

how can two walk together unless they be agreed?) but whether such a ||concession|| hath, or is like, much to advance the honor of God, the peace and purity of his church, there or elsewhere, future time will declare. However, it may truly be affirmed, that no difference in their civil matters hath been occasioned thereby. The sudden and unexpected (as some say) incorporating of New Haven Colony with that of Connecticut, (which was about the nineteenth year of his Majesty, Charles the Second, now reigning,) being by this time pretty well digested, and all supposed inconveniences, probably feared to arise therefrom, healed and composed (though it could not be wholly prevented) by a wise and timely condescension on all hands, there seems now to be such a perfect coalescence of all minds and spirits, as leaves no remembrance of the former distinction of two Colonies.

CHAP. XLII.

The first planting of New Haven. Some of the most remarkable passages concerning that Colony, as also of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narraganset Bay, in the years, 1637, 1638.

THE same grounds, that stirred up the spirits of many in all parts of England, did also prevail with Mr. John Davenport, the then famous minister in Coleman Street, and sundry of his eminent hearers, with many other their friends in and about London, to join in the design of coming over into these parts. Accordingly Mr. Davenport, more secretly, as being then under a cloud by reason of his non-compliance in ecclesiastical matters, and Mr. Theophilus Eaton, more manifestly, in behalf of their friends, took part in the Patent for Massachusetts Bay, then in designation, which [was] obtained in the season by Providence presented. They passed over into these parts of the world, as many had done before them, and, according to their primitive intention, endeavored to settle themselves within the proper precincts of the said Patent;¹ which was also desired by the magistrates, and

[commission]

¹ See page 269; Sav. Win. i. 227, 237, 259.—R.

others there already in their new beginnings settled ; but, upon some considerable trial, not finding any place of meet capacity for them and their many friends expected, which would require sundry towships, and hearing from Connecticut, then lately planted, of considerable tracts of land to the southwest, upon the sea coast, beyond Cape Cod, they inclined to remove thither, as hoping to find the conveniences they were hitherto shortened in thereby redressed, and in order thereunto they sent up to their friends at Connecticut to purchase for them all those lands, lying between them and Hudson's River, of the native proprietors, which was in part effected. Things being thus prepared, the aforesaid worthy men, with their partners, began¹ to go more southward, and they for their own parts pitched on a place called Quillipiuk, which is a pleasant land lying on both sides of the mouth of a small river, where it makes a bay of some miles in length, and proportionably broad. The place being by them chosen, they began to make improvement upon it, and to dispose of it into allotments, in a way suitable to their then designs and hopes ; for the chief of their company being Londoners, and merchants of considerable estates and dealing in the world, they propounded to themselves the setting up a place of trade, for which they were most fitted, and accordingly chose their town plot upon the face of the bay, and laid out very small proportions to the inhabitants, such as were agreeable enough to their end, if it had stood. But since the frustration thereof, and that they have been forced to husbandry for their subsistence, they have found much incommodity in their situation, by being so close crowded together : however, having made this beginning, they quickly grew to be a considerable people, not so much for numbers, as for the excellency of the ministry, and eminency of sundry persons suited for civil affairs, and capable to manage those of a much vaster territory than this was, or ever like to be ; yet they esteemed themselves weak and solitary while alone, and therefore were in expectation of their friends from Eng-

¹ They sailed from Boston, March 30, 1636, and on April 18th kept their first Sabbath in their new home.—H.

land, but a great change coming about there, soon after, stopped many that had their eyes that way; yet some came and disposed themselves along upon the sea coast, as they found place and opportunity. A company came out of the southern parts of England, Kent, Suffolk, Surry, &c., with Mr. Henry Whitfield, with whom came also Mr. William Leet, the late worthy Governor of Connecticut Colony, then a young man. These chose a place about sixteen miles easterly from Quillipiuk, (since called New Haven,) and there sat down, which is since called Guilford. Another company from Hartford there, and the parts thereabouts, came over with Mr. Peter Prudden, and settled themselves nine or ten miles westward from New Haven, at a place since called Milford. Another company came over from Weathersfield, a town upon Connecticut River, upon occasion of some disturbance there, and pitched upon a place forty miles westward from New Haven, since called Stamford; and not long after some more of Weathersfield inhabitants, with others, pitched upon a small tract of land, overlooked till the greater were taken up, about six or seven miles eastward from New Haven, since called Brainford. There are other towns, sundry upon the sea coast, between and amongst some of these, which yet I make no mention of, because no part of New Haven Colony, (but by special occasions, not needful to be insisted upon,) conjoined with Connecticut, but the towns named did all, in their several times of settlement, or other opportunities, conjoin themselves to New Haven, as the principal, and so one with another, as the body politic, to order and manage the concerns accordingly. And to these towns upon the main was joined a small Plantation upon Long Island, called Southhold, which came to pass by reason of the purchase of the land by some of New Haven, who disposed it to the inhabitants upon condition of their union. And thus was this small Colony born into the world; small indeed at the best, and something incommodiously stated, by reason of intermixture of towns, and interposure of waters, yet feeling less inconveniency upon those

accounts than may be imagined. In this their settlement they wanted, indeed, the legal basis of a Patent, which is the less to be wondered at, considering the confusions that were in England in the times of the civil war, but in want thereof they took what help and strength they could from the Massachusetts Patent, shewing therein their good will to the like for themselves, if it had been attainable; and so they began to lay their foundation, both civil and ecclesiastical, taking the word of God religiously and conscionably for their guide. For their civil foundations, they were much the same with the other Colonies, especially with the Massachusetts; the magistrates and deputies of towns having the legislative power, and the magistrates the execution of law, and that without a jury, their main difference from their brethen, which was so settled upon some reasons urged by Mr. Eaton (a great reader and traveller) against that way. And for their church settlements, they were extraordinarily exact and thorough, trying, over and over again, those that were to be laid in the foundation, by mutual discourses and other helps, and proportionably careful in after admissions, wherein New Haven was exemplary to other Plantations; in which their proceedings, if any differently persuaded shall judge they were over strict, yet the commendable care and zeal for the truth and power of religion, therein appearing, cannot but have a sweet savor to the present, yea, and to future generations. These transactions were all, or for the main, between the years 1637 and 1643, when they began formally to act as a distinct Colony; being so owned in the Articles of Confederation, which were that year concluded and agreed upon by the several New England Colonies. They chose for Governor, in their first election, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and continued him as the very pillar of their strength in that office for about fourteen years together, when he died, as we shall see in the course of the story. For Deputy Governor was chosen Mr. Stephen Goodyear, a man, at first, of good estate, and of a public and humble spirit; he was also continued in that place to his death: and Mr. Thomas Grigson was chosen

magistrate for New Haven town, a man of quick spirit and parts, but he lived not long. Others were chosen for other Plantations.

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Being thus settled upon their basis, we shall, without a particular relation of their small affairs, only point out the remarkable passages that befell their Colony in the progress of their Plantations. And the first thing considerable was, what issue Divine Providence put to the design of trade, by them first intended, at New Haven, for that side of the country. There was then no settled place of trade, at least of any great moment, in the country, and the main founders of New Haven were men of great estates, notably well versed in trading and merchandising, strongly bent for trade, and to gain their subsistence, in that way, choosing their seat on purpose in order thereunto, so that if the providence of God had gone along with an answerable blessing, they had stood fair for the first born of that employment. But that mercy, as hath since appeared, was provided for another place, and a meaner condition for them; for they quickly began to meet with insuperable difficulties, and though they built some shipping, and sent abroad their provisions into foreign parts, and purchased lands at Delaware,¹ and other places, to set up trading houses for beaver, yet all would not help; they sank apace, and their stock wasted, so that in five or six years they were very near the bottom; yet, being not willing to give over, they did, as it were, gather together all their remaining strength, to the building and loading out one ship for England, to try if any better success might befall them for their retrieval. Into this ship,² they put, in a manner, all their tradable estates, much corn, large quantities of plate, and sundry considerable persons also went, amongst whom was Mr. Grigson forementioned, who, besides his own private occasions, carried with him some estate in order to the procuring of a Patent; but all this, though done by very wise men, yet hath since been thought to be carried by a kind of infatuation; for the

¹ In 1640.—H. ² "Of which the godly Mr. Lamberton went master." Johnson's Hist. N. E., p. 214.—H.

ship was ill built, very walt-sided, and, to increase the inconveniency thereof, ill laden, the lighter goods at the bottom; so that understanding men did even beforehand conclude, in their deliberate thoughts, a calamitous issue, especially being a winter voyage, and so in the dead of winter, that they were necessitated with saws to cut open the ice, for the passage of the ship, frozen in, for a large way together; yet were all these things overlooked, and men went on in an hurry till it was too late, when such circumstances as these were called to mind. The issue was, the ship was never heard of, foundered in the sea, as is most probable, and, with the loss of it, their hopes of trade gave up the ghost, which were gasping for life before in New Haven. But this was not all the loss; besides the goods there were sundry precious Christians lost, not less than ten belonging to the church there, who, as Mr. Cotton's expression upon it was, went to Heaven in a chariot of water, as Elijah long before in a chariot of fire. There were also some writings of Mr. Hooker's and Mr. Davenport's lost, that never were at all, or not fully, repaired, which was a loss to the world itself; this was Anno Dom. 1645.¹ Since that blow they have done little at foreign trade on that side of the country; but proceeded in a way of barter with their neighbors at Boston, to the east, or at the Dutch Plantation, to the westward, especially while it stood under the Dutch government.

The next head to be spoken to is the conflicts and exercises they have met with, from time to time, from their foreign neighbors, whether Dutch or Indian. For^a the Indians, they have been mercifully preserved from harm and violence all along from them, setting aside a particular assault or two, the means whereof hath been a due carefulness in doing justice to them, upon all occasions, against the English, yet far avoiding any thing looking like servility, or flattery for base ends. But for the Dutch, they were, for a course of many years, more than a little troublesome; for they laid a kind of claim, such as it was, to all the land between Cape Henlopen

¹ 1645—6. See Sav. Win. ii. 266; Johnson, pp. 214—15; Trumbull, i. 161.—H

^a From in the MS.—H.

(some place near Virginia) and Cape Cod, in pursuance whereof (not mentioning here the disturbance made at Hartford upon Connecticut, as being proper to the story of that Colony) they did frequently send letters, arrogant and imperious enough, and protests¹ in the name of the Hogen Mogens and the Bewnithebbers of the West India Company, setting up the Prince of Aurania's arms in a small village near Stamford, threatening to do the like at New Haven, (called by them the Red Hills,²) seizing upon a ship belonging to some Dutch merchants in New Haven harbor;³ burning their trading-houses, seizing upon and imprisoning the persons of sundry, as they came in the way of their indignation, with other such like injuries, which continued without remedy, though many means were used, both under Keift, the first³ Governor of the Dutch Plantations, and Stuyvesant, the last, till a Decision of Compromise⁴ was made at Hartford, by both parties, with ultimate reference to the principals in Europe, Anno 1650. These, and such like molestations, though they never produced any violent effects by war, or the like, yet did provoke and exasperate all that side of the country, so that when there was an opportunity, by the war between England and Holland in 1652, they were more than a little forward to pull so troublesome a thorn out of their feet, and, had they not been crossed by some of their confederate brethren, led by other interests, had surely attempted it; but All-wise Providence otherwise disposed, whether for affliction or mercy to these parts, standers-by may consider, but they themselves think they can best judge.

In the next place we shall take a view of some of their most observable managements among themselves. They were very vigorous in the execution of justice, and especially the punishment of offenders, and that with great authority, under the countenance of Mr. Eaton, having compiled, by his help, a body of very substantial and distinct laws,⁵ which are in print, and so the less need be

¹ See one of these protests, dated Aug. 3, 1646, N. S., "sent by the Dutch Governor (Kieft) against New Haven," in Hazard, ii. 55.—H.

² See the proceedings "on the complaint of Mr. William Westerhouse concerning the seizing of his Ship, in New Haven harbor," by the Dutch Governor, in 1648, to "his own and principals' great loss," in Hazard, ii. 101-2, 103-5, 132, 133, 171-2.—H.

³ Keift was not the first Governor. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 103.—H. ⁴ See the Articles of Agreement, dated Sept. 19, 1650, in Hazard, ii. 218-21; Trumbull, i. 191-3.—H. ⁵ The work was finished in 1655. See Trumbull, i. 226.—H.

said of them, all which notwithstanding, they were much exercised and humbled by the outbreaking, (by a strange kind of antiperistasis,) at several times, of very gross iniquities, even in unnatural ways; God hereby, in his holy wisdom, hiding pride from them, which would have been ready to rise, if success had answered their exactness. They made many attempts all along, from the first to the last of their being a distinct Colony, even such as were above their strength, to promote learning by public schools; yea, it was in their hearts to set up a College,¹ and there were sundry provisions made and some bank laid up in order thereto, in which desires, though they in the issue failed, yet it is an honorable testimony of their good-will to learning and liberal education of youth, and may have its acceptance in proportion with David desiring to build a temple, though it were effected by his son. They have been at several seasons sorely afflicted with diseases, especially fevers, which have proved mortal to many. All that southerly part of the seacoast having, as more propinquity to Virginia in situation, so a participation with it in its climatical diseases, commonly there called the seasoning, which is an ague and fever seizing upon men in the heat of summer, chiefly upon new comers, therefore called by that name, but not sparing the more settled inhabitants, especially in case of intemperate drinking. Upon these southern coasts of New England it is not annual, as in Virginia, there being sundry years when there is nothing considerable of it, nor ordinarily so violent and universal; yet at some times it falls very hard upon the inhabitants, not without strange varieties of the dispensations of Providence; for some years it has been almost universal upon the Plantations, yet little mortality; at other times it hath been very mortal in a Plantation or two, when others, that have had as many sick, have scarcely made one grave; it hath been known, also, in some years that some one Plantation hath been singled out and visited after a sore manner, when others have been healthy round about; so that the considerate inhabitants have seen cause to conclude, that though there might be something in the climate, yet a Divine Hand hath overruled, that so suitable ac-

¹ In 1654. See Trumbull, i. 291-2.—H.

knowledgments of his greatness and sovereignty might be drawn from those that are unwilling to learn lessons of that importance. At one time or other every Plantation, within less than these forty years, hath had its turn of heavy mortality, and some twice or thrice over; and though somewhat hath been thought to be in the situation of the Plantations, that some of them have not been so well seated for brisk and wholesome air, either for want of judgment in the planters, or overlooking that in comparison of other inconveniences, yet therein (not denying the ordinary interest of second causes) things have been carried above such sentiments; while some Plantations, reputed most healthy, have been turned, as it were, into graves, and others, reputed for sickly, have had a long and pleasant vacation. This disease, wherever it comes, is attended with great prostration of spirits, and sometimes, in the hot fit, with strange stupefaction of the brain. Strengthening the body with cordials, and gentle conductitious aiding of nature, hath been found better than sudden and violent means by purgation or otherwise; and blood-letting, though much used in Europe for fevers, especially in the hotter countries, is found deadly in this fever, even almost without escaping; the reason whereof is left to be inquired by those it may properly concern. Setting aside the effects of this disease, those places have been generally very healthy, and, that notwithstanding, have been all along, and are to this day, in a very increasing way, growing numerous, overstocked, and ready to look out for new Plantations almost everywhere.

There is yet another thing very observable concerning this Colony, that they have been sundry times attempting to remove, yet always prevented by strange interposures of Providence. The main occasion of such thoughts was from New Haven itself. They were, as appears by the former part of this discourse, Londoners, (i. e. the chief of them,) and intended to live by trade; when that failed, and they were forced to husbandry, it pinched hard upon them; for their soil generally, till they knew how

to husband it, was but poor and thin, and they had seated themselves, for the harbor's sake, at too great a distance from the main body of the meadow, by which their cattle must subsist; themselves also were very unskilled in husbandry, their bodies unable to bear labor, and yet strong labor was required; their estates exceedingly wasted, help of servants hard to be procured, and those that were, very costly, and not over diligent. These, and many other things withal, inclined the New Haven people to look out, and so to settle themselves elsewhere more commodious for their subsistence, and with them also joined a great part of the other Plantations of their union, partly from their love and desire to be together, and partly stimulated by some like reasons among themselves. Accordingly they made attempts once and again at Delaware Bay, where they had purchased large tracts of land, but were prevented by injuries of the Dutch, or one means or other. They had also offers from Ireland, after the wars there ended, and entered some treaty about the City of Galloway, to have it as a small Province to themselves. They had also offers from Jamaica by the powers which then prevailed, designing to people that place, and hearing of their unsatisfied station where they were. But after all proffers, thoughts, [and] attempts, Providence overruled them, and continued them in the same station, yea, and after all those frequent conclusions taken up, that there should be no subsistence for posterity, but when the remaining strength of the land was worn out, beggary and misery must needs ensue; that very posterity, so taken care for, have appeared not to need it, as sufficiently able to take care for themselves: for as that first generation, [which] could not aptly skill of husbandry, were removed by death, or returned to England or otherways, and have given place to other younger people, many of them their servants, and others of lower calculation, and some of their children, they, having more taken into the ways of husbandry with dexterity and understanding, do make out a comfortable livelihood, yea, and not a few of them grow rich in all those towns intended to be deserted;

and so amongst the rest in New Haven, where are, at this day, a numerous people, who, though they live in meaner houses, and content themselves with smaller beginnings, than those did at first, (whose error in great buildings, scarce to be paralleled in the country, hath been long since apparent to themselves and others,) yet are they in a substantial and holding way, that may, in the ordinary course of things, continue from generation to generation; and though they have (as the rest of the country) all along upon the sea coast felt the stroke of the blast on ||their wheat|| to their impairment, yet hath it been but an occasion to quicken their industry, putting them upon a more studious diligence in manuring their land for winter grain, which they find not so liable to the blast, especially if early, so that, according to probability, if they are spared and abated as to the blast, as of late years they have been, that sea coast is like to prove not the meanest granary of the country.

The next thing we shall give account of, is the death, or removal, of some famous men among them, upon whom the weight of affairs lay much, in their life time, and upon their death, accordingly, alterations followed; these were, some in the magistracy, some in the ministry, whom we shall take notice of in the order of time, as they went off the stage. The first considerable weakening that was that way, (passing over those lost in the ship forementioned, 1645,) was the removal to England of Mr. Henry Whitfield, the gracious faithful pastor of the church at Guilford, (the most easterly town of that combination,) which was in 1650. He was of good extraction, and, which is more, of eminent holiness. He began betimes, and held out lively to a good old age. In his childhood he was piously addicted, and would often be at prayer, even at school, amongst the scholars, and, to hide what he was doing from them, would sit as though he were looking upon his book, whilst his heart was elsewhere. He grew up into great acquaintance with his own heart and the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus, concerning his interest wherein he was also persuaded to a

|| [their wheat] ||

full and long-lasting assurance, insomuch as he hath been heard to say, he hath not met with any considerable doubts about his good estate for forty years together. He came into New England upon the same account as others, and settled a precious church, wherein it was remarkable that all, besides himself, who began that work, were young men, an unusual thing in those times. After sundry years continuance in the country he found it too difficult for him, partly from the sharpness of the air, he having a weak body, and partly from the toughness of those employments wherein his livelihood was to be sought, he having been tenderly and delicately brought up; although I mean not that he was, as many others of like education, put upon bodily labor. He, therefore, finding his estate wasted very much, his body decaying, and many other things concurring, removed back again to England, not without the tears and unspeakable lamentations of his dear flock. This was a great loss, not only to them, but to all that side of the country, especially considering (besides a great spirit of wisdom and prudence found in him) what he was in the pulpit, an experimental, soul-searching preacher, and, in the course of his ministry, aiming at heart, and life, and conversion, not without good fruit by the blessing of the Lord Jesus Christ.¹

The next blow was the death of Mr. Peter Prudden, the pastor of Milford. He died 1656.² He was a man of great zeal, courage, wisdom, and exemplary gravity in his conversation; a sharp enemy against the growing vices of the times. He had a better faculty than many of his coat to accommodate himself to the difficult circumstances of the country, so as to provide comfortably for his numerous family, yet without indecent distractions from his study. He had an excellent faculty in qualifying and sweetening men's spirits to the preventing and healing contention, as appeared within his own town, which continued in peace all his days, but not long after fell into such divisions as were not healed in some years after; yet in God's time that breach was closed up again, with gracious returns of a divine presence and blessing upon them.

¹ He appears to have finished his life, in the ministry, at Winchester, in the County of Hampshire.—H.

² Aged 66.—H.

These two pillars were thus pulled out of the building of this little Colony, which could not otherwise be but a very sensible loss; yet Mr. Theophilus Eaton was still alive, the Governor of the Colony, so annually chosen, and, whilst he stood, all was, as it were, made up and continued in his worth; but the next year, 1657,¹ it pleased God to put a period to his days, (which year also died two more great men of this poor Israel, Governors also in their respective Colonies, Mr. Hopkins,² then in London, but frequently chose Governor of Connecticut Colony, and Mr. Bradford³ of Plymouth.) For Mr. Eaton, he was son to a minister in Coventry, in the very heart of England, brought up to merchandise, belonging to the Baltic Company, and in great reputation with them, and in a very thriving way as to his worldly estate. He came over into this country, as was said in the beginning, with Mr. Davenport, and abode firm with him all his days, to the very death. Soon after his being in these parts he was in great hazard of life, by a cancerous sore, or something near of kin to it, in his breast, which was not without great difficulty cured, not so but that he had some remembrance of it all his life after; and whether the remainder of that venenate humor were not, at last, the occasion of his death, cannot certainly be determined. He brought over a great estate with him, but, after he saw the manner of the country, he soon gave over trading and betook himself to husbandry, wherein, though he met with the inconveniences usual to others, which very much consumed his estate, yet he maintained a port in some measure answerable to his place; and although he was capable of, and had been much used in, affairs of a far nobler and broader nature, as having, with good advantage, more than once stood before Kings, yet did he apply himself to the mean and low things of New England, with that dexterity and humility as was much to see, and with as much constancy, that no temptations or solicitations could prevail with him to leave his work, and look back towards Europe again. He died suddenly, in the night, of an apoplectical distemper, as is supposed.

¹ Jan. 7, 1657-8, aged 66.—H.

² March, 1657, aged 57.—H.

³ He died May 9, 1657, aged 68.—H.

He supped well in the evening and went so to bed, but in the night was heard to turn himself and groan, (unusual symptoms to him, who was a sound sleeper,) but before any could step into the chamber was near speechless, and within a very little time died; and with him the main strength of the Colony was, as it were, buried in the dust, which yet is not intended as a disparagement to the worth of those that rose up and did worthily in their places afterwards. This man had in him great gifts, and as many excellencies as are usually found in any one man. He had an excellent princely face and port, commanding respect from all others; he was a good scholar, a traveller, a great reader, of an exceeding steady and even spirit, not easily moved to passion, and standing unshaken in his principles, when once fixed upon, of a profound judgment, full of majesty and authority in his judicatures, so that it was a vain thing to offer to brave him out, and yet, in his ordinary conversation, and among friends, of such pleasantness of behavior, and such felicity and fecundity of harmless wit, as hardly can be paralleled; but, above all, he was seasoned with religion, close in closet duties, solemn and substantial in family worship, a diligent and constant attender upon all public ordinances, taking notes of the sermons he heard, exactly, and improving them accordingly; in short, approving himself, in the whole course of his life, in faithfulness, wisdom, and inoffensiveness before God and man.¹ After his death they were at some loss, the next election, whom to put in his place, but, for some reasons, Mr. Francis Newman was pitched upon, one that had lived at New Haven, and been, as it were, brought up under Mr. Eaton. He was a serious, holy, Christian man, and shewed more worth than was thought to be in him when he was so called to place; but he continued not long, little above two years, before he also put off his earthly tabernacle, and went to rest.² These things one after another brought the Colony very low, especially in conjunction with the removal of sundry useful men to England, amongst whom was Mr. William Hooke, the faith-

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 228.—H.

² He died before May 29, 1661.—H.

ful colleague of Mr. Davenport in the ministry of the Gospel at New Haven, who about this time¹ went over to England; as also the death of Mr. Samuel Eaton, eldest son to the Governor, who died sometime before his father, a man of great hope; yet in the midst of their sorrows the hands of Mr. William Leet, who was next chosen Governor, were strengthened to hold up the walls of this building for sundry years, even to the dissolution of the Colony, and its conjunction with Connecticut; of both which Colonies, so united, he was the late Governor, and his praise is in the gates; but [he] also was not long after called to his rest, about the year 1680.²

There remains, now, only to give an account of the dissolution, but now mentioned, of New Haven Colony, if it may be so called. There had been an appearance of inquietness in the minds of sundry, upon the account of enfranchisement, and sundry civil privileges thence flowing, which they thought too shortly tethered up in the foundation of the government. This spirit began to appear after Mr. Eaton's death, and not considerably before, yet things were kept in a tolerable stay by the prudence and vigilancy of their magistracy until Connecticut, after the King's restoration, had procured a Patent³ from his Majesty for that side of the country, which, considering the situation of New Haven Colony, and the intermixture of towns with those formerly belonging to Connecticut, could not conveniently be drawn without inclusion thereof, and [it] was accordingly done. But when the Colonies came to treat together about union, there was, for a time, some misunderstanding between them; New Haven thought Connecticut was too hasty in entertaining some parcels out of several towns in a divided way from the rest, who were more forward to embrace the alteration than their neighbors could be; on the other hand Connecticut was apt to think New Haven was too slow and backward to entertain a motion, so much to their own and the general advantage of the country. These, with other like considerations, produced some less pleasant passages in letters and treaties;⁴

¹ 1655 or 6.—H. ² April 16, 1683, says Farmer.—H. ³ See page 310.—H. ⁴ See the proceedings in Trumbull, i. 252—76.—H.

but after New Haven had taken time, (which sure they might well be allowed to do,) something like Jephtha's daughter, in bewailing her virginity, viz. to breathe upon, and look round about them, as to the consequences of so great a mutation, wherein they that had, for twenty years time, stood and been on all hands owned as a body politic, with entire power and jurisdiction within themselves, should now be divested of all at once, and be swallowed up in another body, wherein they could not ascertain themselves that things should be carried so much to their satisfaction as they had been while the staff was in their own hands; these things, being at leisure thought upon, could not but affect them; but spirits began to settle at length, and so, in the issue, to come up to a closure, which hath in time, by the blessing of God, who delights in the union of his people, grown up to that measure of comfortableness as that the former days and troublesome birth-pangs, sometime felt, are no more remembered, while every one is sitting under his own vine and his fig tree with peace and tranquillity.

Those who were employed in laying the foundation of New Haven Colony, though famed for much wisdom, experience, and judgment, yet did not they foresee all [the] inconveniency that might arise from such a frame of government, so differing from the other Colonies in the constitution thereof, manifest in their declining that prudent and equal temperament of all interests in their administration of justice, with them managed by the sole authority of the rulers, without the concurrence of a jury, the benefit of which had been so long confirmed by the experience of some ages in our own nation; for where the whole determining, as well both matter of fact as matter of law, with the sentence and execution thereof, depends on the sole authority of the judges, what can be more done for the establishing of an arbitrary power?— which is much complained of elsewhere in the world.

It can never be safe to leave so large a compass for the power of rulers, which is apt to overflow the strictest bounds and limits that can be set. The motions of those

engines, which are carried through many pullies, must needs be more steady, equal, deliberate, and uniform. The best man's passions (which at no time work the righteousness of God) are too often apt to mix themselves with their definitive sentences, if not wholly to overrule them; therefore hath the wisdom of all ages found out some way to balance sovereign and absolute power, which else would move very extravagantly, if not destructively, as to the good of the whole. The want of which, as some wise men think, was that which made the Israelites complain so much of the heaviness of Solomon's yoke, with whom it was no more than, — go and fall upon him; — and the people had too much reason to fear that his successor, that had not the title of his father's wisdom, might yet double or increase the weight of his father's hand in point of severity. It cannot but be more safe for any people not to have sentences pass, or take place, without the consent of neighbors and peers, as is well known in England, commended for the most equal and best tempered government of any in the whole world. Too much rigor and severity in church administrations is attended also with as great inconveniences as the other; for though negligence and remissness in all public administrations tends to the ruin of a church or state, like a ship or vessel, whose tackling is loosed, so as they cannot strengthen the mast, and where the law will easily take the prey; yet on the other hand when things are by an undue severity, or an unjustifiable *ακριβεια* strained to the height, it hazards the breaking all in pieces. Witness the experience of late attempts in those that, not content with the wisdom of their predecessors, have endeavored the new moulding of societies, after a more exact mode, (as at Frankfort, Amsterdam, and elsewhere,) but have generally shipwrecked their designs upon this undiscerned rock.

A great error was likewise committed by these gentlemen that founded New Haven Colony, in that, having been most of them inhabitants and traffickers in the great City of London, the famous mart of the whole world in a manner, they contrived the frame of their chief towns as

if trade and merchandize had been as inseparably annexed to them, as the shadow is to the body, in the shining of the sun ; in expectation whereof, and hope of drawing the whole stream thereof to themselves, they laid out too much of their stocks and estates in building of fair and stately houses, wherein they at the first outdid the rest of the country, which had been much better reserved till afterwards, when they could have found the matter feasible ; therein forgetting the counsel of the wise man, first to prepare their matters in the field, or abroad, before they go about to erect their fabrics. Who ever built a tower and wine press before he planted his vineyard, or proved the soil to be commodious for that purpose, that did not thereby leave behind some monument of his error and mistake ? Thus the lot is cast into the lap, but the disposing thereof is from the Lord. Riches is not always to men of understanding, (of which there seemed less want in the aforesaid gentlemen, than elsewhere,) but time and chance happens to them all. It is the providence of the Almighty that rules the world, and not the wisdom and contrivements of the sons of men ; he pulleth down one and raiseth up another. However, the grace and blessing of God eminently appeared towards that people, who were brought up to a different course of life, yet did they willingly submit themselves to the pleasure of him that governs the world, when his providence put them upon another kind of employment than formerly they had been accustomed unto, and wherein they have been very successful, and, in a manner, outdone others, that by their education had much more advantage to attain the greatest skill therein.

As to the planting of Rhode Island, Providence, and the places adjoining, near the Narrhoganset Bay, in the years 1637 and 1638 :

The persons who were dismissed out of the Colony of the Massachusetts, especially from Boston, or disfranchised therein for their tumultuous and seditious carriages, tending to the subversion both of church and state, being advised of an island beyond Cape Cod, and near adjoining to, or in, the Narrhoganset Bay, called

Aquidneyk, made means to purchase it¹ for themselves, and those that should see cause to remove their families thither, upon occasion of the troubles they met with at Boston. There were several² of them men of estate and quality, who engaged in the business, and had peaceable possession of the island by lawful purchase, as well as free consent of the natives, that inhabited it before. And so, having transplanted themselves, within a few years, by the commodiousness of the soil, with other advantages that attended the planters, they soon raised two flourishing Plantations upon the island; and, not long after, the bounds of the said island proving too narrow, those that were willing to join with them in their way of living and government made purchase of some of those lands that lie upon the main, (where Mr. Williams and his friends had made some beginnings of a Plantation before, Anno 1634 and 1635,³ calling it by the name of Providence;) by whom also was procured another neck of land not far off, in like manner, called by them Warwick.⁴

Their civil government was by way of combination at first, until they had opportunity afterwards to purchase a Patent for themselves. The laws by which they were governed were those of England, unless in some particulars, which those laws could not reach, in which cases they made some orders and constitutions of their own.

CHAP. XLIII.

Ecclesiastical affairs, with other occurrences, at Providence and Rhode Island to the year 1643. Intercourse between them and the Massachusetts.

As to matters of religion it was hard to give an exact account to the world of their proceedings therein, by any who have not been conversant with them from the beginning of their Plantations; yet this is commonly said, by all that ever had any occasion to be among

¹ The deed was signed by the Indian sachems March 24, 1638.—H.

² William Coddington, John Clark, and others, eighteen in all.—H.

³ 1636.—H. ⁴ Shawomet, or Warwick, was purchased of the natives, by Gorton and his adherents, in 1642.—H.