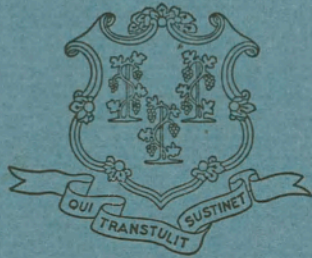


TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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The Regicides in Connecticut.

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*The Regicides in Connecticut*¹

LEMUEL AIKEN WELLES

I

MAJOR GENERAL EDWARD WHALLEY, Major General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell were three of the members of what the house of commons set up and termed a High Court of Justice which tried and condemned to death King Charles I, and were among those who affixed their signatures to his death warrant. Edward Whalley, an own cousin of Oliver Cromwell, and William Goffe, a son-in-law of Whalley, while not of high birth, had attained great distinction as colonels in the parliamentary army during the civil wars and in the battle of Dunbar, and later as major generals had held the highest executive authority under Cromwell during the Protectorate.²

¹ Thanks are due to Mrs. Frederick H. Hitchcock of New York City, the owner of the copyright of the writer's *History of the regicides in New England* (New York, 1927), for permission to use material from it in the preparation of this Pamphlet. In that book there is appended in nine pages a full list of the contemporary authorities and of some later publications, so that it has not been thought necessary to include a Bibliographical Note in this Pamphlet.

² Whalley and Goffe were known in New England as "the colonels." They have also been called "the judges" and in late years generally "the regicides"—a name of which they probably would not have disapproved.

Charles the Second's Declaration of Breda, offering a pardon to all not exempted by parliament, was read in the Convention Parliament on May 1, 1660, and three days later Whalley and Goffe, under the names of Richardson and Stephenson, went on board the ship *Prudent Mary*, commanded by the Puritan Captain Pierce. The day the ship got under way the house of commons ordered the arrest of all who had sat in judgment on the late king. A relative of Colonel Dixwell petitioned the house of commons that the latter was ill and unable to surrender himself within the time fixed. This petition was granted, but instead of surrendering Colonel Dixwell fled to Germany, and nothing is known of him until he appeared in Massachusetts nearly five years later.

The *Prudent Mary* arrived safely in Boston July 27, 1660. No such prominent Englishmen as Whalley and Goffe visited New England during the colonial era, and even the English generals who came during the French and Indian War and during the Revolution were children at warfare compared with Cromwell's old officers. "They did not attempt to conceal their persons or characters when they arrived at Boston, but immediately went to the governor, Mr. Endicot, who received them very courteously. They were visited by the principal persons of the town. . . . They appeared grave, serious and devout and the rank they had sustained commanded respect."³ Yet they received at least one insult while in Boston.

On August 29, 1660, parliament passed an act of indemnity in which the regicides were excepted by name. On September 22, a royal proclamation offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the apprehension of Whalley and Goffe dead or alive. In October the regicides in Eng-

³Quotations where not otherwise indicated are mostly from Hutchinson, who wrote with Goffe's diary—now unfortunately lost—before him.

land were tried and twenty-nine were condemned to death. Ten of these were hanged, drawn, and quartered; the sentences of the rest were commuted to life imprisonment. The Massachusetts officials became alarmed, but their opinions about the matter differed. Governor Endecott summoned the court of assistants, on February 22, 1661, to consult about arresting Whalley and Goffe, but the court did not agree to it. Whalley and Goffe became aware that it was time for them to move and decided to go to New Haven. There were several reasons why New Haven was chosen as the place of their retreat. Soon after their arrival in Boston, the Reverend John Davenport wrote from New Haven to Governor John Winthrop, that he hoped to see them at his house in New Haven the following month. He had also preached a sermon, in which he strongly commended hospitality to strangers. New Haven, moreover, was the remotest of the Puritan colonies and furthest distant from Boston, where the regicides had landed.

The two left the home of Major Daniel Gookin in Cambridge, where they had been living, and started, on February 26, 1661, with horses and a guide on a winter's ride of about one hundred and sixty miles through the woods. From Hartford, where Governor Winthrop says they did not stay, Simon Lobdell guided them to New Haven, where they arrived on March 7, and were welcomed in Mr. Davenport's house. The next day the Massachusetts authorities issued a warrant for their arrest! In New Haven they were among firm, though previously unknown, friends. News of the king's proclamation was soon brought to New Haven, however, and within three weeks their feeling of security vanished. Perhaps to give the impression that they had fled to the Dutch at New Amsterdam, on March 27, 1661, "they removed to Mil-

ford, and appeared there in the day time, and made themselves known; but at night, returned privately to New-Haven, and lay concealed in Mr. Davenport the minister's house until the 30th of April." News of the execution of ten of the regicides and the king's warrant to cause Whalley and Goffe, "who stand here convicted of the execrable murder of our Royall Father" to be apprehended, reached Boston on April 28. Governor Endecott now became energetic. He caused this warrant to be printed and distributed, and, after a conference with the magistrates, sent two zealous royalists, Thomas Kellond, a merchant, and Thomas Kirke, a sea captain, with letters to the governors of Connecticut and New Haven, to pursue and secure the fugitives. They lost no time, and about six o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday, May 7, they started with John Chapin as guide, and covered the hundred and twenty-five miles or more to Hartford in three days, and called on Governor Winthrop late at night on Friday, May 10. They reported: "The honourable Governour carried himselfe very nobly to us, and was very diligent to supply us with all manner of conveniencies for the prosecution of them, and promised all dilligent search should be made after them in that jurisdiction." The day after their arrival Governor Winthrop and the magistrates ordered a search made (the search warrant for Windsor, dated May 11, has been preserved). Winthrop wrote to Endecott that Kellond and Kirke were "very deserving gentlemen for the great care, diligence, and activity in the vigorous and speedy prosecution of that design wherein you had employed them." They employed Samuel Martyn, of Wethersfield, to guide them to New Haven and New Netherland, and the next morning, Saturday, May 11, started for Guilford to see Deputy-Governor Leete, at whose home they arrived that after-

noon. We cannot fail to admire the legs of sea Captain Kirke, which could endure riding about forty miles a day for four successive days through the rocky, roadless woods of New England!

In the meantime some friends had warned the regicides, for on April 30 they left Davenport's house and went to that of William Jones nearby, where they stayed until the day Kellond and Kirke arrived in Guilford, when they moved to a mill about two miles from New Haven.

II

KELLOND and Kirke lost no time in presenting Governor Endecott's letter and a copy of the king's warrant to Deputy-Governor Leete, who perused them and began forthwith to read them aloud in the presence of several persons who were with him. Kellond and Kirke told him it was convenient to be more private in such concernments. Then, withdrawing to a chamber, Leete told them he had not seen the two colonels in nine weeks. They said they had information that Whalley and Goffe were in New Haven since the time he mentioned, and asked him to furnish them with horses. He delayed and they reproached him. This interview occurred Saturday afternoon, and of course nothing could be done in a Puritan colony on Sunday, so Kellond and Kirke were obliged to wait impatiently in Guilford over Sunday. Meanwhile they collected some interesting information. As they left Leete's house and started for the ordinary a few rods distant, Dennis Crampton, who had been whipped for a misdemeanor by order of Leete, came up and told them that he would warrant that Colonels Goffe and Whalley at the time of his speaking were harbored in the house of Mr. Davenport, the minister at New Haven; that Goodman Bishop of Guilford was able to give them a like account;

that, without all question, Deputy-Governor Leete knew as much; that Mr. Davenport had put into his house ten pounds' worth of fresh provisions at one time, and that it was imagined it was purposely for the entertainment of Whalley and Goffe. He told them also that Goffe and Whalley were seen very lately betwixt the houses of Davenport and Jones, and it was supposed one lay at one of their houses, and the other at the other's. Crampton further said that he would make oath that Goffe and Whalley had openly spoken, at the head of a company in the field a-training, that if they had but two hundred friends that would stand by them they would not care for Old or New England. These words were confirmed by several others.

Upon receiving this information from Crampton, Kellond and Kirke returned to Leete and asked for horses with aid and power to search out and apprehend Whalley and Goffe. The deputy-governor provided the horses for them but refused to issue any warrant or give any order whatever, and said he could do nothing until he had spoken to Matthew Gilbert of New Haven and the rest of the magistrates. Upon this, they told him they would go to New Haven and stay there until they heard from him. Crampton, however, was keeping his eyes open and informed them, before they "took horse," that there was an Indian of the town missing, who, he said, was sent to give notice of their coming to New Haven. There was another suspicious circumstance. In the words of their report: "But to our certaine knowledge one John Megges [Meigs] was sent a horseback before us, and by his speedie and unexpected going so early before day was to give them an information, and the rather because by the delays was us'd it was breake of day before wee got to horse, soe hee got there before us." They asked Leete to examine

Meigs as to the business which required his going to New Haven so early, but Leete said he did not know anything about it and refused. Leaving Guilford at sunrise, Kellond and Kirke soon covered the eighteen miles to New Haven and arrived there Monday morning, May 13.

Whether the mysterious Indian, or the energetic John Meigs, or some messenger going from Hartford to New Haven the day that Kellond and Kirke went to Guilford had given warning, certain it is that Whalley and Goffe on May 13, the day the pursuers reached New Haven, moved from the mill into the woods. Meeting William Jones with farmer Richard Sperry and one Burrill, they were conducted "to a place called hatchet-harbour, where they lay two nights, until a cave or hole in the side of a hill was prepared to conceal them. This hill they called Providence hill," which is supposed to be what is now known in New Haven as West Rock.

Deputy-Governor Leete followed Kellond and Kirke to New Haven and arrived there two hours later than the royalists. He stopped on his way at Branford and brought with him Jasper Crane, the magistrate there, who afterwards became one of the principal settlers of Newark, New Jersey. Leete met them in the court chamber. They again told him their information, and said that they had cause to believe Whalley and Goffe were concealed in New Haven, and asked his assistance and aid for their apprehension. He answered he did not believe they were there. They asked him to empower them or others to make the arrest; he replied that he could not nor would not make them magistrates. They then said they would personally adventure in the search and arrest in two houses where they had reason to think Whalley and Goffe were hid, if he would consent and enable them, to which Leete answered that he neither could nor would do any-

thing until the freemen were met together. The remainder of the conversation is best told in the words of their report to Governor Endecott:

To which wee set before him the danger of that delay and their inevatable escape, and how much the honour and service of his Majestie was despised and trampled on by him, and that wee supposed by his unwillingness to assist in the apprehension, hee was willing they should escape: After which hee left us and went to severall of the magistrates and were together five or six hours in consultation, and upon breakeing up of their counsell, They tould us, they would not nor could not doe any thing untill they had called a generall court of the freemen: Whereupon wee represented to them your Honours and Governour Winthrops warrants as presidents, who upon the receite of his Majesties pleasure and order concerning the said persons, stood not upon such niceties and formallities, but endeavoured to make all expedition in seizing on them, if to bee found in their government, and allso how your honour had recommended this grand affaire to him, and how much the honour and justice of his Majestie was concerned, and how ill his sacred Majestie would resent such horrid and detestable concealments and abettings of such traitors and regicides as they were, and askt him whether he would honour and obey the king or noe in this affaire, and sett before him the daunger which by law is incurred by any one that conceales or abetts traytors; to which the Deputie Leete answered, we honour his Majestie, but wee have tender consciences.⁴

To which wee replied, that wee believed that he knew where they were, and onely pretended tenderness of conscience for a refusall: Upon which they drew into consultation againe, and after two or three houres spent, in the evening the Deputie and Magistrates came to us at the head of the staires in the ordinarie, and takes one of us by the hand and wisht he had binn a plowman and had never binn in the office, since he found it soe weightie.

⁴By this Leete meant that the warrant was directed to a General Governor, and by admitting such an officer's existence, they would be unfaithful to the people, who had committed all their authority to them under oath.

To which wee tould them, that for their respect to two traytors they would doe themselves injurie and possibly ruine themselves and the whole collony of Newhaven, and still continuing to presse them to their duty and loyaltie to his Majestie, and whether they would owne his Majestie or noe, it was answered, they would first knowe whether his Majestie would owne them.

Hutchinson reports that Kellond and Kirke did make a diligent search at New Haven, and that they offered great rewards to English and Indians for information by which the regicides could be secured. But it was fruitless and they left with their guide to continue the search at Manhattan.

Three days after the royal searchers left New Haven, the general court met there on May 17 to decide what should be done about Whalley and Goffe. Its record of what had happened differs from the report of Kellond and Kirke. Governor Leete declared to the court that immediately upon the receipt of the copy of the king's order and Governor Endecott's letter, he granted his letter to the magistrate of New Haven, Matthew Gilbert, by the advice and concurrence of the deputies there to make present and diligent search throughout the town for Whalley and Goffe, and that Kellond and Kirke carried these letters, but did not find the magistrate at home. (This brings the Indian and John Meigs to mind.) Leete said that, having brought the Branford magistrate, Jasper Crane, with him, when he got to New Haven he sent for the New Haven magistrate, Gilbert, and the Milford magistrate, Robert Treat, and the deputies of the New Haven court. While waiting for the magistrates, he advised with the deputies and, after a short debate with them, was writing a warrant for search for the two "Colonells," when the magistrates appeared, and "upon

further consideration, (the case being weighty,) it was resolved to call the general court, for the effectuall carrying on of the worke."

The deputy-governor further informed the court that he and the magistrates told Kellond and Kirke that they were far from hindering the search and were sorry that it so fell out and were resolved to pursue the matter, so that an answer should be prepared against their return from the Dutch. The general court all declared that they did not know that Whalley and Goffe were in the colony, or had been for divers weeks past, and both magistrates and deputies wished a search had been sooner made, and now ordered that the magistrates take care and send forth warrant that a speedy, diligent search be made throughout the jurisdiction, in pursuance of his majesty's command, and that from the several plantations a return be made and recorded. The record further contains this remarkable entry: "And whereas there have been rumors of their [Whalley and Goffe] late being here at New-haven, it hath been enquired into & several persons examined, but could finde no trueth in those reports, & for anything yet doth appeare, are but unjust suspitions & groundles reports against the place, to raise ill surmises & reproaches." Having the authority of the general court, Leete, on the same day, signed a warrant for search in the town of Milford, which has been preserved. In their letter to Massachusetts, the general court asserted, on August 1, that the non-attendance to his majesty's warrant "was not done out of any mind to slight or disowne his majesties authourity, &c. in the least, nor out of favour to the Collonells, nor did it hinder the efect of their apprehending, they being gone before the warrant came into our colony, as is since fully proved; but only there was a gainesaying of the gentlemen's earnestnes, who retarded

their owne busines to waite upon ours without commission.”

In the meantime the regicides were living in the cave at West Rock, where they stayed from May 15 to June 11. In very tempestuous weather they went to the nearby house of Richard Sperry, Mrs. Stephen Goodyear's farmer, who with Jones and Burrill had conducted them from the mill into the woods, and who must have supplied them with food.

III

WORRY over conduct usually comes after rather than before or during the doubtful act. The little New Haven colony soon felt that something very awkward had happened. As early as April 1, John Wakeman and William Gibbard of New Haven had objected to being nominated for magistrates and, although elected on May 29, they refused to take the oath. Another elected magistrate, Benjamin Fenn of Milford, explained in court, before taking the oath, that he would do so, "according to the lawes of this Jurisdiction, but in case any business from without should present, he conceived that he should give no offence if he did not attend to it," and he wanted this understood. Lieutenant John Nash of New Haven tried hard to get out of serving as deputy to the general court, and John Davenport, Jr., son of the minister, when chosen for deputy to the New Haven court, declared that he was unwilling to accept any public employment. But on the same date, Deputy-Governor Leete, who had been acting governor, was elected governor, and Matthew Gilbert of New Haven was elected deputy-governor, and both accepted the offices.

On June 11, the regicides left the cave on West Rock. The Reverend John Davenport, who probably knew, said they went into another colony. As they would have had

to go only fourteen miles to Stratford, or a night's ride to the River towns, to get into Connecticut colony, this is quite possible. At any rate, they decided to relieve their kind friends of embarrassment and to surrender themselves. Hutchinson, who of course got it from Goffe, wrote:

Mr. Davenport was threatened with being called to an account, for concealing and comforting traitors, and might well be alarmed. They had engaged to surrender rather than the country or any particular persons should suffer upon their account; and upon intimation of Mr. Davenport's danger, they generously resolved to go to New-haven, and deliver themselves up to the authority there. The miseries they had suffered and were still exposed to, and the little chance they had of finally escaping, in a country where every stranger is immediately known to be such, would not have been sufficient to have induced them. They let the deputy governor, Mr. Leete, know where they were, but he took no measures to secure them; and the next day some persons came to them, to advise them not to surrender. Having publickly shewn themselves at New-Haven, they had cleared Mr. Davenport from the suspicion of still concealing them, and, the 24th of June, went into the woods again to their cave. They continued there, sometimes venturing to a house near the cave, until the 19th of August.

Several others mention their appearing openly at New Haven where they came on Saturday, June 22, and stayed until Monday, the 24th, doubtless attending public worship on Sunday. Governor Endecott wrote that he was credibly informed, "that they came to surrender themselves, only desired a little time to be in private by themselves, before which pretended time was expired, they were by a youth met creeping through a field of corn [and] made their escape." Secretary Rawson of Massachusetts wrote Governor Leete on July 4, informing him that complaints had been made against New England, that Massachusetts was the only colony which had pro-

claimed the king, and, in behalf of the Massachusetts court, saying:

Further, I am required to signify to you as from them, that the non attendance with dilligence to execute the Kings majestys warrant for the apprehending of Colonel Whaley and Goffe will much hazard the present state of these colonies and your owne particularly, if not some of your persons, which is not a little afflictive to them. And that in their understanding there remains no way to expiate the offence and preserve yourselves from the danger and hazard but by apprehending the said persons, who as wee are informed are yett remaining in the colony and not above a fortnight since were seen there, all which will be against you. Sir, Your owne welfare, the welfare of your neighbours, bespeake your unwearied paines, to free your selfe and neighbours.

On July 15, he added a postscript:

Sir, Since what I wrote, news and certaine intelligence is come hither of the two colonells being at New Haven from Saturday to Monday and publickly knowne, and however it is given out that they came to surrender themselves and pretended by Mr. Gilbert that he looked when they would have come in and delivered up themselves, never setting a guard about the house nor endeavouring to secure them, but when it was too late to send to Totocut [Branford] &c. Sir, How this will be taken is not difficult to imagine, to be sure not well; nay, will not all men condemn you as wanting to yourselves, and that you have something to rely on, at least that you hope will answer your ends? I am not willing to meddle with your hopes, but if it be a duty to obey such lawfull warrants, as I believe it is, the neglect thereof will prove uncomfortable. Pardon me, Sir, its my desire you may regaine your peace (and if you please to give mee notice when you will send the two colonells) tho' Mr. Wood Greene is bound hence within a month, yet if you shall give me assurance of their coming I shall not only endeavour but doe hereby engage to cause his stay a fortnight, nay 3 weekes, rather than they should not be sent, expecting your answer, remaine. . . .

Governor Leete thought this letter of enough importance to summon another general court, which met on August 1. The court, after much debate, ordered a reply to be sent to the Bay in which they said that they would own the king, and among other things about Whalley and Goffe, that they hoped upon humble acknowledgment to receive his majesty's pardon for what they had failed to do,

As alsoe that other and greater bewayled remissnes in one, in not secureing them till we came & knew their place, out of over-much beleife of their pretended reality to resigne up themselves, according to their promise to save the country harmesse, which fayleing is soe much the more lamented, by how much the more we had used all dilligence to presse for such a delivery upon some of those that had shewed them former kindnesse, as had bene done other where [a pointed allusion to the entertainment by Massachusetts, now so eager for the arrest] when as none of the magistrates could otherwise doe anything in it, they being altogether ignorant where they were or how to come att them, nor truely doe they now, nor can we beleeve that they are hid any where in this colony, since that departure or defeatement. [They were at this time within six miles of New Haven.] But however the consequence prove, we must wholly rely on the mercy of God & the king, with promise to doe our endeavour to regaine them if opportunity serve.

But the most astonishing account of the transaction is from the Reverend John Davenport, who, we know, did most to conceal Whalley and Goffe. He became frightened and felt he ought to do something by way of apology and defense, so wrote to Colonel Thomas Temple, a prominent royalist at Boston. In this letter of August 19, 1661, he referred to his "Innocyency in Referance to the 2 Collonnells to be shuch as might secure me From all feare of Danger & Further molestation from his Ma'tie in that Respecte," but was sensible of possible misrepresentations of his actions and intentions, so entreated Colonel Temple

to remember the true state of his case that he might speak "a good an Seasonable word of truth," when God should have brought him in safety to London, as occasion might offer in the king's court, and then gave his version of the affair as follows:

And not for mysele alone doe I make this humble Request, But also on the Behalfe of this Poore Colloney & of our Govenor & majestrates, who wanted neither will nor Industery to have served his Ma'tie in apprehending ye 2 Collonells, but were Prevented & Hindered by gods overruilling Providence, which withheld them that they Could not Exciquite their true Purpose therein; And the same Providence Could have done ye same, in the Same Curcumstances, if they had bine in London, or in the Tower, The Case was thus, The Collones hearing that some who had Entertained them, at their Houses, were in Extreme danger, uppon that Accompt to Prevent the same, Came from another Colloney where they were, & had bine sometime, to N. H: Professing, that their true Intentions, in their Coming at that time was to yeld themselves to be apprehended, for the afforesaid Purpose & accordingly they staid 2 dayes. This was knowne in the Towne, The D. G. waited for the Comming of the Govenor & other majestrats to this towne on the 2d. day, which they allso did according to Former Aggrement, Imediately uppon their Coming together, they fell into a Consultation, being out of any Feare of that which Followed, Before they had Issued their Consultation which was not long, the Collonels were gon away, no man knowing how nor whether, Thereuppon a Diligent Search was Renewed, & many were sent Forth on Foote & horsebacke, to recover them in to their hands, But all in vaine. I belive if his Ma'tie Rightly understood the Curcumstances of this Event he would not be displeased with our majestrates, but to acquiesce in the Providence of the most high well Knowing that the way of man is not in himsele, but god worketh all things according to the Counsaile of his owne will.

Davenport, however, was not alone in feeling fearful because of conduct regarding Whalley and Goffe in the

colony of New Haven. Governor Leete now became extremely worried about the affair. He "pursued" the Reverend John Norton of Boston, with whom he was previously unacquainted, and others with letters on the subject, "and yet not satisfied therewith, came to Boston to disburden his heart" to Norton. After conference, "no better Expedient under God presented it self" to them than for Norton to write to the Reverend Richard Baxter, who was then, and for a short time, one of the royal chaplains, to intercede for the distressed Leete. Norton accordingly wrote Baxter that Leete,

being conscious of indiscretion and some neglect (not to say how it came about) in relation to the expediting the Execution of the Warrant according to his Duty, sent from his Majesty for the apprehending of the two Colonels, is not without fear of some displeasure that may follow thereupon, and indeed hath almost ever since been a man depressed in his Spirit for the neglect wherewith he chargeth himself therein. His endeavours also since have been accordingly, and that in full degree, as besides his own Testimony, his Neighbours attest, they see not what he could have done more. Sir, If any report prejudicial to this Gentleman in this respect, come unto your Ear by your prudent Enquiry upon this Intimation, or otherwise: so far as the signification of the Premises unto his Majesty, or other eminent person may plead for him, or avert trouble towards him, I assure my self, you may report it as a real Truth.

This, or some letter of Leete, was noised abroad and gave an unfortunate impression to the friends of New England, for Robert Newman, formerly of New Haven but then in London, wrote to Deputy-Governor Gilbert on February 12, 1662:

I am sorry to see that yo^w should be soe much surprized with feares of what men can or may doe unto yo^w. The feare of an evill is oft times more than the evill feared. I heare of noe danger, nor doe I thinke any will attend yo^w for that matter. Had not W:L: wrote such a pittifull letter over, the Bussines

I thinke would have dyed. What it may doe to him I know not: they have greater matters than that to exercise there thoughts, &c.

IV

ON August 19, 1661, when the search for them was pretty well over, says Hutchinson, "they ventured to the house of one Tomkins, near Milford, where they remained two years, without so much as going into the orchard. After that, they took a little more liberty, and made themselves known to several persons in whom they could confide, and each of them frequently prayed, and also exercised, as they term it, or preached at private meetings in their chamber." Tomkins was Micah, or Michael, Tomkins who afterwards became one of the settlers of Newark, New Jersey. His house was in the center of Milford, and the several persons were no doubt the Reverend Roger Newton, the minister, Robert Treat, afterwards governor of Connecticut, and Benjamin Fenn.⁵

When the commissioners of the United Colonies (Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven) met at Plymouth on September 5, the subject of Whalley and Goffe came up, and the commissioners made a declaration reciting the king's order for their arrest, and continuing:

And whereas, notwithstanding, it is conceived probable that the said persons may remaine hide in some parts of New-England, these are therfore seriously to advice and forewarne all persons whatsoever within the said colonies, not to receive, harbour, conceal or succour the said persons so attainted, or either of them, but that as they may have any knowledge or information where the said Whalley and Goffe are, that they forthwith make knowne the same to some of the governours or magistrates next residing, and in the mean time doe their ut-

⁵ See above, p. 11.

most endeavour for their apprehending and securing, as they will answer the contrary at their utmost perill. And wee doe hereby declare that all such person or persons that since the publication of his Majsties order have wittingly or willingly entertained or harboured the aforesaid Whalley and Goffe, or hereafter shall doe the like, have and will incurre his Majesties highest displeasure, and is intimated in the said order, and will be accompted enemies to the publike peace and wellfaire of the united colonies, and may expect to be proceeded with accordingly.

The interesting thing about this declaration is the fact that Benjamin Fenn of Milford who was one of the two New Haven colony commissioners, the other being Governor Leete, openly dissented. On the margin of the Connecticut copy of the record of this meeting, are the following words: "Beniamin ffenn consenteth not to this declaration." Fenn was most surely a brave man. The upbraiding of Massachusetts, the anxiety of Davenport, and the alarm of Governor Leete had not made him quail. At this very time Whalley and Goffe were with his neighbor Tomkins in Milford; yet he dared to enter his opposition to this declaration. Governor Leete was among those who signed it.

While Whalley and Goffe were living at the house of Tomkins in Milford, as afterwards at Hadley, Goffe carried on quite a correspondence with his wife and with the Reverend William Hooke, whose wife was Whalley's sister, in England, and with several in America. In writing to his wife, Goffe signed his name as Walter Goldsmith and addressed her as his mother, and she, under the name of Frances Goldsmith, addressed him as her son; her first letter that has been preserved, however, is from a wife to her husband. The English letters, later at least, were sent under cover to the Reverend Increase Mather at Boston and by him safely forwarded to the fugitives. While they

were at Milford, Davenport seems to have sent them the letters, as well as many letters to himself giving the news from England. Since they had belonged to the council of state and to Cromwell's house of lords, and as major generals had ruled over a number of English counties, their acquaintance with English state affairs, both foreign and domestic, was large, and they were keenly interested in the progress of events in England. Besides, they listened to all the local news, and Hutchinson noted that Goffe's diary contained every little occurrence in the town, church, and particular families in the neighborhood. Goffe, in addition to writing his diary, busied himself by copying the letters to Davenport and others which were sent him and the news of doings in England, Europe, and New England. They heard through a letter of Governor Winthrop, then in London, that Endecott had sent over the report of Kellond and Kirke. They heard how the Puritans were scorned in England, and the painful news of the execution of four more of their fellow regicides.

Goffe recorded that Davenport came to them May 15, 1662, and showed them the king's speech. This proves that Davenport kept up his friendly communication with them. John Davenport, Jr., also sent them news of English affairs. The Reverend William Hooke, the former New Haven minister, wrote long letters of news to Davenport intended for Goffe, and also to Goffe. He wrote under the name of D. G., and the only letter in the correspondence which was intercepted was an unsigned one from him, dated February 25, 1662. The authorship was not discovered, but the writer, in a later letter, states that the secretary (presumably Sir William Morice) said it was as pernicious a letter against the government as had been written since his majesty came in. Hooke added dryly: "I dare say the Authers hart was honest & upright in

wrighting it. But I hartily desire he may never come into there hands." At Milford, Goffe received affectionate letters from his wife. The two fugitives read with pleasure reports that they had been killed with other regicides in Switzerland.

V

MANY complaints were made to Charles II against New England. In 1664, the king sent over four commissioners who were to reduce the Dutch at Manhattan, visit the New England colonies, and hear and determine all matters of complaint. The king also instructed these commissioners, as follows:

You shall make due enquiry, whether any persons who stand attainted here in Parliam^t of High Treason, have transported themselves thither, & doe now inhabite or recyde or are sheltered there, and if any such persons are there, you shall cause them to be apprehended and to be put on shipboard and sent hither; to the end that they may be proceded wth according to law. And you shall likewise examine whether any such persons have been entertained & received there since our returne into England, & what is become of them, & by whom they were received and entertained there; to the end & for no other (for wee will not suffer the Act of Indempnity to be in any degree violated) that those persons may be taken the more notice of, & may hold themselves to take the more care for their future behaviour.

Two of these gentlemen arrived at Portsmouth July 20, and the other two at Boston, July 23, 1664. Milford was on the main highway from New England to New York.

As soon as Whalley and Goffe heard of the arrival of the royal commissioners, they left Milford and returned to their cave at West Rock. There they remained eight or ten days, when some Indians, while hunting, discovered the cave and bed. This report was spread abroad, and it was no longer safe for them to remain in their old hiding

place. At this time the newly-settled town of Hadley, Massachusetts, was one of the frontier towns of the northwestern part of New England and one of the most remote in that colony from Boston and from the seacoast. There lived William Goodwin, associate of Davenport in the Hopkins trust. It was arranged, most likely by Davenport, that the regicides should go to the house of the Reverend John Russell, the minister in Hadley. On October 13, 1664, Whalley and Goffe left their cave for the last time and traveled by night nearly eighty miles to Hadley. The nights in October are long, and they could have covered the distance in two nights, especially if they stopped at some friendly home at Hartford, which is about half way between New Haven and Hadley. Some years later the Reverend John Whiting of Hartford wrote a letter of news to William Goodwin of Hadley, which was doubtless intended for the regicides. He, too, was subsequently concerned with Goffe in Hartford, and one wonders if the fugitives did not stop over the daytime at his house in Hartford, when they made their journey.

The fugitives lived carefully concealed in Russell's house in Hadley for the next ten years. While there they received February 10, 1665, a visit from their fellow regicide Colonel John Dixwell, who stayed with them for some time. In Hadley, Whalley died probably late in 1674 or early in 1675. King Philip's War broke out in 1675 and the Indians attacked Deerfield, Northfield, and Hatfield—all near Hadley, which became a sort of headquarters for English military operations and to which many different companies with their officers and men came. It is related that here occurred the appearance of the "Angel of Hadley," when a grave, elderly, unknown man (Goffe) suddenly appeared during an Indian attack and led the people to repulse the enemy and then as suddenly disappeared.

VI

WHETHER because Goffe had appeared in Hadley and been discovered there, or because the town with its visiting soldiers had become too popular for him, or for some other reason, he removed, doubtless by night, to Hartford, Connecticut, before September 8, 1676. On that date he wrote to Increase Mather, dating the letter at "Ebenezer," as he had his letters from Hadley. He acknowledged the receipt of the letters from England which Mather had enclosed to Mr. Whiting, the Hartford minister. He thanked Mather for his care in sending them, remarked how great a comfort it was to him to hear from his distant and dear relatives, and observed that through Mather's care all their letters had passed without any one miscarrying. He added in a postscript: "I was greatly beholding to Mr. Noell for his assistance in my remove to this Town." This, therefore, was probably his first letter from Hartford, to which he had recently removed. He spoke of Mather's history of the war and said he much desired to see it, "for I find it very difficult to attain any solid intelligence of what is done abroad." In this letter Goffe referred to his separation from his brethren and almost from all human society, yet he did not complain of God's dealings with him, but added that he was abundantly satisfied and felt that every circumstance of his affliction had been for his good. This letter is unsigned, but is in Goffe's handwriting and has Whalley's seal affixed.

At Hartford Goffe lived with Captain Thomas Bull, or his son, Jonathan Bull. On September 25, 1676, Samuel Nowell wrote to "his worthy friend Mr. Jonathan Bull of Hartford," but the letter was to Goffe. This letter began: "Hon^d Sr [young Jonathan Bull would not have been ad-

dressed as Honored Sir]. The day before the arrivall of this bearer, Mr. Bull [to whom the letter is addressed], I had written a letter to my worthy friend Mr. Whyting, & it was for your sake, in regard I did not know how to direct a few lines to you." He went on to give him some news of France, Holland, and the Swedes, and then continued:

As for ourselves in New Engld, we are fearing a Generall Governour. . . . I suppose you will judge it convenient to remove, if any such thing should happen, as that a Governour should be sent; allthough if this man [John Leverett] live who is Governour at Boston, I believe the country will oppose, but if his head be once laid I do question, whether he that shall come next will have spirit enough, or interest enough, to withstand the Authority of Old Engld. I shall endeavour to give you as timely notice as I can from thence of whatsoever shall happen [Nowell was about to go to England]. I resolve to see your relations, & so at present leave you under that Shaddow where you have been safe hithertoo.

At least once, while in Hartford, Goffe was recognized by unfriendly eyes. There was living at this time in Windsor, the next town north of Hartford, John London. Like Dennis Crampton, he had felt the smart of the law, for during King Philip's War he had been ordered to prison by the council presided over by Governor Leete, because of leaving the army without permission, slandering the officers, and reporting notorious lies to the detriment of the colony. London made an affidavit dated in New York on April 20, 1680, but it is uncertain in what year the events mentioned in it occurred. This affidavit was as follows:

John London of Winsor neare Hartford in the Colony of Conecticut in New England, aged about fifty yeares, deposeth That Joseph Bull Sen'r (commonly called Capt. Bull),⁶ of Hartford, hath for severall yeares past (& for ought hee knowes

⁶ Captain Thomas Bull; see above, p. 22.

still doth) kept privately Coll Goffe, at his owne house there, or his sons, hee goeing by the name of Mr Cooke; And that Whaley lived & dyed at Hadley in those parts, & was buried in the buryeing place there. That being certified of the above Goffes aboade, in the month of May last, hee the deponent, together with Robert Howard of Winsor aforesd (who professeth phisick) went to the house of the said Bull, where they saw him & having formerly knowne him in England the deponent was well satisfyde that hee was the same man which sd Dr. Howard did also affirme to him, as hee had done afore, hee being the first discoverer of his being there unto him.

That the said Dr Howard did also informe him the deponent, that the Trade driven by sd Bull or his Children, in Goods or Merchandize, was on the behalfe of sd Goffe, & that Mr. James Richards of Hartford, brought over a good cargoe for the use of sd Goffe about two yeares agoe.

That the deponent being so assured of ye said Goffes aboade as before, in the same month of May, thinking it his duty, hee did call about & contrive which way to apprehend him, reasonably supposing by Mr Richards acting for him, being a member of the Independent Church & a principall Magistrate there, that the authority would not countenance him, but the discovery to them would rather tend to his Ruine. The deponent therefore thought it convenient to advise wth & haue assistance of some other persons to seize vpon & bring the said Goffe to this place & so disclosed the same to one Thomas Powell his neighbour, who promist to assist the deponent therein, but no sooner had the deponent discovered his knowledge & resolucon to the sd Powell, but hee privily went downe to Hartford upon a Saturday & gave informacon agnst him, to Major Talcott & Capt Allen. That hee the deponent was goeing away to New Yorke having his horse ready, on Monday following, but intended to surprize Coll. Goffe & carry him away with him. That the night following the sd Powell returned to Winsor with the Marshall Graves who about breake of day came to the depts house & knock't & called to him to arise.

The sd dept knowing the Marshallss voice askt' him what hee would have & what was the matter. The Marshall answered that the dept must gett up, for the Gent. at Hartford

had sent to speake with him: Whereupon the deponent arose & went with them to Hartford, where when they arrived, they went first to Major Talcotts, & from thence together to Capt Allens.

At the deponents coming there Capt Allen ask't him when hee went to New York. The dept replied, hee did not know but if hee had any buisnesse to command him, & would pay him for it, hee was ready to goe presently Capt Allen said not hee but demanded him, if hee the dept had not appointed to goe thither on Monday, upon the depts saying hee knew nothing of it, Powell was call'd in then a paper was taken off the Table which Capt Allen said hee would reade to him, if hee would hear it. The deponent replyde that hee came to heare what they had to alleadge agst him having sent for him upon ye Sabbath day, fetching him out of his house, as a Traytor or Malefactor.

Then Capt Allen read the paper or charge given in agst the dept by Thom: Powell relating what the dept had sd unto him. Whereupon the dept put them upon the prooffe of it Powells charge being alleadged. The dept replyde hee was but a single Testimony, & likewise was an idle drunken fellow, & no heed to be given to what hee sd, & the deponent being in passion threatened the said Powell that if hee could not have his remedy at Law agst him hee would take his owne satisfation.

Thereupon the deponent being dismiss' he returned home.

Not long after Majr Talcott & Capt Allen came to Windsor to seeke for other Informacon agst the dept but finding none lett the matter fall, yet charged the dept not to depart out of the County without a speciall Licence.

That at the same time when the sd Major Talcott & Capt Allen were then there the deponent told the sd Major Talcott & Capt Allen & others prest publickely, that hee the deponent knew that they kept & concealed Coll: Goffe amongst them, & that hee could when hee pleased lay his hand on his shoulder; To which they replyde the dept was mistaken, for Goffe was long since dead, & charged the dept to bee a Traytor to their Colony & deserved to bee hanged for conspiring agst them.

That afterwards the deponent made a ship to goe off to Boston under pretence of taking a horse to sell there, from thence hee

ship't himselfe for Maryland to his brother Major Ambrose London living at Annemessick, in Somersett County & there gave this Informacon upon oath to his sd brother, Collonell Stevenson, & Collonell Colburne, desiring it might bee sent into Engl'd, which they promis't. From thence the deponent came to the Whorekill, & so hither. And further saith not.

Sir Edmund Andros, the governor of New York, sent this information to Governor Leete at Hartford, who received it June 10, 1680, and after conference with Major John Talcott and Secretary John Allyn, the same day signed a warrant to the constables of Hartford, to search diligently in all places in the town for Goffe. The next day Leete replied to Andros "we are much abused by those falls reports, concerning the good people of this place" that the informers acted to "cast reproach upon ourselves of this place," and that, "After the search our people were amased that any such thing could be suspected at Hartford. But the father of lyes is our enemy & doth instigate his instruments to maligne this poore Colony." As already related Goffe had been in Hartford, at Captain Bull's. Letters to Increase Mather from Goffe dated June 12, 1677; August 30, 1678; October 23, 1678; and April 2, 1679—all presumably written from Hartford—have survived. The last three were signed T. D., that is T. Duffell, a name which Goffe seems to have assumed while in that town. The last letter in the Goffe papers is one to him from P. T. [no doubt Peter Tilton of Hadley] dated July 30, 1679. It is supposed that Goffe died soon after that date. Consequently, the authorities had no hesitation about ordering the search for him in June, 1680.

VII

IN 1673 Colonel John Dixwell, the third regicide in New England, appears on the records of New Haven under the

name of James Davids. There is as much mystery about his coming to New Haven as there is about his visit to Hadley in 1665. At New Haven he lived with an elderly childless couple named Ling, whose house was in a retired part of the town. Dixwell's granddaughter wrote to President Stiles that her grandmother told her that Colonel Dixwell was a single man when he came to America. Benjamin Ling died April 27, 1673, and on November 3 of that year, Colonel Dixwell married the widow Joanna Ling, who died within a month afterward. While living in New Haven, Dixwell was reserved and led a private life, though he attended public worship. William Jones⁷ of New Haven, who secreted Whalley and Goffe there a dozen years before, had lived some years between 1640 and 1650 at Westminster, and had known many noblemen and gentlemen during the sitting of the Long Parliament there, among whom he "particularly had certain knowledge of John Dixwell, Esq. and that the said Dixwell was a member of the said Parliament sitting in Westminster, and had in honorable esteem then." Jones deposed, after Dixwell's death, that when the gentleman called James Davids came to sojourn in New Haven, and he had become acquainted with him, he certainly knew him to be John Dixwell, whom he had seen and known in Westminster.

There is other evidence that a little time after Colonel Dixwell came to New Haven, his clothing, deportment, manifest good education, and accomplishments caused many to conjecture that he was no ordinary person and had some reason to conceal his name and character. This recluse appeared like a gentleman, and the people tried to guess who he was. The New Haven minister, Nicholas Street, Davenport's successor, probably knew his secret,

⁷ See above, pp. 5, 6, 7, and 11.

and in his will, dated April 14, 1674, provided that his "beloved friends" James Davids and Nicholas Augur should be assistants to his wife in the settlement of his estate. The next minister, James Pierpont, deposed that the mysterious stranger's

wisdom and great knowledge in the English Law, State policy and European affairs, made his conversation very valuable to said Deponent, and rendered said Gentleman honourable with all that knew him. Yet said Deponent observed this Gentleman studiously to avoid public observation and employment. After many conjectures who this Gentleman should be, the said Deponent presumed he was truly John Dixwell; which, on a fit occasion, suggesting to this Gentleman in private, he seemed conceding thereto, but obliged to secrecy in that matter.

Colonel Dixwell, then sixty-nine or seventy years of age, married at New Haven, on October 23, 1677, Miss Bathsheba How, who was about thirty-one years old, the ceremony being performed by James Bishop, an assistant. The New Haven records, which of course refer to him as James Davids, show that they had three children: Mary, born June 9, 1679; John, March 6, 1680-1; and Elizabeth, July 14, 1682. The last-named daughter died young. The other two children will be mentioned later.

Dixwell carried on a correspondence with relatives and friends in Europe as well as New England; some of it, beginning in 1676, has been preserved. His devoted niece, Elizabeth Westrowe (daughter of his brother Mark Dixwell), was his most frequent English writer. She used the feigned name of Eliza Boyes, or Boyse. He received a letter, also, from her son, Thomas Westrowe, and from John Dubois, dated at London, and letters from Francis Prince written from Amsterdam and London, and from Humphrey Davie, at Boston. Mrs. Westrowe sent her uncle remittances of money and supplies. Increase Mather acted as a sort of clearing-house for Dixwell's letters,

although some of his letters came from abroad by ship to New York, addressed "To Mr. James Davids, Merchant."

After Dixwell's children were born, he took what steps a man in his delicate position could take to put his wife and children in the way of securing his English estate, which does not seem to have been forfeited. In October, 1682, he executed deeds and other instruments to carry out this purpose. Like Whalley and Goffe, he always hoped for a favorable turn of affairs, because with them he never doubted that their cause was right. By one of these instruments Dixwell committed the education and guardianship of his children to the Westrowes, who were requested to send for them and his wife, in case of his death. He desired them to show her the same kindness they would show him. His "last and great request" was that they would bring up his children "in the knowledge and fear of God."

The New Haven church records show that "Mr. James Davids, alias John Dixwell" was admitted to church fellowship on December 29, 1685. The Reverend James Pierpont, therefore, learned the true name of his parishioner a year after he became pastor of the New Haven church. On October 31, 1687, at Hartford, Sir Edmund Andros assumed the government of the Connecticut colony, and the charter government was suspended. Andros then proceeded through the colony and visited New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. Colonel Dixwell thereupon sealed up certain of his papers—no doubt those before described, and took them to the Reverend James Pierpont. He asked Pierpont to keep them safely and not to suffer the seals to be broken till after Dixwell's death, and declared that it was not safe, under present changes, that those writings should be found in his hands. Those papers were found sealed after his death. Not only

did the leading men at New Haven know who Dixwell was, but some also in other parts of the colony, such as Samuel Wyllys of Hartford, appear to have known him.

During his last illness, the dropsy, Colonel Dixwell often sent for Mr. Pierpont, his pastor, and declared himself to be John Dixwell, as he did also to other friends. He died at New Haven, March 18, 1688-9, in the eighty-second year of his age, and was buried in the New Haven burial-ground, where his gravestone, marked "J. D. esqr" and the date of his death and age may still be seen in the rear of the Center Church. Dixwell had been out of England for twenty-nine years when he died.

Colonel Dixwell signed his will only by the name of James Davids of New Haven, although it was dated the same day, May 7, 1688, as some instruments in his true name relating to his English property. By it he gave his house and lands in New Haven to his wife for life and, upon her death, to his son. He gave to James Pierpont Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the world*. He gave to his son all the rest of his books, his silver standish with which he used to write, his tweezers in a red tortoise-shell case, his sword, and his gun—"all which I desire may be carefully kept for him." He gave to his daughter Mary twelve pounds, and to his wife the rest of his estate in New England and made her sole executrix. He expressly provided that this will should not extend to anything belonging to him in old England. Finally, he requested his "loving friends," William Jones and Mrs. Jones of New Haven, in case his wife died before his friends in England had sent for his children, to take his children into their family and take care of them, until they were sent to England. Dixwell's estate in New Haven was inventoried at £276 12s. 6d., of which housing and homestead amounted to £65.

Dixwell left, besides his widow, a son John and a daughter Mary. The son became a goldsmith, settled in Boston, and went to England to recover his father's property, but was unsuccessful. His last male descendant died about 1764, but the line was later continued through females. The daughter Mary married John Collins, of Middletown, Connecticut, and had six children. After the marriage of her daughter, Mrs. Dixwell removed to Middletown, where she died December 27, 1729, aged 83 years. Her gravestone in the old burial-ground, near the railroad station, may still be seen. There must be many descendants of the regicide Dixwell in America.

The New England friends of the regicides worthily represented the Puritan devotion to principle. These colonists were under no personal obligation to them. Perhaps one man in New England, who protected them, had known them before they visited these shores and, with two exceptions, there is no evidence that any of these New Englanders had ever previously seen any one of the regicides. Yet these Massachusetts and Connecticut men knowingly risked punishment as traitors to shelter these persons because of their devotion to the high principles for which the strangers stood. Furthermore some have thought, though there is no direct evidence to that effect, that New Haven hospitality to the regicides cost that colony its independence through its merger with the Connecticut colony by the charter of Charles II in 1662.⁸

⁸ President Stiles collected many traditions and anecdotes about the regicides in Connecticut. Some of these could not have happened and some are stock stories of fugitives, so they have not been included in this account. That the regicides were at one time in Guilford rests only on traditions recorded by President Stiles over a century after their deaths.

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