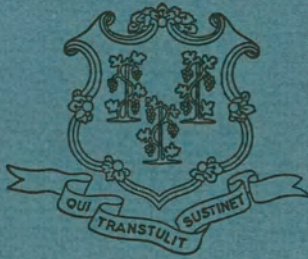


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*The Rise and Fall of the
New Haven Colony*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS

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*The Rise and Fall of the
New Haven Colony*

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"THE colony of New Haven is the ideal laboratory in which to study the germ of Puritanism; only there can it be isolated and put under the microscope . . . New Haven was the essence of Puritanism, distilled and undefiled, the Bible Commonwealth and nothing else . . . Massachusetts contained too many other elements besides Puritanism; it was too large and too complex to achieve in practice an absolute and rigorous working out of the *a priori* philosophy of Puritanism; Connecticut grew up in too haphazard a fashion; Plymouth was too plebeian, in addition to being Separatist, to be completely uncontaminated."¹

DURING the years when Connecticut was laying the foundation of its government and expanding into a commonwealth, a new experiment was being tried on the shore of Long Island Sound, forty miles to the southwest of Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. The defeat of the Pequots had removed the danger of Indian aggression in that quarter and had brought the whole coast within the scope of settlement by Englishmen. Until 1638 the seaboard

¹Perry Miller, author of *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650*, in a review of *The New Haven Colony* by Isabel M. Calder (*New England Quarterly*, December, 1935). Mr. Miller goes on to say, "Because Miss Calder is fully

was a wilderness frontier, unoccupied save by the inhabitants of the fort and lands at Saybrook and by the Nehantics, Quinnipiacs, Hammonassetts, Menuncatucks, Paugassetts, and other native tribes stretching eastward toward the Narragansett territory. This eastern stretch of coast had become known to those who had taken part in the Pequot wars and to others seeking opportunities for trade with the Indians. Its lands were remote from the communities already settled but were easily approached by water, as their harbors, though often blocked by silt, were more open than was the mouth of the Connecticut River. The Dutch had sailed along the shore in their visits to Buzzard's Bay and Plymouth harbor and had noted promising ports and rivers, offering favorable sites for forts and trading houses. There is reason to believe that they planned to erect stations at advantageous points, fronting the harbors at Fairfield, Milford, and Guilford, and the river mouths at the entrance of the Quinnipiac, Connecticut, and Pequot rivers, as well as upon the islands in Narragansett Bay. But the only outcome of their efforts was the House of Hope which was established in 1633 on the southern side of the rivulet flowing into the Connecticut at Hartford. However

aware of this ultimate significance, she has written an admirable, solid, and definitive study of the community . . . The book is more than a mere history of one settlement; it is a study of a type, in the one place in which the type is found most perfectly incarnated, and the implications of that study are important not only for New Haven, but for all New England and for Puritanism in general . . . The book is, therefore, one of a few secondary works that are absolutely indispensable for an understanding of early New England."

The writer of this pamphlet, who is here attempting the difficult task of presenting in a comparatively few pages the essential features of New Haven's nearly twenty-seven years of independence, gladly acknowledges that he owes more to Miss Calder than she has ever owed to him, even though she wrote the book under his direction, because of the facts that she has so diligently gathered and the understanding she has displayed in their interpretation.

promising the shorelands may have been for commercial enterprise because of the water connections, they were not well suited to agriculture and stock raising because they were only moderately fertile and varied greatly in value and availability for farm purposes.

The year 1635 in England was fraught with discouragement for Puritan and parliamentarian alike. The writs of ship money had been issued and the trial of Hampden was under way. The Laud Commission was beginning what was feared would be a work of inquisition at home and in the colonies, and the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber were being charged, probably unjustly, with illegality and oppression. In general the outlook for a restoration of the parliamentary system was discouraging. The writ of quo warranto against the charter of Massachusetts Bay had been issued and there were fears of worse things to come. Migration to New England increased. The Puritan lords and gentlemen, beginning to think seriously of crossing the seas, sent over John Winthrop, Jr. to prepare a refuge in America at the mouth of the Connecticut River for them and possibly for others among the parliamentary leaders. Groups of the non-conforming clergy and their followers were yielding to the necessity of leaving England, and were going either to Holland or to New England. This impulse was strong among those who were feeling the weight of Laud's displeasure and who, already rebelling against the ritualistic tendencies of the Church of England, saw in Laud's efforts to beautify the church service and to enforce the religious uniformity required by the act of 1559 an offense against the organization of the primitive church as set forth in the Bible. Every vicar of an English parish church was potentially a plantation builder, for he was more than the spiritual head of his flock; he was a par-

ticipant also in the prudential and secular affairs of the parish. The administration of an English parish gave to vicar, vestry, and parishioners just the sort of experience needed to prepare them for founding a settlement on New England soil. It is not surprising that the villagers there should have reproduced in their local practices and methods of administration many of the details of organization and land distribution with which their founders were familiar in their previous life at home.

The history of the colony of New Haven begins with the vestry meetings of the church of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London, of which for thirteen years the Rev. John Davenport, Bachelor of Divinity of Oxford, was the vicar and influential head. He had been the curate of the neighboring church of St. Lawrence Jewry, under the eaves of the Guildhall. The selection of a vicar was in the hands of the parishioners, with the approval of the Bishop of London, but the parish vestry by an ingenious adjustment of salary was able to neutralize the bishop's influence and to control the situation themselves. This position of independence gave to the parish considerable experience in handling its own business and to Davenport and his leading laymen an apprenticeship that stood them in good stead when they came to America. During his first years in the ministry at St. Lawrence Jewry, a highly ritualistic church, Davenport adhered sympathetically to the ordinances and discipline of the established system and obtained an excellent reputation for conformity. At St. Stephen's he added to this reputation celebrity as a popular preacher, with the ability to attract followers, particularly among the "common and mean people" as well as among the well-to-do merchants of Coleman Street ward. St. Stephen's was situated in the midst of a prosperous and strongly

non-conformist community, a veritable Puritan stronghold, where lived or forgathered many of those who were interested in the activities of the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay companies, and were closely associated with the mercantile interests of the day. After studying the environment in which Davenport and his associates lived and worked, one need not wonder that the New Haven colony took on a mercantile character or that trade and commerce should have been in their minds the chief concern of the new settlement. Unlike the promoters of other plantations in New England these men were not born and reared amid the manors and fields of old England and never took to farming as a natural and familiar vocation. Neither did the New Haven people ever succeed in becoming successful agriculturists.

Davenport was interested in the Virginia Company of London and although he may actually have become a member, the identification of the name is far from certain. However he did become a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, contributed £50 toward the procuring of its charter, and took an active part in that company's proceedings. There is nothing to show that at this early date (1629) he was interested in any plan of migration, though he showed his sympathies by serving as clerk of the meeting of the company at which Winthrop was elected governor and was present on at least one later occasion. Theophilus Eaton, whose father had baptized Davenport at Coventry, became an assistant of the company and contributed £100. Others, also, of St. Stephen's parish were members—Spurstowe, Rowe, Aldersey, Crane, White, and Bright—so that the intentions of the signers of the Cambridge Agreement to transfer company and charter to America must have been well known to him. It is but natural that when the time came he and those

who went with him should at first have looked nowhere else than to Massachusetts Bay.

As early as 1627 Davenport had begun to attract the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities and was brought, with three other ministers, before the Court of High Commission for printing an appeal for funds to aid the persecuted Protestants of the Upper Palatinate, a citation that cannot have increased his affection for the Church of England. He fully expected to be deprived of his pastoral charge even then, but the blow did not fall, for Laud, whose influence in Davenport's life began with his elevation to the See of London in 1628, was not inclined to trouble himself with minor infractions of the rubrics, and it was not until he found the Puritans engaged in buying up ecclesiastical benefices in lay hands and appointing to them incumbents of their own persuasion that he took action. Davenport was one of those engaged in this business and Laud saw in it an attempt to undermine the strength and unity of the Church of England. The conviction that this attempt would eventually fail and that reform from within the church was hopeless, combined with growing doubts about conformity, had influenced Davenport, in the years 1632 and 1633, to join the group of the non-conformists to which Cotton and Hooker belonged. It is reasonably clear that Cotton was instrumental in shaping Davenport's opinion and it is quite likely that Hooker had a hand in it also. Cotton had fled from Boston in Lincolnshire in 1632 and joined Davenport in London, thus beginning that long friendship between the two men which was to display itself so richly during their life in New England.

Though Davenport was not ready to resign his vicarship, he was fast reaching the conclusion that his services for St. Stephen's were over and that it would be necessary

for him to leave England because of his conversion to non-conformity. Unwilling to cause any public disturbance and much perplexed as to the lawfulness of conformity he wanted to free himself from his former connections with as little trouble as possible and, as far as he could, without affecting the peace and prosperity of his parishioners. Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, and unlike his predecessor George Abbot, brother of Maurice Abbot of Coleman Street and St. Stephen's, he had no Puritan sympathies. When Juxon succeeded Laud as Bishop of London, Davenport saw the High-Church world closing about him. Cotton and Hooker were ready to leave. Withdrawing for the moment, for a brief period of retirement, he finally offered his resignation, which the vestry unwillingly accepted, probably in April, 1633, and in December left England for Holland, offering himself there as the assistant of the Rev. John Paget, minister of the English church at Amsterdam. Undoubtedly he had every intention of returning to England when the storm had blown over. But Paget and Davenport fell out over the question of the baptism of the children of unbelievers and the dispute, heightened by the hostile efforts of Stephen Goffe, chaplain in the Netherlands of the English regiment under Vere, rendered it certain that he would not receive a formal call to the assistantship of the church. After he had aided Paget for five months and preached privately for four, he removed to Rotterdam as Hugh Peter's assistant. There it was that the project of the Puritan lords and gentlemen for the settlement of Saybrook came under discussion and there it was that Peter and Davenport persuaded Lion Gardiner to enter the service of the Warwick grantees, while Peter himself accepted the agency with John Winthrop, Jr. and the young Harry Vane. Conditions in

old and new England must have been frequently discussed between them, and when Peter left on his mission Davenport remained as his substitute. Still pursued by the demands of his opponents that he be dismissed, he became convinced that even Holland was no place for him, and in order to escape an inquiry into his religious views by Sir William Boswell, the English resident there, he returned to England in April, 1636, a year and a half after his departure therefrom.

While in Holland Davenport undoubtedly reached a decision as to his future movements. He determined to follow Cotton and Hooker, there to find freedom from the "extremities" of Laud in England and of Sir William Boswell in Holland. Concealing himself from the authorities in the disguise of a country gentleman, he set about gathering a group of his former parishioners and others who were willing to accompany him to New England, and found his chief ally in his former schoolmate and parishioner, Theophilus Eaton. Eaton had been involved in the quo warranto proceedings against the Massachusetts Bay Company, being one of the ten members of the company that appeared before the Privy Council and disclaimed the charter in 1635, and he was one of those who had been placed in charge of the joint-stock of the company on the departure of the main body to New England. Davenport was aided by others also: the Rev. Samuel Eaton, brother of Theophilus; Edward Hopkins, Theophilus' son-in-law and one of the Warwick grantees; David and Thomas Yale, sons of Mrs. Eaton; John Evance, and a few not clearly identifiable as Londoners. In addition there were groups of families from Kent and Hereford, the former from the strongly Puritan towns of Egerton and Ashford, the latter under the leadership of the Rev. Peter Prudden, destined after a few years to

lay the foundations of the town of Milford. We have no knowledge of the circumstances under which these outside peoples joined the London group.

The vessel that bore the company to America was the *Hector*—Ferne, master—a boat of about two hundred and fifty tons burden, which had already been once to Boston, where the mate, Miller, had been committed to jail for “certain seditious and opprobrious speeches” regarding the failure of the colony to display the king’s colors at the fort in the harbor. The St. Stephen’s group probably hired the vessel, on its return in 1636, evidently contracting for the passage money with the men of Kent and Hereford and a few separate passengers, of whom the only one named was Lord Ley, a young man nineteen years old, the only son and heir of the second earl of Marlborough, who went to see the country. Delayed for a time by the government’s impressment of the vessel, the passengers, some two hundred and fifty in number, including many servants, finally got away in late April or early May and reached Boston on June 26. There Davenport found himself among old friends, for though Hooker had already gone to Connecticut, Peter and Cotton were at hand to welcome him, and he took up his residence at Cotton’s house. How the others were disposed of we do not know. Lord Ley stopped at the common inn; the others probably found lodging and employment where they could, all awaiting the eventual decision as to their future course. That they were expected to constitute a plantation in Massachusetts, as other similar groups had done, is evidenced from the tax twice levied upon Eaton by the general court, the amount in the first instance being what he could pay and in the second £20.

There can be little doubt that the leaders fully intended to remain in Massachusetts, for they spent the

summer and autumn considering the opportunities that the situation offered and the locations that were placed at their disposal. The general court bade them select any site that appealed to them. The Charlestown people invited them to make their home there. Those of Newbury, who had already decided to leave their homes and cross the river to Winnacunnet (Hampton, New Hampshire) where the land was more fertile, offered them the tract upon which they were then settled. Plymouth too made them offers. But they would have none of these. Eaton and others among them were merchants, who had their minds set on a place for trade and they could find no harbor along the coast that was not already occupied. The water frontage was overcrowded and the interior, involving a laborious clearing of the forest, did not attract them. Other reasons weighed heavily in the balance. The company had reached Boston at a critical time when the excitement over the Antinomian controversy was at its height and when the struggle between Winthrop and Vane was involving the colony in one of its most troublesome domestic conflicts. Also the news from England threatening the loss of the charter was very disturbing, and they were still fearful that a governor general might be imposed upon them. Davenport played his part in the trial of Anne Hutchinson and probably brought about the conversion of Cotton to orthodoxy just as formerly in England Cotton had helped to convert him to non-conformity, but he could have had little desire to enter into competition for place among the clergy or to help in unraveling the tangle of theological opinion in which the colony had become involved. Prudden and Samuel Eaton were ministers also and were probably similarly influenced. However much God's providence may have designed Massachusetts for those who were

already there, Davenport and Theophilus Eaton were willing to believe that the same "wise God whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitations" had other designs for them. Another country, as yet unoccupied, might well come within the scope of the divine plan. Hugh Peter who had been with Fenwick at Saybrook may well have told Davenport what he saw and heard there. Israel Stoughton had accompanied Mason, Ludlow, and Seely in pursuit of the Pequots as far as the Quinnipiac in July, 1637, and had written favorably of the region, recommending its settlement. Richard Davenport, a lieutenant in the Pequot War, had likewise given glowing accounts. Consequently on August 30, only a little more than two months after their arrival, Theophilus Eaton and others of the company set out for Quinnipiac, their minds fully intent on leaving Boston and finding a place for a plantation on the shores of Long Island Sound. It had taken them but a short time to discover that the Massachusetts Bay colony was no suitable place for the carrying out of the purposes which they had in view.

Eaton returned from Quinnipiac to Massachusetts in the autumn, leaving seven of his companions to occupy the ground which they had selected as the site of their future settlement. These men remained through the winter, losing one of their number by death. They probably kept in touch with their associates in Boston, dispatching reports and receiving instructions, for it is hardly credible that they should have been left there without occasional communication and the receiving of provisions. The larger body continued to live in Massachusetts until the unfavorable season had passed and the weather had become propitious for migration. Davenport continued his activities, preaching sermons, engaging in

theological discussions, and endeavoring by one means or another to induce others than those who had come in the *Hector* to join in the new venture. He almost persuaded Vane and Cotton to go with him, but the former decided to return to England and the latter, hesitating because he thought that his influence in Massachusetts had been impaired by his sympathy with the Hutchinsonian party, finally cast in his lot with Massachusetts. Davenport, however, succeeded in adding to his number Captain Nathaniel Turner of Lynn and Captain George Lambertson of the Ezekiel Rogers group. The latter company under the leadership of Rogers, the friend of Hooker while living with the Barringtons in Essex, had crossed the water in another vessel. Some of its members went to New Haven, but a majority remained with Rogers and founded Rowley in Massachusetts. Turner and Lambertson were destined to play exceedingly prominent parts in the later history of the New Haven colony.

On March 30, 1638, the reorganized company, differing in some important particulars from the body that crossed in the *Hector*, set sail from Boston, rounded Cape Cod, coursed along the southern New England coast, past the fort at Saybrook, and on to the capacious harbor, larger than it is today, into which flows the Quinnipiac River. There they found the six men who had survived the winter and who may have done something in the way of gathering materials and erecting structures against their arrival. But the preparations could not have amounted to much, for Michael Wigglesworth, who with others came the next October, reports in his autobiography that during the following winter his family "dwelt in a cellar partly underground covered with earth," which proved so unsatisfactory a protection that, as he says further, "one great rain broke in upon us and

drencht me so in my bed being asleep [he was seven years old at the time] that I fell sick upon it." Others had similar uncomfortable experiences. Pits dug in the ground, six or seven feet deep, encased with timber, with plank floors and roofed over were not unknown elsewhere, and these "sellars" may have been something of that sort. A few of them were probably fairly substantial buildings, for we read of them as still occupied in 1642. But as the numbers of the settlers increased, with the arrival of newcomers from Boston and elsewhere, who continued their wanderings until the tide of emigration from England began to ebb, the settlers laid out the town, apportioned home lots, distributed the adjoining fields and meadows, planted crops, and built houses and barns. The town plot was a rectangle, divided into nine squares, of which the square in the center, larger than the others, was set apart as a green or market place. The plot was cut by ways or paths that ran north and south, east and west. Progress was rapid and the cellars and shacks must soon have been supplanted by houses of a more substantial character. The settlement soon fell into the ordinary ways of a plantation.

The Davenport company came to Quinnipiac without royal patent or any certain legal warrant authorizing them to occupy a part of the king's domain. Even if they had reached some understanding with Peter or Fenwick, acting on behalf of the Warwick grantees, whereby they received permission to locate on a part of the Warwick grant, such understanding could have had no legal significance. They bought this land of the Indians, as a group of purchasers or proprietors, and in several successive transactions extending over a series of years gradually enlarged the area of their possessions; and afterward they made a number of efforts to rectify the

situation by obtaining a legal warrant for their claims. In 1644 Theophilus Eaton asked Massachusetts for a copy of her charter, thinking to use it to justify the colony's right to settle on the Delaware but when the general court of the jurisdiction realized the uselessness of the document for this purpose, it set about obtaining a royal patent of its own. It instructed Thomas Gregson, one of the most influential and wealthy merchants in the colony, to go to England, and agreed to furnish him with £200 to meet all charges. As Roger Williams had just received from the Warwick committee of the Long Parliament his patent for Rhode Island it seemed a propitious time for New Haven to do likewise. Gregson was advised to join with Connecticut to procure a joint patent for the two colonies. But the effort came to nothing. Gregson was lost in the "phantom ship" and Connecticut deferred action until 1645 when she asked Fenwick to obtain an enlargement of the Warwick grant in the form of a royal confirmation, but said nothing about a joint patent to include New Haven. Fenwick, as we know, did not make the attempt, probably realizing that he had no sufficient warrant for the application, as neither he nor anyone else could show the crown lawyers or the parliamentary committee any copy of an original Warwick patent. This fact is significant inasmuch as Warwick himself was the head of the parliamentary commission on plantations before whom such application would have to be made. Seven years later New Haven asked Edward Winslow to petition the Council of State for a patent covering the Delaware region, encouraged perhaps by Coddington's successful effort the April before to obtain a commission as governor of Aquidneck. The petition was referred to the Council of Trade of which Sir Harry Vane was the president and then to the committee for

foreign affairs, but nothing came of it. After the Restoration a further attempt was made and it was generally believed in New Haven that Winthrop in his mission of 1661 was to ask for a joint patent, but, as will be noted later, Connecticut had no intention of instructing Winthrop to do so. This want of a patent of any kind was a source of great weakness to the New Haven jurisdiction and gave excuse to the Dutch for calling it "a pretended colony."

Thus the settlers of New Haven, like the Pilgrims of Plymouth, were obliged to erect their civil government upon the uncertain foundation of a title obtained from Indian purchases. Both Davenport and Eaton had their own ideas of what such a civil government should be, for both had lived long enough in Massachusetts Bay to study the working of the system there. Davenport had lived for nine months in the same house with John Cotton and must not only have talked with Cotton about his plans but have got from him certain notions also as to the best form of government to erect. It is quite likely that he took advantage of the opportunity to study the contents of the code "Moses his Judicials," which Cotton had drawn up at the request of the general court in 1636 and presented to that body the October following. We know that a copy of that code was sent by Winthrop to New Haven, probably before 1643. This code was not based upon the Bible, despite its marginal references to the Scriptures, which were added after the code was written, but was, in brief form, an outline of the government and law of the Massachusetts Bay colony, based on the charter, the common law of England, and, in capital cases, the Mosaic code. New Haven as a plantation or town, and even more as a jurisdiction or colony after 1643, followed contemporary models in all its essential

parts, for no system founded on the Old Testament could possibly have proved adequate to meet the needs of a political community in the seventeenth century.

It is very probable that Davenport, Eaton, and others among the leading men of the company had reached some understanding, even before the arrival at Quinnipiac, as to what should be the main features of the political and ecclesiastical edifices they proposed to build. But it was not for a year after they set foot on New Haven soil that they took definite action. Finally, in June, 1639, all the free planters, some seventy in number, gathered according to tradition in a large barn (built by the leading carpenter of the colony, William Andrews, and belonging to Francis Newman) and there began the dual work of establishing "such civill order as might be most pleasing unto God, and for the choosing the fittest man for the foundation work of a church to be gathered." A formal plantation covenant had already been solemnly entered into on "the first day of extraordinary humiliation" which the settlers had appointed after their arrival, and this covenant had sufficed until the time came for the more orderly structure. That time had now come.

Before any definite steps were taken, Davenport raised the fundamental question as to the qualifications of those who might best be entrusted with matters of government and fortified his recommendations with citations from the Old and New Testaments. The motion that all free burgesses should be church members—either of the church in New Haven or of one or other of the approved churches in New England—was not carried without dissent, for after the vote was taken Samuel Eaton arose to object. A discussion ensued but without altering the final decision, which they profoundly believed expressed the mind of God. Hence the rule was

established, similar to that laid down in Massachusetts and embodied in the Cotton code, that church members only should have the right to choose magistrates and officials, to transact public affairs, to make laws, divide inheritances, to decide all differences that might arise, and to do all other things of a like nature.

This having been decided, the church was next organized by the selection of twelve men (actually eleven), who chose seven among themselves, as those most fit for the foundation work, the seven pillars of the structure. These seven pillars, adding to themselves nine more—and later others from time to time, formed a “general court” of the town. This court elected a magistrate and four deputies, whose duties were largely judicial, while the duties of the court itself (a kind of town meeting) were prudential. Theophilus Eaton was the magistrate for the first year and frequently afterward, and it was he who was responsible for the rejection of jury trial in the colony. Davenport was the pastor, but Eaton, headstrong and determined, was in large part the dictator of the settlement until his death in 1658. This was the general form of the government for the first four years, from 1639 to 1643, when, the church system remaining unchanged, there was superimposed upon the town government a larger and more elaborate organization, that of the colony or jurisdiction. The circumstances that led to this enlargement were as follows.

During the years following the close of the Pequot War in 1637, the coast region saw the founding of many new settlements. Connecticut was furthering the plantations at Pequot, Stratford, and Fairfield; and New Haven also, as the Dutch expressed it, was “hiving further out.” A second purchase in 1638 carried the latter’s possessions so far to the east and west as to constitute an area thir-

teen miles in length and ten in width. This would have been ample for a single plantation, but insufficient in Puritan eyes to meet the demand for expansion. All these early Puritan settlements were potentially the mothers of colonies and New Haven was no exception to the rule. Hardly was the work of organization well under way than the "hiving" began. In the autumn of 1639 the Rev. Peter Prudden and his band of faithful followers from Herefordshire, under the guidance of an experienced Indian fighter, Thomas Tibbals of Wethersfield, started westward through the woods to found the town of Milford, ten miles away. Prudden had long desired, as had many a leading Puritan minister of the day, to have a settlement of his own. There is nothing to show that he and his company had ever intended to remain permanently in New Haven, as they had not remained in Boston, or that any dissatisfaction with Davenport was the cause of their removal. They had already, in February, acquired land beyond the New Haven second purchase, and before starting on the new pilgrimage had, as a covenanted church body, chosen their own seven pillars and reaffirmed their own church covenant. On arrival at the site selected, this little company of fifty or more families used their church organization as an adequate civil government and stood for four years as an independent ecclesiastical republic in the wilderness. In nearly all essentials they copied New Haven, but relaxed in some measure the rule regarding church membership, for there were ten men among them sharing in the management of local affairs who were not covenanted Christians. Four of these entered the church before 1643, but six remained outside, suffering thereby no loss of political privileges.

Eastward of New Haven and forming part of the

second purchase was the locality known as Totoket, which in 1640 was allotted to Samuel Eaton for a plantation of his own and of a company that he was expected to gather in England and bring to America. Eaton, who had accompanied his brother and Davenport to New Haven and had lived there as a free burgess and householder for two years, returned to England for the purpose of gathering his company. But satisfied with conditions at home and probably none too well content with what New Haven offered him he never returned, and the proposed plantation at Totoket failed to materialize. Its place was taken later by another settlement, started, as we shall see, by a group of planters from Wethersfield and elsewhere, well hardened and acclimated, who began the plantation and town of Branford in 1644.

Ministerial leadership was a conspicuous factor in the founding of towns in the New Haven colony, as is seen in the settlement of Guilford. Stimulated by the example of Hooker, Cotton, and especially Davenport, the Rev. Henry Whitfield, who was a friend of Hooker's and had given him shelter at his rectory at Ockley in Surrey, finding it impossible, with his growing nonconforming views, to remain longer in England, gathered about him a group of his own family, friends, and parishioners, sold his property in Surrey, and prepared to migrate to America. He was never a separatist, even in the Massachusetts limited sense of the term, and found no difficulty, after his return to England in 1650, in taking up again his duties as a minister of the Church of England. He was intimate with Fenwick, who had gone home the year before and wishing to return joined the Whitfield group for the voyage. In this way Whitfield learned much about the country and was able to obtain from Fenwick permission to locate within the bounds of the territory given

the Puritan lords and gentlemen by the Warwick deed, receiving later a definite grant from Fenwick for the purpose. Fenwick and his wife aided the expedition, sharing the cost of both vessel and supplies. Embarking on a ship of two hundred and fifty tons, the name of which is not known, on May 20, 1639, this company set out for New Haven, on the first transatlantic voyage directly to a harbor on the northern coast of Long Island Sound.

Adopting a plantation covenant during the passage, just as the Pilgrims had done in Plymouth harbor, this noteworthy company, consisting very largely of young men, some unmarried, others with wives, children, and servants, soon left New Haven, as Prudden had done and Samuel Eaton thought of doing, to found an independent plantation of their own. They bought land of the Indians at Menuncatuck, which they found "low, flat and moist, agreeable to their wishes," and there they remained a self-sustaining community and an independent republic for four years. Unlike the people of Milford they erected their church after civil government had been established, and unlike both New Haven and Milford, they confined political privileges not only to church members but to the members of their own particular church, thus creating the narrowest political franchise to be found anywhere in New England. This limitation of privilege was somewhat eased by a willingness to allow the nonfreemen or "planters," as was done in both Massachusetts and New Haven, to take part in town meetings but not to vote for town officials. Their pastor was the same John Higginson who had been Lady Fenwick's chaplain at Saybrook. In their organization of government and in their management of town affairs they followed very closely the New Haven model.

Two other plantations were started the following year.

It happened that Captain Nathaniel Turner, in the summer of 1640, acting on behalf of the planters of New Haven, had purchased a section of land lying to the west along the coast beyond Fairfield at a place called Toquams or Rippowams, extending sixteen miles inland and eight miles from east to west. It lay some thirty miles from the Quinnipiac settlement. In the same year, owing to ministerial difficulties in the town of Wethersfield, a group of men there made up their minds to find a home elsewhere. At their head was the Rev. Richard Denton, one of the contentious clergymen, who had come from Halifax, England, and located in Wethersfield in 1638, and among its members were Matthew Mitchell, Andrew Ward, Richard Coe, and Richard Gildersleeve, the last named of whom had got into trouble with the Connecticut authorities for casting out "pernitious speeches, tending to the detriment and dishonor" of the commonwealth. The company having determined to remove found it difficult to decide where to go and listened willingly to overtures made by Davenport (who had already endeavored to bring peace to the Wethersfield church) that they should occupy the newly acquired territory. In the agreement finally made with New Haven the Wethersfield men bound themselves to reimburse that plantation for what it had already spent, to acknowledge the authority of the New Haven government, and to accept the system there established both in principle and form. Thus was brought into existence the plantation and town of Stamford, never a completely independent community, for it was always subordinate to New Haven, from the first sending deputies to the general or town court and accepting such of their own number as magistrates and constables as that court saw fit to select.

The last of the towns settled before 1643 was Southold, at the eastern end of Long Island, facing the Sound. In 1640 New Haven, always on the watch for opportunities to extend her territory, purchased the Yennicock region, where Southold was afterward located, of James Forret, agent of the Earl of Stirling, who had received Long Island by grant from the Council for New England. As far as we know the grant was never confirmed by the crown. There New Haven established a small company of men, women, and children, led by the Rev. John Youngs, which had come to New Haven from England in the *St. John of London* the same year. She retained title to the soil until in 1649 the Southold people cleared off their indebtedness and received the territory in their own right. They were somewhat more independent than were the people of Stamford, largely because of the distance, but they followed the New Haven way in all particulars, and in 1642 recognized New Haven's right to appoint their constable, until some further course should be taken "to settle a magistracy there according to God."

Totoket or Branford, which Samuel Eaton had promised to make the seat of a new plantation, did not become a part of the New Haven jurisdiction until after 1643. Because the region was being encroached upon by unauthorized squatters, New Haven, who owned it, extended an invitation to some Wethersfield people to occupy it, provided they paid the cost of the purchase, joined in one jurisdiction with New Haven, and accepted the fundamental agreements upon which that jurisdiction was based. The bargain was completed in 1643 and settlement was effected the next year. Shortly afterward the group from Wethersfield was joined by Abraham Pierson and others from Southampton, Long Island, and the place was called Branford, a popular corruption of Brent-

ford, a London suburb on the Thames River opposite Kew. The plantation was slow in getting started, for there appears to have been no formally organized church there until after 1650. Permanent town government must have come into being soon after, but it was not until 1653 that deputies appeared in the general court of the jurisdiction.

Thus did New Haven "hive further out." The town had brought under its control Stamford, Southold, and later Branford. In its immediate neighborhood were Milford and Guilford, two independent self-governing communities, each of which had been settled under New Haven's auspices and was in sympathy with the principles governing her method of rule. All remained as they were, six separate plantations, with New Haven the center and most important member of the entire cluster, until in 1643 a situation arose that called for further action. In that year was formed the New England Confederation, a combination of jurisdictions, not of plantations, to which New Haven was admitted because she was able to bring with her two subordinate settlements, over which she was able to exercise a measure of control. Before 1643 New Haven was a town, with a town organization and government, but after that date she became a jurisdiction, a colony, because she was exercising somewhat hesitatingly but effectively, an influence that extended from eastern Long Island to the region where the Dutch and Swedes were already building forts on the Delaware or Great South River. As the New England Confederation did not admit independent plantations, such as were Southampton, Milford, and Guilford, it became necessary for their own protection that these towns yield some part of their independence and combine with an already established jurisdiction. For this

reason Southampton joined Connecticut, and Milford and Guilford joined New Haven—Guilford on July 6, 1643, and Milford the following October.

Thus within the short space of five years, the town of New Haven had become the jurisdiction of New Haven, and the bounds of the colony had been expanded from the eastern line of Guilford to the western boundary of Milford and thence, leaping over the intervening Connecticut towns of Stratford, Fairfield, and Norwalk, to the western line of Greenwich, which by agreement with the Dutch in 1650 had become a part of the town of Stamford. The northern boundary was never exactly drawn but it ran some ten or fifteen miles from the coast except at Paugassett, the modern Derby. Though the jurisdiction made efforts to extend its authority to Long Island and hoped that the settlements of Oyster Bay and Huntington, which had been established under New Haven's guidance, would come into the fold, it never succeeded in obtaining a footing there except at Southold. Southampton, Easthampton, Oyster Bay, and Huntington all eventually threw in their lot with Connecticut, to New Haven's dismay.

This transformation from a single town into a colony and from a group of towns into a federation demanded a reshaping of the machinery of government and the superimposing of a colony jurisdiction upon the separate organizations set up by the towns. In New Haven itself until 1643 the officials were a magistrate and four deputies and the "general courts" were in all essentials the equivalent of town meetings. All the householders or free planters were present at these meetings, but only those who were church members, had been admitted by the court as free burgesses, and had taken the freeman's charge could vote. As New Haven acquired additional

territory and new towns such as Stamford and Southold came into existence, these dependent communities were given representation in the "general court" of the town, a kind of hybrid arrangement that was halfway between the organization of a town and that of a colony. Not until October 23, 1643, after the admission of Guilford and Milford, was the first step taken toward the formal fashioning of a large federative system, by the drawing up of a fundamental agreement or frame of government for the entire jurisdiction. On the 26th a governor and deputy governor, secretary and marshal were elected for the jurisdiction and magistrates for New Haven, Milford, and Stamford. On the 27th a regular general court was held for all the towns. This court, which was the court of the jurisdiction and consisted of the governor, deputy governor, and two deputies each from New Haven, Milford, Guilford, and Stamford, concerned itself entirely with colony, not town, business. The fundamentals or frame of government of the jurisdiction followed closely the Massachusetts model as set down in the Cotton code. From this time forward town government and colony government were distinct and the records of the latter were kept in separate books. Unfortunately the volume carrying the entries to 1653 has disappeared, but its successor still exists and is the second volume of the printed records covering the years from 1653 to 1665.

The New Haven jurisdiction was a loose confederation of towns, scattered and lacking in unity, held together by a general court, each member of which took an oath of fidelity, while the church members in the towns took both an oath of fidelity and the freeman's charge. The general court sat as a single house, without a speaker, and passed orders or laws, some new, others amendments of or additions to the Code of 1656. These laws were read

in the local town meetings and all the inhabitants, church members, free planters, and others were expected to obey them. Even if one could not read he was required to know and remember the law when read in his hearing. The court did a certain amount of judicial work, but justice, generally on appeal, was handled by the court of magistrates, which was heavily burdened with the duty of ferreting out cases of misconduct and which also dealt with admiralty and probate business. New Haven was unique among the New England colonies in refusing to allow trial by jury in the courts of either the town or the colony.

This was the simple form of civil and judicial organization that prevailed in the New Haven colony until its submission to Connecticut in 1665. But that this arrangement was not expected to be permanent, had the Delaware venture succeeded, is evident from the statement made in 1654 that "when God shall so enlarge the English plantation in Delaware as that they shall grow the greater part of the jurisdiction . . . then due consideration shall be taken for ease and conveniency of both parties, as that the governor may be one yeare in one part and the next year in another and that the deputy governor be in that part where the governor is not, and that generall courts for the makeing lawes may be ordinarily but once a year [instead of twice as in the jurisdiction], and where the governor resides; and if God much increase plantations in Delaware and diminish them in those parts, then possibly they may see cause that the governor may be constantly there and the deputie governor here, but that the lesser part of the jurisdiction be protected and eased by the greater part in rates and otherwise." But God did not enlarge the New Haven plantation on the Delaware, and this dream of a larger New

Haven jurisdiction was never fulfilled. To the colony's interests on the Delaware we must now turn our attention.

Those who founded the plantation of New Haven in 1638 had before them the vision of an expanding commercial enterprise, which should utilize the shores of Long Island Sound, Long Island itself, and the region of the Delaware as the sphere of its energies. But they reckoned without any adequate knowledge of the obstacles that lay in their path. At no time were they able to occupy even a tenth of the world of their ambition. Almost from the start they were hedged in by the growing Connecticut commonwealth, which early took advantage of the victory over the Pequots to establish settlements along the coast. They could not expand eastwardly beyond Guilford because Saybrook blocked the way. They were prevented from controlling Long Island by the unsympathetic attitude of the eastern and central towns already there, from Easthampton to Oyster Bay, and by the activities of Colonel John Scott who apparently was planning to set up at the western end, under himself as promoter and head, some sort of an independent government with its center at Hempstead. On the Delaware the Swedes first and the Dutch afterward were in possession and were disputing the attempts of all others to intrude upon the region. Both were working under trading companies which were organized at home for promoting trade in the New World and were sending over ships and men to found posts and factories for traffic with the Indians. The Dutch, first in the field (the Dutch West India Company was chartered in 1621), had built a fort on the southern point of Manhattan island, another, Fort Orange, up the Hudson, and a third, Fort Nassau, on the Delaware near the mouth of Little Timber Creek. The last named was early abandoned, so that when in 1637 the

New Sweden Company was chartered and two vessels under Peter Minuit, with a company of colonists, were dispatched across the ocean they found the banks of the river unoccupied and laid claim to the territory in the name of the company. On Christina Creek (modern Wilmington) Minuit erected a fort, Christina, named after the reigning queen, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. Under Johan Printz an aggressive policy was adopted, new forts were built, and the region was claimed from the upper end of the bay to the Delaware Water Gap. The Dutch returning to the river established trading houses, bouweries, and plantations at various points and disputed the Swedish claim. The contest between the two lasted for eighteen years, until in 1655 the Dutch ousted the Swedes by force and retained possession until they in turn were driven out by the English in 1664.

But in 1640 the Swedes and Dutch had hardly got more than a foothold in the territory; consequently the Davenport company, which had probably heard of the country during their own residence in Boston, determined to see what the place was like. "Some particular persons at their own charge," with the approval of the town, organized a "Delaware Company" and sent an expedition, under Captain George Lambertson and Captain Nathaniel Turner, to explore the river. With the consent of the Swedes they occupied land on the east side of the river, at Varkinskill or Salem Creek, intending to set up a plantation "for the advancement of the public good as in a way of trade, also for the settling of churches and plantations in those parts in combination with New Haven." The area of occupation was widened by a further purchase of land from the Indians at the mouth of the Schuylkill, nearly opposite Fort Nassau and the beginning of a fortification there. The Dutch, aroused by the

menace of an English invasion, sent an expedition, seized Lamberton and others, and destroyed the fort, and it was only after an imprisonment at New Amsterdam that the prisoners were sent back to New Haven. Though the settlement at Varkinskill was unmolested, its occupants, consisting of some twenty families, suffered so much from sickness and death that in 1643 most of them gave up the enterprise and returned to New Haven. A few, however, remained and Lamberton himself went back to trade with the Indians along the river, trafficking, as the Swedes claimed, under the very shadow of Fort Christina. Governor Printz, remarking that the English were "evil neighbors," called a halt to Lamberton's activities, and instituted a court inquiry into the circumstances. The court decided against the English claim and against Lamberton's right to trade, and the latter went back to New Haven filled with indignation at the treatment he had received. The matter was brought to the attention of the newly formed New England Confederation and was, in part at least, responsible for its formation in that year. At the first meeting of the confederation the issue came up for consideration and after debate Governor Winthrop was instructed to write to Printz demanding satisfaction. Printz reopened the case, and at an examination of witnesses in January, 1644, obtained a complete exoneration. Amicable relations were restored and when Governor Eaton and the Delaware Company obtained from the confederation a commission authorizing Captain Turner to revive the plantation and to continue trading in the Delaware Bay and River, Printz promised to recognize it. But as far as we know no further colonization was attempted at this time.

With the growth of the town and the expansion of the jurisdiction of New Haven after 1643, interest in the

Delaware region was revived. Eaton wrote to Stuyvesant protesting against the duties levied at New Amsterdam upon goods imported into New Netherland and demanding freedom for the English trading at Manhattan and their right to pass the Dutch town, without interference, on their way to and from the Delaware and points south. He also reasserted New Haven's claim to lands purchased on the river. Stuyvesant had already written both to Governor Bradford of Plymouth and to Governor Endecott of Massachusetts—who had succeeded Winthrop in 1647—saying that the Dutch had a "lawful right" to all the territory and would maintain it by force if necessary. Naturally, therefore, he answered Eaton to the same effect. Though the New England Confederation refused to have any part in the undertaking, it informed the New Haven leaders that they could "dispose, improve or plant the land they have purchased . . . as they shall see cause." New Haven construed this as permission to go ahead, and at a town meeting, March, 1651, on the ground that the town was overcrowded, decided to continue the Delaware project "for the good of posteritie." Before formal action was taken by the town various private efforts were made. Lieutenant Seely of Pequot War fame, carrying the commission of 1644, attempted to go down the Sound and through the East River to the Delaware, but was stopped by Stuyvesant and imprisoned. When others tried to do the same Stuyvesant threatened "force of arms and martial opposition even to bloodshed" against them unless they desisted from their undertakings.

The danger seemed so much greater than the expected profit from the venture that for the moment Stuyvesant's threat was heeded, but the pressure of those wishing to go was too strong to be resisted and on November 2,

1654, the business was again agitated. Still fearful of trouble the New Haveners postponed the decision until the 27th. Some said they would go if Davenport would go with them, but he declined on the ground of health. Eaton gave an evasive answer. His son, Samuel, and Francis Newman, two of the magistrates of the jurisdiction, were willing to take the matter into consideration. Despite this want of alacrity, the feeling prevailed that enough had been done by the town to bring the proposal to the attention of the jurisdiction, and at a general court, January 30, 1655, the town asked that the court "afford some encouragement to help forward so publique a work" for "the enlargement of the Kingdom of Christ, the spreading of the Gospel, and the good of posteritie therin, that they may live under the wings of Christ." Though the court took no definite action, the plan was debated at a town meeting, April 8, 1655, at which time the authorities made it perfectly clear that if a plantation were settled on the Delaware it would have to be based "on the same foundations of government as were at first laid in New Haven" and to remain "a part or member of this jurisdiction."

The Delaware project of 1654-1655 was quite different from the earlier effort, which had trade rather than settlement as its object. At that time a few venturesome sea captains and migrating families were concerned, now a group of men and women, not only from New Haven but from other towns as well and even from Massachusetts and Connecticut, were proposing to go as a body and set up a permanent home on the Delaware River. The movement was watched with considerable interest by many outside the New Haven boundaries, for it was an early phase of that expansionist urge which had sent Hooker to Connecticut, Davenport to New Haven, Prudden to Mil-

ford, Denton to Stamford, Whitfield to Guilford, and was to send Russell to Hadley, and Fitch to Norwich. The fact that Davenport, the pastor, and Hooke, the teacher, were both invited to lead the company and that Samuel Eaton and Francis Newman consented to take part as magistrates shows that the migrating group was to be an organized company, with ecclesiastical and judicial unity. Furthermore, it was to become a small edition of New Haven both as town and church. But in the end nothing whatever came of the effort, though New Haven did not relinquish her claim to the territory, even after she ceased to be an independent colony.

At the outset New Haven was possessed of considerable wealth, a fact upon which contemporary writers are all agreed. Edward Johnson, writing before 1653 in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, said that "many of [the settlers were] well experienced in traffique and had good estates to manage it" and Hubbard, less than half a century later, wrote of them as "Merchants of Considerable estates and dealing in the world [who] propounded to themselves the setting up a place of trade for which they were most fitted." Some of the town's leading men had had mercantile careers in London and had accumulated a certain amount of capital, which they either brought with them in the shape of goods rather than money or left in England in the form of landed possessions from which they received financial returns. The drain upon this capital must have been heavy during the first few years in the history of the settlement. The hire of the ship, the preliminary outfitting in goods and equipment, the living during the winter in Boston, the purchase of the lands from the Indians, and the expenditure, as they themselves said, of "great estates in buildings, fencings, clearing the ground, and in all

sorts of husbandry" must have eaten up an appreciable part of the resources brought with them. Also, the early Delaware venture, which cost the undertakers £1,000; the loss of the great ship, which was sent to England in 1646 but foundered at sea; the wasteful expenditures on the ironworks located between New Haven and Branford—all these enterprises called for heavy disbursements without any corresponding returns either of principal or profit. All the ambitious plans of the leaders had come to naught during the first fifteen years in the history of the colony and the Delaware failure was the final blow. William Hooke wrote to Cromwell in 1653 in the following disconsolate vein, "Trade is obstructed, commodities (especially cloathing) very scanty; great discouragements upon the most, if not all; many still looking toward Ireland . . . and a continual dropping away there from us, and fears of great dissolutions and desertions . . . our cure is desperate, if the Dutch be not removed . . . so that we and our posterity (now almost prepared to swarme forth plenteously) are confined and straitened, the sea lying before us and a rocky rude desert, unfitt for culture and destitute of commodity, behind our backs, all convenient places for accommodations on the sea coast already possessed and planted."

It was during this period of depression that Cromwell endeavored to persuade the people of the colony to migrate first to Ireland—an effort that was at an end before 1654—and then to Hispaniola or Mexico, both of which Spanish possessions he expected to take in the famous expedition under Penn and Venables. But the New Haveners, though some of them considered Ireland favorably, finally refused to go, just as later they refused to go to Jamaica after the seizure of that island in 1655. They were willing to go to the Delaware but nowhere

else, and they wanted war with the Dutch, in the hope that by this means the latter would be removed from New Amsterdam and the Delaware, and the way opened to a westward enlargement. They were much cast down when Massachusetts refused in 1654 to cooperate in such a war (possibly because Massachusetts found profit in the Dutch trade), and made a number of direct appeals to Cromwell, until peace with Holland stopped all further perseverance in that direction. "The apprehension of such a thing as being removed thither [to the West Indies or the Spanish Main], or of a trade, doth for the present stop and stay many in these parts," wrote John Higginson in 1654, and it is quite clear that the New Englanders had little sympathy with Cromwell's plan of driving out the Spaniard and making room in the conquered territory for such of them as would go there. New Haven wanted only the Delaware but the leaders of the colony were already beginning to grasp the unwelcome fact that as long as the Dutch remained in New Netherland the erection of a larger jurisdiction on a commercial and trading basis was impossible. They may even have begun to realize that the resources of the colony, already depleted, would not stand the strain of further enterprise along mercantile lines. After 1650, movements Delawareward were in the interest of colonization rather than of trade.

Nevertheless, to a limited extent trade flourished in the colony, as must inevitably have been the case among a people living in towns on the shores of Long Island Sound, with harbors that were available for shipping and with leaders who had been merchants at home and were more familiar with mercantile transactions than with agriculture. But progress could not be maintained. The loss of Lambertson, Turner, and Gregson, all of whom

with nearly seventy others went down with the "phantom ship" on its voyage across the Atlantic, was a terrible blow to the infant colony for it removed three able men, who, had they lived, might not have given up easily the plans of the founders. No one appeared to take their places. Allerton and Goodyear were not successful businessmen in the later days of the colony. Prudden, Eaton, and Newman died, and Whitfield, Samuel Eaton, Hooke, Desborough, and others returned to the old country. Though a tide of immigration set in for a short time after 1660 and the numbers in the colony increased, very few of the second generation equaled the founders as leaders either in politics or in trade.

None of the towns of the jurisdiction ever became important shipbuilding or ship-using communities, but all of them had trading interests and in some of them were individuals, who as sea captains and mariners, came into contact with the wider world of the north Atlantic basin. Canoes, skiffs, shallops, and lighters or floats were early in use for purposes of local communication and transportation, and pinnaces, ketches, barks, and sloops of more than fifteen tons engaged in distant traffic. They crossed to Long Island, coasted along the north shore as far as New Amsterdam and the Delaware on the west, and Rhode Island and Massachusetts Bay on the east, and even went on to Newfoundland, Virginia, and Barbados. Yet the number of vessels in service cannot have been large, and most of those of any size must have come from outside the colony, either Dutch- or English-built. How early the colonists constructed their own boats it is difficult to say, for the building of any ship is not certainly recorded before 1645. That small craft were fabricated before that date is attested by the presence of ship carpenters, who may have been employed in house con-

struction also and have done boatbuilding as need arose. Private wharves and warehouses appear as conveniences for landing and storing—the wharves for the small craft of their owners or for the landing boats of larger vessels from Massachusetts, New Amsterdam, Virginia, Barbados, and England lying in the harbor. These outside vessels brought manufactured goods, hardware, canvas, rum, sugar, cotton, salt, tobacco, and wines, while the New Haven towns shipped provisions, cattle, horses, and a variety of sundries, though a surplus of such staples was always limited, and in times of scarcity, as in 1653, foodstuffs were placed under embargo. The one effort that was made to open up a direct trade with England was a disastrous failure, for the vessel, perhaps the first large boat built in New Haven, promoted by Theophilus Eaton, Goodyear, Malbone, and Gregson in 1645, commanded by Captain Lambertson, and laden with an elaborate cargo, foundered at sea and was never heard of again. All the ventures, running from £50 to £80, which were put into this, the “phantom ship,” and into the *Fellowship* of 1647 (another New Haven venture) were either lost entirely or were greatly depreciated in value.

That the promotion of trade during the first twenty years had not met the expectations of the merchants concerned is evident from Davenport's remarks made in 1659 and 1662. Speaking in town meeting on the question of granting East Side (Fair Haven) and South End (East Haven) the status of villages he said that “if the town did not consider of some way to further trade, how would they subsist he saw not.” In 1662 he said further that unless the town could do something “to bring shipping yearly from England . . . and so raise manufacture” its inhabitants could not long subsist. He wished by making liberal grants of land to encourage merchants from

other colonies or England to come to New Haven for the encouragement of trade. The effort was not successful, as but one merchant, Samuel Bache of Boston, came to New Haven and set up a warehouse, and that too not until after 1665, when New Haven gave in its submission to Connecticut.

The simple truth is that despite the ambitions of the founders, the towns of the New Haven jurisdiction never were more than small agricultural communities in a region that was not well adapted for agricultural purposes. Their layout and the methods followed in the distribution of their lands differed only in detail from those of other New England plantations and the life of the great majority of the people was closely and intimately connected with the soil. In order of size New Haven came first, followed by Milford, Guilford, Stamford, Southold, and Branford, with two dependent communities, Paugasset (Derby) and Hashamamock (near Southold). The people inhabiting these plantations were mainly English, with a few Frenchmen, Dutchmen, Scotsmen, Negroes, and Indians, the last named of whom in New Haven lived on the east side across the Quinnipiac River. In status these inhabitants were freemen or church members, free planters, indentured servants, and apprentices, and in vocation, merchants, mariners, farmers, artisans, and hired laborers. There was also a transient element among them, not much wanted but very much needed, made up of wanderers from other colonies and seamen brought in by the ships frequenting the harbors, a roistering, rowdy lot that made New Haven as well as Massachusetts a great deal of trouble.

All these people were carefully watched over by the local town meetings which kept a vigilant eye on the affairs of their respective communities. They looked after

fences, cattle, swine, sheep, and horses, doing something but not much for fences and highways, and endeavoring, with considerable effort and frequent prodding, to build and repair bridges, of which there were many. They provided, with difficulty because of frequent neglect, for ward by day and watch by night, guarding against fires within and attacks from without. To protect themselves further against fires they required householders to keep ladders at hand and to have their chimneys frequently swept, the chimney sweeps to wear canvas frocks and hoods. They regulated the cutting of timber for building and firewood, and frequently complained of the "stinking and noxious weeds"—henbane, nightshade, and poke-weed—that grew along the roadsides and in the fields. Each town had its trainband, though training was none too popular, worked out with discrimination exemptions from the service, and struggled with the disorders that regularly arose on training day. There was a view of arms four times a year and a training at least six times and oftener if necessary.

While agriculture and its incidents occupied a large part of the time and attention of the people in the various towns, industry remained in a very primitive state. There were gristmills everywhere, but no sawmills, sawing being done in the simple way of a saw pit. The gristmill in New Haven—an overshot affair—was a subject of endless concern, both as to maintenance and supply of water, and when it was burned down in 1662, the proposal was made to change its construction to that of a windmill and horsemill, such as was known to exist at Easthampton. There were a number of tanneries or tanyards, but at best leather was poorly prepared, shoes were insufficient in supply, inexact as to sizes, and badly made, and both tanners and shoemakers came in for con-

siderable abuse. Probably much of the artisan work of bakers, hatters, blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, rope-makers, wheelwrights, dishturners, and the like was done at the houses or barns of the workmen or in shops on the premises. The bakers were often charged with underweight loaves and so serious had this offense become that an assize of bread was inserted in the Code of 1656. This was the London assize, which New Haven adopted, just as she adopted the London assize of hogsheads, Winchester measures of dry and liquid volume, avoirdupois weight, and the London steelyard. There were shops also in private houses and there were stores where a variety of goods was sold, such as could not be produced at home and had to be brought from abroad. Liquor was available at the ordinaries and in limited quantities at private houses, and the licensing problem was one of periodic perplexity. Manufacturing activities were of necessity infrequent because of the scarcity of raw material. The only manufacturing industry known to the colony was that of the ironworks at East Haven, though we hear of a promise of steelmaking emanating from Southold in 1655.

Business transactions of every kind must have been greatly hampered by the want of a convenient and flexible medium of exchange. Hard money, whether in the form of English shillings, Dutch guilders, or Spanish pieces of eight, was always scarce, though there must have been a certain amount brought in by ships from England or gained in traffic with New Amsterdam and Barbados. There is no mention of silver in the records of the colony until 1651 when contributors to the church funds were urged to pay in silver or bills because the wampum was so bad that "the officers who receive it can make little of it," and until 1654 when the widow Wiggles-

worth loaned the commissioners going to Boston five pounds. Even after these dates we come on very few instances of its use. In the early years black and white wampum was almost the sole medium, particularly in private transactions, until it became so poor in quality that it would not pass current and so much of a drug in the market as to lose much of its value, despite the efforts of the general court to stabilize it. Barter and payments in kind became increasingly common—corn and other grains, cattle, wool, pease, beef, pork, bread or “biskit,” and even brass and iron passed at local prices fixed by the Boston traders. Rates, taxes, and imposts were met by “good currant country paye at cuntry price” determined by the authorities. In 1657 Winthrop paid for his house £100 in goats from Fishers Island, the town to send a ship to carry the “cash” to New Haven.

But while land, fences, debts, and prudential affairs generally were matters of concern to the town fathers, manners and morals, having to do with the peace of the community and the problem of sin, weighed most heavily on their minds. Drunkenness and sexual misdemeanors were “horrible miscarriages,” for which those guilty were held accountable before God as well as the courts, and they were inquired into with a minuteness of scrutiny that has made it necessary, in the case of sexual misdeeds, for the editors of the town and colony records to omit from the printed pages several portions of the original text. Such offenses were bad enough when committed by a nonfreeman, but when a church member was involved, whether in fornication or drunkenness or in disrespect toward an assembly where “the holy God and the holy Angells were present,” the act was construed as scandalous and the offender was reprimanded by bell, book, and candle. The ultimate end of justice was the

reformation of man and the averting of the wrath of God, and its immediate purpose the preservation of peace and righteousness, the prevention of disorder, and the settlement of differences among neighbors. The attainment of such results was worthy of the utmost vigilance. Many lesser indulgencies, such as cardplaying, dancing, and singing, were frowned on and in part at least forbidden, because they tended to the corruption of the youth and the "mispense of precious time," but they were enjoyed on the sly by those who had known the merry life of old England and were repelled by the cheerless atmosphere of the Puritan colony. Smoking was allowed but not in public, and one man who was found "taking tobacco" near the meetinghouse was promptly fined. A large number of the sinners were servants and seamen: the former always an unmanageable lot, generally in some sort of mess, thieving, cursing, swearing, drinking, and quarreling, and guilty, a few of them certainly, of bestiality and other abominable crimes; the latter given to intoxication, disorder, and profanation of the Sabbath. The laws were vigorously enforced and numbers of persons were executed for adultery, witchcraft, and deeds of "unspeakable filthiness." Occasionally one or another would be banished for good and sufficient cause from the jurisdiction while those guilty of ordinary misdemeanors would be punished by stocks, pillories, fines, whipping, imprisonment (where they were "kept to a prison diet"), and by such humiliating public penances as the wearing of a halter for a given length of time.

On the cultural side education alone received attention. Davenport very early expressed his interest in a school and a college and wanted to gather books for the use of the ministry and the town. In 1641 it was proposed

to set up a free school, the cost of which was to be met out of the common stock of the town. This was done, a schoolhouse was built, and a schoolmaster engaged. But the experiment languished. The ambitious programme for the teaching of English, writing, and especially Latin dwindled to a course of spelling and reading; the number of pupils fell as low as six or eight and then five and six; and the results were not commensurate with the trouble. In 1660 it was proposed to erect a "Colony School," and at first the plan seems to have been to set up feeding schools in each of the plantations, but this was soon seen to be beyond the resources of the colony. Then it was decided to create only a single "Colony School or College," for the teaching of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and to locate it at New Haven. For this purpose Edward Hopkins made his famous bequest of part of his estate in New England, from which in time was to arise the Hopkins grammar schools of Hartford and New Haven, "for the service of god in Church and Commonwealth," the whole amounting to £1,000, four hundred of which was to go to Hartford. But as events were to prove, the Hopkins bequest was diverted from its original object and a collegiate school was not to appear until the next century, then to bear the name not of Davenport but of Elihu Yale. The suggestion made in 1664 that a library building be erected for the "many books belonging to the town" was never carried out. The books were probably those left by Samuel Eaton in 1656 "for the use of a college," but which reverted to the town on the failure of that project. It constituted what may be called "the first public library in New Haven."

On the architectural side we have little reliable information regarding the buildings in which the householders lived, beyond the contemporary statement that many

of the merchants' houses were pretentious. The meeting-house on the green in New Haven was fifty feet square, with a tower and a turret, and casement windows with glass panes. It was in constant need of repair and its various vicissitudes find frequent reference in the records. It had a platform, with rails and banisters, built upon its roof in 1653, for "one to stand upon to make discovery of danger that might be neere," and within were the seats, a large gallery with a little gallery adjoining, and a high pulpit with stairs. Built in 1640 it began to show signs of decay by the end of the decade and by 1657 was called very defective—groundsills and timbers, ceiling, tower and turret, doors and windows needing constant attention. Nothing was done beyond repairs until 1670 when a new structure was put up. Upon its door, as was the custom with the parish churches of England, all public notices were posted—for the town as yet had no signpost, and near by in the market place stood the drummer to summon the inhabitants to meeting on lecture days, days of humiliation and thanksgiving, and the Sabbath.

Until 1660 the position of the town and jurisdiction of New Haven was strong despite its economic weakness and legal insecurity, though its inhabitants were not all living in perfect harmony. There had been murmurings as early as 1653 and 1654, at the time of the threatened war with the Dutch. Inhabitants of Stamford, Southold, and Milford voiced their discontent with the form of government under which they lived, demanding an extension of the suffrage, the admission of English law, and the right of appeal to England. Robert Basset in the Stamford town meeting declared that he would obey no authority except such as came out of England, and he and others dubbed the jurisdiction a tyrannical govern-

ment, under which no justice could be obtained. The ringleaders at different times were haled before the general court of the jurisdiction and charged not only with disturbing the peace of their respective towns but also with words and carriage against the colony at large. They were accused of attempting to undermine, overthrow, and alter the foundations of authority, to turn things "upsidowne" in church and commonwealth, and to stir up rebellion, thus breaking their oaths of fidelity. All were reprimanded in language that was severe unto righteousness—the language of the pulpit—and were heavily fined and put under bonds to answer before the court of magistrates. All submitted and acknowledged their sin and the trouble was over.

The general court took advantage of the opportunity to see that all the people in the jurisdiction were bound by oaths of fidelity and that the deputies from the towns to the general court of the jurisdiction took a special oath to "doe Equall right and Justice in all cases" that came before them, using their "best skill and knowledge according to the wholesome laws here established." Thus did they hope to make the colony watertight against further disaffection, and for the moment they succeeded, though financial conditions did not improve, and efforts to expand the area of the jurisdiction by the inclusion of Southampton, Huntington, and Oyster Bay ended in failure. New Haven's dream of a colony that should embrace Long Island within its limits went the way of its dream of a commercial center and capital on the banks of the Delaware. By the year 1660 the jurisdiction was probably already on the downward grade—less ably manned, less economically prosperous, and less united in the fundamentals of religion and government than it had been in the period immediately following the

reorganization of 1643. It was badly prepared to meet the crisis which now arose.

In 1660 Charles II returned to the throne of England. Davenport refused to believe the report of this when it was brought to his attention and could only exclaim, when he could no longer doubt its truth, "Our comfort is, that the Lord reigneth and his counsels shall stand." With apprehension and dismay he heard of the execution of such old friends as Peter and Vane, of the deaths in the Tower of Pennington and Rowe, and of the persecution and flight of his former colleague in the church at New Haven, William Hooke. He viewed with alarm the new migration which now took place from England, bringing to the colony not only many who echoed Hooke's remark, "I know not what will become of us, We are at our wit's end," but others also such as the regicides Edward Whalley, Hooke's brother-in-law, and William Goffe, who had been exempted from the act of amnesty passed by parliament in 1660. The flight of these men to America was followed by orders from England for their apprehension brought over by agents instructed to ferret out the fugitives. In consequence the New England Puritan colonies were placed in the embarrassing situation of either repudiating their former friends or disobeying the royal command. Massachusetts with a somewhat unexpected but shrewd display of wisdom, declared her abhorrence of all who would aid those "convicted of having a hand in the execrable murder of the late king" and ordered the arrest of the two men. The latter left the Bay hurriedly and passing through Connecticut went directly to New Haven, where Davenport, with more conscientiousness but less wisdom, was ready to receive them. Though the royal agents, Kellond and Kirke, warned Governor Leete that in protecting the

“two traitors they would do themselves injury and possibly ruin themselves and the whole colony,” New Haven and Milford harbored the regicides and in so doing hampered the agents in their efforts to find them.

All the New England colonies, after some delay, recognized Charles II as king of England, but only Massachusetts, New Haven, and Rhode Island formally proclaimed him in a public demonstration. The other two, Connecticut and Plymouth, contented themselves with votes of acknowledgement only, perhaps for the reason that no order to make a public proclamation was ever sent over by the Privy Council. But all of them felt the imperative necessity of taking advantage of the royal amnesty issued from Breda and of soliciting the king's favor, each in its own behalf. Massachusetts had many charges lodged against her, for her enemies rose up in this emergency to call her contumacious and perverse, and she in particular needed to act promptly. She sent over Simon Bradstreet and John Norton, with an address written by Governor Endecott. It was couched in characteristic Puritan language and in a spirit of unctious humility that would certainly have amazed Charles II, had he ever read it, as undoubtedly he never did. Connecticut followed suit, sending John Winthrop, Jr., to plead her cause, but New Haven, who perhaps more than any of the others had reason to fear the weight of the king's displeasure, was in no position to follow the lead of her sister colonies. She was too poor to meet the expense of an agency and not sufficiently sure of her own record to approach the throne with a petition for royal privileges. Therefore, she first turned to Massachusetts, explaining her delay in proclaiming the king and asking that Massachusetts would present her case to the crown. She suggested the appointment of a common agent,

offering to bear a part of the expense. We do not know the Massachusetts answer, but it was probably unfavorable. Then Governor Leete turned to Connecticut with the proposal that Winthrop should say a good word for her in England and obtain, if he could, a single patent that would cover both jurisdictions and contain for New Haven a grant of land "beyond Delaware." In this way she hoped to gain what she had been unable to obtain for herself, that is, a foothold on the Delaware, and to throw upon the mother country the burden of ousting the Swedes and Dutch from their possessions on the river. Unfortunately Winthrop had already sailed in July and Governor Leete could do no more than send the letter to Boston to be forwarded to Winthrop in England. It is doubtful if the latter ever received it.

The Connecticut authorities had already instructed Winthrop to ask for a grant of territory that should extend from the Massachusetts and Plymouth boundaries to "the Delaware River South," thus completely ignoring the claims of Rhode Island on one side and of the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Whether also at this time they were deliberately planning the extinction of the independent jurisdiction of New Haven cannot be said, but at any rate it is strange that in neither of the instructions to Winthrop (for there were two) is there any mention whatever of New Haven, though the boundaries asked for included the territory of this friendly and autonomous Puritan state, Connecticut's fellow member in the New England Confederation. Whatever else can we think but that as early as 1661 Connecticut had determined to absorb New Haven if she could? In her letter to the Earl of Manchester she speaks only of her own need of a patent to strengthen herself "against such as may oppose or p^rsent interests in civil policy,"

and in all the negotiations that were carried on in England, as far as they have been recorded, neither she nor Massachusetts said anything about New Haven's claims. Winthrop, petitioning on Connecticut's behalf, asked for a patent for Connecticut only and for the territory bounded "on the south by the ocean." Why was New Haven so entirely ignored? Were her people "such despised ones," as Leete meekly called them, that they were beyond the consideration of their neighbors, or were they out of sight and consequently out of mind because unrepresented by an agent of their own at Whitehall? These questions can never be satisfactorily answered, but it is a suggestive fact that of the four colonies that were charterless in 1660, the two that got no charters were those that were too poor to send agents to England. This may be a sufficient explanation, but the suspicion will always be latent that Connecticut had made up her mind to adopt an aggressive policy from the start and to emulate Massachusetts not only in obtaining like privileges and liberties but also in adding to her territory at the expense of her nearest neighbor. Massachusetts was extending her jurisdiction to the north, why might not Connecticut extend hers to the southward as well, as far as she could?

From the beginning New Haven's position was hopeless. As news of the Restoration came to the malcontents in the towns of the jurisdiction, opposition once more became vocal. One Francis Browne uttered many contemptuous and reproachful speeches against the government, denying the magistrates' authority now that the king was proclaimed, and refusing to obey laws that had not come out of England. There were others too of like minds, who not only questioned the legality of the jurisdiction but chafed under the limitations of the

suffrage and looked with longing eyes toward the wider privileges of Connecticut. In October, 1662, a month after the latter colony had received its charter, a majority of the inhabitants of Southold withdrew from the New Haven jurisdiction and submitted their persons and estates to the authority of the newly chartered government. Several people of Guilford followed suit and Stamford and Greenwich went over bodily. Connecticut accepted these overtures and appointed constables for the revolting towns. Within the jurisdiction, men were refusing to accept office—either entirely or only for a year—because of “the distraction of the time” and the uncertainties of the future. Many arguments were used by those who were endeavoring to hold the jurisdiction together, but “they prevailed not.” The general court realized “that there was a great discouragement upon the spiritt of those that were now in place of magistracy,” but it knew of no other remedy than to summon the obdurate persons before it for examination and to bind them over to appear before the court of magistrates as disturbers of the peace. By the end of 1662, the jurisdiction had shrunk to but a fragment of its former size, for only Milford, Branford, and New Haven remained, and even in those towns there was discontent. Milford did not break away until 1664, Branford remained loyal to the end, and in all the towns there continued to exist groups of those who still adhered to the fundamental principles upon which the colony rested. Officially the jurisdiction was still alive and possessed of sufficient strength to resist the Connecticut demands, New Haven and its leaders refusing “to breake or conclude anything that may have tendencie to change of the present government.”

The struggle that ensued lasted for nearly two years,

from the issue of Connecticut's ultimatum in October, 1662, to the arrival of the royal commissioners in July, 1664. During this time, with all the play of Puritan controversialists, mingling loving words with the recriminations of attack and defense, the two contestants waged the battle back and forth. Connecticut, standing immovable on the terms of her charter, demanding the last pound of flesh; New Haven, with Davenport and Leete as spokesmen, with equal firmness opposing the union, saying that they could do nothing against conscience, that the freemen had already voted (November 4, 1662) to uphold the status of the colony, and that in any event they could make no final answer until the results of an appeal to the king had been received. This appeal had been embodied in an address to the king, which was to be presented if other means failed, but Winthrop, who knew all the details of the situation, opposed it, because he was in the midst of his controversy with Clarke over the Rhode Island boundaries and wished to avoid, if possible, "a tedious and chargeable trial and uncertain event" such as would happen if the appeal were handed in. He wrote to Deputy Governor Mason of Connecticut deprecating the course Connecticut had followed, and implying that he had never intended that New Haven's rights should be disquieted or prejudiced by the issue of the Connecticut charter. Afterward Connecticut denied that Mason had ever received this letter. She acted all along with little regard for Winthrop's opinion, taking the ground, as she did later in her controversy with Rhode Island, that once the charter had passed the seals Winthrop had no further connection with it and his feelings in the matter might be safely disregarded.

A further exchange of queries and answers took place

in August, but in no way advanced the progress toward a settlement of the difficulty. It became evident that the issue would have to be brought before the commissioners of the New England Confederation, because New Haven charged Connecticut with violating the terms of that union by continuing to interfere with the New Haven towns. At their meeting in Hartford in September, the commissioners reviewed the circumstances, and the delegates from Massachusetts and Plymouth (the others naturally not voting) decided that because New Haven was recognized in the articles as distinct from Connecticut she could not have her jurisdiction encroached upon. Encouraged by this decision and the manifest sympathy of the Plymouth delegates, New Haven wrote Connecticut bidding her withdraw from all attempts to exercise authority outside her own bounds. Connecticut's answer to this was to ignore the act of the commissioners and to demand, categorically and without reserve, New Haven's submission according to the tenor of the charter. Thoroughly aroused by this unfriendly and peremptory reply, the New Haven court of October 22 considered various possibilities and came to the conclusion that it would be best to appeal to England for a letter of exemption from the king and if possible to obtain a patent of her own, which should spike Connecticut's guns. In the meantime the colony was to hold a day of solemn and public thanksgiving "that the Lord by his mercifull providence hath been pleased to give them some breathing time in the enjoyment of present liberties, notwithstanding their fears."

As Connecticut refused to yield and continued during the winter of 1663-1664 to pursue her aggressive tactics, New Haven, further encouraged by an order of the Privy Council of June 24, 1663, directing the jurisdiction of

New Haven (among others) to obey the navigation acts—an order which certainly recognized New Haven as still independent despite the Connecticut charter—appointed a committee on January 7, 1664, to prepare a statement of the colony's case. This statement, drawn up by Davenport and Street, is a review of the whole situation from the founding of the colony and contains several items of information, otherwise unsupported, of considerable importance. Among them is the assertion that before Winthrop went to England he certified in two letters to a friend that Connecticut had no intention of extending the boundaries of the desired patent to include New Haven and was willing to agree that New Haven should be left free to join Connecticut if she wanted to, otherwise not. Also that New Haven trusting in this promise had felt secure against Connecticut's aggression and had made no effort to obtain a patent of her own. If Davenport's and Street's statements are to be received at their face value, then it seems clear that the English authorities, in consenting to the issue of Connecticut's charter, did not realize that they were encroaching on New Haven's jurisdiction and without intending to do so had given Connecticut legal warrant for her aggressive policy, a warrant that her leaders took advantage of to the full. If the committee's facts are correct, it is not strange that Davenport and Street should have charged Connecticut with a breach of faith and with taking "a praeposterous course in first dismembering this colony and after that treating with it about union, which [they said] is as if one man purposing to treat with another about union, first cut off from him an arme and a legg and an eare then to treat with him about union." In an extraordinarily unfair and self-righteous reply Connecticut characterized this paper—"New Haven's

Case Stated"—which cannot be considered as other than honest and well reasoned, as "bluster," and the references in it to Winthrop as a very ungrateful return for his "great courtesy and tender respect . . . his love, favoure and tenderness." Just why New Haven should be grateful to Winthrop it is difficult to see.

The controversy might have been drawn out interminably but for two occurrences of the year 1664: first, the royal grant of March 12 to the Duke of York; and secondly, the sending over of the four royal commissioners, two of whom arrived in Boston, July 20. The grant invested the duke with the proprietorship of eastern Maine and of the Dutch territory of New Netherland (not yet conquered), extending easterly to the Connecticut River, thus estopping Massachusetts from further expansion to the eastward, taking the region of the Hudson and the Delaware from the Dutch, and handing over to the duke all lands west of the Connecticut River together with Long Island, which meant the New Haven territory and half of Connecticut. It was an astonishing grant, particularly when studied in the light of the charter of Connecticut and the controversy between that colony and New Haven, and also it raises the question as to who was responsible for the boundaries inserted in the Connecticut charter, upon which alone Connecticut based her claims against her neighbor colony. Conditions at Whitehall, in the council chamber, the seals offices, and the chancery, must have been at loose ends if a grant of 1662 to Connecticut could be so completely negatived by a grant of 1664 to the Duke of York, thus throwing Connecticut's claim to the territory of the New Haven jurisdiction completely into the discard. The second event, the sending of the royal commissioners to capture New Netherland and to investigate New Eng-

land, threatened the existence of all the New England governments, for the commissioners were instructed to report on the general situation among the Puritan colonies with an eye to their possible reorganization.

The emergency was a serious one for all concerned. Massachusetts immediately sent word to Connecticut and New Haven to settle their dispute and Connecticut sent agents to New Haven to demand her submission and to take over the control of the colony. There was nothing else for New Haven to do, unless she removed her people as a whole to the region of the Hudson or to the Delaware (for the overthrow of New Netherland had been affected in the summer of 1664), but this step was blocked by the duke's grant of the Jerseys to Berkeley and Carteret, three months after the issue of his charter and a month before the capture of New Amsterdam. Of course the towns of the jurisdiction might remain as they were and go under the duke's proprietary authority, but such a plan appealed to the New Haven people less than did a union with Connecticut. It took the general court a long time to reach a decision, but when in September, 1664, the commissioners of the New England Confederation changed their minds and agreed that under the articles New Haven could be represented by the delegates from Connecticut and on November 20 the royal commissioners decided that Connecticut's southern boundary was Long Island Sound—though how they squared their verdict with a literal interpretation of the duke's grant is difficult to see—then New Haven gave up the struggle. The matter was settled December 15, 1664, though the formal act of submission was not passed until January 5, 1665. In yielding to her fate, New Haven refused to recognize the justice of Connecticut's actions and disclaimed all responsibility for the blow

struck at the integrity of the confederation. In testimony of its loyalty to the king's majesty and in deference to the verdict of the king's commissioners she agreed to capitulate "as from a necessity brought upon us by their means of Connecticut, but with a salvo jure of our former right and claims, as a people who have not yet been heard in point of plea." Thus ended as an independent government the jurisdiction of New Haven, the towns of which, from this time forward, became a part of the Connecticut colony and conformed in all respects to the fundamental rules that that colony had established for itself in the Fundamental Orders, the laws that followed, and the charter of 1662.

The failure of the colony as a commercial enterprise—a failure largely due to the insufficiency of the available area of supply—the impossibility of territorial expansion, and the unfortunate location that it occupied on a semi-inland waterway, blocked in some measure at each end, resulted in grave economic weaknesses and eventual poverty and discouragement. The rigid limitation of the franchise, confined as it was to church members only, and the refusal of the leaders to allow in any degree a liberalizing of the system and a consequent widening of the political foundation alienated many of its people. As time went on more and more of the inhabitants looked with envy upon those who enjoyed the broader privileges of Connecticut and were ready to take advantage of the opportunity to break away from an allegiance that became increasingly irksome with the years. More important than all else was New Haven's want of a legal title to exist, for the lack of a charter left her defenseless at a time when her northern neighbor, possessed of greater strength, determination, and diplomatic sagacity, was able to obtain royal privileges, which, however secured,

were to serve, at least in her own mind, as a sufficient legal warrant justifying her attack on New Haven, in the interest of her own expansion in rivalry with Massachusetts. The absorption of New Haven left but two Puritan colonies in New England, which with Rhode Island and New Hampshire made up this section of the colonial area during the eighteenth century.

Whatever one may think of Connecticut's method of bringing about the submission of her Puritan neighbor and the complete overthrow in this manner of an independent jurisdiction, the fact remains that the continuance of New Haven as a separate political and religious institution could have been of no advantage to New England or to the English colonial world. The weakness of the colony was manifest and its continued success as a going concern problematical. Hemmed in by powerful neighbors, its towns scattered and without unity, its territorial contour broken and irregular, it always suffered from want of cohesion and unity. The federation of towns that composed the jurisdiction was always loosely knit and though all were held together by laws, oaths, and a common adherence to certain fundamental Puritan ideas in church and state, its tendencies were centrifugal and there were always among its people a considerable number that were dissatisfied and discontented.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE TRICENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The Committee on Historical Publications of the Connecticut Tricentenary Commission has issued, during the past few years, a series of small pamphlets upon a great variety of topics, selected for the purpose of making better known among the people of Connecticut and others as many of the features as possible of the history and life of Connecticut as colony and state. No attempt has been made to deal with these subjects in either logical or chronological order, the intention having been to issue pamphlets at any time upon any subject that seemed to be of interest and worthy to be made a matter of record.

The series will be completed with the issuance of a total number of sixty pamphlets. A small supplementary pamphlet providing biographical data about the authors and other information about the series has been prepared, and may be obtained without charge from the Yale University Press.

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