

Deputy's place in like manner remaining with Mr. Bellingham, till his turn came to be advanced to the highest place, after the decease of the forementioned gentleman.

Two more Plantations or townships were this year<sup>1</sup> granted, the one at Shashin, upon a river falling into Merrimack, called Billerica; the other higher above Concord, called Groton.

Thus did the inhabitants of New England, that it might not be forgotten whence they had their original, imprint some remembrance of their former habitations in England upon their new dwellings in America.

### CHAP. LX.<sup>2</sup>

*A quarrel between the inhabitants of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes; the Massachusetts not willing to engage therein; from 1651 to 1656.*

EVER since the uniting of the four Colonies of New England, in the year 1643, they always had, as an obligation, so a Christian inclination, mutually to assist and strengthen the hands each of other; yet they all this while enjoyed peace and tranquillity in a way of amicable intercourse with their neighbors on all sides. But in the year 1653 there arose an unhappy difference between the Colony of New Haven and the Dutch at Manhatoes, who had intercepted the trading of the other at Delaware with the Indians. And indeed the principal part of the inhabitants of New Haven had some thoughts of removing thither, if they should meet with encouragement suitable to so great a change. But the Dutch Governor, to prevent any such enterprize, took all opportunities to obstruct the proceeding therein, which occasioned much altercation amongst the Commissioners of the Colonies, so as they were constrained to adjourn their meetings from one place to another, before they could come to a settled conclusion; but at the last, those of New Haven were persuaded by reason and judgment, or else overruled by the vote of the rest of the Commissioners, to surcease their quarrel, and rather put up [with] a lesser injury of that nature, than engage themselves, their friends,

<sup>1</sup> 1655.—H.

<sup>2</sup> LIX in the MS.—H.

and allies in a difficult war, the issue of which they could none of them at the present see, but might all in a little time have found to their sorrow. It was declared by the General Court of the Massachusetts, while the matter was under debate, that a bare major part of the Commissioners of the Colonies had not power to determine the justice of offensive war, which at this time might have been of dangerous consequence, if it should have been granted, for then each Colony might have been engaged in a mischievous war, without their knowledge or consent, if the Commissioners of any three Colonies determined thereof.

The truth is, those of New Haven and the Dutch were at variance continually, both under the former Governor, Mr. William Kieft, (who returned homeward Anno 1647,<sup>1</sup>) and so continued under Mr. Stuyvesant, that succeeded in his place, maintaining jealousies each against other, sometimes (as was thought) upon groundless surmises. For in the beginning of the year 1653, a rumor was spread through the Colonies, that the Dutch had conspired with the Indians against the English, insomuch that April 19th that year there was an extraordinary meeting of the Commissioners called at Boston, by Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Hibbins, Mr. Nowell, and Mr. Glover, to consider of several rumors of reports gathered from the Indians and others, that the Dutch had plotted with the Indians, and stirred them up to cut off the English. Those who raised, or at least made, this report, were seven Indians, taken in a canoe by Uncas's men, who were four of them Pequots, two were strangers, the seventh was said to be employed to poison Uncas, whom therefore they presently killed in a rage, for fear he should escape. It was said he was hired by Ninicraft, one of the Narrhaganset sachems, who was all the winter before at Manhatoes, and that spring sent home in a Dutch sloop. The Commissioners sent Sergeant Richard Way,<sup>2</sup> and Sergeant John Barrell, of Boston, to Narrhaganset to inquire into the truth of those reports. The sachems there denied the thing, but the Commissioners were so moved with the reports, that they urged the necessity of a war with the Dutch, and called

<sup>1</sup> See page 444.—H.

<sup>2</sup> In Hazard this name is *Waite*.—H.

in the Council of the Massachusetts, advising also with the ministers about the matter, but they all dissuaded from the war, although they found the presumptions to be very strong, and it could not be denied, that there was some such design in hand to destroy the English.

The Commissioners, after a debate with them, were of different apprehensions, and could not all of them be induced to enter upon a war, remembering what Solomon saith, "with good advice make war." The ministers also consulted with, left it with them to consider how unexpedient and unsafe it would be for such a people as those of New England, to err either in point of lawfulness or expediency, or both, in a matter of this nature; and whether a people, professing to walk in the spirit of the Gospel of peace, and having to do with a people pretending to the same profession, should not give the Dutch Governor an opportunity to answer for himself, either by purgation, acceptance, or disacceptance of some satisfactory propositions for security as the matter shall require, by whose answer their call to war or peace might be further cleared, and the incolumity of the Colonies in the mean time provided for; but April 28 following, they received letters from the Dutch Governor, utterly denying the charge, and offering to send or come himself to clear the matter, though letters from others affirmed it, and that the execution of the Indians was hastened, and said to be on the Election-day, when the towns were naked of inhabitants; hereupon they presently sent Captain Leveret, Captain Davis, and Mr. Newman,<sup>1</sup> from New Haven, as their agents, with a letter<sup>1</sup> to inquire more particularly into the business of the conspiracy charged, and to require satisfaction for some former injuries. They carried also copies of letters<sup>1</sup> from Captain Underhill, with the original of nine sagamores' confessions, with their names, declaring the plot. They were ordered also to desire the Dutch Governor and his Council that they might meet at Stamford, if they chose that, rather than at Manhatoes. Captain Leveret and Captain Davis returned to Boston May 21 after, and declared what propositions

<sup>1</sup> "Mr. Francis Newman, a magistrate of New Haven Jurisdiction, and Captain John Leverett and Lieutenant William Davis of Boston." See their Commission, instructions, and despatches, in Hazard, ii. 225-30.—H.

they made, and what answers they received for clearing themselves, that this matter might be rightly examined, the author found, the business proved, and the offender might, by his superiors, be duly committed and punished.

The Dutch Governor propounded, 1. The continuation of neighborly friendship, without either side taking notice of the unhappy differences between their nations in Europe, with continuation of trade, mutual justice against those that should seek to defraud their creditors, because of the differences arisen between the two nations. 2. For the future, to prevent all false reports rising from Indians. The agents complained that their answers were dilatory, and not direct, though plausible, and at last concluded of accepting their proposals for the future, if satisfaction were made for what is past, and returned answer, that as they would do no wrong, so would they not suffer their countrymen in those parts to be oppressed, they doing nothing to bring it upon themselves. Also before their return, they took several testimonies from sundry persons, declaring just suspicion of the plot, but being taken some of them at the second and third hand, were the less to be minded. Some of them intimated that the Dutch Governor, Ninicraft, and the Fiscal, were up in a close room together, sometimes two days, which, if true, could only raise  $\text{\$a\text{\$}}$  suspicion, but afford no certain evidence.<sup>1</sup>

After this return of their agents the Commissioners had much agitation among themselves before they could agree. At the last it was referred to two gentlemen, each of them to draw up a draught of the case in difference, viz. Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Governor of New Haven, on the one side, and Major Daniel Denison on the other side; upon the perusal of which it did not appear that the proofs alleged were a sufficient ground for such a procedure, and therefore it was judged best to forbear the use of the sword till the providence of God should by further evidence clear up the case to the consciences of them who were concerned in the determination of that matter; to which the General Court of the Massachusetts assented, not judging it expedient for those who came into

<sup>1</sup> See the whole proceedings of the Colonial agents in Hazard, ii. 233-48.—H.

America, to preach and profess the Gospel of peace, to be over forward to enter into a war with their Christian neighbors of the same reformed religion, though of another nation, upon slender, or not any considerable, grounds. By this means, the difference was at the last fairly ended, which else might have had a fatal issue to one or more of the Colonies.

The Dutch Governor, on the other hand, did by his letters complain of the hasty departure of the Commissioners' agents, returning also a large declaration in his own defence, adding,

*Conscia mens recti famæ mendacia ridet.*

And upon further consideration, at a meeting in September 1654, the Commissioners of the Massachusetts did, under their hands, declare something towards the recalling the Court's former Interpretation of the Articles of Confederation, owning that six of the Commissioners had power to determine the justice of a war, and did acknowledge themselves bound to execute the same, so far as the said determinations were in themselves just and according to God. This the other Commissioners accepted, on condition the General Court would declare as much.<sup>1</sup>

But however the Colony of New Haven were prevented from engaging the Confederate Colonies in a war against the Dutch at that time, yet were they not so fully satisfied in their minds, as to desist from other attempts of that nature; for some of the chief<sup>2</sup> of that Colony going that year for England, prevailed so far with those at that time in power, that they obtained a Commission for certain ships and soldiers to seize the Dutch Plantation to the use of the English; and the matter had proceeded so far, that they were with their vessels and soldiers upon the sea; but being long upon the voyage, by reason of many interruptions which they met withal, news of the peace, concluded<sup>3</sup> between the States of Holland and the powers in England, arrived before the fleet, which occasioned the Commander-in-chief<sup>4</sup> to turn his forces

<sup>1</sup> The offensive "Interpretation," dated June 2, 1653, may be seen in Hazard, ii. 270-3; and the subsequent acknowledgment, *ibid.* 307.—H.

<sup>2</sup> Capt. John Astwood was appointed agent to England in behalf of Conn. and New Haven, in 1653; Gov. Hopkins was already there.—H.

<sup>3</sup> April 5, 1654.—H.

<sup>4</sup> Major Robert Sedgwick.—H.

another way, viz. to attack the French forts about St. John's River, which was obtained without any great resistance, and those places were thereby reduced into the power of the English, and enjoyed by them, till his Majesty now reigning was happily restored to the exercise of his regal power in England. It is said to be carried on without any other Commission, than a verbal one, from some of Oliver Cromwell's commanders at sea, which possibly was one reason why it was so easily returned into the hands of them from whom it was taken not long before; nor had it any better success than designs of that nature were usually attended with, that were built upon such a like foundation.

When they attacked those French places, the soldiers occasionally met with a paper of maxims, with which the friars were to be governed in their administration, which may sufficiently satisfy the world with what spirit and principles those of the Catholic religion are acted.

#### CHAP. LXI.<sup>1</sup>

*Ecclesiastical affairs in New England, from 1651 to 1656.*

THE Platform of Discipline, drawn up in 1647 and 1648, was at this time under debate, and at the last it passed the test of the whole General Court, both magistrates and deputies, and the practice of it was commended to all the churches of the jurisdiction.

In the year 1651 the General Court taking it for granted that the civil power is *custos utriusque tabulæ*, interposed their authority in a matter of an ecclesiastical concernment, sc. the choice of a minister<sup>2</sup> by the church of Malden, and passed an handsome fine or mulct upon all of the church that were actors therein, for calling the said minister to his pastoral office, without the consent and approbation of neighboring churches, and allowance of the magistrates, (if not against the same,) contrary to the approved practice of the country, provided in that case. But upon after thoughts, which usually are more mature than the sudden and first conceptions of men's minds, the people of Malden themselves came to see,

<sup>1</sup> LX in the MS.—H.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Marmaduke Mathews. See Johnson, pp. 211-12; Sav. Win. i. 273, ii. 175.—H.