticut has, in some degree, been the gainer; but has lost considerably on the west and south, to the engendering violent animosity against the *loyal* New-Yorkers, to whom it will

probably prove fatal in the end. The detail is briefly as follows :

The Dutch settlers on New-York Island, Hudson's river, and the west end of Long Island, being subdued by Colonel Nichols in September, 1664, the royal Commissioners, after hearing the Deputies from Connecticut in support of the charter granted to that province against the Duke of York's patent, ordered, in December following, that Long Island should be annexed to the government of New-York, and that the West boundary of Connecticut should be a line drawn from the mouth of Mamaroneck river, N. N. W. to the line of the Massachusetts. This settlement, although it infringed their charter, was peaceably acquiesced in by the people of Connecticut : and not complained of by those of New-York till 1683, when they set up a claim founded on a Dutch grant, *said* to have been made in 1621, of all the lands from Cape Cod to Cape Henlopen. In furtherance of their pretensions, they had recourse to invasion and slander. Of the latter Mr. Smith has given a specimen in his History of New-York, where he says that the agreement in 1664 "was founded in ignorance and fraud ;" because, forsooth, "a N. N. W. line from Mamaroneck would soon intersect Hudson's river !" Could any one of common sense suppose the Dutch on the banks of Hudson's river, who no doubt were consulted upon the occasion, less ac-

quainted with the course of it, than persons residing on the banks of the Connecticut? Extraordinarily absurd as such an insinuation might be, the people of Connecticut were aware of its probable weight with the Duke of York, whose patent grasped half of their country; and therefore, knowing by whom a contest must be decided, they consented to give up twenty miles of their land east of Hudson's river, hoping that would content a company of time-serving Jacobites and artful Dutchmen. But neither were they nor their Patron satisfied; and the agreement was suspended till 1700, when it was confirmed by William III. About twenty years afterwards, however, the New-Yorkers thought the times favorable to further encroachments; and at length, in 1731, they gained 60,000 acres more, called the Oblong, from Connecticut, purely because they had Dutch consciences, and for once reported in England what was true, that the New-England colonists hated kings, whether natives or foreigners. Mr. Smith, indeed, p. 238, says, referring to Douglas'* Plan of the British Dominions

* Mr. Douglas was a naturalist, and a physician of considerable eminence in Boston, where he never attended any religious worship, having been educated in Scotland with such rancorous hatred against episcopacy, that with his age, it ripened into open scepticism and deism. However, his many severities against the Episcopalians, New-Lights, and Quakers, procured him a good name among the Old-

of New-England in support of his assertion, that "Connecticut ceded these sixty thousand acres to New-York, as an *equivalent* for lands near the Sound *surrendered* to Connecticut by New-York." Mr. Smith, and all the New-York cabal, know, that there never were any lands in the possession of the New-Yorkers, *surrendered* to Connecticut: on the contrary, Connecticut was forced, by the partiality of sovereigns, to give up, not only Long Island and the above-mentioned twenty miles east of Hudson's river, but also the Oblong, without any equivalent. How New-York could surrender lands and tenements which they never had any right to, or possession of, is only to be explained thus; whereas the people of New-York did not extend their eastern boundary to Connecticut river, they therefore *surrendered* to Connecticut what they never had; which is like a highwayman's saying to a gentleman, give me ten guineas, and I will *surrender* to you your watch in your pocket.

Thus by degrees has Connecticut lost a tract of land sixty miles in length, and above twenty

Lights, and the mongrel christians of New-York, whose policy and self-interest have always domineered over conscience and morality. For these reasons, his brother Smith, in his History of New-York, frequently quotes him to prove his futile assertions against New-England, New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

in breadth, together with the whole of Long Island; and this in the first place by a stretch of royal prerogative, and afterwards by the chicanery of their competitors, who have broken through all agreements as often as a temporising conduct seemed to promise them success. Whenever, therefore, a favorable opportunity presents itself, there is no doubt, but Messrs. Smith and Livingston, and other patroons in New-York, will find the last determination also to have been "founded in ignorance and fraud," and will be pushing their claim to all the lands west of Connecticut river; but the opportunity must be favorable indeed, that allows them to encroach one foot farther with impunity.

Another stroke the people of Connecticut received about 1753 has sorely galled them ever since, and contributed not a little to their thirst of revenge. The Governor of New-York was then appointed "Captain-General and Commander in Chief of the militia, and all the forces by sea and land, within the colony of Connecticut, and of all the forts and places of strength within the same." This violation of the charter of Connecticut by George II. was very extraordinary, as the reins of government were then in the hands of protestant dissenters, whose *supposed* veneration for the House of Hanover operated so powerfully, that the American protestant dissenting ministers were allowed to be installed teachers,

and to hold synods, without taking the oath of allegiance to the English King, at the same time that papists, and even members of the Church of England, were not excused that obligation. The aggravating appointment above mentioned added no celebrity to the name of George II. in New-England; nor, however excusable it may appear in the eyes of those who with me question the colonial pretensions of the people of Connecticut, was it, upon the ground they have been allowed to stand by the English government, justifiable in point of right, nor yet in point of policy, were the true character of the New-Yorkers fully known. This argument may be used on more occasions than the present.

But Connecticut hath not been the only sufferer from the restless ambition of New-York. Twenty miles depth of land belonging to the Massachusetts and New-Hampshire provinces, which formerly claimed to Hudson's river, were cut off by the line that deprived Connecticut of the same proportion of its western territory. With this acquisition, surely, the New-Yorkers might have been content; but very lately their *wisdom*, if not their "fraud," has prevailed over the "ignorance" of New-Hampshire; which has sustained another amputation of its territory, eighty miles in width and two hundred miles in length: viz. all the land between the above mentioned twenty mile line and Connecticut river.

The particulars of this transaction are interesting. Benning Wentworth, Esq, Governor of New-Hampshire, by order of his present Majesty, divided, in 1762, the vast tract of land just mentioned into about 360 townships, six miles square each. These townships he granted to proprietors belonging to the four provinces of New-England, one township to sixty proprietors; and took his fees for the same, according to royal appointment. Every township was, in twelve years time, to have sixty families residing in it. In 1769 there were settled on this piece of land, 30,000 souls, at a very great expense; and many townships contained 100 families. The New-Yorkers found means to deceive the King, and obtained a decree that the East boundary of New-York, after passing Connecticut and Massachusetts-Bay, should be Connecticut river.* This decree annexed to the jurisdiction of New-York the said 360 townships; but was quietly submitted to by the proprietors, since it was his majesty's will to put them under the jurisdiction of New-York, though they found themselves 150 miles farther

* Perhaps their success was facilitated by the consideration, that the quit-rent payable to the Crown in New-York is 2s. 6d. per 100 acres, but only 9d. in New Hampshire. The same may be said, with still more reason, in regard to the lands acquired by New-York from Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut, where the quit rent is—nothing.

from their new capital New-York, than they were from Portsmouth, their old one. Had the New-Yorkers rested satisfied with the jurisdiction, which alone the King had given them, they might have enjoyed their acquisition in peace; and New-England would have thought they had possessed some justice, though destitute of religious zeal. But the Governor and General Assembly of New-York, finding their interest in Old-England stronger than the interest of the New-Englanders, determined at once, that, as the King had given them jurisdiction over those 360 townships, he had also given them the lands in fee simple. Sir Henry More, the Governor, therefore, in 1767, began the laudable work of regranting those townships to such people as lived in New-York, and were willing to pay him 600*l.* York currency for his valuable name to each patent. It is remarkable that Sir Harry made every *lawyer* in the whole province a patentee; but totally *forgot* the four public lots, viz. that for the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, those for the church, the first clergyman, and school in each township, which had been reserved in Governor Wentworth's grants. Death stopped his career; but Colden, the Lieutenant-Governor, filled up the measure of his iniquity, by granting all the rest on the same conditions. Sir Henry More had taken care to grant to his dear self one township, settled with above 80 families, before he died.

Colden did the same for himself. The virtuous William Smith, Esq. of New-York, had a township also; and Sir Henry More left him his executor to drive off the New-England settlers. This, however, he attempted in vain. The polite New-Yorkers, having the jurisdiction, betook themselves to law, to get possession of the lands in question, which they called their own; and sent the posse of Albany to eject the possessors; but this mighty power was answered by Ethan Allen, and the old proprietors under Governor Wentworth, who was a King's Governor as well as Sir Henry More:—the Mynheers of Albany were glad to have liberty to return home alive. See here the origin of Ethan Allen!—of the Verdmonts, and the Robbers of the Green Mountains; a compliment paid by the New-Yorkers to the settlers under Governor Wentworth;—who, on that amiable gentleman's death, had no friend of note left in England, and were therefore under the necessity of defending themselves, or becoming tenants to a set of people who neither *feared God* nor *honored the King*, but when they got something by it.—The New-Yorkers had the grace, after this, to outlaw Ethan Allen, which rendered him of consequence in New-England; and it would not surprise me to hear that New-York, Albany, and all that the Dutchmen possess in houses east of Hudson's river, were consumed by fire, and the inhabitants sent to Heaven, in the style of Dr. Mather

by the way of Amsterdam. I must do the New-Englanders the justice to say, that, though they esteem not highly Kings or Lords, yet they never complained against his Majesty for what was done respecting Verdmont; on the contrary they ever said the King would reverse the obnoxious decree, whenever he should be acquainted with the truth of the case, which the New-Yorkers artfully concealed from his knowledge. There are in the four New-England provinces near 800,000 souls, and very few unconnected with the settlements on Verdmont; the property of which was duly vested in them by Wentworth, the King's Governor, whose predecessors and himself had jurisdiction over it also for 106 years. They say, what is very legal and just, that his Majesty had a right to annex Verdmont to the government of New-York, but could not give the fee of the land, because he had before given it to the New-Englanders. It appears very unlikely that those hardy sons of Oliver will ever give up Verdmont to the New-Yorkers by the order of Sir Henry More, or any other Governor, till compelled by the point of the sword. The Mynheers have more to fear than the New-Englanders, who will never yield to Dutch virtue. Van Tromp was brave; Oliver was brave and successful too.

Mather, Neal, and Hutchinson, represent religion to have been the cause of the first settlement of New-England; and the love of gold as the

stimulus of the Spaniards in settling their colonies in the southern parts of America; but, if we should credit the Spanish historians, we must believe that their countrymen were as much influenced by religion, in their colonial pursuits, as were our own. However, in general, it may be said, that the conduct of both parties towards the aborigines discovered no principles but what were disgraceful to human nature. Murder, plunder, and outrage, were the means made use of to convert the benighted savages of the wilderness to the system of Him "who went about doing good." If we may depend on Abbé Nicolle, the Spaniards killed of the Aytis, or the savage nations, in the Island of Hispaniola, 3,000,000 in seventeen years; 600,000 in Porto Rico, and twenty times these numbers on the continent of South America, in order to propagate the Gospel in a savage and howling wilderness! The English colonists have been as industrious in spreading the Gospel in the howling wilderness of North America. Upwards of 180,000 Indians, at least, have been slaughtered in Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut,* to make way

* In 1680, the number of Indians, or aborigines, in the whole province of Connecticut, was 4,000. This was allowed by the General Assembly. How much greater their number was in 1637, may be estimated from the accounts given by Dr. Mather, Mr. Neal, Mr. Penhallow, and Mr. Hutchinson, of the deaths of Englishmen in the Indian wars.

for the protestant religion; and, upon a moderate computation for the rest of the colonies on the Continent and West-India Islands, I think one may venture to assert, that near 2,000,000 savages have been dismissed from an unpleasant world to the world of spirits, for the honor of the protestant religion and English liberty. Nevertheless, having travelled over most parts of British America, I am able to declare, with great sincerity, that this mode of converting the native Indians is godlike in comparison with that adopted for the Africans. These miserable people are first kidnapped, then *put under saws, har-*

for the space of forty-three years. It has been computed, that, from 1637 to 1680, upon an average, 100 Englishmen were killed yearly in those wars, and that there were killed with the sword, gun, and small-pox, twenty Indians for one Englishman. If this calculation is just, it appears that the English killed of the Indians, during the above mentioned period, 36,000; to which number the 4,000 Indians remaining in 1680 being added, it is clear that there were 90,000 Indians in Connecticut when Hooker began his holy war upon them: not to form conjectures upon those who probably afterwards abandoned the country. This evinces the weakness of the Indian mode of fighting with bows and arrows against guns, and the impropriety of calling Connecticut an *howling wilderness* in 1636, when Hooker arrived at Hertford. The English in 136 years have not much more than doubled the number of Indians they killed in 43 years. In 1770 the number of Indians in Connecticut amounted not to 400 souls.

rows and axes of iron, and forced through the brick-kiln to Molock. Near half a million of them are doomed to hug their misery in ignorance, nakedness, and hunger, among their master's upper servants in Georgia, the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland. The number of these wretches upon the continent and Islands is scarce credible; above 100,000 in Jamaica alone; all toiling for the tyrant's pleasure; none seeking other happiness than to be screened from the torture rendered necessary by that curious American maxim, that men must be *willing to die* before they are *fit for the Kingdom of Heaven*. However, what Mussulman, African, or American, would not prefer the state of a christian *master, who dreads death above all things*, to the state of those christian *converts*? Christianity has been cursed through the insincerity of its professors; even savages despise its precepts, because they have no influence on christians themselves. Whatever religious pretences the Spaniards, French, or English may plead for depopulating and repeopling America, it is pretty clear that the desire of gold and dominion was no impotent instigation with them to seek the western continent. The British leaders in the scheme of emigration had felt the humiliating effects of the feudal system; particularly the partial distribution of fortunes and honors among children of the same venter in the mother country. They

had seen that this inequality produced insolence and oppression, which awakened the sentiments of independence and liberty, the instincts of every man. Nature then kindled war against the oppressors, and the oppressors appealed to prescription. The event was, infelicity began her reign. Both parties invoked religion, but prostrated themselves before the insidious shrine of superstition, the life of civil government, and the sins of war; that expiates crimes by prayers, uses ceremonies for good works, esteems devotion more than virtue, supports religion without probity, values honesty less than honor, generates happiness without morality, and is a glorious helmet to the ambitious. They enlisted vassals with her bounty, to fight, burn, and destroy one another, for the sake of religion. Behold the sequel! The vassals secured to themselves more than Egyptian masters and laws, both in the elder and younger brothers; yet, after all, Superstition told them they enjoyed liberty and the rights of human nature. Happy deception! The Spartan Magnotes, tributary to the Turks, are jealous of their liberties; while the American Cansez, near lake Superior, enjoy liberty complete without jealousy. Among the latter, the conscious independence of each individual warms his thoughts and guides his actions. He enters the sachemic dome with the same simple freedom as he enters the wigwam of his brother; neither

dazzled at the splendor, nor awed by the power of the possessor. Here is liberty in perfection! What *Christian* would wish to travel 4,000 miles to rob an unoffending savage of what he holds by the law of nature! That is not the Gold or Dominion that any *Christian* ever sought for. The first settlers of America had views very different from those of making it a *christian* country: their grand aim was to get free from the insolence of their elder brethren, and to aggrandize themselves in a new world, at the expense of the life, liberty, and property, of the savages. Had the invaders of New-England sown the seeds of *christian* benevolence, even after they had eradicated the savages and savage virtues, the world would not have reproached them for cherishing that all-grasping spirit in themselves, which in others had driven them from their parent country: but the feudal system, which they considered as an abominable vice in England, became a shining virtue on the other side of the Atlantic, and would have prevailed there, had the people been as blind and tame in worldly, as they were in spiritual concerns. But they had too long heard their leaders declaim against the monopoly of lands and titles, not to discover that they themselves were men, and entitled to the rights of that race of beings; and they proceeded upon the same maxims which they found also among the Indians, viz. that mankind are, by nature, upon an equality in

point of rank and possession ; that it is incompatible with freedom for any particular descriptions of men systematically to monopolize honors and property, to the exclusion of the rest ; that it was a part despicable and unworthy of one freeman to stoop to the will and caprice of another, on account of his wealth and titles, accruing not from his own, but from the heroism and virtue of his ancestors, &c. &c. The *vox populi* established these maxims in New-England ; and whoever did not, at least, outwardly conform to them, were not chosen into office : nay, though not objectionable on that score, men very seldom met with re-appointments, lest they should claim them by hereditary right. Thus, the levelling principle prevailing, equals were respected and superiors derided. Europeans, whose manners were haughty to inferiors and fawning to superiors, were neither loved nor esteemed. Hence an English traveller through Connecticut meets with supercilious treatment at taverns, as being too much addicted to the use of the imperative mood, when speaking to the landlord. The answer is, "Command your own servants, and not me." The traveller is not obeyed ; which provokes him to some expressions that are not legal in the colony, about the *impertinence* of the landlord, who being commonly a justice of the peace, the delinquent is immediately ordered into custody, fined, or put into the stocks. However, after paying costs

and promising to behave well in future, he passes on with more attention to his "unruly member" than to his pleasures. Nevertheless, if a traveller softens his tone, and avoids the imperative mood, he will find every civility from those very people, whose natural tempers are full of antipathy against all who affect superiority over them. This principle is, by long custom, blended with the religious doctrines of the province: and the people believe those to be heretics and Arminians who assent not to their supremacy. Hence they consider kingly Governors as the short horns of antichrist, and every Colony in a state of persecution which cannot choose its own Governor and Magistrates. Their aversion to New-York is inconceivably great on this account, as well as others I have mentioned. Their jealousies and fears of coming under its jurisdiction make them heroes in the cause of liberty, and great inquisitors into the characters and conduct of all kingly Governors. They have selected Mr. Tryon as the only English Governor who has acted with justice and generosity in respect to the rights, liberties, and feelings, of mankind, while, they say, avarice, plunder, and oppression, have marked the footsteps of all the rest. This character Mr. Tryon possessed, even after he had subdued the Regulators in North-Carolina, and was appointed Governor of New-York. Some persons assert, indeed, that he secured the good

will of Connecticut, by recommending, in England, the *Livingstons*, *Schuylers*, and *Smiths*, as the best subjects in New-York. However, Mr. Tryon was undoubtedly entitled to good report : he was humane and polite : to him the injured had access without a fee : he would hear the poor man's complaint, though it wanted the aid of a polished lawyer. Besides, Mr. Tryon did not think it beneath him to speak to a peasant in the street, or to stop his coach to give people an opportunity to let him pass. His object was not to make his fortune, nor did he neglect the interest of the people. He embellished not his language with oaths and curses, nor spent the Sabbath at taverns. 'Tis true, Mr. Tryon went not to meeting ; but he was forgiven this offence, because he went to church ; the people of New-England having so much candor as to believe a man may be *a good sort of a man*, if he goes to church, and is exemplary in his words and deeds. I have not the honor of being known to Mr. Tryon, but, from what I know of him, I must say, without meaning to offend any other, that he was the best Governor, and the most pleasing gentleman that I ever saw in a civil capacity in America ; and that I cannot name any Briton so well calculated to govern in Connecticut, with ease and safety to himself, as he is. One reason for this assertion is, that Mr. Tryon has a punctilious regard for his word ; a quality, which, though

treachery is the staple commodity of the four New-England provinces, the people greatly admire in a Governor, and which, they say, they have seldom found in royal Governors in America.—But whither am I wandering? I beg pardon for this digression, though in favor of so worthy a man.

Of the share Connecticut has taken, in common with her sister colonies, in co-operating with the Mother country against her natural enemies, it is superfluous to say any thing here, that being already sufficiently known. I shall therefore proceed to a description of the country, its towns, productions, &c. together with the manners, customs, commerce, &c. of the inhabitants, interspersing such historical and biographical anecdotes, as may occur to me in the relation, and have a tendency to elucidate matter of fact, or characterize the people.

The dimensions of Connecticut, according to its present allowed extent, are, from the Sound, on the south, to the Massachusetts line, on the north, about sixty miles; and from Biram river and New-York line, on the west, to Narraganset Bay, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts-Bay, on the east, upon an average, about one hundred miles. It is computed to contain 5,000,000 acres.

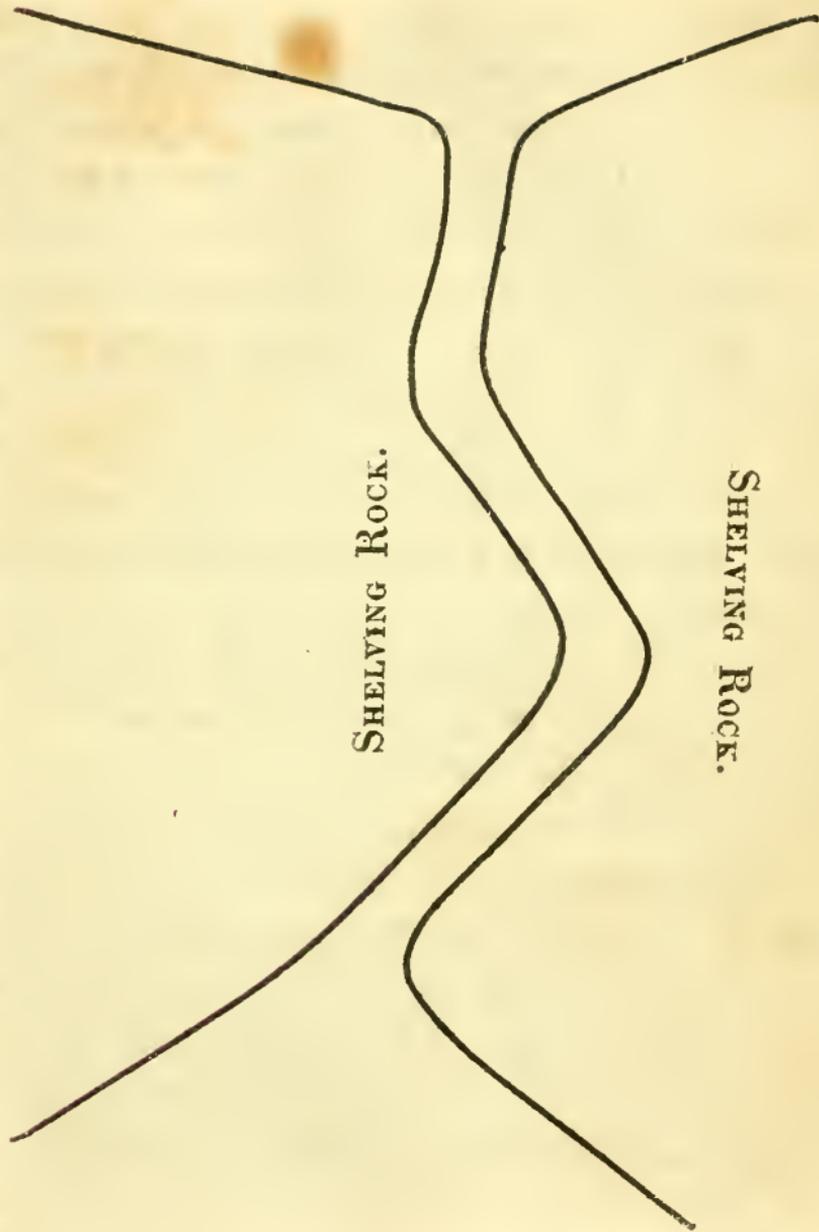
Many creeks and inlets, bays, and rivers intersect the coast. Three of the last, dividing the

colony into as many parts, I shall particularly notice. They all run from north to south.

The eastern river is called the Thames as far as it is navigable, which is only to Norwich, 14 miles from its mouth. There dividing, the greatest branch, called Quinnibaug, rolls rapidly from its source 100 miles distant through many towns and villages, to their great pleasantness and profit. On it are many mills and iron works; and in it various kinds of fish; but no salmon, for want of proper places to nourish their spawn.

The middle river is named Connecticut, after the great Sachem to whom that part of the province through which it runs belonged. This vast river is 500 miles long, and four miles wide at its mouth: its channel, or inner banks, in general, half a mile wide. It takes its rise from the White Hills, in the north of New-England, where also springs the river Kennebec. Above 500 rivulets, which issue from lakes, ponds, and drowned lands, fall into it: many of them are larger than the Thames at London. In March, when the rain and sun melt the snow and ice, each stream is overcharged, and kindly hastens to this great river, to overflow, fertilize, and preserve its trembling meadows. They lift up enormous cakes of ice, bursting from their frozen beds with threatening intentions of plowing up the frightened earth, and carry them rapidly down the falls, where they are dashed in pieces and rise in mist. Except at

these falls, of which there are five, the first sixty miles from its mouth, the river is navigable throughout. In its northern parts are three great bendings, called cohosses, about 100 miles asunder. Two hundred miles from the Sound is a narrow of five yards only, formed by two shelving mountains of solid rock, whose tops intercept the clouds. Through this chasm are compelled to pass all the waters which in the time of the floods bury the northern country. At the upper cohos the river then spreads several miles wide, and for five or six weeks ships of war might sail over lands, that afterwards produce the greatest crops of hay and grain in all America. People who can bear the sight, the groans, the tremblings, and surly motion of water, trees, and ice, through this awful passage, view with astonishment one of the greatest phenomenons in nature. Here water is consolidated, without frost, by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration, that an iron crow floats smoothly down its current :—here iron, lead, and cork, have one common weight :—here, steady as time, and harder than marble, the stream passes irresistible, if not swift, as lightning :—the electric fire rends trees in pieces with no greater ease, than does this mighty water. The passage is about 400 yards in length, and of a zigzag form, with obtuse corners. The following representation will assist the reader in forming an idea of it.



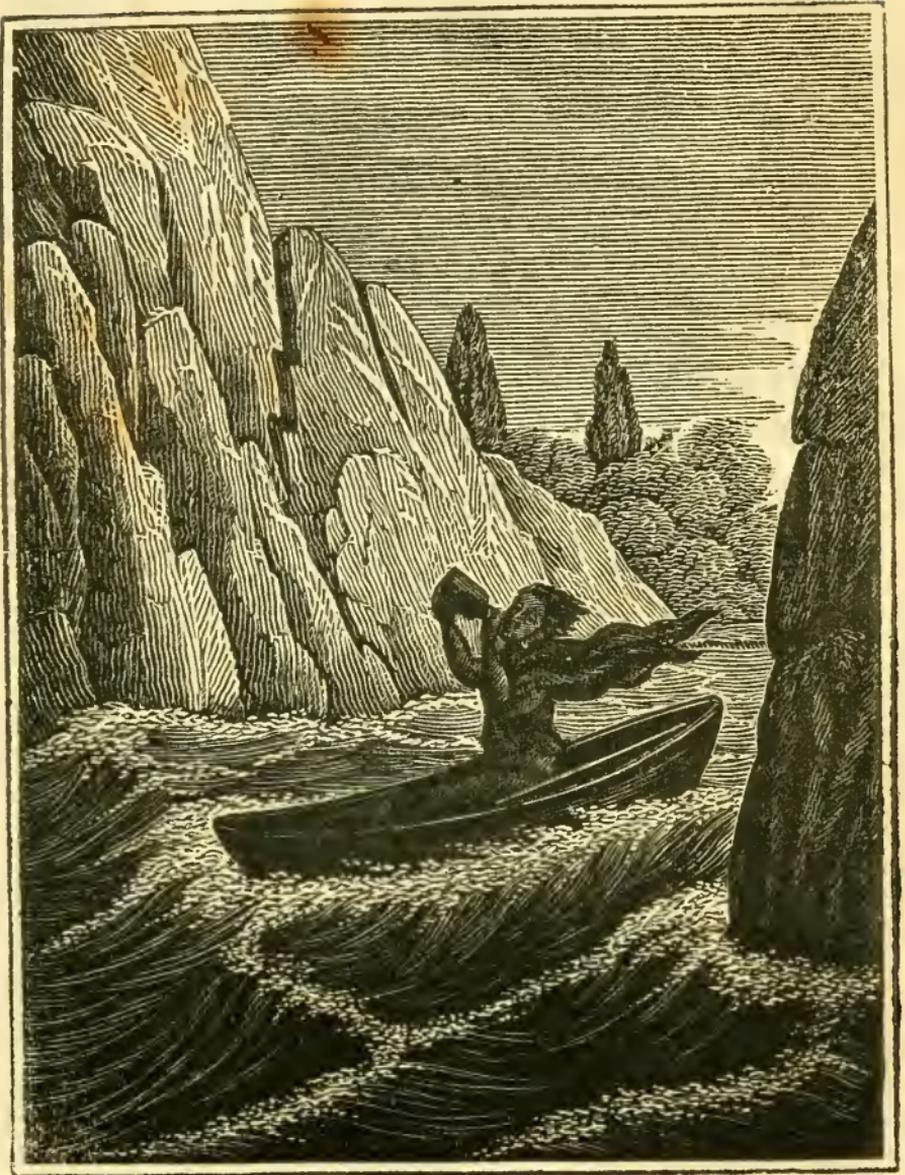
SHELVING ROCK.

SHELVING ROCK.

At high water are carried through this straight masts and other timber with incredible swiftness, and sometimes with safety; but when the water is too low, the masts, timber and trees, strike on one side or the other, and, though of the largest size, are rent in one moment, into shivers, and splintered like a broom, to the amazement of spectators. The meadows, for many miles below, are covered with immense quantities of wood thus torn in peices, which compel the hardest travellers to reflect how feeble is man, and how great that Almighty who formed the lightnings, thunders, and the irresistable power and strength of waters!

No living creature was ever known to pass through this narrow, except an Indian woman, who was in a canoe, attempting to cross the river above it, but carelessly suffered herself to fall within the power of the current. Perceiving her danger, she took a bottle of rum she had with her, and drank the whole of it; then lay down in her canoe, to meet her destiny. She marvelously went through safely, and was taken out of the canoe some miles below, quite intoxicated, by some Englishmen. Being asked how she could be so daringly imprudent as to drink such a quantity of rum with the prospect of instant death before her, the squaw, as well as her condition would let her, replied, "Yes, it was too much rum for once, to be sure; but I was not willing to lose a

HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.



DANGEROUS PASSAGE

Of an Indian Woman through the narrows of Connecticut River.

(Page 111.)



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drop of it; so I drank it, and you see I have saved all."

Some persons assert that salmon have been caught above this narrow, while others deny it. Many have observed salmon attempt to pass in time of floods, which certainly is the best and likeliest time, as, from the height of the water, and the shelving of the rocks, the passage is then broader; but they were always thrown back, and generally killed. It is not to be supposed that any fish could pass with the stream alive. Above this narrow there is plenty of fish both in summer and winter, which belong to the lakes or ponds that communicate with the river: below it are the greatest abundance and variety caught or known in North-America. No salmon are found in any river to the westward of this.

Except the Mississippi and St. Lawrence, the Connecticut is the largest river belonging to the English plantations in the New World. On each shore of it are two great roads leading from the mouth 200 miles up the country, lined on both sides with the best built houses in America, if not in the world. It is computed, that the country on each bank of this river, to a depth of six miles, and a length of 300, is sufficient for the maintenance of an army of 100,000 men. In short the neighboring spacious and fertile meadow, arable, and other lands combined with this noble river,

are at once the beauty and main support of all New-England.

The western river is navigable and called Stratford only for ten miles where Derby stands; and then takes the name of Osootonoc. It is fifty miles west from Connecticut river, and half a mile wide. It rises in the Verdmonts, above 200 miles from the sea, and travels 300 miles through many pleasant towns and villages. The adjacent meadows are narrow, and the country in general very hilly. With some expense it might be made navigable above 100 miles. It furnishes fish of various kinds, and serves many mills and iron-works.

Two principal bays, named Sassacus or New-London, and Quinnipiog or New-Haven, run five or six miles into the country, and are met by rivers which formerly bore the Sachems names.

It has already been observed, that Connecticut was settled under three distinct independent Governors; and that each Dominion, since their union in 1664, has been divided into two counties.

The KINGDOM OF SASSACUS, Sachem of the Pequods, a warlike nation, forms the counties of New-London and Windham, which contain about 10,000 houses, and 60,000 inhabitants. Sassacus was brave by nature. The sound of his coming would subdue nations, at the same time that Justice would unbend his bow, and Honor calm the thunder of his tongue. Dr. Mather, Mr. Neal,

and others, have endeavored to blast his fame by proving him to have been the aggressor in the bloody wars which ended in his ruin. They have instanced the murder of Captain Stone and others, to justify this war, but carefully concealed the assassination of Quinnipiog, the treachery of Mr. Elliot (the Massachusetts-Bay apostle of the Indians,) and the infamous villainy of Hooker, who spread death upon the leaves of his Bible, and struck Connecticote mad with disease. They also conceal another important truth, that the English had taken possession of land belonging to Sassacus, without purchase or his consent. Besides, Sassacus had too much sagacity to let christian spies, under the appellation of gospel missionaries, pass through his country. He had seen the consequences of admitting such ministers of christianity from Boston, Hertford, &c. among his neighboring nations, and generously warned them to keep their gospel of peace from his dominions. The invaders of this howling wilderness, finding their savage love detected, and that the Pequods were not likely to fall a sacrifice to their hypocrisy, proclaimed open war with sword and gun. The unfortunate Sassacus met his fate. Alas ! he died—not like Connecticote, nor Quinnipiog—but in the field of battle ; and the freedom of his country expired with his final groan. This mighty conquest was achieved by the colonists of Connecticut, without the aid of

the Massachusetts; nevertheless, Mr. Neal and others have ascribed the *honor* of it to the latter, with a view of magnifying their consequence, ever Mr. Neal's grand object.

The county of New-London abounds chiefly with wool, butter, cheese, and Indian corn; and contains eight towns, all of which I shall describe.

New-London has the river Thames on the east, and the bay of its own name on the south, and resembles Islington. Its port and harbor are the best in the colony. The church, the meeting, and court-house, are not to be boasted of; the fort is trifling. The houses in this, as in all the towns in the province, are insulated, at the distance of three, four, or five yards one from the other, to prevent the ravages of fire. That of John Winthrop, Esq. is the best in the province. The township is ten miles square, and comprises five parishes, one of which is episcopal. Abimeleck, a descendant of the first English-made king of Mohegin, resides with his small party in this township. He is a king to whom the people pay some respect,—*because they made him so.*

The people of this town have the credit of inventing tar and feathers as a proper punishment for heresy. They first inflicted it on quakers and anabaptists.

New-London has a printing press, much exercised in the business of printing pamphlets, ser-

mons and newspapers. It is employed by the Governor and Company, and is the oldest and best in the colony. New-Haven, Hertford, and Norwich, also, have each a printing press; so that the people are plentifully supplied with news, politics, and polemical divinity.—A very extraordinary circumstance happened here in 1740. Mr. George Whitefield paid them a visit, and preached of *righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come*, which roused them into the belief of a heaven and a hell. They became as *children weaned*, and pliable as *melted wax*, and with great eagerness cried out, *What shall we do to be saved?* The preacher, then in the pulpit, thus answered them, “Repent—do violence to no man—part with your self-righteousness, your silk gowns, and laced petticoats—burn your ruffles, necklaces, jewels, rings, tinselled waistcoats, your morality and bishop’s books, this very night, or damnation will be your portion before the morning dawn.” The people, rather through fear than faith, instantly went out on the common, and prepared for heaven, by burning all the above *enumerated goods*, excepting that of self-righteousness, which was exchanged for the preacher’s velvet breeches.—Vide *Dr. Chancey*.*

Groton, across the bay from New-London, resembles Battersea. The township is ten miles

* Supplement, Note X.

square, and forms four parishes, one of which is episcopal. This town is the residence of the valiant Sassacus, Sachem of the Pequod nation.

Stonington lies on Narraganset bay, is the east corner of Connecticut, and consists of three parishes. The township is eight miles square.

Preston, on Quinnibaug river, forms three parishes, one of which is episcopal. The township is eight miles square.

Norwich, on the Thames, 14 miles from the sea, is an half-shire with New-London. The town stands on a plain, one mile from Chelsea, or the Landing. Its best street is two miles long, and has good houses on both sides, five yards asunder from each other. In the centre is a common, of the size of Bloomsbury square, in which stand a beautiful court-house, and a famous meeting with clocks, bells, and steeples. The township is fifteen miles square, and forms 13 parishes, one episcopal. Chelsea, or the Landing, resembles Dover. [Here land is sold at fifteen shillings sterling by the square foot.] This town is famous for its trade; for iron-works, grist, paper, linseed, spinning and fulling mills; also for a furnace that makes stone ware. Some peculiarities and curiosities here attract the notice of Europeans:—1. a bridge over Quinnibaug, 60 yards long, butted on two rocks, and geometrically supported; under which pass ships with all their sails standing:—2. the steeple of the grand meet-

ing-house stands at the east end:—3. the inhabitants bury their dead with their feet to the west. The following couplet was written by a traveller on the steeple :

“ They’re so perverse and opposite,
As if they built to God in spite.”

The reasons for the singular custom of burying the dead with their feet to the west, are two, and special : first, when Christ begins his millenarian reign, he will come from the west, and his saints will be in a ready posture to rise and meet him : secondly, the papists and episcopalians bury their dead with their feet to the east.

Was I to give a character of the people of Norwich, I would do it in the words of the famous Mr. George Whitefield, (who was a good judge of mankind,) in his farewell sermon to them a short time before his death ; viz. “ When I first preached in this magnificent house, above 20 years ago, I told you, that you were part beast, part man, and part devil ; at which you were offended. I have since thought much about that expression, and confess that for once I was mistaken. I therefore take this my last opportunity to correct my error. Behold ! I now tell you, that you are not part man and part beast, but wholly of the devil.”

Lyme stands on the east side of Connecticut river, opposite Saybrook ; and resembles Lewis-

ham. The township is 16 miles long, and 8 wide, and forms four parishes.

Saybrook is situated on the west side of Connecticut river, 20 miles west from New-London, and resembles Battersea. The township is twenty miles long and six wide, and forms four parishes. This town was named after the Lords Say and Brook, who were said to claim the country, and sent, in 1634, a Governor and a large number of people from England to build a fort and settle the colony. It was principally owing to this fort that Hertford and New-Haven made good their settlements: it prevented Sassacus from giving timely aid to Connecticote and Quinnipiog.

Saybrook is greatly fallen from its ancient grandeur; but is, notwithstanding, resorted to with great veneration, as the parent town of the whole colony. The tombs of the first settlers are held sacred, and travellers seldom pass them without the compliment of a sigh or tear. On one mossy stone is written,

“ Here pride is calmed, and death is life.”

In 1709, this town was honored by a convention of contending independent divines, who were pleased with no constitution in church or state. This multitude of sectarians, after long debates, published a book, called *The Saybrook Platform* containing the doctrines and rules of the churches

in Connecticut. The only novelty in this system is, that Christ has delegated his ministerial, kingly, and prophetic power, one half to the people, and the other half to the ministers. This proposition may be thought in Europe a very strange one; but, if it be recollected, that the people in the province claimed all power in heaven and on earth, and that the ministers had no other ordination than what came from the people, it will appear, that the ministers hereby gained from the people one half of their power. From this article originated the practice of the right hand of fellowship at the ordination of a minister. No one can be a minister, till he receives the right hand of the messenger who represents six deacons from six congregations. The conclusion of this reverend and venerable body is, "The Bible is our rule."

Mr. Neal says p. 610, "That every particular society is a complete church, having power to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction, without appeal to any classes:—they allow of synods for council and advice, but not to exercise the power of the keys."

If Mr. Neal had taken the trouble to read the history of the Church of Massachusetts-Bay, written by the Rev. John Wise, a minister, of that church, he would have found that the contrary to all that he has advanced is the truth. The people of that province held the keys from 1620 to

1650 : then the ministers got possession of them by their own vote, which was passed into a law by the General Assembly. The vote was, "There cannot be a minister, unless he is ordained by ministers of Jesus Christ." Thus commenced ordination by ministers in New England. The people were alarmed at the loss of the keys, and asked the ministers who had ordained them? The ministers answered, The people. Then, replied the people, we are the ministers of Jesus Christ, or you are not ministers; and we will keep the power. A violent contest ensued between the people and the ministers; but the latter, by the help of the General Assembly, retained the power of the keys and instituted three ecclesiastical courts, viz. 1. The Minister and his Communicants: 2. The Association: and, 3. The Synod. There lies an appeal from one to the other of these courts, all which exercise so much ecclesiastical power, that few are easy under it. The first court suspends from the communion; the second re-hears the evidence, and confirms or sets aside the suspension; the synod, after hearing the case again, excommunicates or discharges the accused. From this last judgment no appeal is allowed by the synod. The excommunicated person has no other resourse than petitioning the General Assembly of the province, which sometimes grants relief, to the great grief of the synod and ministers. But the representatives commonly pay dear

for overlooking the conduct of the synod at the next election.

The people of Connecticut have adopted the same mode of discipline as prevails in Massachusetts-Bay, but call a synod a Consociation.

To shew that the synods are not quite so harmless as Mr. Neal reports, I will give an instance of their authority exercised in Connecticut in 1758. A Mr. Merret, of Lebanon, having lost his wife, with whom he had lived childless 40 years, went to Rhode Island, and married a niece of his late wife, which was agreeable to the laws of that province. By her having a child, Mr. Merret offered the same for baptism to the minister of whose church he was a member. The minister refused because it was an incestuous child; and cited Merret and his wife to appear before himself and his church upon an indictment of incest. Merret appeared; the verdict was, *Guilty of incest*. He appealed to the association, which also found him *guilty of incest*. He again appealed to the consociation, and was again found *guilty of incest*. Merret and his wife were then ordered to separate, and to make a public confession, on pain of excommunication. Merret refused; whereupon the minister read the act of excommunication, while the deacons shoved Merret out of the meeting-house. Being thus *cast out of the synagogue*, and debarred from the conversation of any one in the parish, it was well

said by Mr. Merret, "If this be not to exercise the power of the keys, I know not what it is." The poor man soon after died of a broken heart, and was buried in his own garden by such christian brethren as were not afraid of the *mild* puissance of the consociation.

Mr. Neal says, also, p. 609, after evincing his jealousy at the growth of the church of England in New-England, "If the religious liberties of the plantations are invaded by the setting up of spiritual courts, &c. they will feel the sad effects of it." In this sentiment I agree with Mr. Neal; but, unluckily, he meant the Bishop's courts, and I mean the courts of synods, composed of his "meek, exemplary, and learned divines of New-England," but who are more severe and terrible, than ever was the star-chamber under the influence of Laud, or the inquisition of Spain. The ecclesiastical courts of New-England have, in the course of 160 years, bored the tongues with hot needles, cut off the ears, branded the foreheads of, and banished, imprisoned, and hanged more quakers, baptists, adamites, ranters, episcopalians, for what they call heresy, blasphemy, and witchcraft, than there are instances of persecution in Fox's book of Martyrology, or under the bishops of England since the death of Henry VIII. And yet Mr. Neal was afraid of spiritual courts, and admired the practice of the New-England churches, who only excommunicate offenders, delivering

them over to the civil magistrate to torture and ruin. If I remember right, I once saw the inquisition of Portugal act after the same manner, when the priest said, "We deal with the soul, and the civil magistrate with the body."

Time not having destroyed the walls of the fort at Saybrook, Mr. Whitefield, in 1740, attempted to bring them down, as Joshua brought down those of Jericho, to convince the gaping multitude of his divine mission. He walked seven times round the fort with prayer and rams-horns blowing—he called on the angel of Joshua to come and do as he had done at the walls of Jericho; but the angel was deaf, or on a journey, or asleep; and therefore the walls remained. Hereupon George cried aloud, "This town is accursed for not receiving the messenger of the Lord; therefore the angel is departed, and the walls shall stand as a monument of a sinful people." He *shook off the dust of his feet* against them, and departed, and went to Lyme.

Killingsworth is ten miles west from Saybrook, lies on the sea, and resembles Wandsworth. The township is eight miles square, and divided into two parishes. This town is noted for the residence of the Rev. Mr. Elliot, commonly called Dr. Elliot, who discovered the art of making steel out of sand, and wrote a book on husbandry, which will secure him a place in the Temple of Fame.

Windham, the second county in the ancient kingdom of Sassacus, or colony of Saybrook, is hilly; but, the soil being rich, has excellent butter, cheese, hemp, wheat, Indian corn, and horses. Its towns are twelve.

Windham resembles Rumford, and stands on Winnomantic river. Its meeting-house is elegant, and has a steeple, bell, and clock. Its court-house is scarcely to be looked upon as an ornament. The township forms four parishes, and is ten miles square.

Strangers are very much terrified at the hideous noise made on summer evenings by the vast number of frogs in the brooks and ponds. There are about thirty different voices among them; some of which resemble the bellowing of a bull. The owls and whippoorwills complete the rough concert, which may be heard several miles. Persons accustomed to such serenades are not disturbed by them at their proper stations; but one night, in July, 1758, the frogs of an artificial pond, three miles square, and about five from *Windham*, finding the water dried up, left the place in a body, and marched, or rather hopped, towards Winnomantic river. They were under the necessity of taking the road and going through the town, which they entered about midnight. The bull frogs were the leaders, and the pipers followed without number. They filled a road 40 yards wide for four miles in length, and were for

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GENERAL PUTNAM,
Of Pomfret, attacking a Bear.

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several hours in passing through the town, unusually clamorous. The inhabitants were equally perplexed and frightened: some expected to find an army of French and Indians; others feared an earthquake, and dissolution of nature. The consternation was universal. Old and young, male and female, fled naked from their beds with worse shriekings than those of the frogs. The event was fatal to several women. The men, after a flight of half a mile, in which they met with many broken shins, finding no enemies in pursuit of them, made a halt, and summoned resolution enough to venture back to their wives and children; when they distinctly heard from the enemy's camp these words, *Wight, Hilderken, Dier, Tete*. This last they thought meant *treaty*; and plucking up courage, they sent a triumvirate to capitulate with the supposed French and Indians. These three men approached in their shirts, and begged to speak with the General; but it being dark, and no answer given, they were sorely agitated for some time betwixt hope and fear; at length, however, they discovered that the dreaded inimical army was an army of thirsty frogs, going to the river for a little water.

Such an incursion was never known before nor since; and yet the people of Windham have been ridiculed for their timidity on this occasion. I verily believe an army under the Duke of Marl-

borough, would, under like circumstances, have acted no better than they did.

In 1768, the inhabitants on Connecticut river were as much alarmed at an army of caterpillars, as those of Windham were at the frogs; and no one found reason to jest at their fears. Those worms came in one night, and covered the earth on both sides of that river, to an extent of three miles in front and two in depth. They marched with great speed and eat up every thing green for the space of one hundred miles, in spite of rivers, ditches, fires, and the united efforts of 1,000 men. They were, in general, two inches long, had white bodies covered with thorns, and red throats. When they had finished their work, they went down to the river Connecticut, where they died, poisoning the waters until they were washed into the sea. This calamity was imputed by some to the vast number of trees and logs lying in the creeks, and to the cinders, smoke, and fires made to consume the waste wood, for three or four hundred miles up the Connecticut; while others thought it augurated future evils similar to those in Egypt. The inhabitants of the Vermonts would unavoidably have perished by famine in consequence of the devastation of these worms, had not a remarkable providence filled the wilderness with wild pigeons, which were killed by sticks as they sat on the branches of trees in such multitudes, that 30,000 people lived on

them for three weeks. If a natural cause may be assigned for the coming of the frogs and caterpillars, yet the visit of the pigeons to a wilderness in August has been necessarily ascribed to an interposition of infinite power and goodness. Happy will it be for America, if the smiling providence of Heaven produces gratitude, repentance and obedience amongst her children!

Lebanon lies on the west side of Winnomantic river. Its best street, which has good houses on both sides, is one mile long, and one hundred yards wide. An elegant meeting, with a steeple and bell stands in the centre. The township is ten miles square, and forms four parishes. This town was formerly famous for an Indian school under the conduct of the Reverend Dr. Eleazer Wheelock, whose great zeal for the spiritual good of the savages in the wilderness induced him to solicit a collection through England. Having met with success, his school at Lebanon became a college in the Province of New-Hampshire; where he has converted his godliness into gain, and promises fair to excuse Government from the expense of a superintendent of Indian affairs.

Coventry lies on the same river: the houses are straggling. The township is ten miles square, and consists of two parishes. Here are two ponds, the one three, the other four miles long, and half as wide, well filled with mackerel and other fish,

Mansfield lies east of Coventry, on Winnomantic and Fundy rivers: the houses are scattered. The township is eight miles square, and divided into two parishes.

Union and *Wilmington* lie on Winnomantic river, forming two parishes. Each township is six miles square.

Ashford lies on the river Fundy, in a township ten miles square, and forming three parishes. The people of the town have distinguished themselves by a strict enforcement of the colony laws against heretics and episcopalians, for not attending their meetings on the Sabbath.

Woodstock lies on Quinnebaug, and resembles Finchley. The township is ten miles square, and divided into three parishes. Woodstock had the honor to give birth to the Rev. Thomas Bradbury Chandler, D. D. a learned Divine of the Church of England, and well known in the literary world.

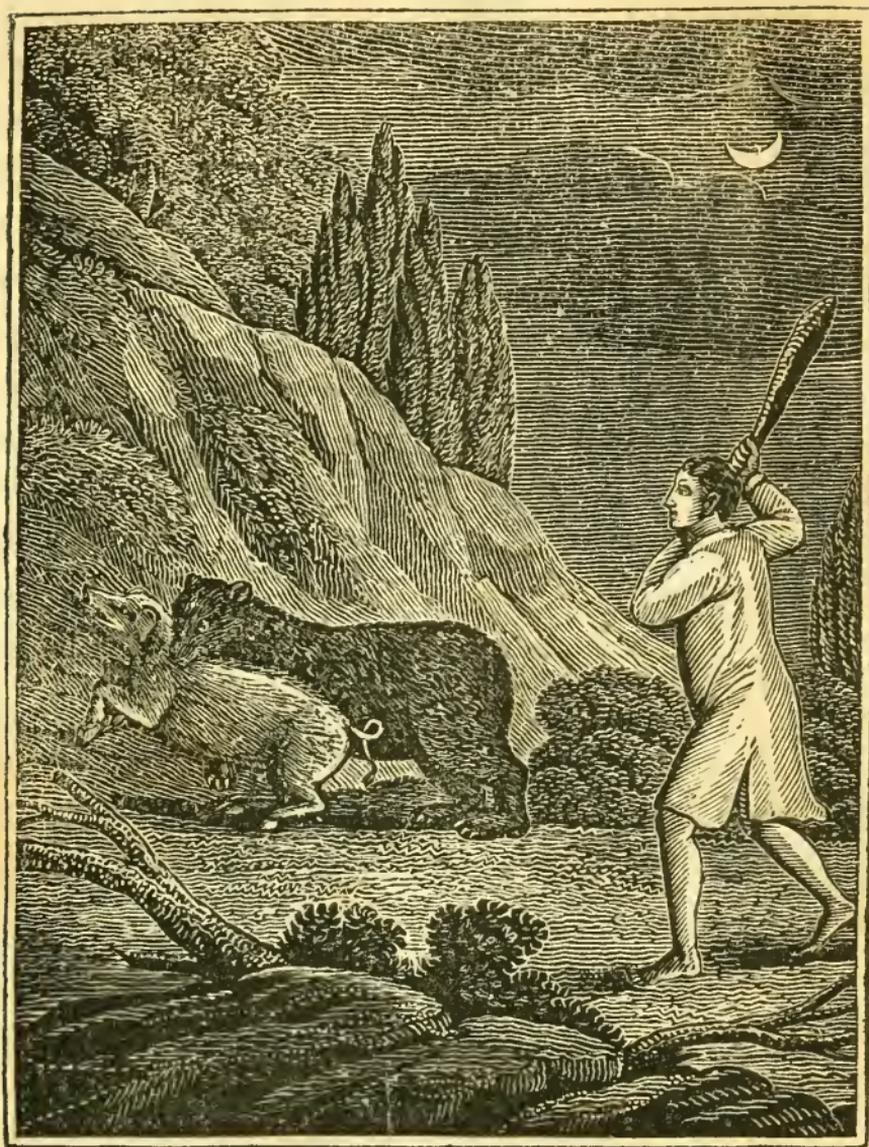
Killingsley lies east of Woodstock. The township, twenty miles long, and six wide, forms three parishes.

Pomfret stands on Quinnebaug river, and resembles Battersea. The township is twelve miles square, and forms four parishes, one of which is episcopal. Fanaticism had always prevailed in the county of Windham over christian moderation; when, about the year 1770, after many abuses, the episcopalians found a friend in Godfree

Malebone, Esq. who built on his own estate an elegant church, which was patronised by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, who appointed a clergyman.

We read that David slew a lion and a bear, and afterwards that Saul trusted him to fight Goliath. In Pomfret lives Col. Israel Putnam, who slew a she-bear and her two cubs with a billet of wood. The bravery of this action brought him into public notice : and, it seems, he is one of Fortune's favorites. The story is as follows:—In 1754, a large she-bear came in the night from her den, which was three miles from Mr. Putnam's house, and took a sow out of a pen of his. The sow, by her squeaking, awoke Mr. Putnam, who hastily ran to the poor creature's relief; but before he could reach the pen, the bear had left it, and was trotting away with the sow in her mouth. Mr. Putnam took up a billet of wood, and followed the screamings of the sow, till he came to the foot of the mountain, where the den was. Dauntless he entered the horrid cavern; and, after walking and crawling upon his hands and knees for fifty yards, came to a roomy cell, where the bear met him with great fury. He saw nothing but the fire of her eyes; but that was sufficient for our hero: he accordingly directed his blow, which at once proved fatal to the bear and saved his own life at a most critical moment. Putnam then discovered and killed two cubs; and

having, though in Egyptian darkness, dragged them and the dead sow, one by one, out of the cave, he went home, and calmly reported to his family what had happened. The neighbors declared, on viewing the place by torch-light, that his exploit exceeded those of Sampson or David. Soon afterwards the General Assembly appointed Mr. Putnam a Lieutenant in the army marching against Canada. His courage and good conduct raised him to the rank of Captain the next year. The third year he was made a Major; and the fourth a Colonel. Putnam and Rogers were the heroes through the last war. Putnam was so hardy, at a time when the Indians had killed all his men, and completely hemmed him in upon a river, as to leap into a stream, which in a minute carried him down a stupendous fall, where no tree could pass without being torn in pieces. The Indians reasonably concluded that Putnam, their terrible enemy was dead, and made their report accordingly at Ticonderoga; but soon after, a scouting party, found their sad mistake in a bloody rencontre. Some few that got off declared that Putnam was yet living, and that he was the first son of Hobbamockow, and therefore immortal. However, at length, the Indians took this terrible warrior prisoner, and tied him to a tree; where he hung three days without food or drink. They did not attempt to kill him for fear of offending Hobbamockow; but they sold him



GENERAL PUTNAM,
Of Pomfret, attacking a Bear.

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to the French at a great price. The name of Putnam was more alarming to the Indians than cannon, and they never would fight him after his escape from the falls. He was afterwards redeemed by the English.

Plainfield and *Canterbury* lie on Quinibaug river opposite to one another, and have much the appearance of Lewisham. Each township is eight miles square, and forms two parishes.

Voluntown lies on a small river, and resembles Finchley Common. The township is fifteen miles long, and five wide, and forms three parishes, one of which is Presbyterian. This sect has met with as little christian charity and humanity in this hair-brain'd country as the Anabaptists, Quakers, and Churchmen. The *Sober Dissenters*, of this town, as they style themselves, will not attend the funeral of a Presbyterian.

THE KINGDOM OF CONNECTICOTE forms two counties, viz. Hertford and Litchfield, which contain about 15,000 houses, and 120,000 inhabitants.

The county of Hertford excels the rest in tobacco, onions, grain of all sorts, hay, and cider. It contains twenty-one towns, the chief of which I shall describe, comparing the rest to towns near London.

HERTFORD town is deemed the capital of the province: it stands 40 miles from Saybrook, and the same distance from New-Haven, on the west

bank of Connecticut river, and is formed into squares. The township is twenty miles from east to west, and six in breadth, comprising six parishes, one of which is episcopal.

The houses are partly of brick and partly of wood, well built, but, as I have observed in general of the towns in Connecticut, do not join. King's-street is two miles long, and thirty yards wide; well paved, and cut in two by a small river, over which is a high bridge. The town is half a mile wide. A grand court-house, and two elegant meetings, with steeples, bells, and clocks, adorn it. In 1760, a foundation of quarry stone was laid for an episcopal church in this town, at the expense of near 300*l.* on which occasion the episcopalians had a mortifying proof that the present inhabitants inherit the spirit of their ancestors. Samuel Talcott, Esq. one of the judges of the County Court, with the assistance of a mob, took away the stones, and with them built a house for his son. What added to so meritorious an action was, its being justified by the General Assembly and the Consociation.

In 1652, this town had the *honor* of executing Mrs. Greensmith, the first witch ever heard of in America. She was accused in the indictment of practising evil things on the body of Ann Cole, which did not appear to be true; but the Rev. Mr. Stone, and other ministers, swore that Greensmith had confessed to them that the devil had had car-

nal knowledge of her. The court then ordered her to be hanged upon the indictment. Surely none of those learned divines and statesmen studied in the Temple or Lincoln's Inn!—It should seem that every dominion or township was possessed of an ambition to make itself famous in history. The same year, Springfield, not to be outdone by Hertford, brought Hugh Parsons to trial for witchcraft, and the jury found him guilty: but Mr. Pincheon, the judge, had some understanding, and prevented his execution till the matter was laid before the General Court at Boston, who determined that he was not guilty of witchcraft. The truth was, Parsons was blessed with a fine person and genteel address, insomuch that the women could not help admiring him above every other man in Springfield, and the men could not help hating him:—so that there were witnesses enough to swear that Parsons was a wizzard,—because he made females love and males hate him.

In Hertford are the following curiosities: 1. A house built of American oak in 1640, the timbers of which are yet sound, nay almost petrified: in it was born Jonathan Belcher, Esq. Governor of Massachusetts-Bay and New-Jersey. 2. An elm esteemed sacred for being the tree in which their charter was concealed. 3. A wonderful well, which was dug sixty feet deep without any appearance of water, when a large rock was met

with. The miners boring this rock, in order to blast it with powder, drove the auger through it, upon which the water spouted up with such great velocity, that it was with difficulty the well was stoned. It soon filled and ran over, and has supported, or rather made, a brook for above one hundred years.

The tomb of Mr. Hooker is viewed with great reverence by his disciples. Nathaniel, his great grandson, a minister in Hertford, inherits more than all his virtues, without any of his vices.

Weathersfield is four miles from Hertford, and more compact than any town in the colony. The meeting-house is of brick, with a steeple, bell, and clock. The inhabitants say it is much larger than Solomon's Temple. The township ten miles square; parishes four. The people are more gay than polite, and more superstitious than religious.

This town raises more onions than are consumed in all New-England. It is a rule with parents to buy annually a silk gown for each daughter above seven years old, till she is married. The young beauty is obliged in return, to weed a patch of onions with her own hands; which she performs in the cool of the morning, before she dresses for her breakfast. This laudable and healthy custom is ridiculed by the ladies in other towns, who idle away their mornings in bed, or in gathering the pink, or catching the butterfly, to ornament their toilets; while the gentlemen





FIELD OF ONIONS AT WETHERSFIELD.

far and near, forget not the Weathersfield ladies' silken industry.

Weathersfield was settled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Smith and his followers, who left Watertown, near Boston, in order to get out of the power of Mr. Cotton, whose severity in New-England exceeded that of the bishops in Old-England. But Mr. Smith did not discard the spirit of persecution as the sole property of Mr. Cotton, but carried with him a sufficient quantity of it to distress and divide his little flock.

Middletown is ten miles below Weathersfield, and beautifully situated upon the Connecticut, between two small rivers, one mile asunder, which is the length of the town and grand street. Here are an elegant church, with a steeple, bell, clock, and organ; and a large meeting without a steeple. The people are polite, and not much troubled with that fanatic zeal which pervades the rest of the colony. The township is ten miles square, and forms four parishes, one episcopal. This and the two preceding towns may be compared to Chelsea.

The following towns, which lie on Connecticut river, are so much alike, that a description of one will serve for the whole; viz. *Windsor, East-Windsor, Glastenbury, Endfield, Suffield, Chatham, Haddam, and East-Haddam.*—*Windsor*, the best, is cut in two by the river Ett, which wanders from the northward 100 miles through

various meadows, towns, and villages, and resembles Bedford. Township ten miles square, forming three parishes. It was settled in 1637, by the Rev. Mr. Huet and his associates, who fled from religious slavery in Boston to enjoy the power of depriving others of liberty.

The following towns, lying back of the river towns, being similar in most respects, I shall join also in one class; viz. *Hebron, Colchester, Bolton, Tolland, Stafford, and Sommers.*

Hebron is the centre of the province; and it is remarkable that there are thirty-six towns larger, and thirty-six less. It is situated between two ponds, about two miles in length, and one in breadth; and is intersected by two small rivers, one of which falls into the Connecticut, the other into the Thames. A large meeting stands on a square, where four roads meet. The town resembles Finchley. The township eight miles square; five parishes, one is episcopal. The number of houses is 400; of the inhabitants, 3,200. It pays one part out of seventy-three of all governmental taxes; and is a bed of farmers on their own estates. Frequent suits about the Indian titles have rendered them famous for their knowledge in law and self-preservation. In 1740, Mr. George Whitefield gave them this laconic character. "Hebron," says he, "is the strong hold of Satan; for its people mightily oppose

the work of the Lord, being more fond of earth than of heaven.”

This town is honored by the residence of the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Pomeroy; an excellent scholar, an exemplary gentleman, and a most thundering preacher of the new-light order. His great abilities procured him the favor and honor of being the instructor of Abimeleck, the present King of Mohegin. He is of a very persevering, sovereign disposition; but just, polite, generous, charitable, and without dissimulation.

—*Avis alba.*

Here also reside some of the descendants of William Peters, Esq. already spoken of; among whom is the Rev. Samuel Peters,* an episcopal clergyman, who, by his generosity and zeal for the Church of England, and loyalty to the House of Hanover, has rendered himself famous both in New and Old England, and in some degree made an atonement for the fanaticism and treasons of his uncle Hugh, and of his ancestor on his mother's side, Major-general Thomas Harrison, both hanged at Charing-Cross in the last century.

Colchester has to boast of the Rev. John Buckley for its first minister, whose grandfather was the Rev. Peter Buckley, of Woodhill, in Bedfordshire, in Old-England; who, after being silenced

* Supplement, Note Y.

by the Bishop for his misconduct, went to New-England in 1635, and died at Concord in 1658.—John Buckley was a great scholar: and, suffering prudence to govern his hard temper, he conciliated the esteem of all parties, and became the ornament of the *Sober Dissenters* in Connecticut. He was a lawyer, a physician, and a divine. He published an ingenious pamphlet to prove that the title of the people to their lands was good, because they had taken them out of the state of nature. His argument satisfied many who thought their titles were neither legal, just, nor scriptural: indeed, it may seem conclusive, if his major proposition be granted, That the English found Connecticut in a state of nature. His son John was a lawyer and physician of great reputation, and was appointed a judge of the superior court very young. He and his father were suspected to be not sound in the faith, because they used in their prayers, *From battle and murder, and from sudden death, good Lord deliver us, for the sake of thine only Son, who commands us thus to pray, Our Father, &c. &c.*—Peter Buckley was possessed of a gentleman's estate in Bedfordshire, which he sold, and spent the produce among his servants in Massachusetts-Bay. His posterity in Colchester, in Connecticut, are very rich, and, till lately, were held in great esteem; which, however, they lost, by conforming to the Church of England.

There is nothing remarkable to be observed of any of the other towns I have classed with Hebron, except Stafford, which possesses a mineral spring that has the reputation of curing the gout, sterility, pulmony, hysterics, &c. &c. and therefore is the New-England *Bath*, where the sick and rich resort to prolong life, and acquire the polite accomplishments.

Herrington, Farmington, and Symsbury, lying west from Hertford, and on the river Ett, will finish the county of Hertford.

Herrington is ten miles square, and forms two parishes.

Farmington resembles Corydon. The township is fifteen miles square, and forms eight parishes, three of which are episcopal. Here the meadow land is sold at fifty pounds sterling per acre.

Simsbury, with its meadows and surrounding hills, forms a beautiful landscape, much like Maidstone in Kent. The township is twenty miles square, and consists of nine parishes, four of which are episcopal. Here are copper mines. In working one many years ago, the miners bored half a mile through a mountain, making large cells forty yards below the surface, which now serve as a prison, by order of the General Assembly, for such offenders as they choose not to hang. The prisoners are let down on a windlass into this dismal cavern, through a hole, which

answers the triple purpose of conveying them food, air, and—I was going to say light, but it scarcely reaches them. In a few months the prisoners are released by death and the colony rejoices in her great *humanity*, and the *mildness* of her laws. This conclave of spirits imprisoned may be called, with great propriety, the catacomb of Connecticut. The light of the Sun and the light of the Gospel are alike shut out from the martyrs, whose resurrection-state will eclipse the wonder of that of Lazarus. It has been remarked by the candid part of this religious colony, that the General Assembly and the Consociation have never allowed any prisoners in the whole province a chaplain, though they have spent much of their time and the public money in spreading the gospel in the neighboring colonies among the Indians, quakers, and episcopalian, and though, at the same time, those religionists preach damnation to all people who neglect to attend public worship twice every Sabbath, fasting and thanksgiving day, provided they are appointed by themselves, and not by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. This well founded remark has been treated by the zealots as springing more from malice than policy.

I beg leave to give the following instances of the *humanity* and *mildness* the province has always manifested for the episcopal clergy.

About 1746, the Rev. Mr. Gibbs, of Symsbury,

refusing to pay a rate imposed for the salary of Mr Mills, a dissenting minister in the same town, was, by the collector, thrown across a horse, lashed hands and feet under the creature's belly, and carried many miles in that *humane* manner to gaol. Mr. Gibbs was half dead when he got there; and, though he was released by his church wardens, who, to save his life, paid the assessment, yet, having taken cold in addition to his bruises, he became delirious, and has remained in a state of insanity ever since.

In 1772, the Rev. Mr. Mozley, a missionary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, at Litchfield, was presented by the grand jury for marrying a couple belonging to his parish after the banns were duly published, and consent of parents obtained. The Court *mildly* fined Mr. Mozley 20*l.* because he could not shew any other license to officiate as a clergyman, than what he had received from the Bishop of London, whose authority the Court determined did not extend to Connecticut, which was a chartered government. One of the Judges said, "It is high time to put a stop to the usurpations of the Bishop of London, and to let him know, that though his license be lawful, and may empower one of his *curates* to marry in England, yet it is not so in America; and if fines would not curb them in this point, imprisonment should."

The second county in the kingdom of Connec-

ticote, and the most mountainous in the whole province, is Litchfield: which produces abundance of wheat, butter, cheese, iron ore, &c. and has many iron works, founderies, and furnaces. It contains the following fourteen towns.

Litchfield is watered by two small rivers. An elegant meeting, and a decent court-house, with steeples and bells, ornament the square, where three roads meet. The best street is one mile long. It resembles Dartford. The township is twelve miles square, and forms five parishes, one of which is episcopal.

Though Litchfield is the youngest county of Connecticut, yet, in 1766, it set an example to the rest worthy of imitation. The province had always been greatly pestered by a generation of men called quacks, who, with a few Indian nostrums, a lancet, a glister-pipe, rhubarb, treacle-water, mixed with Roman bombast of *vena cava* and *vena porta*, attacked fevers, nervous disorders, and broken bones, and, by the grace of perseverance, subdued nature, and helped their patients to a passage to the world of spirits before they were ready. The surgeons and physicians, who were not quacks, formed themselves into a society, for the encouragement of literature and a regular and wholesome practice. But their laudable endeavors were discountenanced by the General Assembly, who refused to comply with their solicitation for a charter; because the

quacks and the people said, "If the charter were granted, the learned men would become too rich by a monopoly, as they had in England." The answer to this objection was, "Would it not be better to permit a monopoly to preserve the health and lives of the people, than to suffer quacks to kill them and ruin the province?" The reply proved decisive in that fanatical assembly, viz. "No medicine can be serviceable without the blessing of God. The quacks never administer any physic before the minister has prayed for a blessing; whereas the learned doctors say, that the blessing is in their physic, without the prayers of ministers." One doctor proposed the trial of a dose of arsenic; whether it would not kill any one who would take it, though twenty ministers should pray against it. He was called a profane man—the petition was rejected—and quackery remains triumphant.

New-Milford lies on Osootonoc river. A church and meeting, with steeples and bells, beautify the town, which resembles Fulham. The township, twelve miles square, forms five parishes, of which two are episcopal.

Woodbury lies on the same river, and resembles Kentish-Town. The township, twelve miles square, is divided into seven parishes, three of them episcopal.

In this town lives the Rev. Dr. Bellamy, who is a good scholar and a great preacher. He has

attempted to shew a more excellent way to heaven than was known before. He may be called the *Athenian* of Connecticut; for he has published something new to the christian world—Zuinglius may learn of him.

The following towns lie also on the Osootonee, viz. *Sharon, Kent, Salisbury, New-Fairfield, Cornwall, Goshen, and Cannan*; and all of them resemble Finchley. Each township is ten miles square.

Sharon forms three parishes, one of which is episcopal. It is much noted on account of a famous mill, invented and built by Mr. Joel Harvey, upon his own estate; for which he received a compliment of 2*l.* from the Society of Arts in London. The water, by turning one wheel, sets the whole in motion. In two apartments wheat is ground; in two others, bolted; in another threshed; in a sixth winnowed; in the seventh, hemp and flax are beaten, and in the eighth dressed. Either branch is discontinued at pleasure, without impeding the rest.

The other towns in Litchfield county are, *New-Hertford, Torrington, Hartland, and Winchester*, all which lie on the river Ett. The townships are severally about six miles square, and each forms one parish.

The KINGDOM OF QUINNIPIOG constitutes the Dominion of New-Haven, divided into two counties, viz. New-Haven and Fairfield; these again

divided into 17 townships, about 12 miles square each. The number of houses is nearly 10,000, and that of the inhabitants 60,000.

The county of New-Haven is hilly, and has a thin soil, enriched, however, by the industry of its inhabitants. The chief commodities are, flax, rye, barley, white beans, and salt-hay. It contains eight towns; four of which lie on the Sound, and the other on the back of them.

New-Haven township comprizes fourteen parishes; three of them episcopal, and one Sandemanian. The town, being the most beautiful in New-England, if not in all America, is entitled to a minute description. It is bounded southerly by the bay into which the river Quinniack empties itself; easterly and westerly, by two creeks two miles asunder; and, northerly, by a lofty mountain, that extends even to the river St. Lawrence, and forms a highland between the rivers Hudson and Connecticut; standing in a plain three miles by two in extent. This plain is divided into 300 squares, of the size of Bloomsbury-square, with streets 20 yards wide between each division. Forty of these squares are already built upon, having houses of brick and wood on each front, about five yards asunder: every house with a garden that produces vegetables sufficient for the family. Two hundred houses are annually erected. Elms and button-trees surround the centre square, wherein are two

meetings, the court-house, the jail, and Latin school;—in the fronts of the adjoining squares are, Yale College, the chapel, a meeting, and a church;—all these grand buildings, with steeples and bells. The market is plentifully supplied with every necessary during the whole year, excepting greens in winter. But the harbor is incommoded by flats near the town, of one mile in width, and by ice in winter. The former evil is, in some measure remedied by long and expensive wharves; but the latter is incurable. The people, however, say their trade is greater than that of Norwich or New-London; and their shipping, of different burthens, consists of near 200 sail.

According to Dr. Mather, New-Haven was, about 1646, to have been made a city, the interests of the colony with Cromwell's party being then very great; but a wonderful phenomenon prevented it. As the good Dr. Mather never wanted faith through the whole course of his *Magnalia*, and as the New-Englanders, to the present time, believe his reports, I will here present my readers with the history of this miracle:

“The people of New-Haven fitted out a ship, and sent her richly laden for England, to procure a patent for the colony, and a charter for the city.—After the ship had been at sea some weeks, there happened in New-England a violent storm, which induced the people of New-Haven to fast

and pray, to inquire of the Lord whether their ship was in that storm, or not. This was a real fast; for the people neither eat nor drank from sun-rise till sun-set. At five o'clock in the afternoon, they came out of meeting, walking softly, heavily, and sadly, homewards. On a sudden the *air thundered*, and the *lightnings shone abroad*. They looked up towards the heavens, when they beheld their ship under full sail, and the sailors steering her from west to east. She came over the meeting where they had fasted and prayed, and then was met by an euroclydon, which rent the sails, and upset the ship—in a few moments she fell down near the weather-cock on the steeple, and instantly vanished. The people all returned to the meeting, where the minister gave thanks to God, for answering the desires of his servants, and for giving them an infallible token of the loss of their ship and charter."

This, and divers other miracles which have happened in New-England, have been, and still are, useful to the clergy in establishing the people in the belief that there is a great familiarity between God and their ministers. Hence the ministers govern the superstitious; whilst the deacon, the lawyer, and the merchant, for lucre, wink at the imposition—yet the ministers in their turn are governed by their abettors.

——— Thou genius of adventure! that carri-

edst Columbus from eastern to the western shores, the domain of savage beasts and savage men, now cursed with the demons of superstition and fanaticism, oh! kindle in no other breast the wish to seek new worlds :—Africa already mourns, and Europe trembles!——

The true character of Davenport and Eaton, the leaders of the first settlers of New-Haven, may be learnt from the following fact :—An English gentleman, of the name of Grigson, coming, on his travels, to New-Haven, about the year 1644, was greatly pleased with its pleasant situation; and, after purchasing a large settlement, sent to London for his wife and family. But before their arrival, he found that a charming situation, without the blessing of religious and civil liberty, would not render him and his family happy: he resolved, therefore, to quit the country, and return to England, as soon as his family should arrive, and accordingly advertised his property for sale; when lo! agreeable to one of the Blue Laws, no one would buy, because he had not, and could not obtain liberty of the selectmen to sell it. The patriotic virtue of the selectmen thus becoming an insurmountable bar to the sale of his New-Haven estate, Mr. Grigson made his will, and bequeathed part of his lands towards the support of an episcopal clergyman, who should reside in that town, and the residue to his own

heirs. Having deposited his will in the hands of a friend, he set sail, with his family, for England, but died on his passage. This friend proved the will, and had it recorded, but died also soon after. The record was dexterously concealed by glueing two leaves together; and, after some years, the select men sold the whole estate to pay taxes, though the rent of Mr. Grigson's house alone in one year would pay the taxes for ten. Some persons, hardy enough to exclaim against this glaring injustice, were soon silenced, and expelled the town. In 1750, an episcopal clergyman was settled in New-Haven; and, having been informed of Grigson's will, applied to the town clerk for a copy, who told him there was no such will on record, and withal refused him the liberty of searching. In 1768, Peter Harrison, Esq. from Nottinghamshire, in England, the King's collector of New-Haven, claimed his right of searching public records; and being a stranger, and not supposed to have any knowledge of Grigson's will, obtained his demand. The alphabet contained Grigson's name, and referred to a page which was not to be found in the book. Mr. Harrison supposed it to have been torn out; but, on a closer examination, discovered one leaf much thicker than the others. He put a corner of the thick leaf in his mouth, and soon found it was composed of two leaves, which with much difficulty having separated, he found Grigson's will!

To make sure of the work, he took a copy of it himself, and then called the clerk to draw and attest another; which was done. Thus furnished, Mr. Harrison instantly applied to the selectmen, and demanded a surrender of the land which belonged to the church, but which they as promptly refused; whereupon Mr. Harrison took out writs of ejectment against the possessors. As might be expected, Mr. Harrison, from a good man, became, in ten days, the worst man in the world; but, being a generous and brave Englishman, he valued not their clamors and curses, though they terrified the gentlemen of the law. Harrison was obliged to be his own lawyer, and boldly declared he expected to lose his cause in New-England; but after that he would appeal, and try it, at his own expense, in Old England, where justice reigned. The good people, knowing Harrison did not get his bread by their votes, and that they could not baffle him, resigned the lands to the church on that gentleman's own terms; which in a few years will support a clergyman in a very genteel manner. The honest selectmen yet possess the other lands, though report says Mr. Grigson has an heir of his own name, residing near Holborn, in London, who inherits the virtues of his ancestor, and ought to inherit his estate.

The sad and awful discovery of Mr. Grigson's will, after having been concealed above one hun-

dred years, would have confounded any people but those of New-Haven, who study nothing but religion and liberty. Those pious souls consoled themselves by comparison: "We are no worse," said they, "than the people of Boston and Windham county." The following fact will explain this justification of the saints of New-Haven.

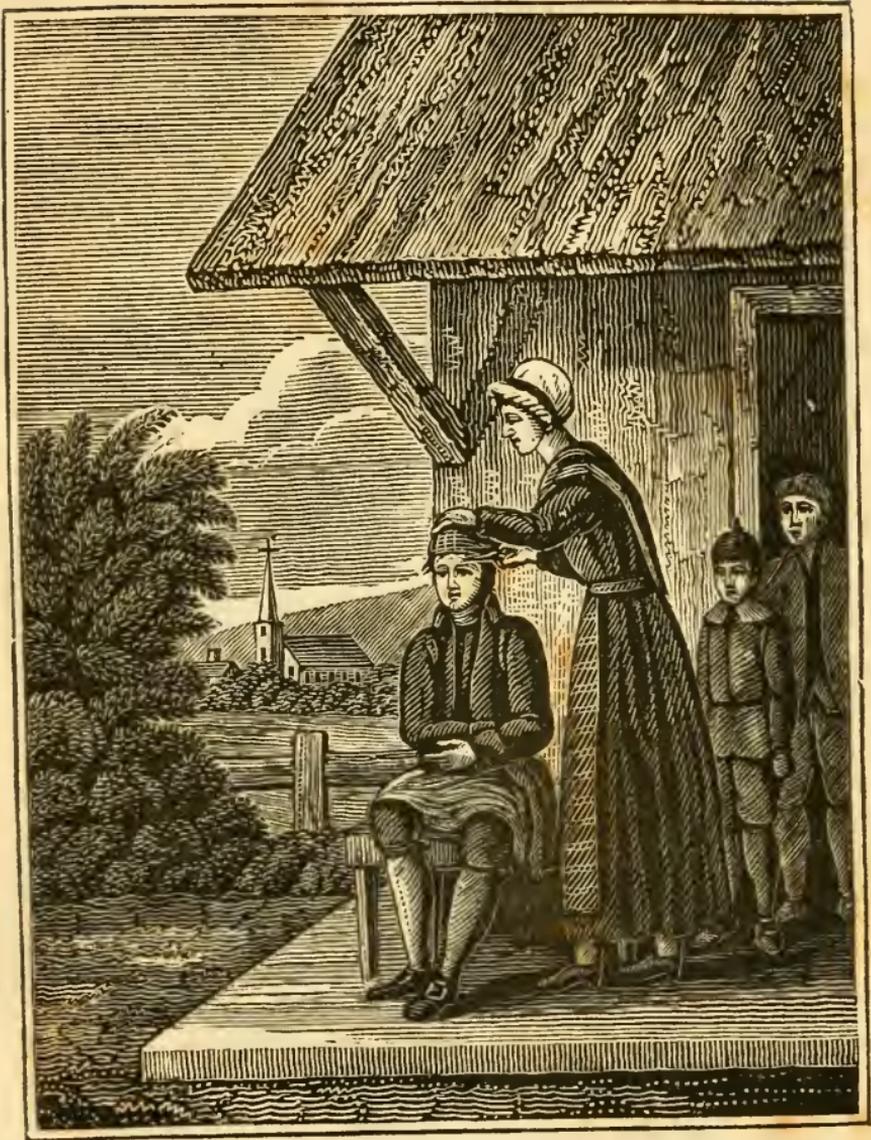
In 1740, Mrs. Cursette, an English lady, travelling from New-York to Boston, was obliged to stay some days at Hebron; where, seeing the church not finished, and the people suffering great persecutions, she told them to persevere in their good work, and she would send them a present when she got to Boston. Soon after her arrival there, Mrs. Cursette fell sick and died. In her will she gave a legacy of 300*l.* old tenor, (then equal to 100*l.* sterling) to the church of England in Hebron; and appointed John Hancock, Esq. and Nathaniel Glover, her executors. Glover was also her residuary legatee. The will was obliged to be recorded in Windham county, because some of Mrs. Cursette's lands lay there. Glover sent the will by Deacon S. H——, of Canterbury, ordering him to get it recorded, and keep it private, lest the legacy should build up the church. The Deacon and Register were faithful to their trust, and kept Glover's secret *twenty-five* years. At length the Deacon was taken ill, and his life was supposed in great danger. Among his penitential confessions, he told of his

having concealed Mrs. Cursette's will. His confidant went to Hebron, and informed the wardens, that for one guinea he would discover a secret of 300*l.* old tenor consequence to the Church. The guinea was paid and the secret disclosed. A demand of the legacy ensued. Mr. Hancock referred to Glover, and Glover said he was neither obliged to publish the will, nor pay the legacy: it had lapsed to the heir at law. It being difficult for a Connecticut man to recover a debt in the Massachusetts-Bay, and *vice versa*, the wardens were obliged to accept from Mr. Glover 30*l.* instead of 300*l.* sterling; which sum, allowing 200*l.* as lawful simple interest at six per cent. for twenty-five years, ought in equity to have been paid. This matter, however, Mr. Glover is to settle with Mrs. Cursette in the other world.

New-Haven is celebrated for having given the name of *pumpkin-heads* to all the New-Englanders. It originated from the Blue Laws, which enjoin every male to have his hair cut round by a cap. When caps were not to be had, they substituted the hard shell of a pumpkin, which being put on the head every Saturday, the hair is cut by the shell all round the head. Whatever religious virtue is supposed to be derived from this custom, I know not; but there is much prudence in it: first, it prevents the hair from snarling;—secondly, it saves the use of combs, bags, and ribbons;—thirdly, the hair cannot incommode the eyes by



HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.



METHOD OF TRIMMING HAIR,

In accordance with the Blue Laws of Connecticut.

(Page 154.)

falling over them;—and, fourthly, such persons as have lost their ears for heresy, and other wickedness, cannot conceal their misfortune and disgrace.

Cruelty and godliness were, perhaps, never so well reconciled by any people, as by those of New-Haven, who are alike renowned for both. The unhappy story of Deacon Potter has eternized the infamy of their Blue Laws, and almost annexed to their town the name of Sodom. The Deacon had borne the best of characters many years; he was the peacemaker, and an enemy to persecution; but he was grown old, was rich, and had a young wife. His young wife had an inclination for a young husband, and had waited with impatience for the death of her old one, till at length, resolving, if possible, to accelerate the attainment of her wishes, she complained to the Magistrate, that her husband did not render her due benevolence. The judge took no notice of what she said. She then swore that her husband was an apostate; and that he was fonder of his mare, bitch, and cow, than of her: in which allegation she was joined by her son. The Deacon was brought to his trial, condemned, executed with the beasts, and with them also buried in one common grave. Dr. Mather, with his usual quantity of faith, speaks of the Deacon as verily guilty, as having had a fair, legal, and candid trial, and convicted on good and scriptural evidence.

I am willing to allow the Doctor as much sincerity as faith. He had his information from the party who condemned the Deacon; but there are manuscripts, which I have seen, that state the matter thus:—Deacon Potter was hanged for heresy and apostacy, which consisted in shewing hospitality to strangers, who came to his house in the night, among whom were Quakers, Anabaptists, and Adamites. This was forbidden by the Blue Laws, which punished for the first and second offence with fines, and with death for the third. His wife and son betrayed him for hiding the spies, and sending them away in peace. The court was contented with calling his complicated crimes beastiality; his widow, with a new husband; and the son, with the estate; while the public were deceived by the arts of a wicked junto. —I have related this story to shew the danger of admitting a wife to give evidence against her husband, according to the Blue Laws; and to caution all readers against crediting too much the historians of New-England, who, either from motives of fear or emolument, have, in numberless instances, designedly disguised or concealed the truth. Such persons, whose stubborn principles would not bend to this yoke, were not suffered to search the colonial records; and those who have dared to intimate that all was not right among the first settlers, have been compelled to leave

the country with the double loss of character and property.

To New-Haven now belongs Yale College, of which I have promised my readers a particular account. It was originally, as already mentioned, a school, established by the Rev. Thomas Peters, at Saybrook, who left it his library at his death. It soon acquired the distinguishing appellation of *Schola Illustris*; and, about 1700, was honored by the General Assembly with a charter of incorporation, converting it into a college, under the denomination of *Yale College*, in compliment to a gentleman of that name, governor of one of the West-India islands, and its greatest benefactor. The charter constitutes a president, three tutors, twelve overseers, and a treasurer; and exempts it from any visitation of the Governor or Assembly, in order to secure it against the control of a King's Governor, in case one should ever be appointed. I have already observed, that a power of conferring Bachelors and Master's degrees was granted by the charter; and that the corporation have *thought proper* to assume that of conferring Doctor's degrees. By the economical regulations of the College, there are, a professor in divinity, mathematics, and natural philosophy; and four classes of students, which were at first attended by the president and the three tutors; but the president has long been excused that laborious task, and a fourth tutor

appointed in his stead. Each class has its proper tutor. Once a week the president examines them all in the public hall, superintends their disputations and scientific demonstrations, and, if any student appears to be negligent, orders him under the care of a special tutor; a stigma which seldom fails of producing its intended effect. Greek, Latin, Geography, History, and Logic, are well taught in this seminary; but it suffers for want of tutors to teach the Hebrew, French, and Spanish languages. Oratory, music, and politeness, are equally neglected here and in the colony. The students attend prayers every morning and evening, at six o'clock. The president, professor, or one of the tutors, reads and expounds a chapter; then a psalm is sung, after which follows a prayer. This finished, each class repairs to its tutor. The hours of study are notified by the college bell, and every scholar seen out of his room is liable to a fine, which is seldom excused. The amusements for the evenings are, not cards, dancing, or music, but reading and composition. They are allowed two hours play with the football every day. Thus cooped up for four years, they understand books better than men or manners. They then are admitted to their Bachelor's degree, having undergone a public examination in the arts and sciences. Three years afterwards they are admitted to their Master's degree, provided they have supported moral characters.

The ceremony used by the president on these occasions is to deliver a book to the intended Master in Arts, saying, "Admitto te ad secundum Gradum in Artibus, pro more Academiarum in Anglia; tradoque tibi hunc librum, unà cum potestate publicè prælegendi quotiescunque ad hoc munus evocatus fueris." For Bachelors the same, *mutatis mutandis*. A diploma on vellum with the seal of the college is given to each Master, and signed by the president and six fellows or overseers. The first degrees of Masters were given in 1702. The students of late years have amounted to about 180. They dine in the common-hall at four tables, and the tutors and graduates at a fifth. The number of the whole is about 200.

Yale College is built with wood, and painted of a sky color; is 160 feet long, and three stories high, besides garrets. In 1754, another building, of brick, 100 feet long, and also three stories high, exclusive of the garrets, with double rooms, and a double front, was added, and called Connecticut Hall. About 1760, a very elegant chapel and library were erected, with brick, under one roof. But it cannot be supposed the latter is to be compared with the Vatican or the Bodleian. It consists of eight or ten thousand volumes in all branches of literature, but wants modern books; though there is a tolerable sufficiency, if the corporation would permit what they call

Bishop's and Arminian books to be read. *Ames's Medulla* is allowed, while *Grotius de Veritate Religionis* is denied. It was lately presented with a new and valuable apparatus for experimental philosophy. The whole library and apparatus were given by various persons, chiefly English.

The General Assembly have endowed this college with large tracts of land, which, duly cultivated, will soon support the ample establishment of an University; but, even at present, I may truly say, Yale College exceeds in the number, and perhaps in the learning, of its scholars, all others in British America.

This seminary was, in 1717, removed from Saybrook to New-Haven; the extraordinary cause of which transition, I shall here lay before the reader.

Saybrook dominion had been settled by Puritans of some moderation and decency. They had not joined with Massachusetts-Bay, Hertford, and New-Haven, in sending home agents to assist in the murder of Charles I. and the subversion of the Lords and Bishops:—they had received Hooker's heretics, and sheltered the apostates from Davenport's millenarian system:—they had shewn an inclination to be dependent on the mother country, and had not wholly anathematized the church of England. In short, the people of Hertford and New-Haven suspected that

Saybrook was not truly protestant ; that it had a passion for the *leeks and onions of Egypt* ; and that the youth belonging to them in the *Schola Illustris* were in great danger of imbibing its lukewarmness. A vote, therefore, passed at Hertford, to remove the college to Weathersfield, where the *leeks and onions of Egypt* would not be thought of ; and another at New-Haven, that it should be removed to that town, where Christ had established his dominion from sea to sea, and where he was to begin his millenarian reign. About 1715, Hertford, in order to carry its vote into execution, prepared teams, boats, and a mob, and privately set off for Saybrook, and seized upon the college apparatus, library, and students, and carried all to Weathersfield. This redoubled the jealousy of the saints at New-Haven, who thereupon determined to fulfil their vote ; and, according'y, having collected a mob sufficient for their enterprize, they set out for Weathersfield, where they seized by surprise the students, library, &c. &c. But on the road to New-Haven they were overtaken by the Hertford mob, who, however, after an unhappy battle, were obliged to retire with only part of the library and part of the students. Hence sprung two colleges out of one. The quarrel increased daily, every body expecting a war more bloody than that of Sassacus ; and, no doubt, such would have been the case, had not the peace-makers of Mas-

sachusetts-Bay interposed with their usual friendship, and advised their dear friends of Hertford to give up the college to New-Haven. This was accordingly done in 1717, to the great joy of the crafty Massachusetts, who always greedily seek their own prosperity, though it ruin their best neighbors. The college being thus fixed forty miles farther west from Boston than it was before, tended greatly to the interest of Harvard College: for Saybrook and Hertford, out of *pure grief*,* sent their sons to Harvard, instead of the college at New-Haven. This quarrel continued till 1764, when it subsided in a grand continental consociation of ministers, which met at New-Haven to consult the spiritual good of the Mohawks and other Indian tribes, the best method of preserving the American vine, and the protestant, *independent liberty of America*:—a good preparatory to rebellion against Great Britain.†

The Rev. Mr. Naphthali Daggett is the fourth president of Yale College since its removal to New-Haven. He is an excellent Greek and Latin scholar, and reckoned a good Calvinistic divine. Though a stranger to European politeness, yet, possessing a mild temper and affable disposition, the exercise of his authority is untinged with haughtiness. Indeed, he seems to have too

**Pure grief* means, in New-England, *anger* and *revenge*.

† Supplement, Note Z.

much candor, and too little bigotry, to please the corporation, and retain his post, many years.

The Rev. Mr. Nehemiah Strong, the college professor, is also of an amiable temper, and merits the appointment.

Were the corporation less rigid, and more inclined to tolerate some reasonable amusements and polite accomplishments among the youth, they would greatly add to the fame and increase of the college; and the students would not be known by every stranger to have been educated in Connecticut. The disadvantage under which they at present appear, from the want of address, is much to be regretted.

Branford, Guilford, and Milford, are much alike.

Guilford is laid out in squares, after the manner of New-Haven, twenty of which are built upon. The church and two meetings stand on the centre square. One of the meetings is very grand, with a steeple, bell, and clock. The parishes in it are eight, three of them episcopal.

This town gave birth to the Reverend Samuel Johnson, D. D., who was the first episcopal minister in Connecticut, and the first president of King's College in New-York. He was educated and became a tutor in the college at Saybrook; was an ornament to his native country, and much esteemed for his humanity and learning.

The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in a sermon

he preached in the great meeting, gave the character of the people of Guilford in 1740. His text was, *Anoint mine eyes with eye-salve*. After pointing out what was *not* the true eye-salve, he said, "I will tell you what *is* the true eye-salve:—it is faith—it is grace—it is simplicity—it is virtue—Ah, Lord! where can they be found?—Perhaps not in this grand assembly."

I have frequently quoted the Rev. Mr George Whitefield,—without that ludicrous intention which, possibly, the reader may suspect me of. I admire his general character, his great discernment, his knowledge of mankind, his piety, his goodness of heart, his generosity, and hatred of persecution, though I think his zeal was sometimes too fervent. I ever viewed him as an instrument of heaven, as the greatest Boanarges and blessing America ever knew. He turned the profligate to God; he roused the lukewarm christian; he tamed the wild fanatic, and made Felix tremble. It is true, he has also made wise men mad; but this is the natural effect of the word, which is the savor of life and the savor of death at one and the same time. New-England, before his coming, was but the slaughter-house for heretics. He was admired by the oppressed episcopalians, the trembling quakers, the bleeding baptists, &c. &c. He was followed by all sects and parties, except the *Sober Dissenters*, who thought their craft in danger. He made *peace where was*

no peace; and even his *enemies praised him in the gate*. Whitefield did what could not have been done without the aid of an omnipotent arm; he planted charity in New-England, of which the increase has been a thousand fold. He is landed *where the wicked cease from troubling*; where his works of faith, love, and charity, clothe him; and where the Glory of Eternity blesses him with a welcome ineffably transporting. May his virtues be imitated, his imperfections forgiven, and his happiness obtained by all!

Wallingford, Durham, Waterbury, and Derby, finish the county of New-Haven.—*Wallingford* is the best of the four: it lies on Quinnipiack river, and forms eight parishes, two of which are episcopal. The Town-street is one mile long, and the houses stand pretty thick on both sides. The church, and two meetings, one with a steeple, bell, and clock, stand in the middle of the street.—The grave stones point out the characters of the first settlers. An extract from one follows:

“Here lies the body of Corporal Moses Atwater, who left England in 1660, to enjoy liberty of conscience in a howling wilderness.”

The second county in the kingdom of Quinnipiog is Fairfield. It is situated west of Osootonoc river, and contains nine townships: five of which lie on the sea, and resemble one another; and on

the back of them are situated the four others, which also have a mutual resemblance. The soil is rich and uneven: the chief productions, excellent wheat, salt-hay, and flax. Those townships which lie on the sea, are *Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford, Greenwich* and *Stratford*. This last I shall describe.

Stratford lies on the west bank of Osootonoc river, having the sea or Sound on the south. There are three streets running north and south, and ten east and west. The best is one mile long. On the centre square stand a meeting with a steeple and a bell, and a church with a steeple, bell, clock, and organ. It is a beautiful place, and from the water has an appearance not inferior to that of Canterbury. Of six parishes contained in it, three are episcopal. The people are said to be the most polite of any in the colony, owing to the singular moderation of the town in admitting latterly, Europeans to settle among them. Many persons come also from the islands, and southern provinces, for the benefit of their health.

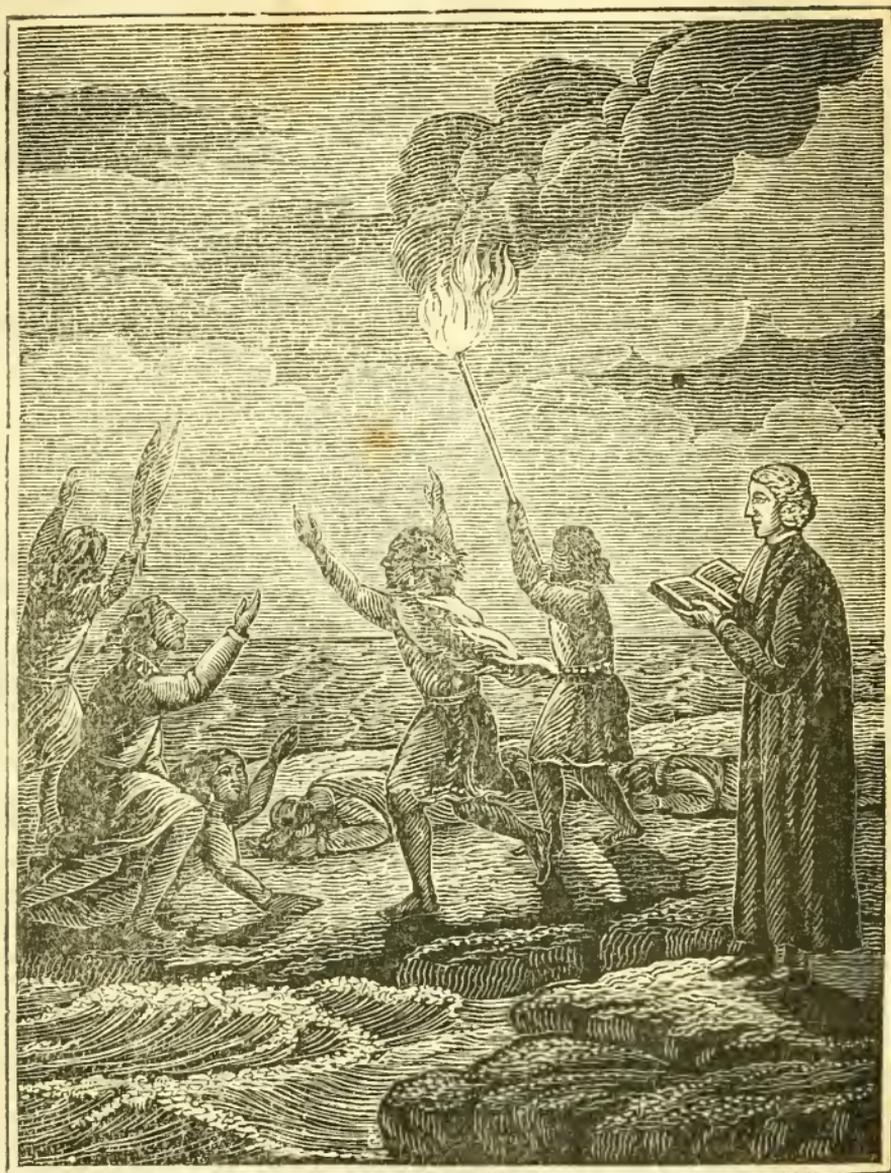
Here was erected the first episcopal church in Connecticut. A very extraordinary story is told concerning the occasion of it, which I shall give the reader the particulars of, the people being as sanguine in their belief of it as they are of the ship's sailing over New-Haven.

An ancient religious rite called the Pawwaw,

was annually celebrated by the Indians; and commonly lasted several hours every night for two or three weeks. About 1690, they convened to perform it on Stratford point, near the town. During the nocturnal ceremony, the English saw, or imagined they saw, devils rise out of the sea, wrapped up in sheets of flame, and flying round the Indian camp, while the Indians were screaming, cutting, and prostrating themselves before their supposed fiery gods. In the midst of the tumult, the devils darted in among them, seized several, and mounted with them into the air; the cries and groans issuing from whom quieted the rest. In the morning, the limbs of Indians, all shrivelled, and covered with sulphur, were found in different parts of the town. Astonished and terrified at these spectacles, the people of Stratford began to think the devils would take up their abode among them, and called together all the ministers in the neighborhood, to exorcise and lay them. The ministers began and carried on their warfare with prayer, hymns, and abjuration; but the pawwaws continued, and the devils would not obey. The inhabitants were about to quit the town, when Mr. Nell spoke and said, "I would to God that Mr. Visey, the episcopal minister at New-York, was here; for he would expel these evil spirits." They laughed at his advice; but, on his reminding them of the little maid who directed Naaman to a cure for his lep-

rosy, they voted him their permission to bring Mr. Visey at the next pawwaw. Mr. Visey attended accordingly, and as the pawwaw commenced with howlings and whoops, Mr. Visey read portions of the holy scripture, litany, &c. The sea was put into great motion; the pawwaw stopped; the Indians dispersed; and never more held a pawwaw in Stratford. The inhabitants were struck with wonder at this event, and held a conference to discover the reason why the devils and pawwawers had obeyed the prayers of one minister, and had paid no regard to those of fifty. Some thought that the reading the holy scripture, others that the litany and Lord's prayer,—some, again, that the episcopal power of the minister, and others that all united were the means of obtaining the heavenly blessing they had received. Those who believed that the holy scriptures and litany were effectual against the devil and his legions, declared for the church of England; while the majority ascribed their deliverance to a complot between the devil and the episcopal minister, with a view to overthrow Christ's vine planted in New-England. Each party acted with more zeal than prudence. The church, however, increased, though oppressed by more persecutions and calamities, than were ever experienced by puritans from bishops and pawwawers. Even the use of the bible, the Lord's prayer, the litany, or any part of the prayer book was forbidden;

HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.



REV. MR. VICEY,

The Episcopal Minister, laying the Indian Powwow at
Stratford.

(Page 162.)

nay, ministers taught from their pulpits, according to the Blue Laws, "that the lovers of Zion had better put their ears to the mouth of hell, and learn from the whispers of the devils, than read the bishops' books;" while the churchmen, like Michael the archangel contending with the devil about the body of Moses, dared not bring against them a railing accusation. But this was not all. When the episcopalians had collected timber for a church, they found the devils had not left the town, but only changed their habitations—had left the savages and entered into fanatics and wood. In the night before the church was to be begun, the timber set up a country-dance, skipping about, and flying in the air, with as much agility and sulphurous stench as ever the devils had exhibited around the camp of the Indian pawwawers. This alarming circumstance would have ruined the credit of the church, had not the episcopalians ventured to look into the phenomenon, and found the timber to have been bored with augurs, charged with gun powder, and fired off by matches:—a discovery, however, of bad consequence in one respect—it has prevented the annalists of New-England from publishing this among the rest of their miracles. About 1720, the patience and sufferings of the episcopalians, who were then but a handful, procured them some friends, even among their persecutors; and those friends condemned the cruelty exercised

over the churchmen, quakers, and anabaptists, in consequence of which, they first felt the effects of those gentle weapons, the New-England whisperings and backbitings; and at length were openly stigmatised as Arminians and enemies of the American vine. This conduct of the *Sober Dissenters* increased the *grievous sin* of moderation; and near twenty of their ministers, at the head of whom was Dr Cutler, president of Yale College, declared, on a public Commencement, for the church of England. Hereupon, the General Assembly and Consociation, finding their comminations likely to blast the American vine, instantly had recourse to flattery, larded over with tears and promises, by which means they recovered all the secessors, but four, viz. Dr. Cutler, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. Brown, who repaired to England for holy orders. Dr. Cutler had the misfortune to spend his life and great abilities in the fanatical, ungrateful, and factious town of Boston, where he went through fiery trials, shining brighter and brighter, till he was delivered from New-England persecution, and landed where *the wicked cease from troubling*.— Dr. Johnson, from his natural disposition, and not for the sake of gain, took pity on the neglected church at Stratford, where for fifty years he fought the beast of Ephesus with great success.* The

* Supplement, Note (a)

Doctor was under the bountiful protection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, incorporated by William III. to save from the rage of republicanism, heathenism, and fanaticism, all such members of the church of England as were settled in our American colonies, factories, and plantations, beyond the sea. To the foresight of that monarch, to the generous care and protection of that society, under God, are owing all the loyalty, decency, christianity undefiled with blood, which glimmer in New-England. Dr. Johnson having settled at Stratford among a nest of zealots, and not being assassinated, other dissenting ministers were induced to join themselves to the church of England, among whom were Mr. Beach and Mr. Punderson. Those gentlemen could not be wheedled off by the Assembly and Consociation; they persevered, and obtained names among the Literati that will never be forgotten.*

The four remaining towns of Fairfield county, viz. *Newtown, Reading, Danbury,* and *Ridgefield,* lie behind the towns on the sea. I shall describe the best of them, which is

Danbury. It has much the appearance of Croydon; and forms five parishes, one of which is episcopal, and another Sandemanian; a third is called Bastard Sandemanian, because the mi-

* Supplement, Note (b) and (c)

nister refuses to put away his wife, who is a second wife. This town was the residence, and is now the tomb, of the learned and ingenious Rev. Mr. Sandeman, well known in the literary world. He was the fairest and most candid Calvinist that ever wrote in the English language, allowing the natural consequences of all his propositions. He taught that a bishop must be the husband of one wife: that is, he must be married before he was ordained; and, if he lost his wife, he could not marry a second: that a Bishop might dress with ruffles, a red coat and sword: that all the converted brothers and sisters, at their coming into church, ought to salute with an holy kiss: that all true christians would obey their earthly king: for which tenets, especially the last, the *Sober Dissenters* of Connecticut held him to be a heretic.

It is strikingly remarkable, that near one half of the people of the dominion of New-Haven are episcopalians, though it was first settled by the most violent of puritans, who claimed so much liberty to themselves that they left none for others. The General Assembly computed that the church of England professors amounted to one third of the whole colony in 1770. Hence has arisen a question, how it came to pass, that the church of England increased rapidly in Connecticut, and but slowly in Massachusetts-Bay and Rhode-Island? The reason appears obvious to me. It is easier to turn fanatical farmers from

their bigotry, than to convert fanatical merchants, smugglers, and fishermen. Pride and gain prevent the two first, and ignorance the last, from *worshipping the Lord in the beauty of holiness*. The General Assembly of Rhode Island never supported any religion; nay, lest religion should chance to prevail, they made a law that every one might do what was right in his own eyes, with this proviso, that no one should be holden to pay a note, bond, or vote, made or given to support the Gospel. Thus, barbarism, inhumanity, and infidelity, must have over-run the colony, had not its good situation for trade invited Europeans to settle therein. As to the people of Massachusetts-Bay, they, indeed, had the highest pretensions to religion; but then it was so impregnated with chicane, mercantile policy, and insincerity, that infidelity got the better of fanaticism, and religion was secretly looked upon as a trick of state. Connecticut was settled by people who preferred the arts and sciences to the amusements which render Europe polite; whence it has happened that there boys and girls are at once amused and improved with reading, writing, and cyphering, every winter's night, whilst those in the neighboring colonies polish themselves at cards, balls, and masquerades. In Connecticut, zeal, though erroneous is sincere; each sect believes religion to be a substantial good; and fanaticism and prejudice have turned

it into superstition, which is stronger than reason or the laws of humanity. Thus, it is very observable, that, when any persons conform to the church of England, they leave neither their superstition nor zeal at the meetings; they retrench only fanaticism and cruelty, put on *bowels of mercy*, and pity those in error. It should be added, that every town in the colony is by law obliged to support a grammar-school, and every parish an English school. From experience, therefore, I judge, that superstition with knowledge and sincerity, is more favorable to religion than superstition with ignorance and insincerity; and that it is for this reason the Church thrives in Connecticut, and exists only in the other New-England provinces. In further support of my opinion, I shall recite the words of the Rev. Mr. George Whitfield, in his first tour through America, in 1740. He then found the people of Connecticut wise in polemical divinity, and told them that *much learning had made them mad*; that he wished to leave them with “*sleep on and take your rest* in the Bible, in Baxter, Gouge, and Bunyan, without the knowledge of Bishop’s books.”

Persons who suppose churchmen in Connecticut possessed of less zeal and sincerity than the various sects among the dissenters, are under a mistake; for they have voluntarily preferred the church under every human discouragement, and

suffered persecution rather than persecute. Conducting themselves upon this truly christian, though impolitic principle, they have, in the space of sixty years, humanized above sixty thousand puritans, who had ever been hating and persecuting one another; and though the General Assembly and Consociation are alarmed at the progress of christian moderation, yet many individuals among them, perceiving that persecution declines wherever the church prevails, bless God for its growth; whilst the rest, more zealous for dominion, and the politics of their ancestors the regicides, than for the gospel of peace and love, compass sea and land to export and diffuse that intolerant spirit which overthrew the eastern church, and has cursed the western. For this purpose they have sent New-England ministers as missionaries to the southern colonies, to rouse them out of their religious and political ignorance; and, what is very astonishing, they succeeded best with the episcopal clergy, whose immorality, vanity, or love of self-government, or some less valuable principle, induced them to join the dissenters of New-England against an American Bishop, from a pure intention, they said, of preserving the church of England in America. If their reward be not pointed out in the fable of the Fox and Crane, they will be more fortunate than most men. Other missionaries were dispersed among the Six Nations of Indians,

who were under the care of the clergy and school-masters of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. There, for a time, wonders were effected; the Indians were made drunk with zeal. But when their fanaticism was abated, they cursed the protestant religion, and ordered the ministers of all denominations to depart out of their country in a fixed time, on pain of death. Another band of saints went to Nova-Scotia, to convert the unconverted under the clergy appointed by the Bishop of London; among whom, however, meeting with little encouragement, they *shook off the dust of their feet against them*, and returned home. These peregrinations, the world was taught to believe, were undertaken solely to advance the interests of religion; but *righteousness and PEACE have not yet kissed each other* in New-England; and, besides, the pious pretences of the *Sober Dissenters* ill accorded with their bitter revilings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, for sending clergymen to promote the spiritual good of the churchmen among them.

It is worthy of especial notice, that, among all the episcopal clergy hitherto settled in Connecticut, only one of them has been accused, even by their enemies, of a scandalous life, or of any violation of the moral law. They have exercised more patience, resignation, and self-denial, under their various trials, fatigues, and oppressions, than can be paralleled elsewhere in the present

century. The countenance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, and an allowance of about 650*l* per annum between eighteen of them, have proved the means of averting from the professors of the church of England that rigor which has constantly marked the conduct of the General Assembly and Consociation towards anabaptists, quakers, &c. &c. Had the bishops shewn as much concern for the welfare of the church of England in America as the Society has done, they would have prevented many reproaches being cast upon them by the dissenters as hireling shepherds, and have secured the affections of the American clergy, in every province, to themselves, to their King, and the British government. If the religion of the church of England ought to have been tolerated and supported in America, (which, considering the lukewarmness of the bishops in general, even since the Restoration of Charles II. seems to have been a dubious point,) policy and justice should long ago have induced the King and Parliament of Great Britain to have sent bishops to America, that churchmen at least might have been upon an equal footing with dissenters. Against American bishops I have never heard of any objection, either from the dissenters, or the episcopal clergy south of the Delaware river, so powerful as the following, "That the church of England increases in America, without bishops, faster than it

does in England, where are bishops to spare." If the dissenters in America err not in advancing as a fact, that since 1715, the church of England under bishops has been upon the decline, and the protestant dissenters upon the increase, in England; it may be but natural to suppose that the dissenters in America wish to have the English bishops resident there, and the dissenters in England to retain them, as they appear to be so beneficial towards the growth of the dissenting interest here: and so the dissenters in both countries disputing about the residence of the bishops, merely because the absence of them is disadvantageous to the one, and their presence advantageous to the other, would it not be the best way of strengthening the interest of both those parties, and weakening that of the church of England, to retain half the bishops in England, and send the other half to America? Against this plan, surely, no dissenter could object: it will neither add to the national expense, nor to the disadvantage of England or America; since it promises to be equally serviceable to the protestant dissenting interest on both sides the Atlantic, and will reconcile a difference between the protestant dissenters that has been supposed in New-England to be the reason of bishops not being sent to above one million of episcopalians in America, who are left like sheep in a wilderness without a shepherd, to the great danger of the protestant

dissenting religion in those parts. Nor can it be apprehended that this plan of dividing the bishops will meet with the disapprobation of the episcopals, except a few licentious clergymen in the American southern colonies, who dread their Lordships' sober advice and coercive power.

Of all the wonders of the English church, the greatest is, that the rulers of it should hold episcopacy to be an institution of Christ, and that the Gospel is to be spread among all nations, and, at the same time, should refuse the American churchmen a bishop, and the fanatics and heathen all opportunities of enjoying the Gospel dispensation in the purity and lusture with which it shines in the mother-country. If bishops are necessary, let America have them; if they are not necessary, let them be extirpated from the face of the earth: for no one can be an advocate for their existence merely for the support of pomp, pride, and insolence, either in England or America.

The English and Dutch have always kept their colonies under a state of religious persecution, while the French and Spaniards have acted with generosity in that respect towards theirs. The Dutch presbyterians in New-York were held in subordination to the classis of Amsterdam, till a few years since, they discovered that subjection to be anti-constitutional and oppressive; upon which a majority of the ministers, in their cœtus, erected a classis for the ordination of ministers,

and the government of their churches, in defiance of the ecclesiastical judicatory at Amsterdam. Mr. Smith, in his History of that province, p. 252, justifies this schism upon the following ground: "The expense," says he, "attending the ordination of their candidates in Holland, and the reference of their disputes to the classis of Amsterdam, is very considerable; and with what consequences, the interruption of their correspondence with the European Dutch would be attended, in case of a war, well deserves their consideration." Nevertheless, Mr. Smith agrees with his protestant dissenting neighbours, that the American episcopalians suffered no hardship in being obliged to incur the same expense in crossing the Atlantic for ordination. If the Dutch are justifiable in their schism, I cannot perceive why the American episcopalians might not be justified in a like schism from the bishop of London. Had the episcopalians as little aversion to schism as the protestant dissenters, the clergy north of the Delaware would, in 1765, have got rid of their regard for an English, and accepted of a Greek bishop, whom they could have supported for half the expense their candidates were at in going to England for ordination. But they were said by some to be conscientious men, while others said they were *Issachar's sons, couching down beneath their burthens.*

To proceed in my description of the country :—

Connecticut is situated between 41 and 42 deg. N. lat. and between 72 and 73 deg. 50 min. W. long. from London. Notwithstanding, from this latitude, New-London lies 600 miles nearer the line than the capital of England, the winter sets in there a month before it does here; and not only continues longer, but is more severe. This extraordinary coldness is said by naturalists to arise from the vast frozen lakes and rivers, and mountains eternally covered with snow, throughout the northernmost parts of America. The mountains may have their share in producing this effect; but I am apt to think the lakes and rivers have a contrary influence. If I ask, why lands bordering upon them are three weeks earlier in their productions than lands ten miles distant, it will readily be imputed to the warmth of the air, occasioned by the reflection of the sun's rays from the water. On the same principle, I argue, that the rays of the sun, multiplied and reflected by ice also, will render the air warmer. But it may be further said, that the cause is, perhaps, to be ascribed to the soil's being more sandy and loose near a lake or river, and therefore, naturally warmer, than that which is remote and not sandy. I reply, that there are loose, sandy plains, twenty miles off any lake or river, three weeks later in their products, and very perceptibly colder than

lands upon them. It would be to no purpose to urge, that the damps and fogs from unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. affect the distant, but not the adjacent country; because, I apprehend, there are no unfrozen lakes, rivers, &c. in the north of America in winter. Besides, if there were, the mists arising from them would naturally be intercepted by the first mountains or forests they approached. But I pretend to little philosophical knowledge in these matters; I write from experience; and can thence, moreover, assert, that mountains with snow upon them are not so cold as they would be without it; and that mountains covered with trees are the coldest of all places, but, without trees, are not so cold as forests on plains. I am clearly of opinion, therefore, that not the lakes or rivers, but the infinite quantity of timber in the immense regions of North America, whether upon mountains or not, is the grand cause of the coldness of the winters in Connecticut. I will add, moreover, in support of my argument, that beasts, in the coldest weather, are observed to quit the woods and woody mountains, for lakes, rivers, and the cultivated open country: and that Connecticut, having now lost most of its timber, is by no means so intensely cold in winter as it was forty years ago, and as Susquehanna is at present, a wilderness in the same latitude. The snow and ice commonly cover the country, without rains, from Christmas to March; then rains, at-

tended with a boisterous wind from the north and east, melt the snow, which converting brooks into rivers, and rivers into seas, in four or five days the ice is rent from its groaning banks, in such mighty sheets as shake the earth for twenty miles. Nature being thus in convulsions, the winds turn her fits into madness, by driving ice upon ice, whose thunders cease not till the ocean swallows up the whole.

It is but natural to suppose that the summers in Connecticut are much hotter than those in England; nevertheless, from the clearness and serenity of the sky, the climate is healthy both to natives and foreigners of all nations. Connecticut is a hospital for the invalids of the Islands and southern provinces; but, in general, they no sooner amend their own constitutions, than the pestilence, which rages in that of the province, drives them to Rhode Island or New-York, where fanaticism is lost in irreligion. The people of Connecticut reckon time almost five hours later than the English. The longest day consists of fifteen hours, the shortest of nine. The brightness of the sun, moon and stars, together with their reverberated rays on ice, snow, waters, trees, mountains, pebbles, and flat stones, dazzle and weaken the eyes of the New-Englanders to such a degree, that, in general, they are obliged to use glasses before they are fifty years of age. For the most part, also, they have bad teeth, which

have been ascribed to the extreme heats and colds of summer and winter ; but, as the Indians and negroes in the same climate, have remarkably good teeth, it may be said, with great reason, that the many indulgences of the one, and the temperance of the other, and not the heats and colds, are the causes of good and bad teeth.

SOIL and PRODUCE.—The soil is various in different parts of the province ; in some black, in others brown, and elsewhere red, but all rich. Some plains are sandy, and of a whitish color ; and these produce rye, beans, and Indian corn. The meadows and low lands are excellent pasturage, and yield great crops of hay. The hills and uplands have a rich, deep soil, but are subject to droughts in July and August, which in many places are relieved by water drawn from rivers, ponds, and brooks, in troughs and ditches. The crops of European grain are always good, when the snow, which in general is the only manure, covers the earth from December to March. One acre commonly yields from twenty to thirty bushels of wheat ; of Indian corn from forty to sixty bushels, on river land, and from thirty to forty on hilly land : but it is to be observed, that one bushel of it raised on hilly land weighs 13lbs. more than a bushel raised on river land. All European grains flourish here ; and the grass is as thick and much longer than in England. Maize, or Indian corn is planted in hillocks three feet

apart, five kernels and two pumpkin seeds in a hillock; and between the hillocks are planted ten beans in a hillock; so that, if the season prove favorable, the beans or the pumpkins are worth as much as the corn. If, from an acre, the crop of corn be twenty bushels, add the beans and pumpkins, and it will be equal to sixty bushels; so, if there be sixty bushels of corn, a proportionate growth of beans and pumpkins will render the product equal to one hundred and eighty bushels. One man plants an acre in a day; in three days he hoes the same three times; and six days more suffice for plowing and gathering the crop. For these ten days' work, the price is thirty shillings: and allowing ten shillings for the use of the land, the whole expense is two pounds, and no more, whilst the corn is worth two shillings per bushel. The gain is seldom less than 300, and often 600 per cent. It is thus that the poor man becomes rich in a few years, if prudent and industrious.

The limits of Connecticut are reckoned to comprise 5,000,000 acres, half of which are supposed to be swallowed up in rivers, ponds, creeks, and roads. The inhabitants are estimated at 200,000; so that there remain but twelve and a half acres for each individual. Let it now be considered that the people buy no provisions from other provinces, but, on the contrary, export full as much as they consume, and it will appear that each

person has in fact only six and a quarter acres for his own support, two of which must be set apart for the growth of wood, the only fuel of the colony. Should I not then be justified in saying that Connecticut is as good and flourishing land as any part of Great Britain.

The face of the country resembles Devonshire, Gloucestershire, Surry, and Kent. The farmers divide their lands into four, five, and ten acres, by stone walls or posts and rails. The roads from north to south are generally level and good; from east to west, hilly and bad for carriages.

The various fruits are in greater perfection than in England. The peach and apple are more luscious, beautiful, and large: 1,000 peaches are produced from one tree; five or six barrels of cider from one apple-tree. Cider is the common drink at table. The inhabitants have a method of purifying cider by frost, and separating the watery part from the spirit, which, being secured in proper vessels, and colored by Indian corn, becomes in three months so much like Madeira wine, that Europeans drink it without perceiving the difference. They make peachy and perry; grape, cherry, and currant wines; and good beer of pumpkins, molasses, bran of wheat, spruce, and malt. The spruce is the leaves and limbs of the fir tree: their malt is made of maize, barley, oats, rye, chets, and wheat. The pumpkin, or pompi-
on, is one of the greatest blessings, and held very

sacred in New-England. It is a native of America. From one seed often grow forty pumpkins, each weighing from forty to sixty pounds, and, when ripe, of the color of the marigold. Each pumpkin contains 500 seeds, which, being boiled to a jelly is the Indian infallible cure for the strangury. Of its meat are made beer, bread, custards, sauce, molasses, vinegar, and, on thanksgiving days, pies, as a substitute for what the Blue Laws brand as antichristian minced pies. Its skin or shell, serves for caps to cut the hair by, (as already mentioned,) and very useful lanthorns. There are no trees, grain, or fruits, growing in England, but what grow in Connecticut. The English oak has been thought much superior to the American. Whatever policy may be in this opinion, I will venture to say there is no truth in it, in respect to the white oak of Connecticut, which is tough, close, hard, and elastic, as the whale-bone dried. The red, black, and chesnut oak, are, indeed, much inferior to the white oak. The ash, elm, beech, chesnut, walnut, hazel, sassafras, sumach, maple, and butternut, are the chief timber trees of this province, and grow to an amazing bulk. The last is a native of America, and takes its name from a nut it produces, of the shape and size of a pullet's egg, which contains a meat much larger than any English walnut, in taste like fresh butter: it also makes an excellent pickle. The butternut furnishes fine

but tender boards ; and its bark dyes black, and cures cutaneous disorders. In February this tree yields a sap, of which are made sugar, molasses, and vinegar. The upland maple tree also affords a sap equally good ; and both saps make a pleasant beverage without boiling, and the best punch ever drank in Connecticut.

Here are many iron mines, nay mountains of iron ore ; and, if they had been attended to with the same diligence as the farms, they would have supplied Great-Britain with iron, to the great prejudice of Sweden, and other European nations. For this commercial loss the inhabitants are indebted to their own quarrels, jealousy, and religious feuds, together with the intrigues of their neighbors. Some pig and bar iron they send, out of pure spite or folly, to New-York or Boston, to be shipped for England, by the merchants there, who always pay so much less for it, as the duty on Swedish iron amounts to ; so that Connecticut allows a duty to those merchants, which they do not pay themselves.

English, Barbary, and Dutch horses abound in this province ; they are not so heavy, but more mettlesome and hardy than in England. Here are more sheep than in any two colonies in America ; their wool also is better than that of the sheep in the other colonies, yet not so fine and good as the English. A common sheep weighs sixty pounds, and sells for a dollar, or 4s. 6d.

The horned cattle are not so large as the English ; yet there have been a few instances of oxen, six years old, weighing 1,900 each. The fat hogs here excel any in England ; many weigh five or six hundred pounds. Connecticut pork is far superior to any other.

There are only two small parks of deer in Connecticut, but plenty of rabbits, hares, grey, black, striped and red squirrels, otters, minks, racoons, weazels, foxes, whapperknockers, woodchucks, cubas, and skunks. The following descriptions of the four last mentioned animals may be new to the reader.

The whapperknocker is somewhat bigger than a weazel, and of a beautiful brown-red color. He lives in the woods on worms and birds ; is so wild that no man can tame him ; and, as he never quits his harbor in the day time, is only to be taken by traps in the night. Of the skins of these animals, which are covered with an exceeding fine fur, are made muffs at the price of thirty or forty guineas apiece ; so that it is not without reason the ladies pride themselves on the possession of this small appurtenance of female habiliment.

The woodchuck, erroneously called the badger by some persons, is of the size of a large racoon, in form resembles a Guinea pig, and when eating makes a noise like a hog, whence he is named woodchuck, or chuck of the wood. His

legs are short ; but his claws sharp, teeth strong, and courage great, on occasions of self-defence. He burrows in the earth, feeds on clover and pumpkins during summer, and sleeps all the winter. His flesh is good to eat, and his skin makes excellent leather.

The cuba I suppose to be peculiar to New-England. The male is of the size of a large cat, has four long tushes sharp as a razor, is very active in defending himself, and if he has the first blow, will spoil a dog before he yields. His lady is peaceable and harmless, and depends for protection upon her spouse ; and as he has more courage than prudence, always attends him to moderate his temper. She sees danger, and he fears it not. She chatters at him while he is preparing for battle ; and, if she thinks the danger is too great, she runs to him, and clings about his neck, screaming her extreme distress—his wrath abates, and by her advice they fly to their caves. In like manner, when he is chained, and irritated into the greatest rage by an impertinent dog, his lady, who is never chained, will fly about his neck and kiss him, and in half a minute restore him to calmness. He is very tender of his family, and never forsakes them till death dissolves their union. What further shews the magnanimity of this little animal, he never manifests the least anger towards his lady, though I have often seen her extremely loquacious, and, as I guessed,

impertinent to him. How happy would the rational part of the creation become, if they would but follow the example of these irrational beasts! I the more readily suppose the cuba to be peculiar to New-England, not only from my never having yet seen the creature described, but also on account of its perverse observance of *Carnival* and neglect of *Carême*.

The Skunk is also peculiar to America, and very different from the Pole-Cat, which he is sometimes called. He is black striped with white; and of the size of a small racoon, with a sharp nose. He burrows in the earth like a fox, feeds like a fox on fowls and eggs, and has strong teeth and claws like a fox: he has long hair, and thick and good fur; is the beauty of the wilderness; walks slow, and cannot run so fast as a man; is not wild but very familiar with every creature. His tail, which is shaggy, and about one foot in length, he turns over his back at pleasure, to make himself appear larger and higher than he really is. When his tail is thus lying on his back, he is prepared for war, and generally conquers every enemy that lives by air; for on it lies his only weapon, about one inch from his body, or rump, in a small bladder or bag, which is full of an essence, whose tint is of the brightest yellow, and odor somewhat like the smell of garlic, but far more exquisite and piercing than any volatile spirit known to chemists.

One drop will scent a house to such a degree, that musk, with the help of brimstone and tar burnt, will not expel it in six months. The bladder in which this essence lies is worked by the animal like an engine, pump, or squirt; and when the creature is assaulted, he turns his head from his enemy, and discharges from his tail the essence, which fills the neighboring air with a mist that destroys the possibility of living in it. I have seen a large house-dog, by one discharge of the Skunk, retire with shame and sickness; and at another time, a bullock bellowing as if a dog had held him by his nose. Was it not for man, no creature could kill this animal, which, instead of the Lion, ought to be crowned King of Animals, as well on account of his virtues and complaisance, as his courage. He knows his forte; he fears nothing, he conquers all; yet he is civil to all, and never gives, as he will not take, offence. / His virtues are many. The wood of Calamba, which cures fainting-fits and strokes of the palsy, and is worth its weight in gold, is far less valuable than the above mentioned essence of this animal. The bag is extracted whole from his tail, and the essence preserved in glass; nothing else will confine it. One drop sufficiently impregnates a quart of spring water; and a half a gill of water thus impregnated is a dose. It cures the hiccups, asthmatic, hysteric, paralytic, and hectic disorders; and the odor prevents

faintness. The flesh of this animal is excellent food; and its oil cures sprains, and contractions of the sinews.

The feathered tribe in Connecticut are, turkeys, geese, ducks, and all kinds of barn-door poultry; innumerable flocks of pigeons, which fly to the south in autumn; cormorants, of all sizes; hawks, owls, ravens, and crows; partridges, quails, heath-hens, blackbirds, snipes, larks, humilitys, whipperwills, dewminks, robins, wrens, swallows, sparrows, the flax, crimson, white and blue birds, &c. &c., to which I must add the humming bird, though it might wantonly be styled the empress of the honey-bees, partaking with them of the pink, tulip, rose, daisy, and other aromatics. The partridges in New-England are near as large as a Darking, fowl; the quails, as an English partridge; and the robins twice as big as those in England. The dew-mink so named from its articulating those syllables, is black and white, and of the size of an English robin. Its flesh is delicious. The humility is so called, because it speaks the word *humility*, and seldom mounts high in the air. Its legs are long enough to enable it to outrun a dog for a little way; its wings long and narrow, body maigre, and of the size of a blackbird's; plumage variegated with white, black, blue, and red. It lives on tadpoles, spawn and worms; has an eye more piercing than the falcon, and the swiftness of an eagle. Hence

it can never be shot: for it sees the sparks of fire even before they enkindle the powder, and, by the extreme rapidity of its flight, gets out of reach in an instant. It is never known to light upon a tree, but is always seen upon the ground or wing. These birds appear in New-England in summer only; what becomes of them afterwards is not discovered. They are caught in snares, but can never be tamed.

The whipperwill has so named itself by its nocturnal songs. It is also called the pope, by reason of its darting with great swiftness, from the clouds to the ground, and bawling out *Pope!* which alarms young people and the fanatics very much, especially as they know it to be an ominous bird. However, it has hitherto proved friendly, always giving travellers and others notice of an approaching storm, by saluting them every minute with *Pope! Pope!* It flies only a little before sunset, unless for this purpose of giving notice of a storm. It never deceives the people with false news. If the tempest is to continue long, the augurs appear in flocks, and nothing can be heard but the word *Pope! Pope!* The whipperwill is about the size of a cuckow, has a short beak, long and narrow wings, a large head, and mouth enormous, yet it is not a bird of prey. Under its throat is a pocket, which it fills with air at pleasure, whereby it sounds forth the fatal words: *Pope* in the day, and *Whip-her-I-will* in

the night. The superstitious inhabitants would have exorcised this harmless bird long ago, as an emissary from Rome, and an enemy to the American vine, had they not found out that it frequents New-England only in the summer, and prefers the wilderness to a palace. Nevertheless, many cannot but believe it a spy from some foreign court, an agent of antichrist, a lover of persecution, and an enemy of protestants, because it sings of *whipping*, and of the *Pope*, which they think portends misery and a change of religion.

The principal insects are, the hornet, bull-fly, glow-bug, humble-bee, and the black and yellow wasp.

The bull-fly is armed with a coat of mail, which it can move from one place to another, as sliders to a window are moved. Its body is about an inch long, and its horns half an inch, very sharp and strong. It has six feet, with claws sharp as needles, and runs fast. It also flies with some speed. In sucking the blood or juice of its prey, this creature holds the same in its claws, otherwise the prey is carried between his horns.

The glow-bug both crawls and flies, and is about half an inch long. These insects fly in the summer evenings, nearly seven feet from the ground, in such multitudes, that they afford sufficient light for people to walk by. The brightness, however, is interrupted by twinklings; but they are instantaneous and short as those of the

eye ; so that darkness no sooner takes place than it vanishes.

The humble-bee is almost as large as the humming-bird, but cannot fly near so fast. It builds its nest in the ground, where it makes a honey-comb of the size of a man's hand, and fills it with bee-bread, wax, and honey, excelling that of the honey-bee in taste. Two or three begin, and having shortly multiplied to about forty, the young ones leave home as soon as they can fly, to begin new settlements. These bees are wrongly named ; they are warriors, and only want quantity of poison to be more fatal than rattle-snakes. The honey-bees can sting but once, while the humble-bees will sting a thousand times. Their body is black and white ; wings of a Doric color ; sight piercing ; hearing quick ; and temper cruel.

Among the reptiles of Connecticut are the black, the water, milk, and streaked snakes, all harmless. The belled or rattle-snakes are large, and will gorge a common cat. They are seldom seen from their rocky dens. Their bite is mortal if not speedily cured ; yet they are generous and without guile ; before they bite, they rattle their bells three or four times ; but, after that, their motion is swift, and stroke sure. The Indians discovered and informed the English of a weed, common in the country, which, mixed with spittle, will extract the poison.

The toads and frogs are plenty in the spring of

the year. The tree-frogs, whipperwills, and whooping-owls, serenade the inhabitants every night with music far excelling the harmony of the trumpet, drum, and jews-harp.

The tree-frog cannot be called an insect, a reptile, or one of the winged host. He has four legs, the two foremost short, with claws as sharp as those of a squirrel: the hind legs 5 inches long, and folding by three joints. His body is about as big as the first joint of a man's thumb. Under his throat is a wind-bag, which assists him in singing the word *I-sa ac*, all the night. When it rains, and is very dark, he sings the loudest. His voice is not so pleasing as that of a nightingale; but this would be a venial imperfection, if he would but keep silence on Saturday nights, and not forever prefer *I-sa-ac* to *Abraham* and *Jacob*. He has more elasticity in his long legs than any other creature yet known. By this means he will leap five yards up a tree, fastening himself to it by his fore feet; and in a moment will hop or spring as far from one tree to another. It is from the singing of the tree-frog that the Americans have acquired the name of *Little Isaac*. Indeed, like a certain part of them, the creature appears very devout, noisy, arbitrary, and phlegmatic, and associates with none but what agree with him in his ways.

The oysters, clams, quauhogs, lobsters, crabs, and fish, are innumerable. The shad, bass, and

salmon, more than half support the province. The sturgeon is made no use of. From the number of seines employed to catch the fish passing up to the lakes, one might be led to suppose the whole must be stopped ; yet, in six months time they return to the sea with such multitudes of young ones as fill Connecticut river for many days, and no finite being can number them.

POPULATION AND INHABITANTS.—Connecticut, in proportion to its extent, exceeds every other colony of English America, as well in the abundance of people as cultivation of soil. The number of the first settlers at Saybrook, in 1634, was 200 ; in 1636, at Hertford, 106 ; in 1637, at New-Haven, 157 ; in all 463. In 1670, the residents in these three settlements amounted to 15,000, of whom 2,000 were men capable of bearing arms ; the rest, old men, women, and children. In 1680, the residents were 20,000 ; in 1770, 200,000. Hence, it appears, that the people of Connecticut did, during the 90 years preceding the last mentioned date, increase 2,000 each year, i. e. 20,000 in a period of 90 years, doubled their number ten times over. Should the 200,000, which existed in Connecticut in 1770, double their number in the same manner for the ensuing 90 years, the province will, in the year 1860, contain 2,000,000, and if the fighting men should then be in the same proportion to the rest of the inhabitants, as they were in 1670, they will amount to no less

than 266,000. I see no reason in nature why it may not be so.

Since 1670, the emigrations from Europe, or elsewhere, to Connecticut, have been trifling in comparison to the emigrations from Connecticut to New-Jersey, New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Nova Scotia, &c. &c.

MANUFACTURES.—The inhabitants manufacture coarse and fine flannels, linen, cotton, and woollen cloths, woollen stockings, mittens, and gloves, for their own use; they spin much cotton and flax; and make common and the best kind of beaver hats. Ship-building is a great branch of business in Connecticut, which is carried on much cheaper than in Europe, by means of saw-mills worked by water. The planks are cut by a gang of ten or twelve saws, more or less, as occasion requires, while the carriage is backed but once. Great part of the ship timber is also cut by water. Anchor making is done by water and trip hammers, without much fatigue to the workmen. Distillation and paper making increase every year. Here are many rope walks, which want neither hemp nor flax; and formerly here were rolling and slitting works, but they have been suppressed by an act of parliament, to the ruin of many families.

COMMERCE.—The exports of Connecticut consist chiefly of all sorts of provisions, pig and bar iron, pot and pearl ashes, staves, lumber, boards,

iron pots and kettles, anchors, planks, hoops, shingles, live cattle, horses, &c. &c. To what amount these articles are annually exported may be judged of from the following very low estimate :

| | |
|---|----------|
| Pork | £ 93,750 |
| Beef | 100,000 |
| Mutton | 5,000 |
| Horses | 40,000 |
| Wheat | 340,000 |
| Butter, cheese, rye, oats, onions tobacco, cider, maize, beans, fowls, eggs, tallow, and hides, | 90,000 |
| Ships, anchors, cables, cordage, pig and bar iron, pots, kettles, pot and pearl ashes, boards, and lumber | 250,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 918,750 |

besides hay, fish, &c. &c. The salmon large and small, are exported both pickled and dried.

In the above statement of exports, I have allowed only for horses bred in the colony, and not for those brought for exportation from Canada, and other northern parts, which are very numerous. The calculation of the wheat, the common price of which is three shillings sterling per bushel, is founded upon the allowed circumstance of the exportation being equal to the consumption, viz. 2,600,000 bushels among 200,000 persons, according to the acknowledged necessary

portion of thirteen bushels for one person. The pork is estimated according to the reputed number of houses in the province, viz. 30,000, allowing one and a quarter barrels for each house, at 2*l.* 10*s.* per barrel.

The imports, in 1680, when the number of inhabitants was 20,000, amounted to 10,000*l.* i. e. at the rate of 10*s.* for each individual. Supposing the increase of imports only to keep pace with that of the people, they would, in 1770, when the province contained 200,000 souls, amount to 100,000*l.*; but, I believe that to be not above one quarter of their value.

Boston, New-York, and Newport, have the greatest share of the exports of Connecticut, and pay for them in English or Dutch goods, at cent. per cent. profit to themselves, upon a moderate computation. What few of them are sent by the colony to the West Indies are paid for honorably in rum, molasses, sugar, salt, brandy, cotton, and money.

Consequences very prejudicial attend the commerce of Connecticut, thus principally carried on through the medium of the neighboring colonies. I will here point out one material instance. Connecticut pork, a considerable article of exportation, excels all other in America, and fetches a half-penny more per pound. Of this difference in price the merchants of New-York, Boston, &c. have taken care to avail themselves, by mixing

their own inferior pork with that of Connecticut, and then selling the whole at the full price of the latter. This fair dealing was managed thus:—The pork of Connecticut is packed up in barrels, each of which, according to statute regulation, must weigh 220lbs. and contain not more than six legs, and three half heads. The packer is to mark the barrel before it is shipped, and is liable to a heavy punishment, if there should be found four half heads and seven legs in the barrel when it is delivered for exportation. But of large pork two legs and half a head will be a sufficient proportion of those parts in a barrel. This gives the New-York and Bostonian merchants an opportunity of taking out the best part of the Connecticut pork, and substituting in its place an equal weight of their own, whereby it often happens, that four legs and two half heads are found in a barrel of reputed Connecticut pork. Though it then remains a barrel according to the statute, it cannot but be supposed that this practice must greatly hurt the credit of Connecticut pork, with all who are not apprised that it passes through the renowned provinces of Massachusetts-Bay and New-York.

The people of Connecticut have long been sensible of the many and great impositions and disadvantages which beset their commercial system; yet, though sufficient power is in their own hands, they have no inclination or resolution to

attempt a reformation of it. The reason is, the mutual animosities and rancor subsisting between the dominions of New-London, Hertford, and New-Haven, each of which prefers the general ruin of the province to a coalition upon any terms short of conquest. The seeds of this discord were thus sown by their two insidious neighbors. The port of New-London is by far the best in the province, and extremely well calculated for its capital and grand commercial emporium; and about fifty years since, a number of merchants there began to export and import goods, seemingly to the satisfaction of the whole colony, but to the great displeasure and chagrin of those of New-York and Boston, whom it threatened with ruin. Something was necessary to be done. The poor Bostonians, according to custom, privately sent to their faithful allies at Hertford, to infuse into them an idea that their town ought to be the capital, and not New-London, which belonged to the dominion of Sassacus, who had murdered so many christians; adding, that, if they would engage in such an attempt in favor of Hertford, the Boston merchants would supply them with goods cheaper than they could buy them at New-London. The good people of Hertford, forgetting their river was frozen five months in the year, remembering how they had obtained their charter, hating Sassacus, and loving self, immediately gave into the designing Bos-

tonians' suggestions, and refused to receive any more goods from New-London. The friendly Mynheers of New-York played off a similar trick upon New-Haven, and promised to support that town as the capital of the colony. The plots succeeded. Contentions and quarrels arose among the three parties, the effects of which remain to this day. The merchants of New-London were obliged to quit Connecticut; and the trade of the province was chiefly divided between New-York and Boston, at cent, per cent. disadvantage to an ill-natured colony, and at the same advantage to its cunning neighbors. When party-spirit yields to self-interest, New-London will again become the emporium of Connecticut, where merchants will settle and import goods from foreign countries at 35*l.* per cent. extra profit to the consumers, and 15*l.* per cent. extra profit to themselves, and withal save as much in the exports from Connecticut by taking the full price and bounty of its goods at foreign markets, instead of yielding the same to the people of New-York and Boston, who have too long kept 200,000 people as negroes upon their own farms, to support twice 20,000 artful citizens. Thus has Connecticut, by contention and folly, impoverished, and kept in obscurity, the most fruitful colony in America, to support the fame and grandeur of Boston and New-York among the trading nations of Europe. When I view the

less fertile soil of Boston, the conscience of merchants, the pride of the pretended Gospel ministers, the blindness of bigotry, and the mercantile ignorance of farmers, I forgive Boston, New-York, and Rhode Island, but condemn Connecticut. I will leave a legacy to the people of my native country, which possibly may heal their divisions, and render them partial to their own province, as the Bostonians are to theirs. It consists of two lines :

“ But if men knaves and fools will be,
They’ll be ass-ridden by all three.”

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE.—In 1680, the whole corporation were estimated to be worth 120,000*l.* They then had 30 small vessels, 26 churches, and, as abovementioned, 20,000 inhabitants. If their value had increased only in proportion with the inhabitants, who, I have said, amounted to 200,000 in 1770, the corporation would then have been worth no more than 1,200,000*l.* a sum not equal to 10*s.* per acre, though in a great measure cultivated, and surrounded with stone walls, which alone cost ten shillings by the rod ; but in that year, viz. 1770, land sold in Connecticut from four to fifty pounds per acre ; their vessels also had increased to above 1,200 ; and the churches—least in proportion—to about 300. The true method, therefore, of forming the valuation of Connecticut in 1770,

is, not by calculating upon its state in 1680, but by estimating the number of its acres, appreciating them by purchases then made, and adding a due allowance for the stock, &c. Now, Connecticut has been reputed to contain 2,500,000 solid acres, which, at the very moderate price of eight pounds each, are worth 20,000,000*l.* sterl. and 14,000,000*l.* being added as a reasonable allowance for stock, shipping, &c. the whole valuation of Connecticut would amount to 34,000,000*l.*—The annual income, supposing the 2,500,000 acres, and stock rented at 10*s.* per acre, one with another, would be 1,250,000*l.*

A list of rateables, called the General List, is the foundation upon which the revenue is raised in Connecticut, being the valuation of a man's property by the year. It is formed in the following manner :

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| One acre of land, per ann. | 0 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> |
| One house | 3 0 |
| One horse | 3 0 |
| One ox | 3 0 |
| One swine | 1 0 |
| One cow | 3 0 |
| One two year old heifer | 2 0 |
| One yearling do. | 1 0 |
| One poll or male, between 16 and 60 years | 18 0 |
| One lawyer for his faculty | 20 0 |
| One vessel of 100 tons | 10 0 |

£65 10

Every person annually gives in his list, specifying the property he possesses, to the selectmen, who send the sum total of each town to the General Assembly, when a tax of one shilling, more or less, according to public exigencies, is imposed on each pound.

According to the general list of the colony for 1770, I have under-rated its annual worth, which then was fixed at 2,000,000*l.* for, though that list includes the poll tax of 18*l.* per head for all males above sixteen and under sixty years of age, the faculty tax, and the tax on shipping, all which may amount to 600,000*l.* there nevertheless remains a surplus of 150,000*l.* above my calculation. But supposing a tax of one shilling in the pound (the common colonial assessment) on 1,250,000*l.* the produce will be 62,500*l.* exclusive of the poll, faculty, and other taxes. Small, however, as this assessment is, it has never been collected without much difficulty and clamor; yet the people lose, by trading with Boston, New-York, and Newport, in exports and imports, 600,000*l.* annually—and that for nothing, but to oblige the traders of those towns, and disoblige one another.

The annual expenditure of the colony is as follows :

| | |
|---|--------|
| Salary of the Governor | £ 300 |
| Lieutenant Governor | 150 |
| Treasurer | 150 |
| Secretary | 150 |
| The twelve Assistants in Council with the Governor | 800 |
| 146 Representatives | 2,500 |
| 300 Ministers, 100 <i>l.</i> each | 30,000 |
| Allowance for contingencies | 28,450 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total | 62,500 |

The above mentioned list of the colony, including the poll tax, &c. would afford 32,500*l.* more for *contingencies* !

RELIGION AND GOVERNMENT—Properly speaking, the Connecticutensians have neither, nor ever had : but, in pretence, they excel the whole world, except Boston and Spain. If I could recollect the names of the multifarious religious sects among them, it might afford the reader a pleasant idea of the prolific invention of mankind. I shall mention a few of the most considerable : specifying the number of their congregations.

| | Congregations. |
|---------------------|----------------|
| Episcopalians | 73 |
| Scotch presbyterian | 1 |
| Sandemanian | 3 |
| Ditto, bastard | 1 |
| Lutherans | 1 |
| Baptists | 6 |
| Seven-day ditto | 1 |
| Quakers | 4 |
| Davisonians | 1 |
| Separatists | 40 |
| Rogereens | 1 |
| Bowlists | 1 |
| Old Lights | 80 |
| New Lights | 87 |

300

An account of some of these sects is to be found in the history of Munster; but the Bowlists, Separatists, and Davisonians, are peculiar to the colony. The first allow of neither singing nor prayer; the second permit only the Elect to pray; and the third teach universal salvation, and deny the existence of a hell or devils. The presbyterians and episcopalians are held by all to be the enemies of Zion, and the American vine; nay, the former are even worse hated than the churchmen, because they appear to be dissenters and are not genuine enemies to episcopacy, but "hold the truth in unrighteousness." Some tra-

vellers have called the fanatical sects of Connecticut by the general name of Legionists, because they are many; and others have called them Punguntums, Cantums, &c. because they groan and sing with a melancholy voice their prayers, sermons, and hymns. This disgusting tone has utterly excluded oratory from them; and, did they not speak the English language in greater perfection than any other of the Americans, few strangers would disoblige them with their company. Their various systems are founded upon those of Peters, Hooker, and Davenport, of which I have already spoken; yet the modern teachers have made so many new-fangled refinements in the doctrine and discipline of those patriarchs, and of one another, as render their passion for ecclesiastical innovation and tyranny equally conspicuous. But the whole are enveloped with superstition, which here passes for religion, as much as it does in Spain, France, or among the savages. I will instance that of an infant in 1761. Some children were piling sand-heaps in Hertford, when a boy only four years old, hearing it thunder at a distance, left his companions and ran home to his mother, crying out, "Mother! mother! give me my book, for I heard God speaking to me." His mother gave him his book, and he read A, B, C, D, E, F, G, &c. then gave up his book, saying, "Here, mother, take my book; I must go to my sand-

houses; now I am not afraid of all the thunder and lightning in the world.”

As to their government, we may compare it to the regularity of a mad mob in London, with this exception, the mob acts without law, and the colonists by law. They teach that legal righteousness is not saving grace. Herein they are right; but it appears they believe not their own doctrine; for legal righteousness is their only shield and buckler! In January county court, at Hertford only, 1768, there were above 3,000 suits on the docket; and there are four of those courts in a year, and perhaps never less suits at a court than 2,000.

In the course of this work, my readers must necessarily have observed, in some degree, the ill effects of the democratical constitution of Connecticut. I would wish them to imagine, for I feel myself unable adequately to describe, the confusion, turbulence, and convulsion arising in a province, where not only every civil officer, from the Governor to the constable, but also every minister, is appointed as well as paid by the people, and faction and superstition are established. The clergy, lawyers, and merchants, or traders, are the three efficient parties which guide the helm of government. Of these the most powerful is the clergy: and, when no combinations are formed against them, they may be said to rule the whole province; for they lead the women captive, and the women the men; but when the clergy differ with the law-

yers and merchants, the popular tide turns. In like manner, when the clergy and lawyers contend with the merchants, it turns against these; and it is the same, when the clergy and merchants unite against the lawyers. This fluctuation of power gives a strange appearance to the body politic at large. In Hertford, perhaps, the clergy and merchants are agreed and prevail; in Weathersfield, the clergy and lawyers; in Middletown, the lawyers and merchants; and so on, again and again, throughout the colony. Thus the General Assembly becomes an assembly of contending factions, whose different interests and pursuits it is generally found necessary mutually to consult, in order to produce a sufficient coalition to proceed on the business of the state.—*Vosipsos, pseudo-patres patriæ, veluti in speculo, aspiciite!*—Sometimes, in quarrels between the merchants and lawyers of a particular parish, the minister is allowed to stand neuter; but, for the most part, he is obliged to declare on one side or the other; he then, remembering whence he gets his bread, espouses that which appears to be the strongest, whether it be right or wrong, and his declaration never fails to ruin the adverse party. *En rabies vulgi!*—I must beg leave to refer my readers to their own reflections upon such a system of government as I have here sketched out.

The historians of New-England boast much of the happiness all parties there enjoy in not being

subject, as in England, to any sacramental test by way of qualification for preferment in the state; on which account, with peculiar propriety, it might be called a free country. The truth is, there never has been occasion for such a test-act. The assemblies never appointed any, because the magistrates are annually chosen by the people, of whom the far greater part are church members; and this church-membership, in its consequences, destroys all liberty in a communicant, who is necessitated to swear to promote the interests of that church he is a member of, and is duly informed by the minister what that interest is. The minister is the eye of conscience to all freemen in his parish; and tells them, that they will perjure themselves, if they give their votes to an episcopalian, or to any person who is not a member of the church of *Sober Dissenters*. Those *freemen* dare not go counter to the minister's dictate. any more than a true Mussulman dare violate the most sacred law of Mahomet. What need, then, is there of a civil test, when a religious test operates much more powerfully, and will ever keep all churchmen, separatists, quakers, baptists, and other denominations, from governmental employments, in Connecticut, and confine them to the Old and New Lights; whilst the test-act in England prevents no dissenter from holding any civil or military commission whatsoever.—Upon this subject Mr. Neal has ex-

erted himself in so signal a manner, that he ought to be styled the Champion of New-England. He represents, that there were two state factions in New-England: the one out of place he calls spies, and malcontents, chiefly because they had no share in the government. He adds, p. 615, "I can assure the world, that religion is no part of the quarrel; for there is no sacramental test for preferments in the state." Many people in New-England have not been able to assign a reason for Mr. Neal's choosing to hide one truth by telling another, viz. that there was no statute in New-England to oblige a man to receive the sacrament among the *Sober Dissenters*, as a qualification for civil employment. This assertion is really true; and when Mr. Neal speaks a truth, he above all men ought to have credit for it. But Mr. Neal well knew it to be truth also, that no man could be chosen a coporal in the train-band, unless he was a member of the church of the *Sober Dissenters*, because then every voter was subject to a religious test of the synod or consociation. Mr. Neal, indeed, seems to think that a civil test is heresy itself; but that a religious test is liberty, is gospel, and renders "all parties of christians in New-England easy, a happy people!" The reason, however, of his muffling truth with truth, was, he wrote for the Old Lights, and against the New Lights, for hire; the New Lights being the minority, and out of place in the state.

Those two sects differed about the coercive power of the civil magistrate. The Old Lights held that the civil magistrate was a creature framed on purpose to support ecclesiastical censures with the sword of severity; but the New Lights maintained, that the magistrate had no power or right to concern himself with church excommunication, and that excommunication was all the punishment any one could undergo in this world according to the rules of the gospel. These were and always have been two great articles of faith in New-England; nevertheless, Mr Neal says, he can assure the world, that "religion is no part of the quarrel!" I hope Mr. Neal did not mean to quibble, as the New-Englanders generally do, by jesuitism, viz. that religion is peaceable and admits not of quarrels; and yet, if he did, he meant not a full representation of the matter: for he well knew that the difference in respect to the intent and power of magistrates was a religious point, and formed the partition-wall between the Old and New Lights. The civilians or magistrates were too wise to countenance the New Lights, who promised little good to them; while the Old Lights gave them a power of punishing, even with death, those whom they had anathematized, and who would not submit to their censures by penitence and confession. The Old Lights, in short, supported the practice of the inquisitors of Spain, and Archbishop Laud; the ostensible

occasion of their ancestors flying from England to the wilderness of America.

But Mr. Neal contented not himself with one mistake; he added, "that the people of New-England are a dutiful and loyal people." They never merited this character, and they always had too much honesty and religion to claim it. From the first they have uniformly declared, in church and state, that America is a new world, subject to the people residing in it; and that none but enemies to the country would appeal from their courts to the King in Council. They never have prayed for any earthly king by name. They have always called themselves republicans, and enemies to kingly government, to temporal and spiritual lords. They hate the idea of a parliament, consisting of King, Lords, and Commons: they declare that the three branches should be but one, the King having only a single vote with the other members. Upon this point they have always quarrelled with all governors. They never have admitted one law of England to be in force among them, till passed by their assemblies. They have sent agents to fight against the Kings of England. They deny the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, which extends over America by virtue of a royal patent. They hold Jesus to be their only King, whom if they love and obey, they will not submit, because they have not submitted, to the laws of the King of Great Britain.

Nr. Neal, furthermore, professes his want of conception why the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts should send missionaries into New-England, when Oliver Cromwell had, in 1640, instituted a Society to propagate Christian knowledge there. Mr. Neal might have learnt the cause of this phenomenon from the charter granted to the first mentioned Society by King William III. who was a friend to civil and christian liberty, and who endeavored to suppress the intolerable persecutions in his days prevailing in New-England. But, besides Mr. Neal, could not but know that there were many churchmen in New-England desirous of the use of the liturgy and discipline of the English church; and for what reason should not they have ministers of their own persuasion, as well as the sober and conscientious dissenters? I hope my readers will not think me a partial advocate for the church of England, which, perhaps, has lost the opportunity of civilizing, christianizing, and moderating the burning zeal of the dissenters in New-England, who were honest in their religion, merely by the sinful omission of not sending a bishop to that country, who would have effected greater things among them than an army of 50,000 men. I avow myself to be liberal minded towards all sects and parties; and, if I had power, I would convert all sorts of ministers into popes, cardinals, prelates, dominis, potent presbyters, and rich qua-

kers, that the world might be excused from hearing again of preaching, defamation, insurrections, and spiritual jurisdictions, which result more from poverty, pride, avarice, and ambition, than the love of peace and christianity. It has been said by the deists and other politicians, that ministers, by preaching, have done more hurt than good in the christian world. If the idea will hold in any part, it will in New-England, where each sect preaches, for Gospel, policy and defamation of its neighbor; whence the lower classes think, that christianity consists in defending their own peculiar church and modes, and subverting those of others, at any rate; while the higher ranks value religion and the Gospel as laws of a foreign country, and the clergy as merchants or pawwawers, subtle, cruel, and greedy of riches and dominion over all people. For this reason, the savages have taken an aversion to the protestant religion, and say they had rather follow Hobbamockow, and the Roman priests, than New-England christians, who persecute one another, and killed their ancestors with a *pocky* Gospel. With scorn they cry out, "We value not your Gospel, which shews so many roads to Kicktang: some of them must be crooked, and lead to Hobbamockow. We had, therefore, better continue Indians, like our ancestors; or be catholics, who tell us of only one way to Kicktang, or the invisible God."

LAWs.—A stranger in the colony, upon hearing

the inhabitants talk of religion, liberty, and justice, would be induced to believe that the christian and civil virtues were their distinguishing characteristics; but he soon finds his mistake on fixing his abode among them. Their laws grind the poor, and their religion is to oppress the oppressed. The poll tax is unjust and cruel. The poor man is compelled to pay for his head 18s. per ann. work four days on the highways, serve in the militia four days, and pay three shillings for his hut without a window in it. The best house and richest man in the colony pays no more!

The law is pretended to exempt episcopalians, anabaptists, quakers, and others, from paying rates to the Sober Dissenters; but at the same time, gives the Sober Dissenters power to tax them for minister, school, and town rates, by a general vote; and no law or court can *put-asunder what the town has joined together*.—The law also exempts from paying to Sober Dissenters all churchmen, *who live so near as they can and do attend the church*. But hence, if a man is sick, and does not attend more than twenty-six Sabbaths in a year, he becomes legally a Sober Dissenter; and, if the meeting lies between him and the church, he does not live *so near the church as he can attend*, because it is more than a Sabbath-day's journey, and therefore *unnecessary* travel.*

* Supplement. Note (d)

The law prescribes whipping, stocks and fines, for such as do not attend public worship on the Sabbath. The grand jury complains, and the justice inflicts the punishment. This has been the practice many years. About 1750, Mr. Pitt, a churchman, was whipped, for not attending meeting. Mr. Pitt was an old man. The episcopal clergy wrote to England, complaining of this cruel law. The Governor and Council immediately broke the justice who punished Mr. Pitt, and wrote to the Bishop of London that they had done so, as a mark of their disapprobation of the justice's conduct, and knew not what more they could do. This apology satisfied the Bishop; and the next year the same Governor and Council restored the justice to his office: however, quakers and anabaptists only were whipped afterwards.

Formerly, when a Sober Dissenter had a suit in law against a churchman, every jurymen of the latter persuasion was by the court removed from the jury, and replaced by Sober Dissenters. The reason assigned for this extraordinary conduct was, "that justice and impartiality might take place." The episcopalians, quakers, and other sects, not of the Sober Dissenters, were not admitted to serve as jurymen in Connecticut till about 1750. Such of them, whose annual worth is rated at not less than forty pounds in the general list, have enjoyed the list of voting for civil

officers a much longer term; but from parish concerns they are all still totally excluded.

Other laws I have occasionally animadverted upon in the course of this work; and a specimen of the Blue Laws and of the various courts are inserted.

Nothing can reflect greater disgrace upon the colony than the number of suits in all the county courts, amounting in the whole to between 20 and 30,000 annually; the greatest part of which are vexatiously commenced from expectations grounded upon the notorious instability of the judges' opinions and decisions.

This spirit of litigation, which distracts the province in general, is, however, a blessing to the judges and lawyers. The court has one shilling for every action called, and twenty shillings for those that come to trial; and the fee to each lawyer is twenty shillings, whether the action be tried or not; besides various other expenses. There are near as many suits of conscience before the justices of peace, and ministers, and deacons; so that the sum annually expended in law in the whole colony is amazing. It was not without reason, therefore, that the judges, the lawyers, the ministers, and deacons, the sheriffs, and constables, opposed the stamp-act with all their might. They told the people, that, if this act took place, their liberties would be destroyed.

and they would be tried by King's judges without a jury.

The singular nature of some of the suits entitle them to particular notice. When the ice and floods prevail in the great river Connecticut, they frequently cut off large pieces of ground on one side, and carry them over to the opposite. By this means the river is every year changing its bed, to the advantage of some persons, and the disadvantage of others. This has proved the source of perplexing law-suits, and will most likely continue to produce the same effects so long as the demi-annual assemblies remain in the colony; for the judgment of the Assembly in May is rescinded by that in October, and so vice versa. Thus a law-suit in Connecticut is endless, to the ruin of both plaintiff and defendant. The county and the superior courts, also, in different years, give different judgments; and the reason is the popular constitution of the colony, whereby different parties prevail at different times, each of whom carefully undoes what the others have done. Thus the glorious uncertainty of law renders the possession of property in Connecticut extremely precarious. The question, however, touching the lands removed from place to place by the floods and ice, requires the skill of both juries and casuists. The most simple case of the kind that has been communicated to me, is the following:

A piece of land belonging to A. in Springfield, with a house, &c. standing upon it, was removed by the flood to another town, and settled on land belonging to W. A. claimed his house and land, and took possession of them; whereupon W. sued A. for a trespass, and the court ejected A. But A. afterwards obtained a reversion of the judgment; when W. again sued A. and got a decree that A. should remove his own land off from the land of W. or pay W. for *his* land. Further litigation ensued, and both parties pleaded that the act of God injured no man according to the English law. The judges said, the act of God in this case equally fell upon A. and W. The dispute rests in *statu quo*, the jurisprudence of Connecticut not having yet taught mankind what is just and legal in this important controversy.

Supposing the flood had carried A.'s ship or raft on W.'s land, the ship or raft would still belong to A. and W. could recover no damage; but then A. must take away his ship or raft in a reasonable time. Yet in the case where an island or point of land is removed by the waters, or an earthquake, upon a neighboring shore,—Q. ought not the Islanders to keep possession of the superficies? This may be a new case in Europe.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.—Gravity and a serious deportment, together with shyness and bashfulness, generally attend the first communications

with the inhabitants of Connecticut; but, after a short acquaintance, they become very familiar and inquisitive about news,—Who are you, whence come you, where going, what is your business, and what your religion? They do not consider these and similar questions as impertinent, and consequently expect a civil answer. When the stranger has satisfied their curiosity, they will treat him with all the hospitality in their power, and great caution must be observed to get quit of them and their houses without giving them offence. If the stranger has cross and difficult roads to travel, they will go with him till all danger is past, without fee or reward. The stranger has nothing to do but civilly to say, “Sir, I thank you, and will call upon you when I return.” He must not say, “God bless you, I shall be glad to see you at my house,” unless he is a minister; because they hold, that the words “God bless you” should not be spoken by common people; and, “I shall be glad to see you at my house,” they look upon as an insincere compliment paid them for what they do out of duty to the stranger. Their hospitality is highly exemplary; they are sincere in it, and reap great pleasure by reflecting that perhaps they have entertained angels. The Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, in one of his sermons, gave them the following character: “I have found,” said he, “the people of Connecticut the wisest of any upon the continent—they are

the best friends and the worst enemies—they are hair-brained bigots on all sides—and they may be compared to the horse and mule without bit and bridle. In other colonies I have paid for my food and lodging; but could never spend one penny in fruitful Connecticut, whose banks flow with milk and honey, and whose sons and daughters never fail to feed and refresh the weary traveller without money and without price.”

On Saturday evenings the people look sour and sad: on the Sabbath they appear to have lost their dearest friends, and are almost speechless, and walk softly; they even observe it with more exactness than ever did the Jews. A quaker preacher told them, with much truth, that they worshipped the Sabbath, and not the God of the Sabbath. Those hospitable people without charity condemned the quaker as a blasphemer of the holy Sabbath, fined, tarred and feathered him, put a rope about his neck, and plunged him into the sea: but he escaped with life, though he was above seventy years of age. In 1750, an episcopal clergyman, born and educated in England, who had been in holy orders above twenty years, once broke their sabbatical law, by combing a discomposed lock of hair on the top of his wig; at another time by making a humming noise, which they called a whistling; at a third time, by walking too fast from church; at a fourth by running into church when it rained; at a fifth by

walking in his garden, and picking a bunch of grapes: for which several crimes he was complained of by the grand jury, had warrants granted against him, was seized, brought to trial, and paid a considerable sum of money. At last, overwhelmed with persecution and vexation, he cried out, "No Briton, nay no Jew, should assume any public character in Connecticut, till he has served an apprenticeship of ten years in it; for I have been here seven years, and strictly observed the Jewish law concerning the Sabbath, yet find myself remiss in respect to the *perfect law of liberty*!"

The people are extremely fond of strangers passing through the colony, but very averse to foreigners settling among them; which few have done without ruin to their characters and fortunes by detraction and law-suits, unless recommended as men of grace by some known and revered republican protestant in Europe. The following story may be amusing:

‡ An English gentleman, during a short residence in a certain town, had the good luck to receive some civilities from the Deacon, Minister, and Justice. The Deacon had a daughter, without beauty, but sensible and rich. The Briton (for that was the name he went by,) having received a present from the West Indies, of some pine apples and sweatmeats, sent his servant with part of it to the Deacon's daughter, to whom, at the same time he addressed a complimentary note,

begging Miss would accept the pine apples and sweatmeats, and wishing he might be able to make her a better present. Miss, on reading the note, was greatly alarmed, and exclaimed "Mama! Mama! Mr. Briton has sent me a love-letter." The mother read the note, and shewed it to the Deacon; and, after due consideration, both agreed in pronouncing it a love-letter. The lawyer, justice, and parson, were then sent for, who in council weighed every word in the note, together with the golden temptation which the lady possessed, and were of opinion that the writer was in love, and that the note was a love-letter, but worded so carefully that the law could not punish Briton for attempting to court Miss without obtaining her parents' consent. The parson wrung his hands, rolled up his eyes, shrugged up his shoulders, groaned out his hypocritical grief, and said, "Deacon, I hope you do not blame me for having been the innocent cause of your knowing this imprudent and haughty Briton. There is something very odd in all the Britons; but I thought this man had some prudence and modesty: however, Deacon," putting his hand on his breast, and bowing with a pale, deceitful face, "I shall in future shun all the Britons, for they are all strange creatures." The lawyer and justice made their apologies, and were sorry that Briton did not consider the quality of the Deacon's daughter before he wrote his letter. Miss,

all apprehension and tears, at finding no punishment could reach Briton in the course of law, cried out to her counsellors, "Who is Briton? Am I not the Deacon's daughter? What have I done that he should take such liberties with me? Is he not the natural son of some priest or foundling? Ought he not to be exposed for his assurance to the Deacon's daughter?"

Her words took effect. The council voted that they would show their contempt of Briton by neglecting him for the time to come. On his return home, the parson, after many and great signs of surprize, informed his wife of the awful event which had happened by the imprudence of Briton. She soon communicated the secret to her sister gossips, prudently cautioning them not to report it as from her. But, not content with that, the parson himself went among all his acquaintance, shaking his head and saying "O Sirs! have you heard of the strange conduct of friend Briton?—how he wrote a love-letter, and sent it with some pine-apples to the Deacon's daughter? My wife and I had a great friendship for Briton, but cannot see him any more." Thus the afflicted parson told this important tale to every one except Briton, who, from his ignorance of the story, conducted himself in his usual manner towards his supposed friends, though he observed they had a show of haste and business whenever he met with any of them. Happily for Briton, he depended not on

the Deacon, Minister, or Colony, for his support. At last, a Scotchman heard of the evil tale, and generously told Briton of it, adding that the parson was supposed to be in a deep decline merely from the grief and fatigue he had endured in spreading it. Briton thanked the Scotchman, and called on the friendly parson to know the particulars of his offence. The parson, with sighs, bows, and solemn smirking, answered "Sir, the fact is, you wrote a love-letter to the Deacon's daughter, without asking her parents' consent, which has given great offence to that lady, and to all her acquaintance, of whom I and my wife have the honor to be reckoned a part." Briton kept his temper. "So then," said he, "I have offended you by my insolent note to the Deacon's daughter! I hope my sin is venial. Pray, Sir, have you seen my note?" "Yes," replied the parson, "to my grief and sorrow: I could not have thought you so imprudent, had I not seen and found the note to be your own writing." "How long have you known of this offence?" "Some months." "Why, Sir, did you not seasonably admonish me for this crime?" "I was so hurt and grieved, and my friendship so great, I could not bear to tell you." Mr. Briton then told the parson, that his friendship was so fine and subtle, it was invisible to an English eye; and that Gospel ministers in England did not prove their friendship by telling calumnious sto-

ries to every body but the person concerned. "But I suppose," added he, "this is genuine New-England friendship, and merits thanks more than a supple-jack!" The parson, with a leering look, sneaked away towards his wife; and Briton left the colony without any civil or ecclesiastical punishment, telling the Scotchman that the Deacon's daughter had money, and the parson faith without eyes, or he should never have been accused of making love to one who was naturally so great an enemy to Cupid. Of such or worse sort being the reception foreign settlers may expect from the inhabitants of Connecticut, it is no wonder that few or none choose to venture among them.

The custom of settling and dismissing a *sober dissenting* minister is very singular. All the parishioners meet and vote to apply to the association for a candidate; and one is accordingly sent. If he pleases, the people vote to give him a call; if he accepts the call, the actual communicants, and they alone, make the covenant between him and them as Christ's church, and thus they are *married* to him. After the candidate is ordained, others, by acknowledging and swearing to support the covenant, become *married* to him also.— [N. B. Baptism is not sufficient to take them out of their natural state.] The call is an invitation from the parishioners to the candidate to take upon him the ministerial office of their church,

on condition that he be allowed 300*l.* or 400*l.* settlement, and, perhaps, 100*l.* salary, besides wood, &c. &c. during his residence among them in that capacity. The candidate, after looking round him, and finding no better terms offered from any other parish, answers in this manner: "Brethren and friends, I have considered of your call; and after many fastings and prayers, I find it to be the call of God, and close with your offer." The church then appoints a day for his ordination, and the ministers who shall assist in the ceremony, which is as follows: 1. The meeting is opened with a hymn: 2. Some one makes a prayer: 3. Another hymn succeeds: 4. A sermon: 5. Another prayer: 6. The covenant is read: 7. The prayer of consecration, with imposition of hands by the ministers: 8. The right hand of fellowship, which conveys that half of ministerial power which I have already spoken of as communicated by the churches: 9. The charge; that is, to behave well in the office whereto God has called him: 10. A prayer: 11. Another hymn: 12. The young minister dismisses with his benediction. Numerous as the ceremonies are in a minister's ordination, there are but few judged necessary in dismissing him—a majority of the church is enough to turn the minister from bed and board, or, in their language, "to *divorce* him;"—which happens more frequently than is decent. The minister has no remedy but

in appealing to the association, which step entitles him to his salary till dismissed by that *powerful body*.

Incontinency, intemperance, lying, and idleness, are the common accusations brought against the minister, but seldom founded in truth, and yet always proved by knights of the post. However, the minister carries off his settlement, in case he is dismissed for immoralities, but not if he turns churchman; then his old parishioners are mean enough to sue for the settlement. A recent instance of this kind happened at New-London, where the minister, Doctor Mather Byles, desired a dismission, which was given him; but, finding the Doctor's design was to become a churchman, the people demanded the settlement given him twelve years before. The Doctor, with a spirit worthy of himself and his venerable ancestors, returned the money with "You are welcome to it, since it proves to the world that you could not accuse me of any thing more agreeable to ungenerous minds."

The manner of visiting the sick in this province is more terrible than charitable. The minister demands of the sick if he be converted, when, and where? If the answers are conformable to the system of the minister, it is very well; if not, the sick is given over as a non-elect, and no object of prayer. Another minister is then sent for, who asks if the sick be willing to die—if he hates

God—if he be willing to be damned, if it please God to damn him? Should he answer No, this minister quits him as did the former. Finally the sick man dies, and so falls out of their hands into better.

Amidst all the darkness of superstition that surrounds the state, the humanity it shows to poor strangers, seized with sickness in the colony, or to such persons as are shipwrecked upon its coasts, shines with distinguished lustre. These unfortunate sufferers are immediately provided with necessaries of every kind by order of the selectmen, whose expenses are reimbursed out of the colony treasury.

Thus is laudably employed a part of the money allowed for contingencies: but another part is consumed in a very different manner. It frequently happens that whenever the episcopalians become so numerous in a parish, as to gain the ascendancy over the Sober Dissenters, and the latter cannot, by their own strength, either destroy the episcopal, or support their own church, the Governor and Council, with the advice of the Consociation, kindly relieve them with an annual grant, out of the public treasury, sometimes to the amount of the whole sum paid into it by every denomination in the parish. An act of charity of this kind lately took place at Chelsea, in Norwich, where the Sober Dissenters were few and poor, and without a meeting house or minister;

so that they were obliged to walk a mile to a meeting, or go to church. The young people chose the latter, which alarmed the Sober Dissenters to such a degree, that they applied for and obtained from the generous Governor and his virtuous Council 300*l.* per annum out of the public treasury, besides the duties on the vessels of churchmen at that port. This largition enabled them to build a meeting and settle a minister. When the churchmen complained of this abuse of public money, the Governor answered, "The Assembly has the same right to support Christianity, as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, or the Parliament of Great Britain."

The murmurs of the people, on the collection of the revenue, bespeak embezzlements of another kind. It should seem that they believed the General Assembly to be in the same predicament the Devil thought Job was, when he said, "*Doth Job serve God for nought?*"

Estates in Connecticut pass from generation to generation by gavelkind; so that there are few persons, except of the laboring class, who have not freeholds of their own to cultivate. A general mediocrity of station being thus constitutionally promoted, it is no wonder that the rich man is despised, and the poor man's blessing is his poverty. In no part of the world are *les petits* and *les grands* so much upon a par as here, where

none of the people are destitute of the conveniences of life, and the spirit of independence. From infancy, their education as citizens points out no distinction between licentiousness and liberty; and their religion is so muffled with superstition, self-love, and provincial enmity, as not yet to have taught them that humility and respect for others, which from others they demand. Notwithstanding these effects of the levelling plan, there are many exceptions to be found in the province, of gentlemen of large estates and generous principles.

The people commonly travel on horseback; and the ladies are capable of teaching their neighbors the art of horsemanship. There are few coaches in the colony: but many chaises and whiskeys. In winter, the sleigh is used; a vehicle drawn by two horses, and carrying six persons in its box, which hangs on four posts standing on two steel sliders, or large skates.

Dancing, fishing, hunting, skating, and riding in sleighs on the ice, are all the amusements allowed in this colony.

Smuggling is rivetted in the constitutions and practice of the inhabitants of Connecticut, as much as superstition and religion; and their province is a storehouse for the smugglers of the neighboring colonies. They conscientiously study to cheat the King of those duties which, they say God and nature never intended should be

paid. From the governor down to the tithing-man, who are sworn to support the laws, they will aid smugglers, resist collectors, and mob informers. This being a popular government, all the officers are appointed by the free-holders. There are very severe laws against bribery. The candidates are not suffered to give a dinner, or a glass of cider, on the day of election, to a voter. Indeed, bribery is the next greatest crime to the breach of the Sabbath; yet open bribery as established by custom immemorial in Rhode-Island, is more praise-worthy than the practice of Connecticut. I will give the reader some idea of the mode in which an election is managed in Connecticut. All the voters in a township convene in the town meeting-house. One of the ministers, after prayers, preaches from some such text as, "*Jabez was more honorable than all his brethren.*" The people keep their seats, while the constables take their votes in a box; and, if a voter has not his vote written, the constable gives him one. So Jabez is elected; and the meeting is concluded with a prayer of thanks to the Lord God of Israel for "turning the hearts of his people against the enemies of Zion, and for uniting them in Jabez, the man after his own heart." The manner in which the preacher treats his text, will more particularly appear from the animadversion of a certain quaker on one of these occasions. "Friend," said he to the pedagogue, "I do thee

no wrong in telling thee that thou hast prayed and preached against bribery, but forgot to keep thy tongue from speaking evil against thy neighbor. Dost thou think the Lord will regard thy preaching so much as the voters whom thou dost call freemen? If thou believest it, thou hast bribed not only the people, but the Lord also, to reject Ebenezer and Benjamin." The preacher called upon the constable to take away this babbler, and open the meeting; which was done, and Ebenezer and Benjamin were rejected by the voters.

The men, in general, throughout the province, are tall, stout, and robust. The greatest care is taken of the limbs and bodies of infants, which are kept strait by means of a board; a practice learnt of the Indian women, who abhor all crooked people: so that deformity is here a rarity. Another custom derived from the Indians is, to welcome a new-born infant into the world with urine and honey, the effects of which are wonderful; and hence it is that at groanings there are always a little boy and a rattle-snake's skin, the latter of which prevents numbness and the cramp. The women are fair, handsome, genteel. They have, indeed, adopted various customs of the Indian women; but cannot learn, like them, how to support the pains of child-bearing without a groan. Naturalists and surgeons have not been able to assign a reason why a negro woman should have a hundred pains, a white woman ten, and

an Indian none. Some have said that the fatigues and hardships which the negroes endure, are the cause; but the Indians undergo many more: others have said it is owing to the change of climate; but this is suppletory:—while the enthusiastic divines attribute it to the sin of Eve, and to the curse laid on the Canaanites. The Deists ask those divines, if Eve was not the common mother of the white, black, and copper-colored women; and how it appears that negroes are the descendants of the people of Canaan? Their answer is, all nature is mystery.

The women of Connecticut are strictly virtuous, and to be compared to the prude rather than the European polite lady. They are not permitted to read plays; cannot converse about whist, quadrille, or operas; but will freely talk upon the subjects of history, geography, and the mathematics. They are great casuists, and polemical divines; and I have known not a few of them so well skilled in Greek and Latin, as often to put to the blush learned gentlemen.

Notwithstanding the modesty of the females is such, that it would be accounted the greatest rudeness for a gentleman to speak before a lady of a garter, knee, or leg, yet it is thought but a piece of civility to ask her to *bundle*; a custom as old as the first settlement in 1634. It is certainly innocent, virtuous, and prudent; or the puritans would not have permitted it to prevail

among their offspring, for whom in general they would suffer crucifixion. Children brought up with the chastest ideas, with so much religion, as to believe that the omniscient God sees them in the dark, and that angels guard them when absent from their parents, will not, nay, cannot, act a wicked thing. People who are influenced more by lust, than a serious faith in God, who is too pure to behold iniquity with approbation, ought never to *bundle*. If any man, thus a stranger to the love of virtue, of God, and the christian religion, should *bundle* with a young lady in New-England, and behave himself unseemly towards her, he must first melt her into passion, and expel heaven, death, and hell, from her mind, or he will undergo the chastisement of negroes turned mad—if he escape with life, it will be owing to the parents flying from their bed to protect him. The Indians, who had this method of courtship, when the English arrived among them in 1634, are the most chaste set of people in the world. Concubinage and fornication are vices, none of them are addicted to, except such as forsake the laws of Hobbamockow and turn christians. The savages have taken many female prisoners, carried them back three hundred miles into their country, and kept them several years, and yet not a single instance of their violating the laws of chastity has ever been known. This cannot be said of the French, or of the English, whenever

Indian or other women have fallen into their hands. I am no advocate for temptation; yet must say, that *bundling* has prevailed 160 years in New-England, and, I verily believe, with ten times more chastity than the sitting on a sofa. I had daughters, and speak from near forty years' experience. *Bundling* takes place only in cold seasons of the year—the sofa in summer is more dangerous than the bed in winter. About the year 1756, Boston, Salem, Newport, and New-York, resolving to be more polite than their ancestors, forbade their daughters *bundling* on the bed with any young men whatever, and introduced a sofa to render courtship more palatable and Turkish. Whatever it was owing to, whether to the sofa, or any uncommon excess of the *feu d'esprit*, there went abroad a report, that this *raffinage* produced more *natural consequences* than all the *bundling* among the boors with their *rurales pedantes*, through every village in New-England besides.

In 1776, a clergyman from one of the polite towns, went into the country, and preached against the unchristian custom of young men and maidens lying together on a bed. He was no sooner out of the church, than attacked by a shoal of good old women, with “Sir, do you think we and our daughters are naughty, because we allow of *bundling*?” “You lead yourselves into temptation by it.” They all replied at once,

“Sir, have you been told thus, or has experience taught it you?” The Levite began to lift up his eyes, and to consider of his situation, and bowing, said “I have been told so.” The ladies *una voce*, bawled out, “Your informants, Sir, we conclude, are those city ladies who prefer a sofa to a bed: we advise you to alter your sermon, by substituting the word *sofa* for *bundling*, and on your return home, preach it to them: for experience has told us that city folks send more children into the country without fathers or mothers to own them, than are born among us; therefore, you see, a sofa is more dangerous than a bed.” The poor priest, seemingly convinced of his blunder, exclaimed, “*Nec vitia nostra, nec remedia pati possumus*,” hoping hereby to get rid of his guests: but an old matron pulled off her spectacles, and, looking the priest in the face like a Roman heroine, said, “*Noli putare me hæc auribus tuis dare*.” Others cried out to the priest to explain his Latin. “The English,” said he, “is this: Wo is me that I sojourn in Meseck, and dwell in the tents of Kedar!” One pertly retorted, *Gladii decussati sunt gemina presbyteri clavis*. The priest confessed his error, begged pardon, and promised never more to preach against bundling, or to think amiss of the custom; the ladies generously forgave him, and went away.

It may seem very strange to find this custom of bundling in bed attended with so much innocence

in New-England, while in Europe it is thought not safe or scarcely decent to permit a young man and maid to be together in private any where. But in this quarter of the old world the viciousness of the one, and the simplicity of the other, are the result merely of education and habit. It seems to be a part of heroism, among the polished nations of it, to sacrifice the virtuous fair-one, whenever an opportunity offers, and thence it is concluded that the same principles actuate those of the new world. It is egregiously absurd to judge of all countries by one. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, jealousy reigns; in France, England, and Holland, suspicion; in the West and East Indies, lust; in New-England, superstition. These four blind deities govern Jews, Turks, Christians, Infidels, and Heathen. Superstition is the most amiable. She sees no vice with approbation but persecution, and self-preservation is the cause of her seeing that. My insular readers will, I hope, believe me, when I tell them, that I have seen, in the West Indies, naked boys and girls, some fifteen or sixteen years of age, waiting at table and at tea, even when twenty or thirty virtuous English ladies were in the room; who were under no more embarrassment at such an awful sight in the eyes of English people that have not travelled abroad, than they would have been at the sight of so many servants in livery. Shall we censure the ladies

of the West Indies as vicious above all their sex, on account of this local custom? By no means; for long experience has taught the world that the West Indian white ladies are virtuous prudes. Where superstition reigns, fanaticism will be minister of state; and the people, under the taxation of zeal, will shun what is commonly called vice with ten times more care than the polite and civilized christians, who know what is right and what is wrong from reason and revelation. Happy would it be for the world, if reason and revelation were suffered to control the mind and passions of the great and wise men of the earth, as superstition does that of the simple and less polished! When America shall erect societies for the promotion of chastity in Europe, in return for the establishment of European arts in the American capitals, then Europe will discover that there is more christian philosophy in American bundling than can be found in the customs of nations more polite.

I should not have said so much about bundling, had not a learned Divine* of the English church published his Travels through some parts of America, wherein this remarkable custom is represented in an unfavorable light, and as prevailing among the *lower class* of people. The truth is, the custom prevails among all classes, to the

* Dr. Burnaby.

great honor of the country, its religion, and ladies. The virtuous may be tempted; but the tempter is despised. Why it should be thought incredible for a young man and a young woman innocently and virtuously to lie down together in a bed with a great part of their clothes on, I cannot conceive. Human passions may be alike in every region; but religion, diversified as it is, operates differently in different countries. Upon the whole, had I daughters now, I would venture to let them *bundle* on the bed, or even on the sofa, after a proper education, sooner than adopt the Spanish mode of forcing young people to prattle only before the lady's mother the chitchat of artless lovers. Could the four quarters of the world produce a more chaste, exemplary, and beautiful company of wives and daughters than are in Connecticut, I should not have remaining one favorable sentiment for the province. But the soil, the rivers, the ponds, the ten thousand landscapes, together with the virtuous and lovely women which now adorn the ancient kingdoms of Connecticote, Sassacus, and Quinnipiog, would tempt me into the highest wonder and admiration of them, could they once be freed of the skunk, the moping-owl, rattle-snake, and fanatic christian.

My readers will naturally be desirous of information in what manner the people of Connecticut conducted themselves in regard to the stamp-

act, which has proved the subject of so much speculation and controversy both in America and Europe: I will, therefore, give a particular account of their proceedings concerning it; which will perhaps appear to have been of far greater consequence than is generally supposed in England.

The American colonists were no sooner extricated from all danger of Gallic depredation by the peace of 1763, than they began to manifest symptoms of ingratitude and rebellion against their deliverers. Connecticut, on several accounts, particularly that of its *free* constitution in church and state, which prevented every interruption from a King's Governor, was fixed upon as the fittest site for raising the first fruits of jealousy and disaffection. Nor did the hatred, which kept the province at eternal strife within itself on all other occasions, prevent its political coincidence upon this. In 1764, delegates from every dissenting association in America convened at New-Haven, and settled the plan of operations. They voted, that the American vine was endangered by the encroachments of the English Parliament, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts; that episcopacy was established in Nova Scotia, and missionaries maintained by the English government, while New-England and other American states were taxed to support that same government; that a

league and covenant ought to be made and signed by all good protestants against the machinations of their enemies, and in defence of their civil and religious liberties; that it was the duty of all good protestants to stand upon their guard, and collect and send every kind of interesting intelligence to the Moderator at Hertford, whose business would be to communicate the same in his circular letters to the true friends of protestant liberty.

In my opinion, whoever does not perceive the spirit of civil as well as religious independence in this convention, and these resolutions of dissenting divines, must be politically blind.

Whilst Mr. Grenville was exerting his fanatical faculties for the relief of the mother country, ready to sink under the load of expense brought upon her by that war which had opened an avenue to highest exaltation for her American offspring, Connecticut was early advertised by merchants, divines, and ladies, in England, that the parliament was about to give the colonies a specimen of English burthens. The consociation ordered a fast, to deprecate the threatened judgments. This fast was served up with sermons pointing out the reigns of wicked kings, and what the fathers of the howling wilderness of America had suffered from the Kings, Lords, and Bishops, in the last century; and concluded with,

“One woe is past, and behold, there come two woes more hereafter !”

A requisition having been made in 1763 that each colony in America should raise a revenue to assist Great Britain in discharging the national debt, which had been partly incurred at their request, and for their preservation, the General Assembly was instructed by Dr. Franklin and others how to act. Accordingly, the Assembly resolved not to raise any money towards the national debt or any national expenses, till the Parliament should remove the navigation act, which they said was advantageous to Great Britain, and disadvantageous to America ; and, therefore, Great Britain, in defraying the whole of the national expense, did nothing more than justice required, so long as that act should be continued. Such were the arguments and resolutions of the General Assembly, although their agent in England had informed them, that, if they refused to comply with the requisition of the minister, the Parliament would tax them.

The agent's intelligence proved to be well grounded. In 1765, the Stamp act passed, because the colonies had refused to tax themselves. News so important soon arrived in America ; and the consociation of Connecticut appointed another fast, and ordered *the angels to sound their trumpets, and great plagues followed.* Thomas Fitch, the Governor, shewed some dislike to the

proceedings of the consociation, but was given to understand that Christ's ministers acted by an authority superior to that of the Governor or a King. The episcopalians, and many sects, saw no reason for keeping the fast ; but the Governor observed it with a view to secure his election the next year, and was successful. The episcopalians were rewarded for their disobedience with what is called "A new religious Comic Liturgy," which was printed and circulated through the colony as the performance of Doctor Franklin, and acted in many towns by the young people on evenings, by way of sport and amusement. The Litany was altered in many places, especially in the paragraphs respecting the King, Nobility, &c. and instead of "We beseech thee to hear us, good Lord!" was substituted, "We beseech thee, O Cromwell! to hear [our prayers] us"—"O holy, blessed, and glorious Trinity!" was altered thus. "O Chatham! Wilkes! and Franklin! have mercy upon us." "From plague, pestilence, famine" &c. was followed by, "O Cromwell! deliver us." An episcopal clergyman had courage enough to complain of these blasphemous proceedings, and the grand jury indicted the comic actors ; but the magistrate to whom the complaint was made, refused to grant a warrant, using worse malediction against the King than was contained in the ludicrous Litany. Hereupon the grand jury indicted the magistrate for high treason, but no

magistrate could be found of resolution enough to grant a warrant against the traitor. However, the Comic Liturgy was acted but privately afterwards, and, upon the repeal of the stamp-act, was suppressed as far as they could do it.

This second fast was sanctified with preaching on this and similar texts,—“And there arose a new King in Egypt who remembered not Joseph;” and with praying God to grant the King a heart of flesh, and to remove popery out of the British parliament.

The stamp-act was to take place in November, 1765; some months before which the stamp-master, Jared Ingersoll, Esq. who had been the colony's agent in England, arrived at New-Haven in Connecticut. In September, a special Assembly was convened at Hertford, for the purpose of considering what steps to take. As if to avoid acknowledging the supremacy of the British Parliament, they determined not to apply themselves for the repeal of the act; but secretly encouraged a number of lawyers, merchants, and divines, to meet, by their own authority, at New-York, for that purpose. In the meantime, three mobs were raised under Durgy, Leach, and Parsons, who by different routes marched towards New-Haven, to seize the stamp-master. They succeeded; and, having brought their prisoner before the Assembly-house at Hertford, they gave him the alternative to resign or die. Mr. Inger-

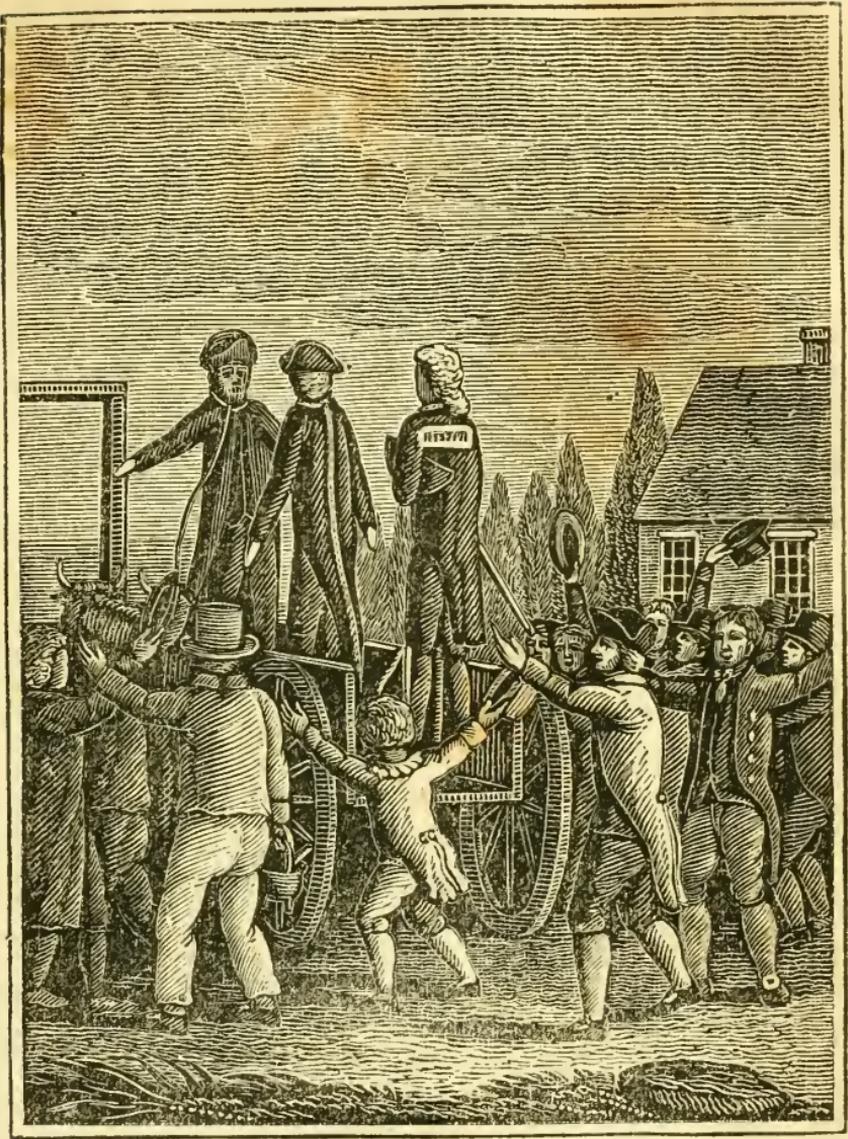
soll appealed several times by confidential messengers to the Assembly then sitting, but finding them inclined to countenance the mob, he was forced to resign, and authenticate the same by whirling first his hat and next his wig three times round his head, and then into the air; whilst the General Assembly and Consociation (which last venerable body never fails to be ready with its counsel and assistance on all salutary occasions) shouted with the multitude, from their windows, at the glorious achievement.

This special Assembly, having sufficiently manifested the part they wished the colony to take, broke up, leaving further proceedings to the mob,* who continued to act up to the specimen

*The following instance will show that a Connecticut mob of *Sober Dissenters* is not inferior to a London mob of *drunken conformists*, either in point of ingenuity, low humor, or religious mockery.

The *stamp-master* was declared by the mob at Hertford to be dead. The mob at Lebanon undertook to send INGERSOLL to his own place. They made three effigies: one to represent Mr. Grenville; another Ingersoll; and a third the Devil. The last was dressed with a wig, hat, and black coat given by parson Solomon Williams, of Lebanon. Mr. Grenville was honored with a hat, wig, and coat, a present from Mr. Jonathan Trumbull, who was afterwards chosen Governor. Mr. Ingersoll was dressed in red, with a lawyer's wig, a wooden sword, and his hat under his arm, by the generosity of Joseph Trumbull. Thus equipped, the effigies were put into a cart with ropes about their necks, and

HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.



MOB AT LEBANON,

Carrying certain obnoxious characters in effigy to the gallows

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already given ; and to the congress at New-York, which met there accordingly, agreed upon and transmitted to England a petition for a repeal of the obnoxious act.

drawn towards the gallows. A dialogue ensued between the criminals. Some friendship seemed to subsist between Mr. Grenville and the Devil, while nothing but sneers and frowns passed the Devil to Ingersoll ; and the fawning reverence of the latter gave his infernal highness such offence, that he turned up his breech and discharged fire, brimstone, and tar, in Ingersoll's face ; setting him all in a blaze ; which, however, Mr. Grenville generously extinguished with a squirt. This was many times repeated. As the procession advanced, the mob exclaimed, " Behold the just reward of our agent, who sold himself to Grenville, like Judas, at a price !" In this manner the farce was continued till midnight, at which time they arrived at the gallows ; where a person in a long shirt, in derision of the surplice of a church clergyman, addressed the criminals with republican atticisms, ralleries, &c. concluding thus : " May your deaths be tedious and intolerable, and may your souls sink quick down to hell, the residence of tyrants, traitors, and devils !" The effigies were then turned off, and, after hanging some time, were hoisted upon a huge pile of wood, and burnt, that their bodies might share a similar fate with their souls. This pious transaction exalted the character of Mr. Trumbull, and facilitated his election to the office of Governor : and what was of further advantage to him, his mob judged that the bones of Ingersoll's effigy merited christian burial according to the rites of the church of England, though he had been brought up a Sober Dissenter ; and resolved therefore, to bury his bones in Hebron. Accordingly thither they repaired ; and, after having made

The October session of the General Assembly is always holden at New-Haven: there and then they were informed by Mr. Dyer,* who had made

a coffin, dug a grave in a cross street, and made every other preparation for the interment, they sent for the episcopal clergyman there to attend the funeral of the bones of Ingersoll the traitor. The clergyman told the messengers that neither his office nor person were to be sported with, nor was it his business to bury *Sober Dissenters*, who abuse the church while living. The mob, enraged at this answer, ordered a party to bring the clergyman by force, or send him to hell after Ingersoll. This alarmed the people of the town, who instantly loaded their muskets in defence of the clergyman. Thus checked in their mad career, the mob contented themselves with a solemn funeral procession: drums beating, and horns blowing, and buried the coffin in the cross street, one of the pantomimes bawling out,—We commit this traitor's bones to the earth, ashes to dust, and dust to ashes, in sure and certain hope that his soul is in hell with all tories and enemies of Zion. Then, having driven a stake through the coffin, and each cast a stone upon the grave, they broke a few windows, cursed such clergymen as rode in chaises, and were above the control of God's people, and went off with a witless saying, viz.—“It is better to live with the church militant, than with the church triumphant.”

*This Mr. Dyer had been in England, had petitioned for, and, through Dr. Franklin's interest, obtained a new office at the port of New-London, viz. that of Comptroller; but afterwards had thought proper to resign that office, in order to be made a judge of the superior court and one of the council,—and, forsooth, that a stranger only might serve the King of Great Britain in the character of a *publican* in Connecticut.

one of the petitioners at New-York, that it was recommended by the Congress, for the colonial Governors to take the oath prescribed by the stamp act. The General Assembly, however, voted that the Governor of Connecticut should not take it; and moreover determined to continue Mr. Fitch in his office, notwithstanding the disfranchisement incident on his refusal, if he would be guided by their advice; and the Rev. Mr. Ebenezer Devotion, one of the Representatives, and Eliphalet Dyer (above mentioned,) one of the council, offered to pay the imposed fine of 1,000*l*. However, the Governor presented himself before the Council, whose business it was to administer the oath; but which, it is thought, Mr. Fitch presumed would be denied, and therefore artfully devised this means at once of avoiding the oath, and shifting the penalties from himself upon them. Seven out of twelve, suspecting the Governor's design, put their fingers in their ears, shuffled their feet, and ran groaning out of the house; the other five staid, and administered the oath, with a view to save themselves and the charter, and direct the wrath of the people against the Governor; but in this they were mistaken, incurring in common with him the odium of the patriots.

The stamp-act having thus gained footing, the Assembly broke up. Legal proceedings also were discontinued, and the courts of justice shut.

The Consociations and Associations kept frequent fasts of their own appointment, praying and preaching against Roman Catholic rulers, Arminian governors, and false-hearted counsellors, and episcopizing curates. Hereupon the mobs became outrageous; sedition was law, and rebellion gospel. The stamp-master was called a traitor to his country, and the episcopalians enemies to Zion and liberty.

The fastings, prayers, and riots, brought about a revolution in the colony. Fitch, who had taken, and the five assistants who had administered, the oath, as well as many officers both civil and military, who declined to take a rebellious part, were dismissed from their posts; and a new Governor, other counsellors, &c. were chosen, and the people fitted for every kind of mischief; all, however, under the pretence of religion and liberty. The patriotic Mr. Dyer distinguished himself by furnishing the fasting ministers with proper materials to inflame the minds of the people against the just demands of the King. One of his Machiavelian dogmas was, that the King claimed the colonies as his patrimony, and intended to raise a revenue in each province; and that, having gained this point, his purpose was to govern England by America, and America by England, and thereby subvert liberty and establish tyranny in both, as the Kings of France had done by means of the various parliaments in that

country. Mr. Dyer declared he had this information from the best authority in England; and added, that the liberties of both countries depended on America resisting the stamp-act, even unto blood. These and such like reveries supplied the ministers of the gospel with a great body of political divinity, and the mob with courage to break churchmen's windows, and cry out, "No Bishops! no popery! nor Kings, Lords, and Tyrants!" Every thing but decency and order over-run the colony. Indeed, the General Assembly kept up their meetings, but it was only to transact such business as was not affected by the stamp-act. The mobs of the fasting ministers continued their lawless proceedings, without further interruption and impediment than what they met with from the strenuous exertions of the King's friends, who had repeatedly saved the lives of the stamp-master, Governor Fitch, the five rejected counsellors, the episcopal clergy, and many good subjects, at the hazard of their own, though they could not preserve them from daily abuse and insult.

The mobs, having been spirited up and trained to violence and outrage for several months, began to give some alarm even to their instigators, especially as they were hitherto disappointed in their expectations of the act being repealed. The Governor and Council, therefore, directing their attention to the dangerous consequences of

the lawless state and refractory temper the people were in, and being struck with the foresight of their own perilous situation, resolved, early in 1766, to open the courts of law under the stamp act, if the very next packet did not bring certain advice of its repeal; and, all parties, who had causes depending in any court, were to be duly notified by the Governor's proclamation. This determination was no less mortifying to the mob than grateful to the King's friends, who were convinced that the stamp-act ought, both in policy and justice, to be enforced, and therefore had risked their lives, fortunes, characters, and colonial honors in its support. The patriots, now apparently sickened with licentiousness, became very complaisant to the loyalists, declaring that, in all their opposition to the stamp-act, they had meant nothing personal, and desiring to have past animosities buried in oblivion. All things thus settled, tranquillity seemed to be returning; when lo! the packet arrived with the fatal news of the repeal of the stamp-act. Then a double portion of madness seized the patriots, who, in their excess of joy, "that victory was gained over the beast, and over his mark," utterly forgot their late penitential and tranquil professions; branding the King's friends with the appellations of tories, Jacobites, and papists. The gospel ministers left off their fasting, and turned their mourning into joy and triumph. "Now we behold,"

said they in their pulpits, "that Great Britain is afraid of us; for the stamp-act is repealed, even upon the petition of an illegal body of men; if, therefore, we stand fast *in the liberties wherein Christ has made us free*, we need not fear in future the usurpations of the King, Lords, and Bishops of England." The accompanying claim of Parliament to the power of binding America in all cases whatsoever, was, indeed, a thorn which galled them much; but they found a salvo in ordering a copy of the repeal to be burnt under the gallows by the common hangman. The General Assembly also stepped forward, and voted the populace several barrels of powder, and puncheons of rum, together with one hundred pounds in money, to celebrate the festival. A tremendous mob met together at Hertford, and received their present. The powder was placed in a large brick school, and the rum on the common square. While each one was contending for his share, the powder took fire, and blew up the school, killing fifteen or sixteen persons, and wounding many. This disaster shook the house where the Consociation were sitting; upon which they resolved that Heaven did not approve of their rejoicings, because the repeal was but partial! They, therefore, ordered a new fast to do away the iniquities of that day, and to implore the Supreme to direct them in what manner to guard against the machinations of "the locusts,

who had a king over them, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek Apollyon !”

This fast was cooked up with a favorite text in New-England, viz. “He reprov'd even Kings for their sake.” From these words the preachers proved that the King’s *power lay in his mouth and in his tail*, which, like “a serpent, did hurt for a month and a year;” and that God would protect his people against “the murders, the sorceries, the fornication, the thefts,” of bishops, popes, and kings, “and make nations angry, and give them power to judge and to destroy those who would destroy his prophets and his saints.” In this day of great humiliation, the prophets entertained the saints with a spice of rejoicing, because “Victory was gotten over the beast, and over his image, and over his mark, and over the number of his name.” “Therefore,” said they, “rejoice, O inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, because we can yet buy and sell without *the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name.*”

This bombastic declamation against the authority of Great Britain raised the passions of a great portion of the multitude higher than was intended. They had lately been tutored to form high notions of their own consequence, had been intoxicated with a life of confusion in a lawless country, and had now no relish for a government

of any kind whatever: accordingly, inflamed by the rhapsodies of the preachers, they set themselves against that of the colony; arguing, that, if the Lord would *reprove Kings, Lords, and Bishops, for their sake*, he would also *reprove governors, magistrates and consociations, for their sake*. This revolt of a part of the people was encouraged and strengthened by the adherents of Governor Fitch, the five discarded counsellors, and the loyalists; so that very formidable bodies soon appeared in divers towns, threatening destruction to the General Assembly, Consociation, associations, executive courts, &c. &c. Colonel Street Hall, of Wallingford, a loyalist, was appointed General over these supreme multitudes. They soon acquainted the General Assembly and Consociation, that, by the authority that England had been reformed, by the same authority should Connecticut be reformed; and Mr. Hall sent a letter to the judges of the county court, then sitting at New-Haven, purporting, that it was not agreeable to the people for them to continue their proceedings, or that any executions should be granted, and concluding thus:—“Ye, that have ears to hear, hear what is said unto you;—for we shall quickly come!” The judges, without hesitation or adjournment, ran out of court, and went home as privately as possible. The merchants, the gospel ministers, the lawyers, and judges, who had with great zeal inculcated

the divine right of the people to resist kings, found themselves in a starving condition under the exertion of that boasted right. The General Assembly and Association, however, again convened, and, after much fasting and prayer, resolved, that the conduct of Street Hall, Esq. and his associates, was seditious and treasonable; and ordered the Attorney General, Colonel Elihu Hall, to indict his nephew Street Hall, for treasonable practices. The Attorney General refused to comply with this mandate, whereupon he was dismissed, and James Hillhouse, Esq. appointed in his place, who indicted Street Hall; but no sheriff dared serve the warrant. Street Hall ordered his people to prepare for battle, and to be ready at a minute's warning; and rode about with one servant in defiance of the General Assembly, who likewise prepared to support their power. It was most likely that Street Hall would have prevailed, had an engagement taken place; for the episcopalians, and all the friends of Mr. Fitch and the five dismissed counsellors, would have supported Mr. Hall. But a battle was prevented by the interposition of the Conso- ciation with this curious Gospel axiom, viz. that it was legal and politic in the people to oppose and resist the foreign power, which was unjustly claimed by the King of Great Britain; but it was neither politic nor right to oppose the magistrates and laws made by themselves. They prevailed

on Street Hall to condescend to write to the General Assembly to this effect :—"That he was a friend to the laws and constitution of the colony, and wished to support both ; and should do it, on condition that they would rescind their vote, and that no one should be prosecuted for what had been done by him and his associates;" The Assembly very gladly voted this overture of Street Hall to be satisfactory ; and thus peace was re-established between the Assembly and Street Hall. Nevertheless, Mr. Hall was greatly censured by his partisans for this compromise ; and he lived in constant expectation of their hanging him, till he softened them by this remarkable address in vindication of his conduct :

"We have done," said he, "every thing in our power to support the authority of the British parliament over the colonies. We have lost our property, local reputations, and all colonial offices and respect among our countrymen, in defence of that King and Parliament, who have not shed a tear at our sufferings, nor failed to sacrifice their own dignities and their best friends, to please a party that never will be easy until another Oliver arise to extirpate Kings, Lords, and Bishops. By heavens!" added Street Hall, with great energy, "I will rest my life upon this single question, who would stand up in defence of a king who prefers his enemies to his friends?—If you acquit me, I shall more fully declare my principles."

The mob, after much consideration, declared their approbation of Mr. Hall's conduct; upon which he resumed his address nearly as follows:

“Gentlemen, We have once been betrayed and forsaken by the King and Parliament of Great-Britain; no dependence, then, ought henceforth to be placed upon either. It is plain to me, that, if we had extirpated the General Assembly, and all the avowed enemies of the constitution of Great-Britain, yet that very Parliament would have been the first of all the creation to honor us with a gallows for our reward. I therefore swear, by Him who controls the wheels of time, that in future, I will support the laws and dignity of this colony, and never more *put any confidence in Princes*, or the British Parliament. The Savior of the World trusted Judas but once; and it is my opinion, that those who betray and forsake their friends, ought to experience the wrath and indignation of friends turned enemies. In this case, baseness, is policy; ingratitude, loyalty; and revonge—heroic virtue!”

Colonel Street Hall spoke with great vehemence, and might be censured for rashness by people who were not in America at the time: but his sentiments reached the hearts of half of the King's friends there; for the repeal of the stamp-act had fixed in their breasts an everlasting hatred of the fickle temper of Britons.

Few people, hereafter, will advance a sixpence

in support of any acts of the Parliament of Great-Britain over her colonies. Prior to the year 1766, such a public spirit prevailed in America over private interest, as would naturally have led the people to conform to any acts of a British Parliament, from a deep-rooted confidence that the requisitions of Britain would be no other than the requisitions of wisdom and necessity. Two thirds, I may say with safety, of all the people in America, thought there were wisdom and justice in the stamp-act, and wished to have it continued, first, because they were sensible of being greatly indebted to the generosity and protection of Britain; secondly, because they had rather be subject to the control of Parliament in regard to a revenue, than have it raised by the authority of their own assemblies, who favor the rich and oppress the poor; and, thirdly, because the stamp-act would have prevented innumerable suits at law, the costs of which in Connecticut have, during the last forty years, amounted to ten times as much as all others for war, gospel, physic, the poor, &c. &c. &c. It is impossible to describe the disappointment and mortification they suffered by the repeal of that act: it exposed them to calumny, derision and oppression; it disheartened all, and occasioned the defection of many, while their adversaries triumphed in the encouragement it had given them to prosecute their malicious schemes against the church, king,

laws, and commerce of England. However, in regard to the question of raising a revenue in America, I have never met with one American who would not allow (though unwillingly) the reasonableness of it, with certain conditions and provisos. Thus, 1. The judges and lawyers required the tax to be imposed by the General Assembly of each province:—2. The merchants, whose conscience is gain, and who commonly constitute more than half of the Assembly, declared that, before any revenue was raised, the navigation-act should be repealed, and the East India Company, and all the monopolies, dissolved:—3. The gospel ministers, whose power in New-England is terrible to flesh and spirit, would contribute to a revenue, after the King and Parliament had dropped their claim to supreme authority over America, and secured the American vine against the domination and usurpations of bishops. To these sources may be traced all the objections ever made against a revenue in America, which spring from three orders of men, of the least real benefit to that country, and whose proportion to all others there is not as one to a hundred; though they have had the art and address, by imposition and delusion, to involve them in their tumultuous, contentious, and ruinous projects and undertakings. Indeed, the clergy, lawyers, and merchants of European countries, have been represented as the worst enemies of

society—the great promoters of discord, war, insurrections, and rebellions; but the heathen have not yet given us an example how depraved mankind would be without them. However, supposing the crimination to have foundation, there is one good reason to be offered in palliation of it. Most governments are too apt to adopt the maxim of rewarding prosperous opposing zealots; whilst the exertions of oppressed friends are passed over, if not with contempt, at least with silent neglect. Hence, men will naturally be induced, in defiance of law and gospel, to head parties, to become consequential in the world.

APPENDIX.

THE preceding sheets bring the history of Connecticut to its latest period of amity with Great Britain, agreeable to the plan on which it was begun. I have been advised, however, to lay before my readers, in an appendix, a summary account of the proceedings of the people of Connecticut immediately leading to their open commencement of hostilities against the mother country, not only because some events are not at all, or erroneously known here, but also because they will form a supplement necessary in several instances to what has been already related. Another reason which induces me to make the proposed addition, is, the opportunity it will give me of laying before the public, by way of introduction, some matter which, I flatter myself, may not be wholly undeserving the attention of government, at, I trust, an approaching signal era in British and American history. This, I am sure of, that no chimera of vanity, but a thorough conviction in my own breast of the foundation they have in truth, is the sole motive of my thus committing my thoughts upon the subject to the press.

Many writers have endeavored to point out the motive which prompted the Americans to the wish of being independent of Great Britain, who had, for a century and a half, nursed and protected them with parental tenderness; but they have only touched upon the reasons ostensibly held up by the Americans, but which are merely a veil to the true causes. These, therefore, I shall endeavor to set before the reader, unheeding the imputation of arrogance and presumption I may expose myself to, and relying upon the knowledge I have of the temper and circumstances of the people for the justification of my assertions.

In the first place, England, as if afraid to venture her constitution in America, has kept it at an awful distance, and established in too many of her colonies republicanism, wherein the democratic absorbs the regal and aristocratic parts of the English constitution. The people naturally imbibed the idea that they were superior to Kings and Lords, because they controled their representatives, governors, and their councils. This is the infallible consequence of popular governments.

Secondly, the English have, like the Dutch, adopted the errors of ancient Rome, who judged her colonies could be held in subjection only by natives of Rome; and therefore all emoluments were carefully withheld from natives of colonies.

Thirdly, the learned and opulent families in America have not been honored by their King, like those born in Britain.

Fourthly, the Americans saw themselves despised by the Britons, "though bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh." They felt and complained of, without redress, the sad effects of convicts, the curses of human society, and the disgrace of England, taken from the dungeons, jails, and gibbets, and poured into America as the common shore of England, to murder, plunder, and commit outrage upon a people "whom the King did not delight to honor."

Hence the present rebellion. Human nature is always such, that men will neither cease struggling for honor, wealth, and power, at the expense of gratitude, loyalty, and virtue. Indignation and despair seized the gentlemen in America, who thought, like Haman, that their affluence and ease were nothing worth, so long as they lay under their sovereign's contempt. They declared that the insult reached the whole continent, in which are to be found only two Barons of Great Britain, while all the other inhabitants are held beneath the yeomanry of England. They added, "Let Cæsar tremble! Let wealth and private property depart to deliver our country from the injuries of our elder brethren." How easily might this rebellion have been averted by the *babiole* of titles! With what reason factions

and discontents sprung up in South America, may be learned from the dear bought wisdom of Spain. The Spaniards born in the vice-royalties of Peru and New-Granada, rich and learned, highly esteemed by their countrymen, and of more influence in their several provinces than all the nobility, clergy, and merchants, in Spain; whose fathers, to enlarge the empire of their sovereign, emigrated, with the natural rights of Spaniards, to almost a burning world, where they opened rocky mines, toiled in heats and rains to hew out gold and silver, to erect and cover royal and noble domes and pave the roads of Hesperia—those American born Spaniards, I say, were yet, after all, excluded from royal honors and trust, by a false and disgraceful principle that colonists will only be loyal when poor and neglected—a maxim which shook ancient Rome, failed Spain, and has thrown Britain into convulsions;—a maxim false in nature and experience, without justice and without policy;—and, yet, a maxim which men in power have adopted with intention to secure to themselves and their posterity the monopoly of *noble blood*—without once reflecting that emigrants, who had been hardy enough to storm rugged mountains in the transatlantic world, for the sake of converting poverty into riches, would afterwards seek honors and noble names through blaze and ruin, with more avidity than adventurers under Pizarro ever sought the

wealth of Potosi and La Plata. Had the Dons of Spain been actuated by principles of justice, they would not have treated the Spanish natives of South America as aliens, as a race of beings unworthy of royal notice, trust and dignity, which they themselves enjoyed, though they had never wet their fingers in exploring new worlds, or in perforating the golden Andes. But experience and necessity cut short their pride; and compelled them to liberal dealings with their distant brethren, on pain of losing them as they had lost the Netherlands. No good politician will suppose merit less deserving of reward, merely because the possessor of it was born at the distance of five thousand miles from Madrid; or that royal favors belong solely to the nobility, who shine more from their ancestors' virtues than from their own. Spain took the hint in time, and shared royal honors among her younger brethren, which produced a conciliation between her dominions in the two worlds, that age or despair can never destroy. Spain transported to her colonies her own constitution in church and state—rewarded merit in whatever part of her territories it appeared—sent bishops to govern and ordain in every church in South America, and they, together with the native noblesse, promote harmony, the offspring of justice and policy; while North America abounds with discord, hatred, and rebellion, entirely from the want of

policy and justice in their party-colored charters, and of the honors and privileges of natural born subjects of Great Britain.

It appears to me that the British Government, in the last century, did not expect New-England to remain under their authority; nor did the New-Englanders consider themselves as subjects, but allies, of Great Britain. It seems that England's intent was to afford an asylum to the republicans who had been a scourge to the British constitution; and so, to encourage that restless party to emigrate, republican charters were granted, and privileges and promises given them far beyond what an Englishman in England is entitled to. The emigrants were empowered to make laws, in church and state, agreeable to their own will and pleasure, without the King's approbation—they were excused from all quit-rents, all government taxes, and promised protection without paying homage to the British King, and their children entitled to the same rights and privileges as if born in England. However hard this bargain was on the side of England, she has performed her part, except in this last respect—indeed the most material in policy and in the minds of the principal gentlemen of New-England. The honor of nobility has not been conferred on any of them; and therefore they have never enjoyed the full privileges and liberties of Britons; but in a degree have ever

been held in bondage under their chartered republican systems, wherein gentlemen of learning and property attain not to equal power with the peasants. The people of New-England are rightly styled republicans; but a distinction should be made between the learned and unlearned, the rich and poor. The latter form a great majority; the minority, therefore, are obliged to wear the livery of the majority, in order to secure their election into office. Those very republican gentlemen are ambitious, fond of the power of governing, and grudge no money nor pains to obtain an annual office. What would they not give for a dignity depending not on the fickle will of a multitude, but on the steady reason and generosity of a King? The merchants, lawyers, and clergy, to appearance are republicans; but I will venture to assert, that not one in a hundred of them is really so. The truth is, they found necessity on one hand, and British neglect on the other, to be so intolerable, that they rather chose to risk their lives and fortunes to bring about a revolution, than continue in the situation they were. As to the multitude, they had no cause of complaint: they were accuser, judge, king, and subjects only to themselves.—The rebellion springs not from them, but from the merchants, lawyers, and clergy, who yet are not inimical to the aristocratic branch of government, provided they are admitted to share in it according to

their merit. It is true, they, like Calvin, the author of their religion, maintain, that no man can merit any thing of the Great Eternal : nevertheless, they think they have merited the aristocratic honors which emanate from earthly kings ; while kings and nobles of the earth imagine themselves to have merited more than they yet enjoy, even heaven itself, only because they happen to be descendants of heroic ancestors.

It is laid down as a maxim in English politics, that the aristocratic dignity is the great barrier between regal and popular power. Had Charles the First believed and observed this doctrine, he had saved his own life and the liberties of his people ; and had Kings since his death entertained the same opinion of the nobility, they would have multiplied and spread them in every province as a royal blessing due to their subjects. Would Britons consent to give up the House of Lords ? If not, why should they wish to debar America from such a favor ? Should the English nobility imagine their own importance lessened by the increase of English Lords, they will not be able to prove that an American peerage would not be as useful in that country as an English peerage is here. Policy and experience shew that mankind are bound by their interest and guided by their prospects ; yet how remiss has England been in tempting her colonies with her own noble and glorious constitution ! Is it at all

surprising, that, after a long sufferance of such neglect, and the evils I have pointed out, the hidden fire of indignation should at length break forth in America, with a blaze that spreads ruin and death throughout that land, and strikes terror into this! England *now* condescends to view the Americans as fellow-subjects, and even treats with their generals, though taken from jails and outlawed by herself: early justice and indulgence would have removed from the parent this humiliating conduct, and united both worlds in one bond of love. *But the day is far spent, and will not wrath burn forever?*

England has also been as careful to keep to herself her religion and Bishops as her civil constitution and baronies. An Indian chief once asked me, "Whether Bishops were too good or too bad for America?" He added, "If they are good in England, why not in America? and if bad, why preserved in England?" A million of churchmen in America have been considered not worthy of one Bishop, while eight millions in South Britain, are scarcely honored enough with twenty-six: an insult on common justice, which would have extinguished every spark of affection in America for the English church, and created an everlasting schism like that between Constantinople and Rome, had not the majority of the American episcopal clergy been possessed of less ambition than love and zeal. They have suffered

on both sides the Atlantic in *name** and property, for their endeavors to keep up a union between the mother country and her children; but all their arguments and persuasions were insufficient to convince their brethren that England would in future be more generous towards her colonies.—One of the first fruits of the grand continental meeting of dissenting divines at New-Haven was a coalition between the republican and the minor part of the episcopal clergy, who were soon

* William Smith, in his history of New-York, p. 56, like his brother Douglas, asserts, that the missionaries and episcopal clergy have been guilty of writing home to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, “amazing falsehoods and misrepresentations;” and he adds, “that it would be an agreeable office to him to distinguish the innocent from the guilty.” Then why not so prove his charge? “Because,” says he, in p. 242, “the prudent historian of his own times will always be a coward, and never give fire, till death protects him from the malice and stroke of his enemy:” a sentiment borrowed from the old adage, “Mortui non mordent,” and truly worthy of the writer. But what have been Mr. Smith’s character and *prudence* since the commencement of the present rebellion? Did he not in 1774, out of his great veneration for christianity, liberty, and his king, excite and encourage the mobs of New-York in their opposition to the church, laws, and George III.?—In 1775, did not he and his associates, finding themselves insufficient to effect their glorious purposes, request the assistance of their christian brethren of Connecticut against the mighty enemies of the American vine, who accordingly repaired thither under the conduct of Waterbury and Wooster, two

joined by the merchants, lawyers, and planters, with a view of procuring titles, ordination, and government, independent of Great Britain, who had too long played with *divide et impera*.

Of such sort, I am bold to pronounce to the world, were the REAL sources of the present rebellion in America. The invasion of this or that colonial right, the oppression of this or that act of parliament, were merely the pretended causes of it, which the ill-humor of a misgoverned peo-

villians that were *conceived in sin and from the womb went speaking lies*? Did they not soon become masters of the city, and intolerable tyrants over loyal subjects?—In 1776, did not Mr. Smith's mob plunder the city of New-York, not excepting the churches and college; then set it on fire, and fly by the blaze into the howling wilderness, with the heroes mentioned in his history, viz. Livingston, Schuyler, Morris, and other traitors? From whence, in 1777, did not Mr. Smith return to New-York, by the advice of his comrades, to manifest his loyalty and love of the protestant religion, to serve the Congress and his King, and to save harmless the rebels above mentioned, and their copartners in murder, plunder and treason? Are these the virtues, William Smith! that, in 1780, were so conspicuous as to procure thy being appointed Chief Justice of a sacked and ruined people?—The imprudent historian of his own times is no coward, nor does he fear thy malice, which, above all things, except thy hypocrisy and treachery, passes all human understanding. “*Quelques uns dirent, c'est par Beelzebul qu'il chasse les demons.*” Les autres dirent, que sa mere tenoit de l'air de Marie Magdelaine, apres que la sage femme eut chassée trois demons.

ple prompted them eagerly to hold up; causes, which would never have found existence, whose existence had never been necessary, if a better system of American policy had been adopted, but being produced, the shadow of complaint was exhibited instead of the substance—pretence, instead of reality—every republican pulpit resounded with invectives against the King, Lords, and Commons, who claimed a power to tax and govern the people of America; a power which their charters and ancestors knew nothing of. “Britons,” said they, “call our property theirs; they consider us as slaves, as *hewers of wood, and drawers of water*, to the descendants of those tyrants in church and state, who in the last century expelled and persecuted our fathers into the wilds of America. We have charters sacred as *Magna Charta* and the Bill of Rights.” They declared that the liberties of America ought to be defended with the blood of millions; that the Attorney General ought to impeach the Parliament of Great Britain, and all its abettors, of high treason for daring to tax the freemen of America; that each colony was a palatinate, and the people the palatine; that the people of Connecticut had as much authority to issue a writ of *Quo Warranto* against *Magna Charta*, as the King had to order such a writ against the charter of Connecticut.

By ravings of this kind did the Sober Dissen-

ters manifest their discontents, when the various measures for raising a revenue in America were adopted by the British ministry. That of sending tea to America in 1773, subject to a duty of 3*d.* in the pound, payable there, particularly excited their clamor, as designed, they said, to establish a precedent of British taxation in that country; and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the loyalists, who strenuously exerted themselves in removing vulgar prejudices, and procuring a reconciliation with circumstances rendered unavoidable by the necessity of the times, they effectually enflamed the minds of the populace, by reading, in the meetings on Sundays, letters said to have been sent by Dr. Franklin, J. Temple, and a certain female writer in England, representing the danger of paying any tax imposed by Parliament, and the evils protestantism was threatened with by a Roman Catholic King, by jacobites, tories, and the episcopal clergy in both countries, all enemies to liberty and the American vine; and adding, that, if the Americans paid the tax on tea, there were three hundred other taxes ready to be imposed upon them, one of which was “50*l* for every son born in wedlock, to maintain the natural children of the Lords and Bishops in England.”

The moderate counsel of the loyalists had formerly been attended with some effect; but it was forced to give place to the ribaldry just mention-

ed ; and an opposition much more resolute was determined upon against the tea-act, than had been made to the stamp-act. A provincial congress, committees of correspondence, committees of safety in every town, &c. &c. now started up, for the purpose of setting the colony in an uproar against the parliament of Great Britain. To this end contributed not a little the falsehoods and artifices of Mr. Hancock and other Boston merchants, who had in their storehouses near 40,000 half-boxes of teas smuggled from the Dutch, which would never have been sold, had the Company's teas been once admitted into America, as the latter were not only the better in quality, but, the duty being reduced from 1s. to 3d. would be also the much cheaper commodity. Mr. Hancock and his compatriots, therefore, were by no means wanting in endeavors to procure the first teas which arrived in New-England, the reception they met with *in the harbor* of Boston. That famous exploit afforded them an opportunity of clearing their warehouses, which they prudently resolved to do as soon as possible, lest the reception of the Company's tea in other provinces, or other possible circumstances, should afterwards put it out of their power. An idea began to prevail, that a non importation of tea was an adviseable measure upon the present occasion ; accordingly, they advertised, that, after disposing of their present stock, they would not

import, or have any further dealings in tea, for two years. This at once tended to fill their pockets and exalt their characters as patriots. The people, ignorant of the largeness of such stock, and apprehensive of being deprived of an article they were passionately fond of, eagerly furnished themselves with quantities sufficient for that time, mostly of about thirty, forty, or fifty pounds, notwithstanding the price was advanced 1s. per pound, upon the pretence of raising money to pay for the tea destroyed in order to secure the religion and liberty of America, which under that idea it was generally acknowledged ought to be done. When the tea was mostly disposed of, the people found that the extra price they had given for it was designed for the venders, instead of the East India Company, whose tea at the bottom of the harbor was not to be paid for. They murmured; whereupon the smugglers voted, that they would not drink any more tea, but burn on the common what they had left. Some tea was so disposed of, and the public-spirited transaction blazoned in the newspapers. But this was not all: the smugglers sent letters to the leaders of mobs in the country, enjoining them to wait upon the purchasers of their tea, and compel them to burn it as a proof of their patriotism. Those honorable instructions were obeyed, to the real grievance of the holders of the tea. "Let Mr. Hancock," said they, "and the other mer-

chant smugglers, return us our money, and then you shall be welcome to burn the tea according to their orders." But it signified nothing to dispute the equity of the requisition: the cry was, "Join or die!" nor would the sons of liberty be satisfied with any thing less, than that each owner of tea should with his own hands bring forth the same, and burn it; and then sign a declaration that he had acted in this affair voluntarily, and without any compulsion whatever; and, moreover, pay the printer for inserting it in the newspaper.

An act of Parliament for shutting up the port of Boston was the immediate consequence of the destruction of the East India Company's tea. It took place in June, 1774, and was considered by the Americans as designed to reduce the Bostonians "to the most servile and mean compliance ever attempted to be imposed on a free people; and allowed to be infinitely more alarming and dangerous to their common liberties, than even that hydra, the stamp-act." Due care had been taken to ensure its enforcement, by sending General Gage as Governor to Boston, where he arrived the preceding month, with a number of troops. Determined, however, as the Parliament seemed on compulsion, the colonists were equally bent on resistance, and resolved on a continental congress to direct their operations. In the mean time, contributions for relieving the

distressed people in Boston were voted by the colonies; and Connecticut, through the officiousness of its Governor, had the honor of setting an example by raising the first. Every town which did not subscribe to the support of the Bostonians was stigmatised as a tory town. The first that refused was loyal Hebron. There it was voted, "That, when the people of Boston should have paid for the teas that were destroyed, and behave like honest men, the town would give them support, if their port was not opened by the King;" a vote, which, for the time, put a stop to further collections in the province. The patriots imputed it to the influence of the Rev. Mr. Peters, (of whom I have already spoken) and his family. Many were the attempts tried to ruin his character, but unsuccessfully;—he was too well beloved and befriended in the town.

Falsehood and sedition had now for some time been every day increasing in the province; and men, who were secret propagators of traitorous opinions, pretended in public to look up to the Consociation, the great focus of divine illumination, for direction. After much fasting and praying, that holy leaven discovered an admirable method of advancing the blessed work of protestant liberty. The doors of prisons were opened, and prisoners became leaders of mobs composed of negroes, vagabonds, and thieves, who had much to gain and nothing to lose. The be-

som of destruction first cleared away the creditors of the renegadoes; and then the Sandemans, presbyterians, and episcopalians. The unfortunate complained to the Governor and magistrates of the outrages of those banditti, begging the protection of the laws. The following was the best answer returned by the magistrates:—"The proceedings of which you complain, are like the acts of Parliament: but be this as it may, we are only servants of the people, in whom all power centers, and who have assumed their natural right to judge and act for themselves." The loyalists armed to defend their property against those public thieves, but the liberty boys were instantly honored with the presence of ministers, deacons, and justices, who caused the grand jury to indict, as tories and rioters, those who presumed to defend their houses, and the courts fined and imprisoned them.

Thus horridly, by night and day, were the mobs driven on by the hopes of plunder, and the pleasures of domineering over their superiors. Having sent terror and lamentation through their own colony, the incarnate fiends paid a visit to the episcopalians of Great Barrington, in the western confines of Massachusetts-Bay, whose numbers exceeded that of the *Sober Dissenters*. Their wrath chiefly fell upon the Rev. Mr. Bostwick, and David Ingersoll, Esq. The former was lashed with his back to a tree, and almost killed;

but, on account of the fits of his wife and mother, and the screamings of the women and children, the mob released him upon his signing their league and covenant. As to Mr. Ingersoll, after demolishing his house and stealing his goods, they brought him almost naked into Connecticut upon a horse's bare ridge, in spite of the distresses of his mother and sister, which were enough to melt the heart of a savage, though producing in the *Sober Dissenters* nothing but peals of laughter that rent the skies. Treatment so extremely barbarous did Mr. Ingersoll receive at their hands, that the sheriff of Litchfield county could not withhold his interposition, by which means he was set at liberty after signing the league and covenant. The grand jury indicted some of the leaders in this riot; but the court dismissed them upon receiving information from Boston, that Ingersoll had seceded from the house of representatives, and declared for the King of England.

What caused this irruption of the mob into Great Barrington follows:—The laws of Massachusetts-bay give each town a power to vote a tax for the support of the ministry, schools, poor, &c. The money, when collected, is deposited with the town treasurer, who is obliged to pay it according to the determination of the majority of the voters. The *Sober Dissenters*, for many years, had been the majority in Barrington, and

had annually voted about two hundred pounds sterling for the ministry, above half of which was taken from the churchmen and Lutherans, whose ministers could have no part of it, because, separately, the greatest number of voters were Sober Dissenters, who gave the whole to their minister. This was deemed liberty and gospel in New-England; but mark the sequel. The Lutherans, and some other sects, having joined the church party, the church gained the majority. Next year, the town voted the money as usual for the ministry, &c. but the majority voted that the treasurer should pay the share appointed for the ministry to the church clergyman, which was accordingly done: whereupon the Sober Dissenters cried out, Tyranny and persecution! and applied to Governor Hutchinson, then the idol and protector of the independents, for relief. His Excellency, ever willing to leave "Paul bound," found a method of reversing the vote of the majority of the freemen of Barrington in favor of the churchmen, calling it "a vote obtained by wrong and fraud." The Governor, by law or without law, appointed Major Hawley, of Northampton, to be the moderator of the town meeting in Barrington. The Major accordingly attended; but, after exerting himself three days in behalf of his oppressed brethren, was obliged to declare that the episcopalians had a great majority of legal voters: he then went home, leaving matters as

he found them. The Sober Dissenters were always so poor in Barrington, that they could not have supported their minister without taxing their neighbors; and when they lost that power, their minister departed from them, "because," as he said, "the Lord had called him to Rhode Island." To overthrow the majority of the church, and to establish the American vine upon its old foundation, was the main intention of the Sober Dissenters of Connecticut in visiting Great Barrington at this time.

The warlike preparations throughout the colonies, and the intelligence obtained from certain credible refugees, of a secret design formed in Connecticut and Massachusetts-bay to attack the royal army, induced General Gage to make some fortifications upon Boston Neck, for their security. These of course gave offence; but much more the excursion of a body of the troops on the 19th of April, 1775, to destroy a magazine of stores at Concord, and the skirmishes which ensued. In a letter of the 28th of April, from Mr. Trumbull, the Governor of Connecticut, to General Gage, after speaking of the "very just and general alarm" given the "good people" of that province by his arrival at Boston with troops, and subsequent fortifications, he tells the General that "the late hostile and secret inroads of some of the troops under his command into the heart of the country, and the violences they had com-

mitted, had driven them almost into a state of desperation." Certain it is, that the populace were then so maddened, by false representations and aggravations of events unfortunate and lamentable enough in themselves, as to be quite ripe for the open rebellion the Governor and Assembly were on the point of commencing, though they had the effrontery to remonstrate against the defensive proceedings of the General, in order to conceal their treachery. Further on, in the same letter, Mr. Trumbull writes thus: "The people of this colony, you may rely upon it, abhor the idea of taking arms against the troops of their sovereign, and dread nothing so much as the horrors of civil war; but at the same time, we beg leave to assure your Excellency, that, as they apprehend themselves justified by the principles of self-defence, so they are most firmly resolved to defend their rights and privileges to the last extremity; nor will they be restrained from giving aid to their brethren, if any unjustifiable attack is made upon them. Is there no way to prevent this unhappy dispute from coming to extremities? Is there no alternative but absolute submission, or the desolations of war? By that humanity which constitutes so amiable a part of your character: for the honor of our sovereign, and by the glory of the British empire, we entreat you to prevent it if it be possible. Surely, it is to be hoped, that the temperate wisdom of the

empire might, even yet, find expedients to restore peace, that so all parts of the empire may enjoy their particular rights, honors, and immunities. Certainly, this is an event most devoutly to be wished for; and will it not be consistent with your duty to suspend the operations of war on your part, and enable us on ours to quiet the minds of the people, at least, till the result of some further deliberations may be known?" &c. &c.

From this letter, written as it was by the Governor of a province, at the desire of its General Assembly, the people of England may learn to think of American as they do of French sincerity. It is almost past credit, that, amidst the earnest protestations it contains of a peaceable disposition in Mr. Trumbull and the rest of his coadjutors in the government of Connecticut, they were meditating, and actually taking measures for the capture of certain of the King's forts, and the destruction of General Gage and his whole army, instead of *quieting the minds of the people!* Yet such was the fact. They had commissioned Motte and Phelps to draft men from the militia, if volunteers should not readily appear, for a secret expedition which proved to be against Ticonderoga and Crown-Point; and the treasurer of the colony, by order of the Governor and Council, had paid 1500*l.* to bear their expences. Nay, even *before* the date of the above amicable epistle,

Motte and Phelps had left Hertford on that treasonable undertaking, in which they were joined on the way by Colonels Allen and Easton. Nor was this the only insidious enterprize they had to cover. The "good people" throughout the province, to the number of near 20,000, were secretly arming themselves, and filing off, to avoid suspicion, in small parties of ten or a dozen, to meet "their brethren," the Massachusetts; not, however, with the view of "giving aid, should any unjustifiable attack be made upon them," but to SURPRIZE Boston by storm. In addition to the Governor's letter, the mock-peace-makers the General Assembly had deputed Dr. Samuel Johnson, son of the Rev. Dr. Johnson, spoken of in this work, and Oliver Wolcott, Esq. both of the Council, which had ordered the 1,500*l.* for the adventurers to Ticonderoga, to wait upon General Gage, the more effectually to amuse and deceive him into confidence and inaction. But happily, at a critical time, just before the intended storm and slaughter at Boston, the news of the success of the secret expedition reached that town, which fully discovered the true character and business of the two Connecticut ambassadors, and rendered it necessary for them, *sans ceremonie*, to retire from Boston, and for General Gage immediately to render the fortifications at the Neck impregnable.

Thus did Connecticut, from its hot bed of fa-

naticism and sedition, produce the first indubitable overt act of high treason in the present rebellion, by actually levying war, and taking, *vi et armis*, the King's forts and stores; and, most probably, its obstinacy will render this the last of all the revolted states to acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament.

The Sober Dissenters, chagrined at being disappointed in their hostile project against Boston, readily embraced the opportunities which offered of wreaking their vengeance upon New-York. At the instance of the rebel party there, who found themselves too weak to effect their purpose of subverting the constitution of the province, a large body immediately posted to their assistance, delivered "their brethren" from the slavery of regal government, and invested them with the liberty of doing that which was fit in their own eyes, under the democratic administration of the immaculate Livingstons, Morris, Schuyler, &c. &c. As seemed necessary to the furtherance of their pacific views, frequent irruptions were made afterwards, in which many loyalists were disarmed and plundered, and some of them taken prisoners. Among these last were the Rev. Dr. Seabury, and the Mayor of New-York. Gov. Tryon happily escaped their fury; as also did, very narrowly, the Rev. Miles Cooper, LL. D. who was leaving his house through a back window, when a party of ruffians burst into his cham-

ber, and thrust their bayonets into the bed he had just quitted. Mr. Rivington, whose case has been published, was one of the sufferers by loss of property. Those "good people," who "dreaded nothing so much as the horrors of civil war," with the reverse of reluctance plundered his house of all his printing materials and furniture; and, having scrambled for the latter, carried the types to New-Haven, where they have since been employed in the service of Congress. The King's statue, however, maintained its ground till after Mr. Washington with the continental army had taken possession of the city; when it was indicted of high treason against the dominions of America, found guilty, and received a quaint sentence of this kind, viz. That it should undergo the act of decollation; and, inasmuch as it had no *bowels*, its *legs* should be broken; that the lead of it should be run into bullets, for the destruction of the English bloody-backs, and the refuse be cast into the sea. The sentence was immediately carried into execution, amidst such huzzas and vociferations of "Praise ye the Lord!" that it brought to mind the songs of the annual feast of the calves-head club on the 30th of January, in derision of the royal martyr. This insult upon majesty, Mr. Washington thought proper thus to notice in his general orders of the next day. He was sorry, he said, that his soldiers should in a riotous manner pull down the statue of the King

of Great Britain; yet he could not but commend their zeal for defacing every monument of British tyranny.

It has been a matter of surprise to some politicians, that the people of Connecticut, who had no real grievance to complain of, should take so early and decided a part against the sovereignty of Britain, and exert themselves so exemplary in favor of the Bostonian tea-merchants, especially when, if the East India Company had been permitted to import that commodity, they would have been supplied with it at half the price it usually cost them: but the wonder will instantly vanish, if it be considered, that this province was the seat of the annual convention of delegates from all the associations of protestant dissenters throughout America, which was first holden in 1764, as I have related. Here their meetings were continued year after year, without the least apprehension of disturbance from a King's Governor; and here the arcana of the American vine, together with the solemn league and covenant, were deposited. It is not to be supposed but that the political principles of this synod would gradually become the principles of the Sober Dissenters in general; and the proceedings of the latter, when action was required, afford a clear proof both of the nature of those principles, and the enthusiasm with which they had been adopted. Perhaps, no people in the world have been so

much deceived as the commonalty of the English colonies in America. They were conscious of their happiness under the protection of Great Britain, and wished for no change in government. Ten years ago the great majority would sooner have run their heads against the burning mountains, than have lifted up a finger with a view to a political separation from Great Britain; and yet they have been prevailed upon, by the inflammatory effusions of the clergy, merchants, and lawyers, to commit a thousand mad excesses, run into open rebellion, and imbue their hands in civil blood, under the idea of opposing injury, oppression, and slavery, though in reality to promote what has long been the grand aim of their instigators—INDEPENDENCE.

Having been a witness of the effects of the conventions of Dissenters in New-England, particularly that I have just been speaking of as taking place at New-Haven in 1764, which was annually continued, without the least animadversion from any person in authority in Great Britain, notwithstanding the intent of it was wholly prejudicial to her interests; I was the more mortified with the implied censure of a great man in very high office upon a meeting of the episcopal clergy, in his answer to an address they took the liberty to present to him, in the vain hope of its being productive of some benefit to the church in America, but, alas! whose only fruit was a laconic letter

to the following purport:—"I have been honored with your address, and thank you for it; but am not acquainted by what authority you hold your convention." The hauteur in this answer to such an assembly on such an occasion, however congruous with the pride and formality of office, was utterly repugnant to the dictates of policy. Britain lost by it half her friends in New-England; and I will presume to say, that Britain will lose all her friends in that country, whenever it shall be discovered that the sentiments of the English Parliament coincide, in that respect, with the sentiments of the writer.

While Mr. Washington remained in possession of New-York, Connecticut served as a prison for those persons who had the misfortune to fall under his suspicion as disaffected to the cause of freedom. He was himself, however, at length obliged to evacuate it, by General Howe, to the great relief of such royalists as remained.

In April 1777, some magazines having been formed by the Americans at Danbury and Ridgefield, Major-General Tryon was sent with 1800 men to carry off or destroy them. They reached the places of their destination with little opposition; but the whole force of the country being collected to obstruct his return, the General was obliged to set the stores on fire, by which means those towns were unavoidably burnt. David Wooster, the rebel General, Benedict Arnold's old acquaint-

ance and mobbing confederate, received a fatal ball through his bladder, as he was harrassing the rear of the royal troops; of which, after being carried forty miles to New-Haven, he died, and was there buried by the side of the grave of David Dixwell, one of the Judges of Charles the Martyr.

In the summer of 1779, the sufferings of the loyalists in Connecticut becoming too intolerable for longer endurance, General Sir Henry Clinton determined to attempt their relief. Accordingly, he detached a large party under the command of General Tryon, which landed at New-Haven, after being opposed by a number of rebels under the command of the Rev. Naphthali Dagget, the president of Yale College, who, notwithstanding the moderation I have said marked his general character, was enthusiastic enough to hazard his life on this occasion. He lost it, and had the honor of being buried on Sodom Hill, near the grave of Deacon Potter, without a coffin. Having accomplished their purpose here, the troops sailed to Fairfield, which town they were necessitated, by the opposition of the rebels, to set fire to, before the loyalists could be released from prison. General Tryon then repaired to Norwalk, where having by proclamation enjoined the inhabitants to keep within their houses, he ordered centinels to be stationed at every door, to prevent disorders; a tenderness, however, they insulted, by firing upon the very men who were

thus appointed to guard them. The consequence was, destruction to themselves and the whole town, which was laid in ashes.

I have now mentioned the principal proceedings by which the people of Connecticut have distinguished themselves in bringing on and supporting the rebellion of America; and that, I apprehend, in a manner sufficiently particular to shew their violence, and to answer my purpose of giving the reader an idea of the present distracted, maimed state of the province, which many most respectable characters have been obliged to abandon, at the total loss of their property, to save their lives. It is very observable, that a peculiar, characteristic resolution appears to possess the people of Connecticut. As, on one hand, rebellion has erected her crest in that province with more insolence and vigor than in the rest; so, on the other, loyalty has there exhibited proofs of zeal, attachment, perseverance, and fortitude, far beyond example elsewhere to be found in America. In particular, the episcopal clergy have acquired immortal honor by their steady adherence to their oaths, and firmness under the "assaults of their enemies;" not a man amongst them all, in this fiery trial, having dishonored either the King or church of England by apostacy. The sufferings of some of them I cannot wholly pass over in silence.

Among the greatest enemies to the cause of

the Sober Dissenters, and among the greatest friends to that of the church of England, the Rev. Mr. Peters stood conspicuous. I have already represented him as so well shielded by the friendship and esteem of the inhabitants of Hebron, where he resided, as to be proof against the common weapons of fanaticism and malice. The Governor and Council, therefore, entered the lists, and, anxious at all events to get rid of so formidable a foe, accused him of being a spy of Lord North's and the Bishops. This allegation was published by the Governor's order, in every republican pulpit in the colony, on Sunday, August 14th, 1774, which induced a mob of Patriots from Windham county to arm and surround his house the same night, in the most tumultuous manner, ordering the gates and doors to be opened. Mr. Peters, from his window, asked if they had a warrant from a magistrate to enter his house. They replied, "we have Joice's warrant which Charles the traitor submitted to, and is sufficient for you." Peters told them he had but one life to lose, and he would lose it in defence of his house and property. Finally after some further altercation, it was agreed that a committee from the mob should search the house, and read all papers belonging to Mr. Peters. A committee was accordingly nominated, who, after inspecting his papers as much as they pleased, re-

ported, "that they were satisfied Mr. Peters was not guilty of any crime laid to his charge."

On Sunday the 4th of September, the country was alarmed by a letter from Colonel Putnam, declaring "that Admiral Graves had burnt Boston, and that General Gage was murdering old and young." The Governor of Connecticut took the liberty to add to Mr. Putnam's letter, "except churchmen and the addressers of Governor Hutchinson." The same day 40,000 men began their march from Connecticut to Boston, and returned the next, having heard that there was no truth in Putnam's reports. Dr. Bellamy thanked God for this false alarm, as he had thereby pointed out "the inhabitants of Meroz, who went not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." No churchmen, presbyterians, or Sandemanians, were among the 40,000 insurgents; and that was judged to be sufficient proof of their disaffection to the liberties of America. The Governor seized this opportunity to set the mobs again, with redoubled fury, upon the Rev. Mr. Peters, and the loyalists, whom they then called Peterites; and the intoxicated ruffians spared neither their houses, goods, nor persons. Some had their bowels crowded out of their bodies; others were covered with filth, and marked with the sign of the cross by a mop filled with excrements, in token of their loyalty to a king who designed to crucify all the good people of America. Even women were

hung by the heels, tarred, and feathered. Mr. Peters, with his gown and clothes torn off, was treated in the most insulting manner: his mother, daughter, two brothers, and servants, were wounded; one of his brothers so badly, that he died soon after. Mr. Peters was then obliged to abscond and fly to the royal army in Boston, from whence he went to England, by which means he has hitherto preserved his life, though not his property, from the rapacious and bloody hands of his countrymen. The Rev. Messrs. Mansfield and Viets were cast into jail, and afterwards tried for high treason against America. Their real offence was charitably giving victuals and blankets to loyalists flying from the rage of drunken mobs. They were not indeed convicted in so high a degree as the court intended; but were fined and imprisoned, to the ruin of themselves and families. The Rev. Messrs. Graves, Scovil, Dibblee, Nichols, Leaming, Beach, and divers others, were cruelly dragged through mire and dirt. In short, all the clergy of the church were infamously insulted, abused, and obliged to seek refuge in the mountains, till the popular frenzy was somewhat abated.

In July, 1776, the congress having declared the independency of America, and ordered the commonwealth to be prayed for instead of the King and royal family, all the loyal episcopal churches north of the Delaware were shut up, except those

immediately under the protection of the British army, and one at Newtown, in Connecticut, of which last the Rev. Mr. John Beach was the rector, whose grey hairs, adorned with loyal and christian virtues, overcame even the madness of the Sober Dissenters. This faithful disciple disregarded the congressional mandate, and praying for the King as usual, they pulled him out of his desk, put a rope about his neck, and drew him across Osootonoc river, at the tail of a boat, *to cool his loyal zeal*, as they called it; after which the old *Confessor* was permitted to depart though not without a prohibition to pray longer for the King. But his loyal zeal was insuperable. He went to church, and prayed again for the King; upon which the Sober Dissenters again seized him, and resolved upon cutting out his tongue; when the heroic veteran said, "If my blood must be shed, let it not be done in the house of God." The pious mob then dragged him out of the church, laid his neck on a block, and swore they would cut off his head; and insolently crying out, "Now, you old Devil! say your last prayer,"—he prayed thus: "God bless King George, and forgive all his and my enemies!" At this unexpected and exalted display of christian patience and charity, the mob so far relented as to discharge and never molest him afterwards for adhering to the liturgy of the church of Eng-

land and his ordination oath; but they relaxed not their severities towards the other clergymen, because, they said, younger consciences are more inflexible.

I cannot conclude this work without remarking, what a contrast to the episcopal clergy of Connecticut, and especially to this illustrious example of the venerable Beach, is afforded by too many of those in the provinces south of the Delaware. Here, whilst they suffered every thing but death for tenaciously adhering to their ordination oaths; there, some of them, of more enlarged consciences, were not ashamed to commit perjury in prayer, and rebellion in preaching,—though, be it remembered, their expressions were decent, when compared with those of the fanatics in New-England. The following prayer used by them before congress, after the declaration of independence, seems to me too likely to gratify the curiosity of my readers to be omitted. It brought the clergymen into disgrace merely by its moderation.

“O LORD, our Heavenly father, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, and reignest, with power supreme and uncontrolled, over all kingdoms, empires, and governments; look down in mercy, we beseech thee, upon these our American states, who have fled to thee from the rod of

the oppressor, and thrown themselves upon thy gracious protection, desiring henceforth to be dependent only upon thee. To thee have they appealed for the righteousness of their cause; to thee do they now look up for that countenance and support, which thou alone canst give. Take them, therefore, heavenly Father, under thy nurturing care; give them wisdom in council, valor in the field. Defeat the malicious designs of our cruel adversaries; convince them of the unrighteousness of their cause; and, if they still persist in their sanguinary purposes, O let the voice of thy unerring justice, sounding in their hearts, constrain them to drop the weapons of war from their enervated hands in the day of battle. Be thou present, O God of wisdom, and direct the councils of this honorable assembly. Enable them to settle things upon the best and surest foundation; that the scenes of blood may be speedily closed; that order, harmony, and peace, may effectually be restored, and truth and justice, religion and piety, prevail and flourish amongst thy people. Preserve the health of their bodies, and the vigor of their minds; shower down upon them, and the millions they represent, such temporal blessings as thou seest expedient for them in this world, and crown them with everlasting glory in the world to come. All this we

ask, in the name and through the merits of Jesus Christ, thy Son, our Savior. AMEN.”

I will not deny that rebels are to be found among the episcopal clergy north of the Delaware; but they amount to five only, and not one of them belongs to the colony of Connecticut.

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SUPPLEMENT.

NOTE A.

About two years after he made a second voyage to the river, in the service of a number of Dutch merchants; and, some time after, made sale of his right to the Dutch. The right to the country, however, was antecedently 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 dispatched captain Argall to dispossess the Dutch, and they submitted to the king of England, and under him, to the governor of Virginia.

NOTE B.

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 north 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 forever.

NOTE C.

The same year in which the patent of Massachusetts received the royal confirmation, Mr. John Endicott 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.

NOTE D.

Nearly at the same time, Oct. 8, 1635, 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 pounds sterling, for the accomplishment of their design.

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 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.

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 thirty tons, to prevent their getting the command of the river, and to accomplish the service to which he had been appointed.

But a few days after the party sent by Mr. Winthrop, arrived at the mouth of the river, a Dutch vessel appeared off the harbor, 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.

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 designs 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 their lordships, or else sufficient room should be found for them and their companies at some other place.

NOTE E.

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 preparations had been made for the reception of gentlemen of quality; but the war with the Pequots, the uncultivated state of the country, and the low condition of the colony, prevented the coming of any principal character 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 Quinnipiack. 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 honor of 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.

NOTE F.

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 Plymouth, 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 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 pinnaces 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.

The Plymouth people therefore determined to undertake the enterprise at their own risk. Preparations were made for erecting a trading house, and establishing a small company upon the river. In the meantime the master of a vessel from Massachusetts, who was trading at New-Netherlands, shewed to Walter Van Twiller, the Dutch gover-

nor, 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.

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 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' going up the river, stood by their cannon, ordered him to strike his colors, 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 despatch, 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' 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, erected a trading house at Hartford, which they called the hirse of good hope.

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.

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 apprised that they were making

preparations for a settlement 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 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 Plymouth house. Some time afterwards, the Dutch governor, Walter Van Twiller, of fort Amsterdam, dispatched a reinforcement to Connecticut, designing to drive Holmes and his company from the river. A band of seventy men, under arms, with banners displayed, assaulted the Plymouth house, but they found it so well fortified, and the men who kept it so vigilant and determined, that it could not be taken without bloodshed: they therefore came to a parley, and finally returned in peace.

NOTE G.

About the beginning of June, 1636, 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, through 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.

NOTE H.

While the planters of Connecticut were thus exerting 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 characters 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 account 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, possessed great estates, and were men of eminence for their abilities and integrity. The fame of Mr. Davenport, the reputation and good estates of the principal gentlemen of his company, made the people of the Massachusetts exceedingly desirous of their settlement in that commonwealth. Great pains were taken, not only by particular persons and towns, but by the general court, to 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 determined to plant a distant colony. By the pursuit of the Pequots to the westward, the English became acquainted with that fine tract along the shore, from Saybrook to Fairfield, and

with its several harbors. It was represented as fruitful, and happily situated for navigation and commerce. The company therefore projected 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 explore the lands and harbors on the sea coast. They pitched upon Quinnipiack for the place of their settlement. They erected a poor hut, in which a few men subsisted through the winter.

On the 30th of March, 1638, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, Mr. Samuel Eaton, and Theophilus Eaton, Esq. with the people of their company, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack. In about a fortnight they arrived at the desired port. On the 14th of April, they kept their first sabbath in the place. The people assembled under a large spreading oak, and Mr. Davenport preached to them from Matthew vi. 1. He insisted 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.

NOTE I.

While the colonists were thus prosecuting the business of settlement, in New-England, the right honorable 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 harbor, 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.

NOTE K.

Such 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 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.

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.

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.

NOTE L.

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 chose, with this proviso, that they should continue under the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts.

NOTE M.

It was the opinion of the principal divines, who 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 Cor. 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 and explain, and defend, the doctrines of christianity. He was to inform the judgment, and advance the work of illumination.

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 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 Lord's supper in other churches was irregular.

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 sitting 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 rebth rento that service.

NOTE N.

On the fourth 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.

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 act, without respect to any man, but give their vote in the fear of God. He then proposed a number of questions in consequence of which the following resolutions were passed.

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 the 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 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 burgesses; 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 business of a 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 freemen 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,

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, Esq., Mr. John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon, were chosen for the seven pillars of the church.

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 a body of freemen, and to elect their civil officers. The manner was indeed singular and curious.

In the first place, all former trust, for managing the public affairs of the plantation, was declared

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

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 themselves, 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, Esq. 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."

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

NOTE O.

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 a sixpence 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 gain-saying.

NOTE P.

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 Endicott 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 worship on the Lord's 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 Endicott 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 directly on 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 some time, 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 meantime, the governor of Massachusetts

received a royal mandate requiring him to apprehend them; and a more full and circumstantial account of the condemnation and the 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, 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 despatch. 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. 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 apprised 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. Evers, where they actually were; but she conducted the affair with such composure and address, that they imagined that the judges had

* Report of Kellond and Kirk to governor Endicott; to which they gave oath, in the presence of the governor and his council.

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.

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.

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 essen-

tial interests of their neighbors, demanded their indefatigable exertions to exculpate themselves.

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', 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 necessary, but this was, generally, the place of their residence until the 19th of August. When the weather was bad they lodged, at night, in a neighboring house. It is not improbable, that sometimes, when it could be done with safety, they made visits to their friends 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 Massachu-

setts, 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.

NOTE Q.

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 in 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 grandfather 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 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.

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.

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.

NOTE R.

Before the session 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, Esq. was chosen governor, and John Mason, Esq. 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, Esq. was treasurer, and Daniel Clark, Esq. secretary.

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 keep it in behalf of the colony. It was ordered, that an oath should be administered, by the court, to the freeman, 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.

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 neighbors, 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 one of his majesty's subjects, within its limits, with impositions, or prosecutions from that jurisdiction.

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 resolved, that the inhabitants of Mystic 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 Capt. James 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.

As the charter included the colony of New-Haven, Mr. Matthew Allen, Mr. Samuel Wyllys, and the Rev. Messrs. Stone and Hooker, were appointed a committee, to proceed to New-Haven, and 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.

“ 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 come to our hand, a copy whereof we have left with you to be considered, and yourselves, upon the sea-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 charter; that inconveniences and dangers may be prevented, peace and truth strengthened and established, through our suitable subjection to the terms of the patent, 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 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 conserving of peace and amity, with righteousness between them and us, we shall communicate your writings, 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 meantime, 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 of New-Haven, convened in general court. The governor communicated the writings to the court, and ordered a copy of the patent to be read. After a short adjournment, for consideration in an affair of so much importance, the freemen met again, and proceeded to a large discussion of the subject.

The Rev. Mr. Davenport was entirely opposed 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 colony, 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 should leave others to act according to the light which they should receive.

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 free-

men 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 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 engagement 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 entreated the general assembly of Connecticut to adopt speedy and effectual measures to repair the breaches which they had made, and to restore them to their former state, as a confederate and sister colony.

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 so soured their minds and prejudiced them, that this committee had no better success than the former.

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 way they gave a 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 in 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 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 comforts, 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.

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 affect an amicable union of the colonies.

At the election in Connecticut, Mr. Howell and Mr. Jasper Crane, were chosen magistrates, instead of Mr. John Allen and Mr. John Ogden. Mr. John Allen was appointed treasurer.

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.

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 at New-Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Branford, relative to their incorporation with Connecticut. Provided they could not affect an union, by treaty, they were authorised 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

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.

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.

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 actings, 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.

NOTE S.

In this situation of affairs, an event took place, which alarmed all the New-England colonies, and at once changed the opinion 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 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 from thence extending 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: together,” &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 Ni-

nichols had not only a commission, for the reduction of the Dutch plantations, and the government of them, but he, with George Cartwrith, Esq. Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick Esq. 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.

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 requisitions to assist in the expedition against the Dutch. He then sailed for the New-Netherlands, and on the 20th of August, made 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.

Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, was an old soldier, and had he been better prepared, and the people united, doubtles 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 immediate-

ly 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 Col. Nichols, that he should not submit to his demands, nor fear any evils, but such as God in his providence, should inflict upon him.

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 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 the 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.

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 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 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 upon Long-Island were English subjects, and wished for 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 of the duke of York.

Part of the armament immediately sailed up the river, under the command of Carteret, to fort Orange, or Aurania. This surrendered on the 24th September. This was named Albany, in

honor of the duke of York and Albany. Sir Robert Carr proceeded with another division of the fleet to Delaware. He obliged the Dutch 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 had 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 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. Fur-

ther, 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 of the necessity of an incorporation with Connecticut. The opposition, however, was so general among the people, that nothing further could be effected.

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 they conveyed by their charter.

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 Plymouth, 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.

In compliance with the advice of the commissioners, governor Leet convened the general court at New-Haven, 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 of Connecticut were, a considerable number of them, in favor of the propositions of the general council, which met at Cambridge, in 1762, 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 many years owned as one, their existence must cease and their name be obliterated.

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.

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 eastern and northern 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.

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.

Mr. Sherman, Mr. Allen, and the secretary, were authorised 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, Guilford, 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 freemen's oath.

Besides, they were authorised 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 session 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 upon the commissioners on 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 Mamaronock, 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-north-west, 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' government; and all plantations lying eastward of that creek and line, to be under the government of Connecticut.

In consequence of the acts of Connecticut, and the determination of the commissioners, rela-

tive 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 *solvo jure* of our former rights and claims, as a people, who have not yet been heard in point of plea."

NOTE T.

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 goal. 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 co-

lonies; and that, if any should come, or arise amongst them, they should be forthwith secured, and removed out of all the jurisdictions."

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 jurisdiction. 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."

NOTE U.

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 commission 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.

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 represented the great 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 enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Capt. 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 Hon. 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 hands 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, Gov. Treat, John Fitz Winthrop, Wait Winthrop, and John Allen, esquires, were of Connecticut.

V.

Scarcely any thing could be more gloomy and 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 Andross and his council were so much alarmed with the news, that they ordered Mr. Winslow to be arrested and committed to jail 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 burthens, secretly wished and prayed for success to his glorious undertaking. The leaders in the country determined quietly to await the event; but the great body of the people had less patience. Stung with past injuries, and encouraged at the first intimations of relief, the fire of liberty rekindled, 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 Andross and his council, and persuaded the old governor and council, at Boston, to resume the government.

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 Andross 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 proceeded to appoint their civil officers, as had been customary at the May session.

W.

An Address to King William, June 13th, 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 the 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 sit 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 acknowledgement 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 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 endeavors, 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 second 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-warranto, 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 second quo-warranto, 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 employed an attorney to appear in our behalf, and to prefer our humble address to his majesty, to entreat his favor quickly upon it; but as Sir Edmund Andross informed us he was empowered 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 colonel 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 Andross his government, than to colonel 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 Andross 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 govern-

SUPPLEMENT.

ment 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 injuries they sustained hereby, yet chose rather to be silent and patient than to oppose, being indeed surprised into an involuntary submission to an arbitrary power, but when the government were thus put under, seemed to us, to be determined, 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 neighboring 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 insure 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.

NOTE X.

Of the separation from the standing churches, an account has been given, and of the disorders and oppressions of those times when they commenced. Churches of this character were formed in New-London, Stonington, Preston, Norwich, Lyme, Canterbury, Plainfield, Windsor, Suffield and Middletown. Some of their churches and congregations were nearly as large as some of the standing churches. There were ten or twelve churches and congregations of this denomination, first and last, in the colony. Some of them car-

ried their enthusiasm to a greater extent than others. In New-London, they carried it to such a degree, that they made a large fire to burn their books, clothes, and ornaments, which they called their idols; and which they now determined to forsake and utterly to put away. This imaginary work of piety and self-denial they undertook on the Lord's day, and brought their books, necklaces and jewels together, in the main-street. They began with burning their erroneous books: dropping them one after another into the fire, pronouncing these words, "If the author of this book died in the same sentiments and faith in which he wrote it, as the smoke of this pile ascends, so the smoke of his torment will ascend forever and ever. Hallelujah. Amen." But they were prevented from burning their clothes and jewels. John Lee of Lyme, told them his idols were his wife and children, and that he could not burn them: it would be contrary to the laws of God and man: That it was impossible to destroy idolatry without a change of heart, and of the affections.

NOTE Y.

The Rev. Mr. Dean went to England, and took orders for the church at Hebron, but died at sea, on his return, about the year 1745. The Rev. Mr. Punderson of Groton, then preached to them and administered the sacrament from 1746 to 1752. The people of Hebron, were very unfortunate with respect to the gentlemen who went to England for orders in their behalf. A Mr. Cotton, in 1752, received orders for them, but he died on his passage for New-England, with the small pox. Mr. Graves of New-London, served them from 1752 to 1757. In 1757, one Mr. Usher went for

orders in their behalf. He was taken by the French on his passage to England, and died in captivity.

The Rev. Samuel Peters was ordained their priest, in August, 1759, and the next year returned to New-England. He continued priest at Hebron, until the commencement of the revolutionary war, soon after which, he left this country for Great-Britain.

NOTE Z.

As literature and a general diffusion of christian knowledge were considered as highly important for the maintaining and advancing of religion, as well as for the liberty, dignity and happiness of the commonwealth, the collegiate school attracted the special attention, both of the legislature and clergy. Though generous donations had been made for its encouragement and support, yet the state of it was far from being flourishing and happy. The students were separated one from another. The senior class were at Milford, under the instruction of Mr. Andrew, the rector pro tempore, and the other classes at Saybrook, under the instruction of two tutors. In this scattered state, the principal part of the school were very little benefitted by the instructions and government of the rector, which were of great importance to its general order and advancement. The books were necessarily divided and exposed to be lost. The same general benefit could not, in this state, be derived from the library. At the same time the scholars were dissatisfied, both with the place and manner of their instruction. They judged that Saybrook was not sufficiently compact for their accommodation. Some of them were obliged to reside more than a

mile from the place of their public exercises. They were no better pleased with their instruction and government, as they had no resident rector, and the tutors were often young and inexperienced. The students were not the only persons who complained. From the beginning, there had been a disagreement with respect to the place where the college should be fixed. Mens' opinions with respect to it were generally governed by their interest. They generally chose the place which would best accommodate themselves. This created warm parties in the colony, and even created a division among the trustees. Some were for continuing it at Saybrook, others were zealously engaged to remove it to Hartford or Weathersfield. A third party were not less engaged finally to fix it at New-Haven. In this state of things, numbers of the students became clamorous, and openly manifested their disaffection and disrespect towards their tutors. This made it necessary for the trustees to meet and examine the reasons of their uneasiness and disorder.

They met at Saybrook, April 4th 1716. When the scholars came before them, they complained of the insufficiency of their instruction and the inconveniences of the place, as their principal grievances. Especially the scholars from Hartford, Weathersfield, and the towns in that vicinity, alleged, that it was a hardship to oblige them to reside at Saybrook, when they could be as well instructed and much better accommodated near home. It has been the tradition, that most of these complaints had been suggested to them by others, with a view to foment a general uneasiness, and by these means affect the removal of the college.

After a long debate on the circumstances of the school, it appeared that the trustees were no better agreed than the students, and that some of them were governed by motives which they did not choose openly to avow. Some of them so strongly advocated the cause of the Hartford and Weathersfield scholars, that a majority of the trustees condescended to give a toleration to them, and others who were most uneasy, to go to such places of instruction, until commencement, as should best suit their inclinations. The consequence was, that the greatest part of them went to Weathersfield, and put themselves under the instruction of the Rev. Elisha Williams, pastor of the church in Newint. Some went to other places, and a number continued at Saybrook. But the small pox, soon after, breaking out in the town, these generally removed to East Guilford, and were under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Hart, and Mr. Russell, till the commencement.

As the collegiate school was in this broken state, and as the trustees were not agreed among themselves, in what place it should be fixed, the people, in different parts of the colony, began to subscribe considerable sums for the building of a college, that, by these means, they might induce the trustees to fix it according to their wishes. About 700 pounds sterling was subscribed for the establishment of it at New-Haven, 500 pounds for fixing it at Saybrook, and considerable sums, for the same purpose, at Hartford and Weathersfield.

At the commencement, Sept. 12th, 1716, the trustees met, at Saybrook, and took into consideration the state and place of the collegiate school, but as they could not agree with respect to the place in which it should be established, they ad-

journed, until the 17th of October, to meet at New-Haven.

The trustees, for the first time, met at New-Haven, according to adjournment. There were present, the Rev. Messrs. Samuel Andrew, Timothy Woodbridge, Joseph Webb, Samuel Russel, Moses Noyes, John Davenport, Thomas Buckingham and Thomas Ruggles. They had now had further time and opportunity to consult the opinions and feelings of the people, to obtain the opinion of Governor Salstonstall, and of the General Assembly, and to know what subscriptions had been made for one place and another. Having obtained all the information on the subject which they judged necessary, they voted, "That considering the difficulties of continuing the collegiate school at Saybrook, and that New-Haven is a convenient place for it, for which the most liberal donations are given, the trustees agree to remove the said school from Saybrook to New-Haven, and it is now settled at New-Haven accordingly." Five of the trustees present, were in the vote; Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham were for Weathersfield. Mr. Noyes declared that he did not see the necessity of removing the school from Saybrook: but if it must be removed, his mind was to settle it at New-Haven.

The trustees at this meeting, received 250 pounds sterling, which the General Assembly had granted some years before, arising from the sale of the equivalent lands. They had before in the treasury about 125 pounds. These sums, with the large subscriptions which had been made for the building of the college at New-Haven, encouraged the trustees to vote that they would build a large, convenient college, and a rector's

house at New-Haven : and they appointed a committee to accomplish the work.

They voted, that the Rev. Mr. Andrew should continue rector, *pro tempore* until a fixed rector could be obtained. They also appointed two tutors : and gave orders that all the students belonging to the school, should repair to New-Haven for instruction and government. At the same time, they appointed Mr. Stephen Buckingham of Norwalk, one of the trustees. The scholars who had been studying at East Guilford, came to New-Haven, according to the direction of the trustees ; but none came from Weathersfield. Such was their obstinacy, and such the countenance and support which others gave them, that they continued their studies there until the next commencement. The trustees sent the record of their doings at this meeting, to the Rev. Mr. James Noyes of Stonington, who on the 19th of December, signed it, and declared his hearty concurrence with every vote.

The trustees met again at New-Haven, the next April. At this meeting, seven trustees, the Rev. Messrs. James Noyes, Samuel Andrew, Samuel Russel, Joseph Webb, John Davenport, Thomas Ruggles, and Stephen Buckingham, were present. The acts which had been passed at the preceding meeting, at this were read, voted and subscribed by all the members present, except Mr. Buckingham, who on account of his relatives and friends at Saybrook, judged it expedient not to act.

While the trustees in general, were fixed in their determination to establish the college at New-Haven, they met with a strong opposition from gentlemen in the northern and eastern parts of the colony. The people in general, were

warmly engaged on one side or the other, which occasioned the affair several times to be taken up and warmly debated in the General Assembly. No act however, had as yet been passed relating to the subject. The trustees pursuing their own resolutions with firmness and constancy, held the commencement at New-Haven. Mr. Andrew moderated as rector pro tempore. Four senior sophisters came from Saybrook, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and numbers were admitted to the degree of Masters. The number of students was thirty-one : of whom thirteen, the past year, had studied at New-Haven, fourteen at Weathersfield, and four at Saybrook.

Soon after the commencement, the college house was raised at New-Haven. Nevertheless, Messrs. Woodbridge, Buckingham, and their respective parties, persisted in their opposition to the proceedings of the trustees. They, in the October session, presented a remonstrance to the Assembly, alledging, that the votes of the trustees to fix the college at New-Haven, in October 17th, 1716, and April 5th, 1718, were not legal. They insisted, That the major part of them were not in the votes, and that one was not qualified according to law : That in October, 1716, there were, at least, nine existing trustees, and that four of them only were in the vote : That Mr. Ruggles was chosen before he was forty years of age ; and that the choice was therefore null : and that Mr. Noyes' consent to the votes so long after, and at such a distance, could avail nothing to their confirmation. In the acts of April, 1717, they affirmed that there were five trustees only out of ten.

The trustees replied, That in October, 1716, there were but nine trustees : That a vacancy had

been made by the death of Mr. Pierpont, which had not been supplied; and that Mr. Mather of Windsor, had been bed-ridden many years, had resigned his ministry, and could not, in those circumstances, be considered as a trustee. They pleaded, that if Mr. Ruggles was not forty years of age at the time of his nomination, yet that at the time when the vote was passed, he had arrived to that age; and that the trustees, in conformity to their previous nomination, admitting him to sit and act, had associated him according to their charter. With respect to Mr. Noyes, they replied, that as they were not limited as to the manner of their acting, he, though absent at the time of their meeting, might give his consent to said act, by subscribing it at home, some time after, as well as if he had been present. They therefore insisted that there was a majority of six out of nine: and that in April, 1717, after the choice of Mr. Stephen Buckingham, there was a majority of six out of ten. They further insisted, that if Mr. Ruggles should not be reckoned at either of the meetings, nor Mr. Noyes, nor any other of the trustees when absent, that there was a majority of those present, which constituted a legal act.

After a full hearing, the upper house resolved, "That the objections against the vote of the trustees, were insufficient." The lower house after a long debate, resolved nothing relative to the subject. This shows how deeply the colony felt itself interested in this affair, and how unhappily it was divided.

The trustees, who were then convened at New-Haven, wishing to remove all occasion of objection for the future, passed a vote, in which they declared Mr. Ruggles to be a trustee, and asso-

ciated him as such. They also passed a vote, predicated on several former acts, in which they finally fixed the college at New-Haven. To this, for the greater solemnity, seven of the trustees, James Noyes, Moses Noyes, Samuel Andrew, Samuel Russel, Joseph Webb, John Davenport, and Thomas Ruggles, set their hands. The reasons assigned by the trustees for establishing the college at New-Haven, were, the difficulties of keeping it at Saybrook, arising partly from the uneasiness of the students, and partly from the continual attempts of numbers of gentlemen to remove it to Hartford. They judged that to be too far from the sea, and that it would by no means accommodate the western and southern colonies, in most of which, at that period, there were no colleges. They were also of opinion, that New-Haven, on the account of its commodious situation, the salubrity and agreeableness of its air, and the cheapness of its commodities, was the best adapted to that purpose. Further, the largest donations had been made there, without which they could not defray the expense of building the college house.

In these circumstances, the General Assembly, desirous of strengthening the hands of the trustees and of promoting the interests of the college, before the close of the sessions, in October, passed the following act: "That under the present circumstances of the collegiate school, the reverend trustees be advised to proceed in that affair, and to finish the house which they have built in New-Haven for the entertainment of the scholars belonging to the collegiate school." At the same time, the Assembly granted one hundred pounds to be distributed among the instructors of the college.

Notwithstanding it seemed as though the college was now established at New-Haven, both by the trustees and the General Assembly, there were gentlemen who continued fixed in the plan of establishing it at Weathersfield. They encouraged the students who had been instructed there the last year, who were about fourteen in number, to continue their studies still in the same place. At the session in May following, the house of representatives voted, "to desire the trustees to consent that the commencement should be held alternately at Weathersfield and New-Haven, till the place of the school be fully determined."

About this time, the college at New-Haven received a number of large and generous donations; which at this period, when the college was struggling under so many difficulties, were peculiarly acceptable. Governor Yale, who in 1714, had sent over forty volumes in Mr. Dummer's collection, sent to the college, the last year, three hundred volumes more. It was computed that both parcels were worth a hundred pounds sterling. This year, 1718, he sent over goods to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling, prime cost, with the king's picture and arms. He gave intimations, that he would still add. Three years after, he sent the value of a hundred pounds more. Mr. Dummer, at the same time, sent seventy-six volumes of books, twenty of which were folios. The whole were estimated at thirty pounds sterling. Governor Salstonstall and Jahaleel Benton, Esq. of Newport, each of them made to the college a present of fifty pounds sterling. By these and several other large donations, the school experienced a happy alteration. The college which had been erected the last October, was

now so far finished, as to be fit for the reception and accommodation of all the students. It was a hundred and seventy feet in length, and twenty-two feet in breadth. It was three stories high, and made a very handsome appearance. It contained nearly fifty studies in large chambers. It was furnished with a convenient hall, library and kitchen. The cost of it was about a thousand pounds sterling.

On the 12th of September, there was a splendid commencement at New-Haven. Exclusive of the trustees, there were present, the Hon. Gurdon Saltonstall, Esq. Governor of Connecticut, the Hon. William Taylor, Esq. as representing Gov. Yale, the Hon. Nathan Gould, Esq. deputy governor, several of the assistants and judges of the circuit, a large body of the clergy, and numerous spectators.

The trustees, impressed with a sense of governor Yale's great generosity, called the collegiate school YALE COLLEGE, and entered a memorial of it upon record, of which the following is a translation :

“The trustees of the collegiate school, constituted in the splendid town of New-Haven, in Connecticut, being enabled by the most generous donation of the honorable Elihu Yale Esq. to finish the college house, already begun and erected, gratefully considering the honor due to such and so great a Benefactor and Patron, and being desirous, in the best manner, to perpetuate to all ages, the memory of so great a benefit, conferred chiefly on this colony : We the trustees having the honor of being entrusted with an affair of so great importance to the common good of the people, especially of this province, do with one consent agree, determine, and ordain that

our College House shall be called by the name of its munificent Patron, and shall be named *Yale College*: That this Province may keep and preserve a lasting monument of such a generous Gentlemen, who by so great benevolence and generosity, has provided for their greatest good, and the peculiar advantage of the inhabitants, both in the present and future ages."

On the morning of the commencement, this testimonial of generosity and gratitude was published with solemn pomp, in the college hall, both in Latin and English. The procession then moved to the meeting house, and attended the public exercises of the day.

At this commencement, eight young gentlemen received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and a number were admitted to the degree of Masters.

On the same day on which the commencement was holden with so much celebrity at New-Haven, a dissatisfied party held a kind of commencement at Weathersfield, in the presence of a large number of spectators. Five scholars, who were originally of the same class with those who now received their degrees at New-Haven, performed public exercises. Mr. Woodbridge moderated, and he with Mr. Buckingham, and other ministers present, signed certificates, expressing their opinions, that they were worthy of the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Mr. Woodbridge, in a formal manner, gave them these certificates in the meeting house; and this was commonly taken and represented as giving their degrees.

Soon after the commencement, the trustees sent a complaisant letter of thanks to governor Yale, expressing the deep sense which they had of his generosity, and certifying him of all the

transactions at the commencement. They also sent a letter of thanks to their great friend and benefactor, Jeremiah Dummer, Esq. for his late donation of books; they also forwarded another to General Nicholson, for his donation of books in Mr. Dummer's collection.

The conduct of the two trustees, Woodbridge and Buckingham, in holding a commencement and giving degrees at Weathersfield, could be considered in no other point of light than that of a great misdemeanor, and highly reprehensible. It was a direct violation of the acts of the trustees and the resolutions of the General Assembly, totally inconsistent with their duty as trustees, and calculated in its whole tendency, to keep up division and disorder in the college and in the colony. The scholars, by withdrawing themselves from the government and instruction of the college, had little claim to its honors. Mr. Woodbridge and Mr. Buckingham, were men of important characters, and their influence in the colony was very considerable.

It was the desire of the legislature and trustees, as far as possible to conciliate their friendship towards the college, and towards themselves, and to quiet the minds of their party.

When the General Assembly came together in October, they therefore passed the following resolutions, to compose the difficulties which had arisen on account of the establishment of the college at New-Haven, and to affect a good agreement among the trustees, and in the colony in general.

1. "That the annual salary allowed out of the public treasury to the collegiate school, for the year past, shall be distributed to the tutors at

New Haven, Weathersfield, and Saybrook, in proportion to the scholars under their tuition."

2. "That the scholars who performed their exercises at Weathersfield, shall have their degrees at New-Haven, without further examination; and that all scholars entered at the school in Weathersfield, shall be admitted to the same standing in the school in New-Haven."

3. "That there shall be 500 pounds allowed for the building of a State House at Hartford, which money shall be procured by the sale of land belonging to this colony, and shall be put into the hands of such a committee as the Assembly shall appoint for that use: and it is ordered, that the scholars at Weathersfield, shall come down to New-Haven."

4. "That 50 pounds be procured by the sale of such lands as above said, and given to the town of Saybrook, for the use of the school in said town."

5. "The Governor and council, at the desire of the trustees in said college, shall give such orders as they shall think proper, for the removing of the books, belonging to the said college, left at Saybrook, to the library provided for the placing of them at New-Haven."

6. "That the several particulars above mentioned, that relate to the said college, be recommended by the governor and council, to the trustees of the said school, for their observation: and that said college be carried on, promoted and encouraged at New-Haven, and all due care taken-for its flourishing."

The trustees came fully into the measures recommended by the General Assembly. They ordered, "that if any of those five scholars should produce to the rector, a testimony under the

hands of any two of the trustees, of their having been approved as qualified for a degree, the rector, upon easy and reasonable terms, should give them a diploma in the usual form, and that their names should be inserted in the class, as they were at first placed. This was finally accomplished, and the consequences were happy.

Upon the previous desire of the trustees, the governor and council met at Saybrook, in December following, and granted a warrant to the sheriff, authorising him to deliver the books to the trustees: But notwithstanding the pacific measures which the legislature had adopted, there was opposition to the removal of them. The sheriff when he came to the house where they had been kept, found it filled and surrounded with men, determined to resist him. He, with his attendants, nevertheless, forcibly entered the house, and delivered the books according to his orders, and they were conveyed to New-Haven: but such was the resistance and confusion attending the transaction, that about two hundred and fifty of the most valuable books and several important papers, were conveyed away by persons unknown, and no discovery could ever be made of them.

NOTE (a)

The episcopal church in Stratford is the oldest of that denomination in the state. Of the origin of this, an account was given in the first volume of this history. But, episcopacy made very little progress in Connecticut, until after the declaration of rector Cutler, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Wetmore and Mr. Brown, for episcopacy, in 1722. Numbers of Mr. Johnson's and Mr. Wetmore's hearers professed episcopacy with them, and set up

the worship of God, according to the manner of the church of England, in West and North Haven Mr. afterwards Dr. Johnson, was a gentleman distinguished for literature, of popular talents and engaging manners. In 1724, after receiving episcopal ordination in England, he returned to Stratford, and under his ministry, to that and the neighboring churches of that denomination, they were increased.

NOTE (b)

The trustees, wishing to remove all inconveniences and to put the college under the best advantages, convened the next year in March, and made choice of the Rev. Timothy Cutler of Stratford, to be the resident rector until their next meeting. He came almost directly to New-Haven, and entered on the instruction and government of the college. When the trustees met at the next commencement, they voted, "That Mr. Cutler's service hitherto, in the place of a rector was to their satisfaction, and therefore they desired him to continue in it."

While the trustees were attempting to put the college upon the best establishment, the legislature had enacted for their encouragement, that three hundred pounds worth of new lands should be sold, and that forty pounds annually should be paid to the instructors for the term of seven years.

To make compensation to the people of Stratford, for the removal of their minister, the trustees agreed to give them Mr. Cutler's house and home lot, which they purchased for eighty-four pounds sterling. To accommodate Mr. Cutler and his family, at New-Haven, they built the rector's house, which, with the lands on which it was

erected, cost them two hundred and sixty pounds sterling.

Rector Cutler was popular, acceptable to the legislature and the clergy, and the students were quiet under his instructions and government. The college appeared now to be firmly established, and in a flourishing and happy state. But, from a quarter entirely unexpected, it suffered a sudden and great change. At the commencement, it was discovered, that the rector, and Mr. Brown, one of the tutors, had embraced episcopacy, and that they and two of the neighboring ministers, Mr. Johnson of West-Haven, and Mr. Wetmore of North Haven, had agreed to renounce the communion of the churches in Connecticut, and to take a voyage to England and receive episcopal ordination. Scarcely any thing could have been more surprising to the trustees, or the people in general, as they had no suspicions that the rector was inclining to episcopacy, as there was no episcopalian minister fixed in the colony, and as very few of the laity were inclined to that persuasion.

Governor Salstonstall was a great man, well versed in the episcopal controversy, and the tradition has been, that he judged it of such general importance, in the then circumstances of the colony, that the point should be well understood, that he publicly disputed it with Mr. Cutler, at the commencement, and that he was judged by the clergy and spectators in general, to have been superior to him as to argument, and gave them much satisfaction relative to the subject. It was supposed that several other gentlemen of considerable character among the clergy, were in the scheme of declaring for episcopacy and of carrying over the people of Connecticut in gene-

ral, to that persuasion. But as they had been more private in their measures, and had made no open profession of episcopacy, when they saw the consequences with respect to the rector, and the other ministers, that the people would not hear them, but dismissed them from their service, they were glad to conceal their former purposes, and to continue in their respective places.

The trustees at the commencement, passed no resolve relative to the rector, but gave themselves time to know the general opinion of the people, and to consult the legislature on the subject. But, meeting in October, while the Assembly were in session at New-Haven, they came to the following resolutions: "That the trustees, in faithfulness to the trust reposed in them, do excuse the Rev. Mr. Cutler from all further services as rector of Yale College: That the trustees accept of the resignation which Mr. Brown hath made as tutor." Voted, "That all such persons as shall hereafter be elected to the office of rector or tutor in this college, shall before they are accepted therein, before the trustees, declare their assent to the confession of faith owned and assented to by the elders and messengers of the churchas in this colony of Connecticut, assembled by delegation at Saybrook, Sept. 9th, 1708: and confirmed by act of the General Assembly: and shall particularly give satisfaction to them, of the soundness of their faith, in opposition to Arminian and prelati- cal corruptions, or of any other of dangerous consequence to the purity and peace of our churches: But if it cannot be before the trustees, it shall be in the power of any two trustees, with the rector, to examine a tutor, with respect to the confession and soundness of his faith, in opposition to such corruptions." They also

voted, "That upon just ground of suspicion of the rector's or tutor's inclination to Arminian or prelatie principles, a meeting of the trustees shall be called, as soon as may be, to examine into the case."

Mr. Cutler and Mr. Brown, having been thus dismissed from their services at the college, and Mr. Johnson about the same time, having been dismissed from his pastoral relation, soon after went to England, with a view to receive episcopal ordination. They all received holy orders. While they were in England, they visited the universities, and were received by the vice chancellor of each and the heads of houses with peculiar marks of esteem. Mr. Cutler had the degree of Doctor in Divinity conferred upon him; and Mr. Johnson that of Master of Arts in both universities. Dr. Cutler returned in the character of a missionary, from the society to the episcopal church in Boston. Mr. Johnson, upon his return about the year 1724, became the fixed missionary of the church at Stratford. Mr. Brown died soon after he had received orders. Mr. Wetmore about this time, made a voyage to England, received episcopal ordination, and was fixed as a missionary at Rye, in the province of New-York. He enjoyed a long ministry, and died at Rye, 1760. These were the first of the clergy who declared for episcopacy in Connecticut, and were very much the fathers of the episcopal church in Connecticut and New-England.

NOTE (c.)

At a meeting of the president and fellows of Yale College, November 21st, 1753 :

PRESENT,

The Rev. THOMAS CLAP, President.

The Rev. Messrs. Jared Elliot, Joseph Noyes, Anthony Stoddard, Benjamin Lord, William Russell, Thomas Ruggles, Solomon Williams, and Noah Herbert, Fellows.

“ Whereas, the principal design of the pious founders of the college, was to educate and train up youth for the ministry in the churches of this colony, according to the doctrine, discipline and mode of worship received and practised in them; and they particularly ordered, that the students should be established in the principles of religion, and grounded in polemical divinity, according to the assembly’s catechism, Dr. Ames’ Medulla, and Cases of Conscience, and that special care should be taken in the education of the students, not to suffer them to be instructed in any different principles or doctrines; and that all proper measures should be taken to promote the power and purity of religion, and the best edification and peace of these churches.

“ We, the successors of the said founders, being in our own judgments of the same principles in religion with our predecessors, and esteeming ourselves bound in fidelity to the trust committed to us, to carry on the same design, and improve all the college estate committed to us, for the purposes for which it was given, do explicitly and fully resolve, as follows, viz.

“ 1. That the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the only rule of faith and practice, in all matters of religion, and the standard by

which all doctrines, principles and practices in religion are to be tried and judged.

“2. That the assembly’s catechism and confession of faith, received and established in the churches of this colony, (which is an abridgement of the Westminster Confession) contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the christian religion: and that the true sense of the sacred scriptures is justly collected and summed up in these compositions: and all expositions of scripture, pretending to produce any doctrines or positions contrary to the doctrines laid down in these composures, we are of opinion are wrong and erroneous.

“If any doubt or dispute should happen to arise about the true meaning and sense of any particular terms or phrases in the said composures, they shall be understood and taken in the same sense in which such terms and phrases have been generally used in the writings of protestant divines, and especially in their public confessions of faith.

“4. That we will always take all proper and reasonable measures, such as christian prudence shall direct, to continue and propagate the doctrines, contained in these summaries of religion, in this college and transmit them to all future successions and generations; and to use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

“5. That every person who shall hereafter be chosen president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor, in this college, shall, before he enters upon the execution of his office, publicly give his consent to the said catechism and confession of faith, as containing a just summary of the christian religion, as before expressed; and renounce all doc-

trines or principles contrary thereunto; and shall pass through such an examination as the corporation shall think proper, in order to their being fully satisfied that he shall do it truly without any evasion or equivocation.

“6. That since every such officer is admitted into his post upon the condition aforesaid, if he shall afterwards change his sentiments, entertain any contrary set of principles or scheme of religion, and disbelieve the doctrines contained in the said catechism and confession of faith, he cannot, consistent with common honesty and fidelity, continue in his post, but is bound to resign it.

“7. That when it is suspected by any of the corporation that any such officer is fallen from the profession of his faith, as before mentioned, and is gone into any contrary scheme of principles, he shall be examined by the corporation.

“8. That inasmuch as it is especially necessary that a professor of divinity should be sound in the faith, besides the common tests before mentioned, he shall publicly exhibit a full confession of his faith, drawn up by him in his own words and phrases, and shall in full and express terms renounce all such errors as shall in any considerable measure prevail at the time of his introduction. And if any doubt or question should arise, about any doctrine or position, whether it be truth or error, it shall be judged by the word of God, taken in that sense of it which is contained and declared in the said catechism and confession of faith, as being a just exposition of the word of God, in those doctrines or articles which are contained in them.

“9. That every person who shall be chosen president, fellow, professor of divinity, or tutor in this college, shall give his consent to the rules of

church discipline, established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony: It being understood, that our ecclesiastical constitution may admit of additions or alterations, in such circumstances as according to our confession of faith, are to be regulated by the light of nature, and the rules of christian prudence. And it is especially declared, that if any person shall deny the validity of the ordination of the ministers of this colony, commonly called presbyterian or congregational, or hold that it is necessary or convenient that such ministers should be re-ordained, in order to render their administrations *valid*, it shall be deemed an essential departure from our ecclesiastical constitution, and inconsistent with the intentions of the founders of this college, that such a person should be chosen an officer in it.

“10. Yet, we suppose that it is not inconsistent with the general design of the founders, and it is agreeable to our own inclinations, to admit protestants of all denominations to send their children to receive the advantages of an education in the college: provided that while they are here, they conform to all the laws and orders of it.”

All the fellows who have been admitted since the above solemn act and declaration, have publicly given their consent to the catechism and confession of faith, in the subsequent form, viz:

“I, A. B being chosen a fellow of Yale College, do hereby declare, that I believe that the assembly’s catechism, and confession of faith, received and established in this colony, and in this college, contain a true and just summary of the most important doctrines of the christian religion ;

and that the true sense of the sacred scriptures is justly collected and summed up in those compositions. And all expositions of scripture pretending to deduce any doctrine or position contrary to the said doctrines laid down in these compositions, I believe are wrong and erroneous, and I will always take all reasonable measures, and such as christian prudence may direct, in my place and station, to continue and propogate the doctrines contained in those summaries of religion in this college, and transmit them to all future successions and generations: and use the like measures to prevent the contrary doctrines from prevailing in this society.

“I do also consent to the rules of church discipline, established in the ecclesiastical constitution of the churches of this colony.”

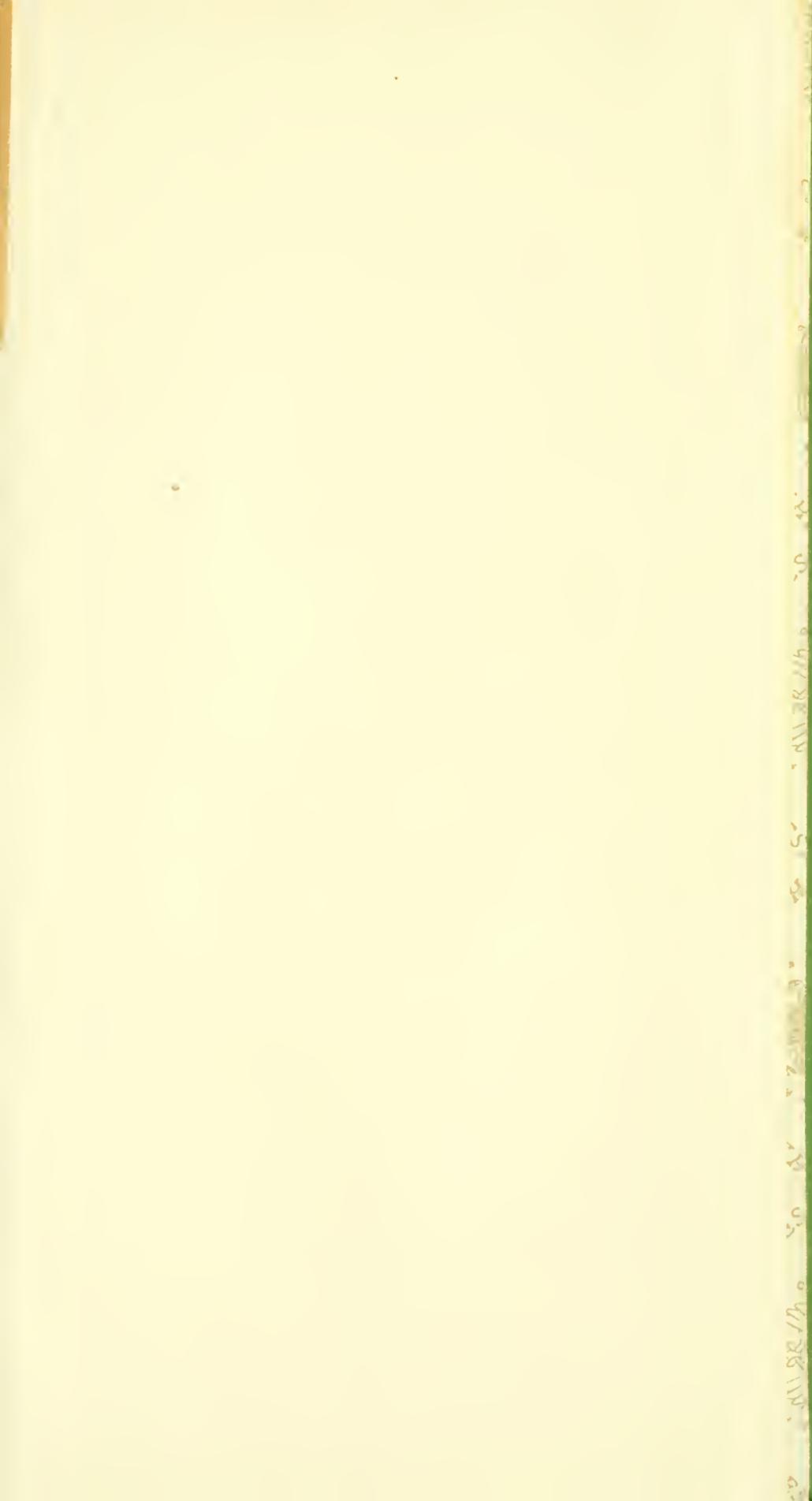
NOTE (d.)

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 thanksgivings appointed by civil authority, on penalty of a fine of five shillings for every instance of neglect. The congregational churches were adopted and established by law; but pro-

vision 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 embody themselves into church estate, without consent of the general court, and approbation of neighboring 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 neighboring churches. The penalty for every breach of this act, was five pounds.

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