## CHAP. L.1

The Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven disturbed by the Dutch, at Manhatoes, and the Swedes, at Delaware Bay, during this lustre, from 1641 to 1645.

THE Dutch, who had seated themselves upon Hudson's River, about the same time that the English began to plant at Patuxet or Plymouth, were the first that discovered the River of Connecticut, and gave some intimation thereof to their friends at Plymouth, but it being neglected by them, they took possession of it themselves, which they were not willing to quit to the use of the Massachusetts, although they had made no other use thereof, but for a place whereon to build an house for trading with the Indians. On that occasion, in June, 1641, letters came from the Governor of Connecticut to the Massachusetts to advise about the difference between them and the Dutch. The Dutch Governor had pressed them hard for his interest in all Hartford, &c., to which he could lay no other claim but by the law of possession, or primer seisin; at least he demanded so much as one could see from their trading-house, alleging they had purchased so much of the Pequots, and threatened force of arms to make it good. They of the river alleged their purchase of other Indians, the true owners of the place, with other arguments of Patents, both of Saybrook and of the Massachusetts, &c.

The Governor and Council returned answer without determining the case on either side, but advising to a more moderate way, viz. of yielding more land to the Dutch house, for they had left them but thirty acres. But the Dutch would not be satisfied, but prepared to send soldiers to be billeted at their house there. But it pleased the Lord to disappoint their purpose at that time, for the Indians falling out with them, killed some of their men at the Fort of Aurania, whereby they were forced to keep their soldiers at home to defend themselves. And a gentleman at that time going for England, that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> XLIX in the MS.—н. <sup>8</sup> John Haynes.—н. <sup>8</sup> Kieft.—н. <sup>4</sup> Bellingham.—н.

<sup>\*</sup> Rev. Hugh Peter. Sav. Win. ii. 32; see page 371.—H.

pretended to be well acquainted with the West India Company in Holland, undertook to pacify the matter, but he not carrying over a commission with him from Hartford, the said Company would not treat with them, by which means the controversy still remained, and their claim was pursued as earnestly as before, though it was for the present, on the forementioned occasion, not so effectually carried on as else it might have been.

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But July 22, 1643, a Dutch sloop arrived at Boston, with letters written in Latin, and signed by the Secretary there in the name and by the command of the Governor and Senate, directed to the Governor and Senate [of1] R. P.º of New England, wherein, first, he congratulates their late confederation, then he complains of unsufferable wrongs done to their people at Connecticut, and more of late than formerly, and of misinformation given by some of the Massachusetts to the States' ambassadors in London, and desires to know by a categorical answer, whether they will aid or desert them of Hartford, ||that so|| they may know their friends from their enemies, &c. To which answer was returned by the Governor,3 and as many of the magistrates as could on the sudden be called together, that they desired the continuance of that good correspondency which had been betwixt them, ever since their arrival in those parts, and that their chief Council, to which their letters were directed, being far distant, they that were then present could return no other answer at that time, which they might look upon rather as a declaration of their particular conceptions, than any determination from the chief authority of the place, from which they should receive further answer in time convenient; intimating also their grief for the difference there was between them and their brethren at Hartford, which they conceived might be composed by arbitrators, either in England, or in Holland, or here, as those of Hartford had offered; and that, by their confederations, they were bound to seek the good and safety of each other as their own, which they hoped need not hinder the continuance of the wonted amity between themselves and those of the Manhatoes;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Supplied from Winthrop.—н.

U. P., (which is, undoubtedly, the correct reading,) standing, as I suppose, for United Provinces.—н.

Winthrop.—н.

and that the ground of the difference, being only a small parcel<sup>1</sup> of land, was a matter of so little value in this vast continent, as not worthy to cause a breach between two people so nearly related, both in profession of the same Protestant religion, and otherwise; therefore they would seriously request them, as they would also do the other, that, until the justice of the cause might be decided by one of the ways forenamed, there might be an abstaining, on both sides, from injury and provocation; and if any should happen on their part, that it might be duly examined, and they were assured, (being a people that feared God, &c., they durst not allow themselves in any unrighteous course,) they should receive equal satisfaction. The Commissioners also of the United Colonies did, about the same time, write letters to the Dutch Governor concerning some injuries which his agent at Delaware River had done to the people of New Haven, in burning down their trading-house, and in joining with the Swedes against them.

But the General Court did, at their next meeting, return an answer to the letters of the Dutch Governor, wherein they declared the complaints, which had been made by their confederates of Hartford and New Haven of injuries done to their agents in both places, as also their opinion of the justice of the cause of Hartford, in respect of title to the land in question between them, which they could not alter, without more light than yet had appeared about the title which the Dutch insisted on; nor might they desert either of their confederates in a righteous cause.

The Dutch in their next answer still continued their complaint of injuries done, and maintained their title to the land at Hartford; this was sent in the end of the year 1643. In July following the General Court of the Massachusetts gave order, at ||their|| breaking up, that an answer should be returned to this effect; first, by way of gratulation, of his respect and correspondency with them, and manifestation of their good will to him, with desire of continuance of all friendly intercourse, &c., acknowledg-

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thus originally written; the word has been tampered with by a later hand.—H. <sup>2</sup> Feb. 11. 1643-4. Sav. Win. ii. 173.—H.

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ing that they had largely and prudently discoursed of the matters in difference; but they were also to attend the allegations on the other part. But seeing proofs were not yet heard on either side, he could expect no further answer than before, but if he would please to send commissioners to Hartford, to treat with the Commissioners there for the Colonies, it would be very acceptable, and an hopeful means to propound for a good issue. Yet, notwithstanding all these overtures of amity and good correspondency, the Dutch Governor carried always a. secret prejudice against the English at New Haven and Hartford all his time, and left the quarrel with Hartford men to be pursued by his successor, Peter Stuyvesant, under whose government there was an issue put unto it by the interposition of the Commissioners of the United. Colonies within a few years after, although at the first he. seemed to make as great, or greater, bluster than the former Governor, as sometimes wise men will speak most where they intend to do least. For the said Stuyvesant, coming to the Governor's place, at Manhatoes, about the year 1647,1 soon after2 sent his secretary to Boston with letters to the Governors there full of all courtesy, and tender of good correspondency, yet laying claim to all between Connecticut and Delaware, and withal taking notice of the differences between them and Connecticut, offering to have them referred to friends here, not to determine, but to prepare for an hearing and determination in Europe. The Commissioners of the United Colonies were then at Boston, and upon advice with them, answer was returned. according to the inclination of the Commissioners of New Haven and Connecticut Colonies, so as might be most for their advantage, (who supposing best for their purpose to stand a little upon terms of distance,) wherein they did: only in the general take notice of his offer, and shewed a. readiness to give him a meeting in time and place convenient; so leaving matters at the present to continue as they were before. But at the same time an accident fell. out that carried a contrary appearance to the friendship, which the Dutch Governor had pretended in his letters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> May 27, 1647. He was commissioned July 26, 1646. See Thompson's Long Island, i. 107.—н.

<sup>2</sup> In August. Sav. Win. ii. 314.—н.

<sup>3</sup> Winthrop.—н.

For on the 26th of September, 1648, a Dutch ship from Holland, being in the harbor at New Haven, (where they had traded about a month,) was surprised by the Dutch Governor and carried to the Manhatoes; the manner was thus: The merchants of New Haven had bought a ship at Manhatoes, to be delivered at New Haven. The Dutch Governor had put into her a company of soldiers, who, being under decks when the ship entered the harbor, took their opportunity afterwards, on the Lord's Day, to seize the Dutch ship, and the wind being fair, brought her away. The Governor of New Haven complained of the injury of the Dutch Governor, and made a protest, &c. The Dutch Governor justified the act, by the examples of the like in Europe, &c., but especially by claiming the place, and all along the sea coast, to Cape Cod, he pretended to seize the ship, as forfeit to the West India Company, for trading within their limits without leave or recognition. If on any account this dealing could be justified as honest, sure it could in no sense be made out to be honorable, by those that had made the pretensions of fair dealing and amicable correspondency, as before. But the children of this world are oftentimes found to be more wise in their generation than the children of light.

The Governor, in way of requital, thought to make themselves some part of amends by detaining three of the Dutch Governor's servants, that at the same time ran away to New Haven; but the design was too low for the said Governor to attempt, as he was advised by the worthy Governor of the Massachusetts—Aquila non capit muscas. But besides, the Dutch Governor, in return to such a petit injury, made open proclamation of liberty to all the servants of New Haven that should come thither; which retaliation of his looked so like a piece of ill-natured policy, that he was even ashamed of it himself, and in excuse of himself he wrote to the Governor of the Massachusetts, blaming the practice in general, but excusing of it in his particular case, as being enforced thereunto.

One year out of the way; it was in 1647. Sav. Win. ii. 314.—н.
 Theophilus Eaton.—н.

Those of New Haven might have delivered those Dutch fugitives, without prejudice to their rights or reputation, and might thereby have prevented the dishonor of being outwitted by the Dutchman, who, in the end of winter did himself, and caused the Dutch minister to write privately to the said fugitives, with such assurance of pardon, and other satisfaction, that he enticed them . back again out of New Haven jurisdiction, to their no small disadvantage, which they might have had the honor of sending home, and thereby have heaped coals on their enemies' heads; but wise men are not always wise. For thereupon the Dutch Governor wrote to the Massachusetts, complaining of the injuries done by the pretended Governor of New Haven, (as he styled him,) in particular for wronging his reputation by slanderous reports, and proffers to refer all differences to the two Governors of the Massachusetts and Plymouth, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford by name, professing all good neighborhood to the rest of the Colonies, with some kind of retractation to his former claim of New Haven, &c., as if all claims by word, writing and protest, &c., were of no value, so long as there is no invasion by force.

On the other hand, the Governor of New Haven made the like complaint of manifold injuries offered by the Dutch Governor, in his letters to the General Court of the Massachusetts, which were by them referred to the Commissioners of the Colonies for answer.

But in the end of May the same year, 1648, the Massachusetts Governor read two letters from the Dutch Governor, holding forth much assurance of his sincere affection to a firm peace and neighborly compliance with all the English, and that upon these grounds. 1. Their unity in the true religion. 2. The ancient league between the two nations. 3. The community in danger from the common enemies of both, as Spaniards abroad, and Indians at home. 4. The reconciling former differences, and preventing all future occasions of like nature. 5. The benefit of a mutual league, both offensive and defensive, against a common enemy; and withal offered to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Should probably be, received.—E.

meet Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Bradford at Hartford, at

such time as they should appoint.

Mr. Winthrop returned answer, of what gladness he conceived in his forwardness to peace, and had no reason to doubt of his cordial intentions, &c., promising to further the matter what lay in his power. There was some reason more than ordinary why the Dutch Governor's spirit was so much lowered at this time: As first, the States of Holland were not so well able as formerly to make good their interest against their neighbors of Spain, with whom they were willing to make a peace at this time. 2dly, The West India Company had sustained much loss by some wrecks of late; and 3dly, The Dutch Plantation consisting of such unruly people, so as they would not be restrained from furnishing the Indians with ammunition, though themselves were in danger to be ruined thereby. And it may be added, in the last place, that the Dutchmen are usually more happy by their trading in times of peace, than by assailing their enemies in time of war. Divers letters had, at this time. passed between the Massachusetts and the Dutch, but Mr. Bradford, Governor of Plymouth, coming to Boston soon after, declined the service for the present, by reason of bodily infirmities and some other considerations, but promised (the Lord assisting) to prepare against the middle of the next summer, at which time Mr. Winthrop was on the like account unable to attend it; however, the business of a reconciliation was happily effected by some others, that were deputed in his room to manage that affair, by whose endeavors a final end was put to that uncomfortable difference that had been continually alarming them with new fears or troubles upon every occasion for many years before.2

But besides the forementioned difficulties, which the people of the United Colonies were exercised with from the Dutch at Manhatos, they were in like manner annoyed by the Swedes, that had before this time seated themselves in that called Delaware Bay, beyond Manhatos, toward Virginia, especially those of New Haven, who, find-

<sup>1</sup> Governor Winthrop died on Monday. March 26, 1649, and was buried on Tuesday, April 3d.—н. 8 See Hazard, ii. 170—4.—н.

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ing by sad experience, when it was too late, that the place they had pitched upon was more commodious for farmers than merchants, and that the Bay or River of Delaware was capable of many more inhabitants, than as yet had taken possession thereof, had taken up a resolution, either to remove their town of New Haven thither, or, at least, to erect a Plantation there for some of their people; in all which attempts, as they found the Swedes open enemies, so the Dutch, (especially the former Governor,) to be secret underminers of their interest there. Their first attempt indeed for planting there, Anno 1642, was hindered by a general sickness prevailing in the place at that time.<sup>1</sup>

But the first complaint of any injury done to the English, either by Dutch or Swedes, at Delaware, was made to the Commissioners of the United Colonies about September, 1643,2 when Mr. Lamberton, in the name of himself and others, employed in settling a Plantation there, in the behalf of New Haven, complained of many foul injuries offered them there; for besides the burning down of their trading house, on the river of Delaware, by the Dutch, (trade being the Diana of that people, for which they are observed to contend more violently than pro aris et focis,) they declared how the Swedish Governor<sup>3</sup> behaved himself against them, as if he had neither principles of Christian nor moral honesty; getting Mr. Lamberton into his power by feigned and false pretences, kept him prisoner with some of his men, and labored by promises and threats to draw them to accuse him for having conspired with the Indians to cut off the Swedes and Dutch, (an old Amboyna trick,) and not prevailing those ways, he attempted to make them drunk, that so he might draw something from them, as matter of accusation against Mr. Lamberton; and in the end (though they could get no testimony, yet) he forced him to pay many skins of beaver before he would set him at liberty. They reported the said Governor, also, to be a man very furious and passionate, cursing and swearing upon every occasion, and also reviling the English of New Haven as runagates,

See Sav. Win. ii. 76.—н.
 John Prinz. Holmes, i. 273.—н.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Hazard, ii. 11.—н.

&c., himself with his own hands putting irons upon one of Mr. Lamberton's men, and went also to the houses of those few families planted there, and forced them to swear allegiance to the Crown of Sweden, (though himself had no color of title to the place,) and such as would not, he drove away.

All things were clearly proved by Mr. Lamberton's relation, and other testimonies upon oath. The Commissioners of the Colonies gave a Commission to Mr. Lamberton to go treat with the Swedish Governor about satisfaction for those injuries and damages, and to agree with him about settling their trade and Plantation. But the Swedes, in their answer! to the letters from the Commissioners, denied what they had been charged with, and sent copies of divers examinations upon oath, taken in the case, with a copy of all the proceedings between themselves and those of New Haven from the first, and in their letters used large expressions of their respect to the English, and particularly to the Colony of the Massachusetts; not that they loved them better, but that, being further off, they had no occasion of falling out with them.

Mr. Eaton on that occasion desired a copy of the Massachusetts Patent, to shew it [to] the Swedish Governor, (at his request,) and a new commission from the Commissioners of the Union, allowing them to go on with their trade and Plantation in Delaware River and Bay, (for the Governor had told their agent, that upon such a commission they should have liberty.) This coming while the General Court was sitting, the Commissioners advised the Court about it, who granted both, but the commission with a salvo jure. They were informed, also, then of a Dutch ship, lately arrived at Hudson's River, sent to the free boors at the Fort of Aurania, which brought them four thousand weight of powder, and seven hundred pieces to trade with the natives; but the Dutch Governor having notice thereof, did very prudently confiscate them to the use of the Company, thereby depriving the enemies of arms, whereby they might themselves have been destroyed, and furnishing themselves and friends with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Presented to the General Court in March, 1643-4,-- H.

weapons for their safety. For at this time the Indians had fierce war with the Dutch, and if it had not been for the assistance of the English, they might have been all cut off.

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The occasion of the war was this: an Indian being drunk had slain an old Dutchman. The Dutch required the murderer, but he could not be had. The people called oft upon the Governor to take revenge, but he still put it off, because he thought it not just, or not safe, &c. It fell out in that time, that the Maquas or Mohawks, (a people inhabiting the west parts, beyond the Fort of Anrania,) either upon their own quarrel, or (as the report was) being set on by the Dutch, came suddenly upon the Indians near the Dutch, and killed about thirty of them; the rest fled for shelter to the Dutch. One Marine, a Dutch Captain, hearing of it, goeth to the Governor, and obtained a commission of him, to kill so many as he could of them; and accordingly went up with a company of armed men, and setting upon them, fearing no ill from the Dutch, he slew seventy or eighty of their men, women and children. Upon this the Indians burnt divers of their farm houses, and their cattle in them, and slew all they could meet with, to the number of twenty or more, of men, women and children, and pressed hard upon the Dutch, even home to their fort, that they were forced to call in the English to their aid, and entertained Captain Underhill (of whom large mention is made before) into their service, &c. Marine, the Dutch Captain, took this so ill, (seeing the Governor preferred him before him,) that he presented his pistol at the Governor, but was stayed by a stander by: Then a tenant of Marine's discharged his musket, but missed him narrowly, whereupon the sentinel, at the Governor's command, shot the fellow presently dead, and his head was set upon the gallows, and the Captain was sent prisoner into Holland. The people, also, were so offended with the Governor for the damage they now sustained by the Indians, (though they were all for war before) that the Governor durst not trust himself amongst them, but entertained a guard of fifty English about his person, and the Indians

did so annoy them by sudden assaults out of the swamps. &c., that he was forced to keep a running army to be ready to oppose them upon all occasions. The Indians also on Long Island took part with their neighbors upon the main, and as the Dutch took away their corn, &c., so they fell to burn the Dutchmen's houses. But these, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, (who was then there to take ship for England,) were pacified, and a peace reestablished between the Dutch and them. But still on the main they set upon the Dutch with an implacable fury, killing all they could come by, burning their houses and destroying their cattle without any resistance; so as the Governor and such as escaped betook themselves to their fort at Manhatos, and there lived upon their cattle. But many of the Indians being destroyed by Captain Underhill and his followers, at last they began to be weary of the sport, and condescended to terms of peace with those against whom they had manifested so great hostility before.

But to return to the affairs of the Swedes at Delaware. from which this long digression hath been made. beginning of the year 1644, divers of the merchants of Boston, being desirous to discover the Great Lake, (supposing it to lie in the northwest part of their Patent, and finding that the great trade of beaver, which came to all the southern and eastern parts, did originally come from thence,) petitioned the Court to be a company for that design, and to have the trade, which they should discover, to themselves for twenty-one years. The Court was very unwilling to grant any monopoly, but perceiving that without it they would not proceed, granted their desire; whereupon (having commission granted them also under the public seal, and letters from the Governor to the Dutch and Swedish Governors) they sent out a pinnace, well manned and furnished with provisions and trading stuff, which was to sail up Delaware River, so high as they could go, and then some of the company, (under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist, and one that had been in those parts,) by small skiffs or cannes to pass up the river as far as they could. But when

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In March. Sav. Win, ii. 160.—H.

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they came to the place, the Dutch Governor promised to let them pass, but for maintaining their own interest he must protest against them. And as for the Swedish Governor, his fort shot at them ere they came up, whereupon they cast forth their anchor, and the next morning (being Lord's Day) the Lieutenant came aboard them, and forced them to fall down lower. When Mr. Aspinwall came to the Governor he complained of the Lieutenant's dealing, both in shooting at them before he hailed them, and in forcing them to weigh anchor on the Lord's Day. The Governor acknowledged he did ill in both, and promised all favor; but the Dutch agent being come down to the Swedes' fort, shewed express order from the Dutch Governor not to let him pass, whereupon he returned; but before they came out of the river, the Swedish Lieutenant made them pay 40s., which he had unduly forced from The pinnace arrived at Boston the 20th of July, 1644,1 but with much more news than what is mentioned before, for though they were not permitted to pass up the river, they were not so narrowly watched but they found opportunity to trade on Maryland side, and had gotten a good parcel of beaver; but at last the Indians coming aboard, under pretence of further trading, while some were trading others pulled out hatchets from under their garments, and therewith killed the master and two men, and carried the other two (being but five in all) ashore, and rifled the pinnace of all her goods and sails, &c. after other Indians came aboard, and falling upon these, slew the sachems and took away all the goods they had There was one Redman suspected to have betrayed this pinuace, for he (being truckmaster, because he could speak the language,) was put out of his employment on account of his evil carriage, and did bear ill-will to the master, and, out of revenge, sold them to the Indians, bargaining however for his own life, but at last, at the procurement of the Swedish Governor, was fetched in by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In Sav. Win. ii. 179, is the following note. "Hubbard has committed a wretched mistake, after transcribing the above paragraph. He applies to the expedition of this pinnace a disaster that befell another, whose crew were cut off by the Indians." The first pinnace returned to Boston, as mentioned in the text, July 20, 1644. In September, "a bark was set out from Boston with seven men to trade at Delaware," under the command of

other Indians, who brought him and the boy to the fort, from which he was carried to Boston, and there tried for his life, and found guilty by the grand jury, but sentence was deferred in expectation of further evidence from Delaware. If there were evidence enough to condemn him more would have been redundant, but all men's sins do not go before unto judgment. But he shall give an account in due time.

For a close of these uncomfortable transactions between the Dutch, Swedes, and English of New Haven, and those parts, the reader may take notice that trucking with the Indians hath seldom been observed to be blessed to them that were most addicted thereunto, whether French, Dutch, or English; but for the present Dutch Governor, sc. in the year 1643, and till the year 1647, Mr. William Kieft, (a sober and prudent man,) although he always abstained from outward force, yet had continually molested the Colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, using menacings and protests against them, upon all occasions, so as they were almost wearied out with his vexations, demands, and oppositions. But at last going for Holland in the year 1647, in a ship of 400 tons, well manned and richly laden, to the value (as was supposed) of £20,000 in their passage home the mariners, mistaking the channel, were carried into Severn and cast away upon the coast of Wales, near Swanzy, so as the said Dutch Governor, with about eighty other persons, were drowned, and not above twenty suffered to escape. This fell out in the year 1648.1

The loss in general ought sadly to have been lamented, especially as to the lives of so many Christians, that perished so near their own home by such a sad mistake; yet those who were acquainted with the particulars of some or more of the forementioned circumstances, could not but take notice of the solemn providence of God that appeared therein, to bear witness against those that had so many ways injured his own people in those parts, which some could not pass by without due acknowledgment

Captain Luther. The Indians killed the master and three (not two) others. Redman was finally acquitted. Sav. Win. ii. 179, 203, 238.—H.

A mistake; it was in October, 1647. See Sav. Win. ii. 316; Thompson's Long Island, i. 106.—н.

and observation; for though indeed God seemed not to favor the designs of those Colonies in the matter of their trade with the Indians, (the salvation of whose souls should have been their principal aim, and so their merchandise might have been holiness to the Lord of Hosts,) by his constant blasting their Plantations, intended chiefly to carry on such designs, yet he seemed to be more highly offended with them that, without cause, set themselves so violently to oppose them.

The inhabitants of the towns about Boston, being alarmed by the forementioned troubles, (for those who now began to bark, might ere long be as ready to bite,) looked upon themselves but as a place without gates and bars, and that without some fortification, at the entrance into the harbor of Boston, they were laid open to the invasion of a mean and contemptible enemy, were willing to raise some fortification, and maintain it at their own charge, rather than to be left open to an enemy any longer.

The General Court had given all the encouragement they could in the year 1643, although some were discouraged because they found so many avenues about Boston, that if one passage were stopped, others were left open, wherein enemies might enter; and also because they feared that the people would not be so able to perform, as they were forward and willing to engage.

But in the year 1645, being every day made more sensible that the keeping the said fortification would be of no small benefit for their defence and security, they set upon the work with a fresh resolution, and chose a committee out of the several towns to raise means to get the work done; but at last the General Court, being informed by the petition of the inhabitants, that the charge of the work, and maintaining of the garrison, would be a burthen too heavy for them that had undertaken it, were induced to put the public hand thereto, by which it was always after that time effectually carried on.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In March, 1643-4.-- w.