History of the ancient maritime interests of New Haven.

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Ancient Maritime Interests

of

New Haven, Conn.

Thomas R. Trowbridge, Jr.

HISTORY

OF THE

ANCIENT MARITIME INTERESTS

OF

NEW HAVEN.

By Thomas Rutherford Trowbridge, Jr.

NEW HAVEN:
TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, PRINTERS.
1882.

To

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE, ESQ.,

WHO FOR MORE THAN HALF A CENTURY HAS BEEN ENGAGED IN

FOREIGN COMMERCE,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED BY HIS AFFFCTIONATE SON,

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE, JR.

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HISTORY

OF

THE ANCIENT MARITIME INTERESTS

OF

NEW HAVEN.

By Thomas Rutherford Trowbridge, Jr.

Introduction.

Of all nations whose colonies have been established in foreign lands, the British is justly preëminent. This is owing, in the first place, to the daring and adventurous spirit which has characterized the English seaman ever since the days of Cabot and of Frobisher; and in the second place, to that peculiar talent which enables the English colonist to adapt himself to the climates, and other conditions of life, in any country to which he migrates. Save the two ill-starred colonies of Drake and of Raleigh, all those that Englishmen have founded are prosperous; and they have most efficiently contributed toward creating the present greatness of England. These fruits of English courage and enterprise give intimations that the Anglo-Saxon race at no remote day will become dominant in the world. The prospect imparts a feeling of pride in the consciousness that we ourselves belong to this noble race, with whose destinies our own are inseparably associated; for the different parts of the race, though spreading from sea to sea

and established on every continent of the globe, are sprung from the same stock, and must infallibly share in its future power and glory.

For nearly one hundred years previous to the first permanent settlement of Englishmen in America, Spain and Portugal had successfully founded their respective colonies on both sides of the American continent, extending on the western or Spanish side through sixty-six degrees of latitude from thirty degrees south to thirty-six degrees north; and for a century the wealth of the New World poured into the coffers of Spain. The dwellers in the Spanish seaport towns had become so accustomed to see the arrivals of the treasure-ships from the South Seas that "they viewed them," we are told, "with but ordinary interest."

Englishmen, in those days, looked with covetous eyes upon the huge galleons returning to Spain from their weary journeys to the West, and bringing their almost priceless burdens of gold, silver, valuable woods, and other treasures almost unknown to the people of the British Isles. They also knew that the countries beyond the Atlantic were giving to Spain a market for all the fruits of her industry, and affording an outlet for all her surplus population.

The misunderstandings existing at the time between Elizabeth and Philip gave to many reckless English sea-rovers, whereof Drake, Frobisher and Cavendish were fair specimens, a good reason for sailing to the Pacific, and making their predatory visits to the Spanish settlements which then dotted the American coast from Valparaiso to the Gulf of California, as well as to waylay and plunder the treasure-ships returning to Spain from the New World.

Many of the staid and upright London merchants were extensively interested in these expeditions; and Royalty deemed it right to share largely in the profits. The English people understood that Elizabeth and Dudley freely and generously aided Drake in fitting out his expedition; and history assures us that the queen commanded him, after his return, to bring the "Pelican" before her palace at Greenwich, that she might

see with her own eyes the little vessel, of one hundred tons' burden only, in which her bold subject had circumnavigated the globe in search of Spanish gold.*

Cavendish, too, met with an almost regal reception when, after sailing around the world, he anchored his ship, filled with Spanish treasures, at London Bridge, "with his soldiers clad in velvet, and his topsails, cloth of gold."

Those were the days in which many a starving moss-trooper gave his life as a penalty for the driving of one of his enemy's sheep across the border; but these English navigators, who had burned villages, robbed churches, and scuttled ships, were ennobled and placed in command of the royal frigates.

The early explorers brought home to England the most wonderful tidings from foreign countries. Even their more sober reports were deeply tinged with the romance of the seventeenth century, and were sufficiently exciting to create at once a strong desire in the minds of multitudes of their countrymen "to go out and occupy such delectable lands." As one historian has said: "A few years only were to pass over before the Anglo-Saxon race was to make new nations amidst

* For many years this legend was on an old sign-board of the "Queen's Head" tavern in London:

"O Nature! to Old England still
Continue these mistakes;
Still give us for our King such Queens,
And for our Dux such Drakes."

To the chair, made of one of the timbers of the "Pelican," or "Golden Hind," as she was called after Drake made his cruise in her, and deposited in the University Library at Oxford, Cowley addressed these lines:

"To this great ship, which round the globe has run,
And matched in race the chariot of the sun—
This Pythagorean ship (for it may claim
Without presumption so deserved a name,
By knowledge once, and transformation now)—
In her new shape this sacred port allow.
Drake and his ship could not have wished from Fate
A more blest station or more blest estate:
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven."

dense forests and boundless prairies. England had tasted tobacco and she hoped to find gold. The time for that great work of plantation was not far distant."

To the extravagance of the representations of that period witness Raleigh's story of Golden Guiana in his Tract of 1596:

"Lopez discribeth the court and magnificence of Guaynacapa, auncestor to the Emperour of Guiana, whose very words are these: All the vessels of his home, table, and kitchin were of gold and silver, and the meanest of silver and copper for strength and hardnes of the mettal. He had in his wardroppe hollow statues of golde which seemed giants, and the figures in proportion and bignes of all the beastes, birdes, trees and hearbes, that the earth bringeth forth: and of all the fishes that the sea or waters of his kingdome breedeth. . . Yea and they say, the Ingas had a garden of pleasure in an iland neere Puna, . . . which had all kind of garden hearbes, flowers and trees of gold and silver, an invention and magnificence till then never seene: Besides all this, he had an infinite quantitie of silver and gold unwrought."

Sir William Courteen, the princely merchant of London, who was known as "the lover of the New World," early in the seventeenth century sent his ship to explore the distant Carribees. She returned in safety, and he told his wondering countrymen of "the many fertile isles of that summer sea, where the generous soil returned to its cultivator its two crops yearly, requiring but a tithe of the labor necessary to produce one in Kent, and the work can be done by slaves."

From the coast of sterile, uninviting New England, Captain John Smith wrote to "His High and Hopeful Charles, Prince of Great Britain," of "the surpassing riches that inhabit this coast: how in the fishing a ship with adventure of £2,000 can gain £1,000, and that in six months too, and that large shippes may be loaded with the richest of Furres."

From Somers' Islands, no longer "the still vexed Bermoothes," Sir George Somers writes to his friends in England:

"If you in England will do what is fit for you, as we will, by God's helpe, what is fit for us, we hope shortly to see the day when men shall say, 'Blessed bee God that suffered Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers to be cast away upon these Islands.'"

But intelligence that far exceeded in interest all the foregoing, was brought to England by the expedition, consisting of

three small vessels, under the command of Captain Lancaster, which were sent by some London merchants in 1591 on a trading adventure to India. One of the most important consequences of this expedition was the chartering of "the East India Company." The Patent for trading which this Company received, was large enough to cover the entire space of land and sea between Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope.

About this period, a general desire for colonization began to be manifested in the seaport towns of the lower counties of England, and the merchants of London, the Bristol and Plymouth ship-owners, the weavers of Coventry, the cutlers of Sheffield, and graziers of Kent, as well as all the great Trades and Guilds of London, were eager to avail themselves of any new market for the produce of their industry, and coveted at least a portion of that commerce which had enriched Spain and was pouring its golden tide into Portugal and Holland. One hundred years after Vasco de Gama had passed the Cape of Good Hope we see the first pioneers of England's colonies doubling the same cape, and holding their adventurous course toward India. That beginning of an empire was sent out by the East India Company, then in the dawn of its existence, having secured its charter but a few days previous to the sailing of the ships.

The Colony made a safe landing, and the adventure proved so successful that upon the return of the ships to London, such tidings were brought by them from the colonists, that a vast emigration from England at once began, and so lucrative was the trade that fifty years after the founding of the Colony, the stock of the Company, from a par value of £100, had risen to £500. And the Colony itself, though it gave at first small evidence of its future grandeur, was in after years, through the genius of Clive and Hastings, to become the most populous part of an empire without a peer in the history of the world.

Soon after the founding of the East India Colony, a settlement was made on the coast of Guinea; in 1605 at the Barbados, in 1607 at Jamestown, in 1620 at Plymouth, in 1631 at Gambia, in 1632 at Antigua, and in 1637, during the month of

June, there arrived at Boston, from London, two large ships, of which one was the "Hector," containing a company of colonists who, from the fact that in April of the ensuing year, 1638, they selected the site of our city for their plantations, are known to history as the NEW HAVEN COLONY.

The colonies which emigrated from England to America were directly or indirectly under the patronage of the numerous merchant companies of London and Bristol, and were generally bonded to the companies or assisted by them. This was the case even with the Separatist Colony of Plymouth; however desirous it was to place the ocean between itself and the uncongenial Churchmen of England, it was unable to accomplish its desire until a company of London merchants extended its helping hand to the faithful Pilgrims. Under bonds to that company to the amount of nearly £2,000, the "Mayflower" and the "Speedwell" set sail. Thomas Weston, one of the proprietors of the company, journeyed to Plymouth to be sure that the ships were safely off. This company had on board of the "Mayflower" a trading stock of the value of £1,700. The care of the goods was entrusted to a factor, whom the merchants sent in the ship, and who was to dispose of their shipment after it should be landed.

The New Haven Colony was in this respect unlike most of the others. When the colonists landed at Quinnipiack they were responsible to themselves only, and obliged to pay tribute to no rigorous and exacting company.

However long the list of the colonies planted by the English race, the history of all of them shows that the first settlers were no sooner housed than they manifested the commercial spirit and enterprise natural to the nation. There were sent to England from Plymouth as early as 1621, "stores of beaver and fine furres." A year or two later, there was built at Salem a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, by name the "Desire," and she was loaded with "furres, fish and boards."*

*The "Desire" was the ship which brought in 1637 the first slaves to New England. The ship which, in July, 1639, arrived at Gravesend, England, in twenty-three days from Salem, made the voyage, allowing for distances, only seven days longer than the passage made by the clipper-ship "Dreadnaught" from New York in 1854.

The year which saw the first colonists land at Barbados, saw also a ship sail from the island for London with a cargo of fustic. Jamestown speedily sent tobacco; and in so short a time as two years after the sailing of the earliest ships of the East India Company, many of the products of India were for the first time seen as articles of merchandise in the streets of London.

Chapter I.

THE EARLY COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN AND ITS DECLINE.

Robertson tells us "that *no* period in the history of one's own country can be considered as altogether uninteresting. Such transactions as tend to illustrate the progress of its laws and manners merit the utmost attention. Even remote and minute events are objects of a curiosity which, being natural to the human mind, the gratification of it is attended with pleasure."

In accord with this sentiment of the historian, it has been my endeavor to collect such data and facts as will in a measure illustrate the *Ancient Maritime Interests of New Haven.*

The men who were in the earlier days of the Colony the most eminent, were persons of large estates, who had in England received a commercial education. Mr. Eaton, the honored father of our New Haven Plantation, had not only been a prosperous and respected merchant of the city of London, but, as the representative of Charles I, had resided at the Court of Denmark, and honorably acquitted himself in all the affairs entrusted to him.

It is stated by one historian at least, that Mr. Eaton arrived at Boston in the ship "Arbella," at a date as early as 1630, seven years before the arrival of the "Hector." There came with him in the "Arbella," as fellow passengers, Sir Richard Saltonstall, John Ven, Esq., and John Winthrop. The latter,

in his journal of the voyage, makes no mention of these fellow passengers save where he incidentally records the fact, that "a maid of Sir Richard Saltonstall fell down at the grating by the cook-room."

The "Arbella," which had previously been known as the "Eagle," received her new name in honor of Isaac Johnson's wife, who was styled the Lady Arbella. The ship was one of a large fleet of eleven vessels that contained seven hundred passengers, two hundred and forty cows, and sixty horses, all destined for the plantations in New England. Is it improbable, that Mr. Eaton, who was interested in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, may have been a passenger, desirous to see the country which was at the time causing so great an emigration from England?

He was better qualified than any other one of the New Haven planters for the important office of Governor, and was highly appreciated and honored by the colonists; for he was annually chosen by them to be their governor for twenty consecutive years, an honor bestowed on no other citizen of the colony or the commonwealth.

But Mr. Eaton was not the only man of means and estate in the plantation. There were many other men of property and of influence. So important was the company, that no efforts were left untried to induce it to remain within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay. Among other inducements presented, were offers of land at Charlestown, Watertown, and the entire town of Newbury. No place, however, presented to Mr. Eaton so many advantages for trade and commerce as did Quinnipiack, which he had carefully surveyed soon after his arrival at Boston.

On the last day but one of March, 1638, the New Haven Colony, or a portion of it, including Mr. Eaton, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiack, and reached this place about the middle of the following month. They brought with them not only the Bible and the Common Law, but also *strong* hopes of becoming a powerful and opulent colony, which should rival the New Netherlands at the west, and Boston and Ply-

mouth at the eastward. Unfortunately the name of the vessel which brought the colonists hither is lost to us.

Governor Winthrop's bark, "Blessing of the Bay," frequently passed through Long Island Sound to and from New Netherland, and was at Hartford in 1636. The strongest friendship existed between Winthrop and Eaton, and possibly the "Blessing," being a Sound trader, was placed at the disposal of himself and his companions and brought them to New Haven.

Quoting from Hutchinson, it may be said: "Their chief view was trade; and, to be better accommodated, they built on small house-lots near the sea, and fairer and more commodious houses than those in the other colonies. They built vessels for foreign voyages, and set up trading-houses upon lands which they purchased at Delaware Bay for the sake of beaver."

A word should be said respecting the "Ancient Trading Posts at Delaware Bay," which were established by the New Haven colonists.

A short time after the settlement at Plymouth, urgent invitations were sent to the Puritans by the Virginians to occupy lands at Delaware Bay. None, however, appear to have accepted the offer.

In the autumn of 1638, the year of the settlement of our colony, a company of the colonists (the most prominent of whom was George Lamberton, soon to meet his tragic death) voyaged to Delaware Bay. Their object was to establish trading stations, at which furs could be purchased of the Indians, who annually followed the Delaware and the Susquehannah rivers from their sources to the ocean. Lamberton's party took with them a Pequot Indian to act as an interpreter. Through his agency they purchased lands of the Indians, who, for the sum of £60, sold them all the lands which extend from Cape May to the mouth of the Delaware river on the New Jersey side of the Bay.

At several of the many convenient sites for trade, the colonists established their factories, and made preparations for pursuing a large commerce with the Indian trappers.

In 1641, Captain Lamberton, the owner of the "Cock,"

which was the first vessel recorded as owned in New Haven, sailed in that vessel for the Bay, carrying with him, as adventurers who were desirous of settling in the new colony, about twenty New Haven colonists. When they reached New York, the orders of the Dutch governor of that colony gave them the choice of turning back and abandoning their voyage or of promising allegiance to the Dutch, who claimed the lands about the Bay as belonging to the Dutch West India Company.

The New Haven men promised all due allegiance, should they settle on Dutch territory, and went on their way. Among the company was Captain Nathaniel Turner, soon to meet the same distressing fate which overtook Lamberton. He had leave given him by the New Haven Court to go down to Delaware and reside there "for his owne advantage and the publique good in settling the affayres thereof."

Not more than two years had passed away after Capt. Turner's arrival before the Dutch sent two armed vessels, commanded by Captain Johnsen Van Ilpendam, to drive out the English settlers from the waters of the Delaware.

The Swedes, who claimed the lands on the Delaware side of the Bay, were also hostile to the New Haven colonists. They had prejudiced the Indians against them, and had seized Lamberton, imprisoned, and fined him.

The New Haven people, though sadly disappointed in their expectations of trade, were not willing to assert their claims to their lands by force of arms. They surrendered their property to the Dutch, who burned their store houses, but allowed them to carry their goods home to New Haven.

The adventure resulted in great pecuniary loss, one author deeming it not less than *one thousand* pounds, an amount which the colony could ill spare in the gloomy days of 1643.

Although the posts were destroyed, Lamberton and others made subsequent voyages to the Bay; but it does not appear that any trade was carried on after the destruction of the stores by the Dutch in 1643. New Haven claimed until 1664 "divers pieces of land on both sides of the Delaware Bay." At a

meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, held in Boston in 1643, Mr. Eaton and Mr. Gregson, the New Haven Commissioners, complained of the treatment experienced by Lamberton and his company at the hands of the Swedes and the Dutch, and asked that redress should be required. The New England Commissioners delegated Lamberton to proceed to the Bay, clothing him with authority to make a determination of the case with the Swedes; but it would seem that the mission was fruitless.

One of the most striking manifestations of the commercial enterprise of the colony is presented in the vast number of petitions laid before the New Haven Court regarding laws and regulations of the commerce of the town. As early as 1639, Lamberton was trading to Virginia, and Goodman Tapp was bringing cattle from the Bay. In 1640, a law was passed "forbidding Masters of Ships to throw ballast into the harbour." It was also ordered that "Shipwrights be excused from military duty;" and Brother Leeke received "liberty to draw wine for them that work at the shipp." In 1644 "come Richard Malbon, John Evance and George Lamberton to inform the Courte, that having seriously considered the damages which the towne doth in many wayes suffer from the flattes which hinder vessels from coming neare the towne, they will undertake (upon conditions named) to builde a Wharfe, to which at least Botes may come to discharge their cargoes."

The wharf which they were authorized to build, stood on the present site of the City Market. The land belonged to William Preston.

It was in 1641 ordered by the Court "that the Comodytes well boughte in England for ready money shall be sold here not above 3d. on the shilling for profitt and adventure above what they cost with chardges when solde by retayle—when solde by wholesayle lesse proffit may suffize. But Commodytes of a perishing nature subject to waste and damage fall not under the former rate, yet the rates be so ordered that neither buyer or seller suffer losse."

The same year it was ordered, "whoever shall cut any tree

where spruce masts grow, without leave from the Governor, shall pay twenty shillings for every such default."

Laws were also made to regulate the lighterage of goods to and from the vessels at anchor in the harbor, and particular attention was given to the cutting and hewing of timber for ship building.

In fine, the records of the town in its early days, abound in allusions to its commercial interests; and it is by no means an uninteresting fact, that long before the settlers named their town New Haven, stringent laws to regulate commerce had been enacted by the Court.

Trade with foreign countries, as well as with American ports, was pursued soon after the founding of the colony; and vessels were sent to England, the Barbados, the Azores, Massachusetts, Salem, Connecticut, New Netherland, Delaware Bay, Virginia, and the Bermudas. Virginia was comparatively an old colony when New Haven was first settled, and with it our town always maintained an extensive trade. In 1639, as before said, Lamberton was regularly sailing to its ports, touching at some of the Delaware Bay stations on the voyage; and so early as 1640, in the godly Colony of New Haven, three bad fellows by name George Spencer, John Proute (not *the* John Proute), and Henry Brasier, endeavored to steal Lamberton's vessel, the "Cock," the evening before she was to sail for Virginia. It was their intention to carry her to Jamestown; but instead of so doing, they underwent a public whipping and ironing.

From the settlement of the colony till 1656, the history of New Haven's maritime interests is but little more than a sad detail of disaster, misadventure, and ill-fortune. After the period named it is difficult to discover that New Haven was little else than a colony of discouraged farmers.

The leaders in the colony, men who had lived in the great cities of England, doubtless brought to the plantation ideas and habits of a nature too prodigal and extravagant for a new country. To quote from Hubbard:

"Though they built some shipping, and sent abroad their provisions into foreign parts, and purchased lands at Delaware, 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."

This ship, known as "The Great Shippe," has for nearly two and a half centuries been the theme for story and romance. Her burden was from ninety to one hundred and twenty tons. She was built in Rhode Island, and purchased by the "New Haven Merchants' Company," who brought her to their town, and by the united efforts of the colonists, she was loaded for England. She sailed for that country during the cold, tempestuous winter of 1645.

It is a matter of sincere regret that we are ignorant of the name of this New Haven ship. In none of the numerous accounts of her sailing, and of her fancied reappearance, is any mention made of her name. Even in the wills and inventories of the colonists who were interested in the voyage and who died soon after she sailed, "The Great Shippe" seems to be the only name given.

That the colonists generally (those who were esteemed rich as well as those who were in a less prosperous condition), were interested in the adventure, is evident from the fact that in the appraisement of several estates, mention is made of the amounts in "the shippe," as £50, £30, £20; and in each instance the sum named represented a very large proportion of the inventory.

It should perhaps be stated that "The Great Shippe" was outfitted and loaded by "The Company of Merchants of New Haven." Governor Eaton, Stephen Goodyear, and Richard Malbon, were directors of this company, and against it suit was brought by the brothers George and Lawrence Ward, block-makers, who had been employed to make a suit of blocks for the ship. Such was the delay of payment for the blocks, that suit was entered at the Court, November 2, 1647.

The value of the lading of the ship is given at £5,000 sterling. In this sum was included the plate, of which a large

quantity was put on board, several hundred West India hides, a large quantity of planks, great store of beaver, and some corn and pease in bulk.

The value of the ship and cargo represented a large percentage of the property of the town. It comprised nearly one-seventh of the combined estates of the colonists in 1643, before disaster had overtaken them. At that time the value of the *personal* estates of the New Haven Colony was £36,337 sterling. To arrive at the value of the same in 1876 we must multiply by three and one-half, and we are justified in supposing that after three years of reverses and losses, the wealth of the place had depreciated to such an extent that instead of one-seventh part, it is more probable that the ill-fated ship and her lading represented nearer a quarter of the wealth of New Haven.

As an evidence of the deplorable shrinkage of the estates, witness the appraisement of the estate of Governor Eaton:

Valued in 1643 at £3,000;
Appraised at his death, in 1658, £1,440.

That of Stephen Goodyear:

Valued in 1643 at £1,000;
Appraised in 1658 at £804.

That of Francis Brewster:

Valued in 1643 at £1,000;
Appraised in 1647 at £605.

In the estimates of these estates I do not include the value of the land credited to them, averaging about 250 acres to each in 1643. But it is included in the appraisement of the several properties. This makes more patent the losses which our early fathers were obliged to undergo.

When, after many weary months of waiting for tidings of the ship, the colonists realized the great loss which had fallen upon them, discouragement, perhaps it may be called despair, seemed to take possession of them. Not only had the sea swallowed a large portion of their estates, but they were also called to mourn the loss of seventy of their fellow-townsmen,

Many of these were eminent both in the church and in the jurisdiction, especially so were Mr. Gregson, Mr. Turner, and the commander of the unfortunate ship, George Lamberton. The latter was one of the most valued of the settlers, and owing to his wealth and influence, he occupied a prominent position in the commercial portion of the community.

This ship, it will be remembered, was the vessel known as "The Phantom Ship," that was supposed to have been seen in the air, off our harbor, during the month of June of the ensuing year; and supposed also by the godly portion of the colonists to have been sent by Providence to intimate to them the manner of the taking off of their townsmen as well as the loss of the ship.

The loss of this ship caused almost, if not quite, an end to important foreign voyages. The colonists found themselves, with diminished resources, unable to prosecute any commercial enterprises of note.

They had selected the place of their settlement solely on account of its facilities for a foreign trade, and they were in no good condition to turn to agriculture. They were not only ignorant of such a calling, but the soil was so sterile and unyielding that they became well-nigh exhausted, and serious thoughts were entertained of abandoning the settlement and seeking another where the soil was more generous and the climate more genial.

It was, moreover, at this period that they were receiving tidings of the exciting times and events in England, and many of the settlers in New Haven and in other colonies meditated on these things until at length the same spirit of freedom which had brought them hither, lured them back to fight for liberty on their ancestral fields.

Yet one more attempt was made to establish a trading-post at Delaware Bay, and land was purchased there for the purpose; but meeting such determined opposition from the Dutch, and being unfairly treated by the Swedes, the project was abandoned, and was never more essayed.

In these dark days there came from England one Captain

Gookin, bringing with him from the Lord Protector an offer of lands to the New England colonists, or at least to such as should elect to accept them, on the fertile island of Jamaica, which had but a short time previous been wrested from its ancient owner by the valor of Penn and Venables.

Governor Eaton received a letter containing such an offer, and by his order it was read at a meeting of the New Haven Court, May 26, 1656.

"Much debate there was aboute this thing (by the deputies of the several plantations there assembled), and a serious weighing and considering thereof, and though they cannot but acknowledg the great love, care, and tender respect of his highnes the Lord Protector, to New England in generall, and to this colonie in p'ticular, yet for divers reasons they cannot conclude that God calls them to a present remove theither, *though if they could have found two men fitt* and willing to goe with Captain Martin to view, they would have sent them at the charge of the jurisdiction; but that being hard and difficult to obtayne, must be defferred till another season, and for the present the Court onely desired an answer might be sent to his highnes the Lord Protector with all humble acknowledgement of his great love towards us."*

Probably one reason why the offer of Cromwell was declined may be seen in the fact that the earlier settlers were then aged people, and to attempt another remove would have been fatal to many and injurious to most.

Eighteen years had been passed in the town, and the people, in spite of their wretched fortune, had an attachment for the colony; and doubtless, too, they still hoped that the time was not far away, when opportunities would again present themselves, by improving which they might in a measure restore their wasted estates.

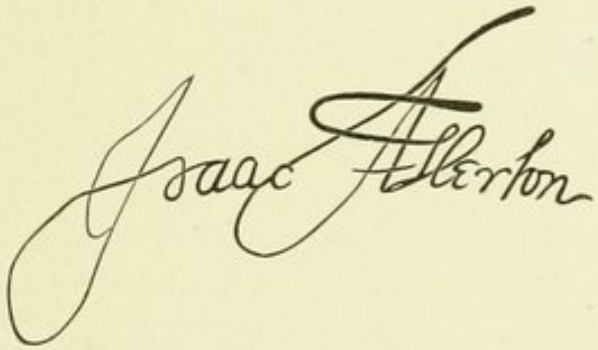
At this time, it may be stated, there prevailed in the West Indies a plague (probably yellow fever), so virulent that, to use the words of the chronicler, "the living could scarce bury their dead." This may have been one reason for the rejection of the offer, the colonists dreading the experience which had

*Bryan Edwards in his "History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies," in treating of Jamaica, mentions the fact that in 1657 there arrived at Morant Bay, Jamaica, fourteen families from New England as settlers and planters.

befallen Raleigh's Guiana expedition in their encounter with a tropical plague.

During these years of adversity and distress for New Haven, one man there was who not only deserves an honorable niche in its history, but well merits the title that has been given him: "The Father of New England Commerce."

Among the names subscribed to the compact which, on the eleventh of November, 1620, was signed in the cabin of the "Mayflower," that of Mr. *Isaacke Allerton* is fifth, following



that of Mr. Brewster, and preceding that of Miles Standish. He was not only a man of eminent parts, but also well skilled in financial matters. Previous to his leaving England, he had been engaged in commercial pursuits, and he was particularly well qualified to perform the important business with which the colony was soon to entrust him.

In 1626, Miles Standish returned to the Plymouth Colony from London, where he had resided for some time as the agent of that colony, and Mr. Allerton, who at the time was the factor of the London merchants and entrusted with their colonial interests, was requested by his fellow colonists to proceed to London as their agent; and to that city he went in the autumn of the same year.

The principal business to be transacted by Mr. Allerton in England was the making of a settlement with the London Company, to which the colony was heavily bonded; and fearing lest in some manner the merchants might claim a voice in the jurisdiction, the colonists wished to make such an arrangement as would give the company no power in the colony. They doubtless appreciated the sentiment of Adam Smith,

written one hundred and fifty years later, "that the government of an exclusive company of merchants is perhaps the *worst* of all governments for any country whatever."

Mr. Allerton was absent from Plymouth nearly seven months, returning to that place in the spring of 1627. During his stay in London, he rendered very great service to the colony. Not only did he take up £300 of their indebtedness at thirty per cent., which he invested in goods for the benefit of the colonists, but he also made an arrangement with the London merchants whereby they agreed, for the sum of £1,800, to relinquish all their interest in Plymouth. This agreement was made after great pains and infinite trouble on the part of Mr. Allerton; and for his successful management of the business, he received the thanks of the colonists. He returned to London the same year, taking passage in a small English vessel which was sailing for England. He carried with him sufficient beaver to pay some engagements made during his previous visit, and also nine bonds for two hundred pounds each, which he handed to the London Company, and received in exchange for them conveyances for the entire claims held by the merchants on Plymouth. Nor was he merely the agent in this important transaction. He was one of the eight Plymouth colonists who made themselves personally responsible for the sum of £200 each, and who were known as the "Undertakers."

The year 1628 saw him again in the colony. He had brought with him the conveyances of the company, and also a patent for a trading station on the Kenebec river. Three months later, this indefatigable man sailed once more for London. His business was to obtain a patent for Plymouth, and to facilitate, to the utmost of his ability, the removal of the Leyden church to the colony.

From that undertaking it would appear that he returned unsuccessful. But he sailed again for London in the same ship, and in due time came back to Plymouth, having many of the Leyden brethren with him. The ship that brought them was the "Lyon," commanded by William Peirce, who had been sailing between New England and old England from as early a

time as 1622. For several years Peirce was the master of the "Mayflower," which belonged to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1641, he was killed at New Providence Island in the Bahamas. He made in 1639 the first American almanac.

After the return of Mr. Allerton on the "Lyon," the colony ceased to regard him as its agent, giving this reason, that in the charter which he had procured for Plymouth, he had not managed to incorporate as many favorable provisions as the patent of Massachusetts Bay contained. They also accused him of having been "too lavish of money." His friend Sherley, writing to one of the Plymouth men in March, 1630, said: "Till our main business, the Patent, was granted, I could not settle my mind nor pen to writing. Mr. Allerton was *so turmoiled* about it, as verily I would not nor could not have undergone it, if I might have had a £1,000."

The rigid economists of Plymouth, not knowing the number of itching palms of those who formed the court of Charles I, could not overlook the fact that over five hundred pounds had been lavishly "cast away" in vainly endeavoring to incorporate in the charter a clause whereby no customs were to be levied upon Plymouth cargoes for a certain time.

That the famous American custom of "greasing the wheels," and of "putting money where it will do the most good," was well known in London in 1629, the same letter from Sherley will prove to us. He writes: "The Lord Keeper (Sir Thomas Coventry) furthered it all he could, and also the Solicitor; but as Festus said to Paul, With no small sum obtained I this freedom; for by the way, many *riddles* must be *resolved*, and many locks must be opened with the *silver*, nay, the *golden* key."

Mr. Allerton considered that he had been unfairly used, and that his good name had been tarnished. He therefore resolved to withdraw himself from the colony, at least for a time; and he accordingly in 1631, took passage for England in the Bristol ship "White Angel." To the last the colonists assured him that, while he was their agent, "they had ever found him untiring in his endeavors to advance the best interests of the colony."

Soon after reaching England, he determined to return to America and engage in commercial transactions of his own. Hiring the "White Angel," he filled her with his goods; and embarking in her, sailed for the Kenebec and the Penobscot, at both of which places he established factories or trading posts. In this undertaking he was doomed to disappointment. Soon after his leaving the latter place it was visited by the French, who captured it, killed his agent and clerks, burnt his buildings, and carried away all his belongings.

Not cast down by this unhappy experience, he determined to succeed. He removed to Salem, where, in 1633, we find him engaged in "the Fisheries." During the same year Winthrop speaks of him as fishing at Marblehead, employing no less than eight boats in that undertaking. He resided for several years in that place, engaged in mercantile affairs. While there he was a shipowner, and in the memorable tempest of August 16, 1635, his ship was totally lost on Cape Ann, and among the twenty persons drowned were the Rev. Mr. Avery, his wife, and six small children, who were emigrating to Salem.

In 1636 we find him going in his barque to Penobscot on a trading adventure. On the return voyage from this place, he was cast away on an island, where his vessel (quoting from Winthrop), "beat out her keel, and so lay ten days; yet he gate help from Pemaquid, and mended her, and brought her home."

From Salem, Mr. Allerton went to the New Netherlands, and after residing there a short time he came, in 1646, to the New Haven Colony.

Notwithstanding the many reverses of fortune which it had been his lot to experience, he was, it is evident, even yet a man of means, vigor, and enterprise. He became at once a commercial leader here, and remained till his death prominently identified with the maritime interests of our town.

Here, by the creek, he built his famous mansion, the "House of the four porticoes," as it has been sometimes called. This house stood near where now stands the residence of Mr. Edward Buddington, at the junction of Fair and Union streets.

His warehouse was, without doubt, opposite to his residence. It stood, as warehouses generally did at that period, on the bank of the creek (over the bed of which now pass the trains of the Consolidated Road), and was accessible to the small class of vessels which, till after the Revolution, composed the sea-going fleet of New Haven.

From this port Mr. Allerton sent his vessels to various places—to Massachusetts Bay, Virginia, Delaware Bay, and often times to "the Barbadoes." With the latter place, he had a very considerable interest, and as late as 1655, we find him in company with Ensigne Bryan, of Milford (the owner of the *great* Brig), complaining to the New Haven Court, "that by reason of bad biskit and flower they have had from James Roggers, at Milford, they have suffered much damage, and likewise the place lyes under reproach at Virgenia and Berbados, so as when other men from other places can have a ready markit for their goods, that from hence lyes by, and will not sell, or if it doe, it is for little above halfe so much as others sell for."

The finding of the Court was, that "*if* after this warning, James Roggers his flower, or bread, prove bad, he must expect that the damage will fall upon him, unless it may be proved that the defectivnes of it came by some other meanes."

In company with John Underhill, that famous Indian-fighter, Mr. Allerton was requested by the Dutch governor of New Netherlands to raise by authority of the Court one hundred soldiers to be led by Captain Underhill against the Indians. The Court however merely propounded to consider the matter the next Spring.

When, in 1643, Massachusetts and New Haven sent their three ministers, Mr. Knolles, Mr. Tompson, and Mr. James, to Virginia on their missionary errand, they being wrecked at Hell Gate, and receiving very slender entertainment from the Dutch governor, Mr. Allerton, being there, sent his pinnace, took great pains and care for them and sent them on their way.

Mr. Allerton resided in New Haven till his death, which occurred in 1659. After his twenty-nine years of incessant

labor, of tireless zeal, and of indomitable perseverance, he still experienced the sad fate which was common to most of the New Haven pioneers; he died insolvent. His creditors were many; his debtors were few.

The will of Mr. Allerton was proven October 19, 1659. The inventory was small, and so greatly had property fallen in value, that his famous house, his barns, and two acres of land were appraised at £75 only.

This ancient New Havener well deserves to be remembered as one who came to the colony in its days of adversity, and who, during his long residence here of thirteen years, endeavored right manfully to do his part in retrieving the diminished fortunes of his fellow-townsmen.

It is a matter of sincere regret that we have so little information regarding the latter years of this remarkable man. With the exception of the frequent mention of his name in our Colonial Records, and some vague passages in Winthrop's Journal, we have but little which is definite in respect to this old Puritan merchant, this pilgrim of the "Mayflower."

The remains of Mr. Allerton were interred in the old Burying Ground, on the Green, not far from the spot where the Center Church stands.

> "Then be honored the day when the 'Mayflower' came,
> And honored the charge she bore;
> The stern, the religious, the glorious men
> Whom she set on our rough, native shore."

A brief notice is also due to the memory of another of our New Haven colonists, who was the contemporary of Mr. Allerton, and like him, engaged in the foreign commerce of the town.

Prominent among the settlers of New Haven in 1638 was Mr. John Evance, one of the signers of the Quinnipiack Compact of June 4, 1639, and for eighteen years one of the most enterprising and energetic of the New Haven planters.

He ranked high in estate and paid as late as 1649 a trade tax on £550. His grant of land was where the Battell Chapel now stands, at the southwest corner of Elm and College streets. He was frequently chosen a deputy of the town.

During his residence in the colony he was constantly engaged in commerce, and the place was indebted to him for many valuable plans and suggestions favorable to its maritime interests. For example he was, as before mentioned, one of those who first proposed building a wharf to facilitate the landing of goods from the vessels then beginning to frequent the colony.

He was at different times the owner of several vessels that he sent to the usual places with which New Haven was commercially interested. One of the earliest cases of litigation in the colony was begun by Mr. Evance, who brought a suit for damages against Captain John Charles, accusing him of most carelessly wrecking a vessel belonging to himself. This vessel, of which Charles was master, was homeward bound from the Azores, and was lost off Guilford Point, and with her "certayne pipes of Madeira wyne," and other goods,—the whole valued at £100.

Mr. Evance "further acquaynted the Courte that at the *first* hearing of the said losse, he apprehended it as an afflicting providence of God immediatlye sent for *his* exersise;" but, *after questioning* his captain he thought it best to invoke *human* arbitration. The suit, which was long and tedious, was settled by the captain, Charles, paying to Mr. Evance "three-score and seaven pownds, and ordinary court chardges."

In 1649 Mr. Evance was again in litigation about one of his ships—this time with the old Dutch merchant, Will. Westerhousen. The suit had respect to one of the ancient New Haven vessels which had become involved in some trouble at the Manhadoes.

It appears that neither Mr. Evance nor Mr. Allerton were pecuniarily interested in the "Greate Shippe." It is difficult to assign a reason for this, unless it be that their practiced eyes detected such imperfections in the construction and lading of the ship as convinced them that the adventure would be fatal. It is a matter of history, that the ship was "walty sided," and some one, if I remember aright, accuses Lamberton of placing the lighter portion of the cargo in the bottom, and the heavy

articles on top, by which the ship was rendered so "tender" —to use a nautical phrase—as to cause her to be unseaworthy.

Mr. Evance remained in the colony till 1656, when, disheartened, he returned to London. His fate was no exception to the misfortunes of most of the colonists. His houses, lands, and all his interest in different ships were attached by Mr. Van Goodenhousen; and after a busy, active life here, for nearly twenty years, he went home to England a needy man. He was seen in London during the year 1661; but thereafter, all record of him seems to be lost.

In the English ship, "The Glorious Restoration," which sailed in 1662 from London for Saint Christopher's with settlers, there was one by the name of J. Evance, and it is not improbable that he who bore that name was the ancient New Haven planter, who with his old time enterprise and energy, was resolved, in that fertile island of the Caribbean, to seek the success which, though well merited and nobly striven for, was denied him in New England.

Among the colonial merchants, the contemporaries of Evance and of Allerton, there are many deserving especial mention.

Of these, Ensigne Bryan of Milford sent thence his ships to England, to the Azores, to Virginia, and as far east as Nova Scotia. For many years his credit stood so high that his notes of hand passed as current in Boston as bank notes do anywhere in our own time.

Nicholas Auger was a New Haven merchant who maintained an extensive trade with Boston and Plymouth. Dying in 1677, he left an estate which was appraised at £1,638.

Much might be said of that old West India merchant and ship owner, Stephen Goodyear, the proprietor of the famous ship "Zwoll," the cause of a tedious pen and ink warfare between Governor Eaton and Governor Stuyvesant of New Netherland.

Much also might be said of John Hodson, Ephraim How, Nathan Whelpleys, Henry Rutherford, and Benjamin Ling.

Mr. John Hodson, the Barbados trader, the owner of the "Speedwell," left, when he died in 1690, an estate of nearly

£2,200 sterling, the largest, if I mistake not, which was settled in the colony till as late a period as 1701. He it was who left a legacy to the First Church of New Haven, of £5, "with which to buy plate"—a piece of which (and probably the only piece presented), with the name of the donor thereon inscribed, is still used and dearly prized by that church. His remains lie in the crypt of the church.

Ephraim How, the owner of the "Hopewell," which traded to Delaware and Virginia, died Oct. 30, 1680. He left an estate of £352.

Nathan Whelpleys, a Barbados merchant, while visiting that island in command of his barque "Laurel," died and was buried there in 1680.

Mr. Henry Rutherford, the Virginia and Barbados merchant, whose quaint little warehouse is still to be seen in Fleet street, was the owner and occupant of the only colonial structure which, contemporary with the first settlers, has come down to us.

Benjamin Ling was a merchant of old England, the owner of "Beaver Ponds." He died in June, 1670, leaving an estate of £939. His house stood near the site now occupied by the Scientific School.

Nor will it answer for us to forget to mention that brace of ancient Knickerbockers, Mr. Samuel VanGoodenhousen and Mr. Will. Westerhousen, who (undismayed at the discomfiture of the valorous Van Corlet at the Fort of Good Hope, and it may be inspirited by the blasts of Anthony's famous trumpet), had journeyed to our colony from the Manhadoes, and residing here many years, maintained during the time an extensive commerce with foreign ports.

It would seem, that with the death of the original adventurers, foreign commerce came to an end. There is scarce any thing to show that, besides a small and unimportant coasting trade, there were any commercial undertakings of note. Occasionally one may find in the Colony Records notices of arrivals of vessels from Barbados and from the Azores.

The arrival of one New Haven sloop, the "Polly" by name, in New Haven in 1697, furnished Cotton Mather with the mate-

rials out of which he composed the wonderful story found on page 254 of the second volume of the Magnalia. Doubtless had Mr. Cotton lived in these iconoclastic days, he would have considered the story to be one of the Munchausen order.

There is an account of one voyage of an ancient New Haven ship which will perhaps bear repetition.

In October, 1653, Captain Carman sailed from our port in his ship of 180 tons burden and laden with clapboards, bound for the Canary Islands. He proceeded thither, "being earnestly commended to the Lord's protection by the church of New Haven." Reaching "Las Palmas," he was met in sight of the city by a Sallee rover of 300 tons, 26 pieces of ordnance and a force of 200 men. Although Captain Carman had but 20 men and seven pieces of ordnance, he fought the Turk three hours, during which time he was unable to use his muskets because they "were unserviceable from rust." The author who recounts the story, says that "the Turk lay cross his hawse, so as he was forced to shoot through his own hoodings and by these shot killed many Turks. Then the Turk lay by his side and boarded him with 100 soldiers, and cut all his ropes; but his shot having killed the captain of the Turkish ship and broken his tiller, the Turk took in his own ensign and fell off from him, but in such haste as he left about fifty of his men aboard him. Then the New Haven men came up and fought with those fifty hand to hand, and slew so many of them as the rest leaped overboard. The master had many wounds on his head and body, and divers of his men were wounded, yet but one slain; so with difficulty he got to the island where he was very courteously entertained and supplied with whatsoever he wanted." The Turkish account of the engagements having never been received, we must accept Captain Carman's report as veritable.

For many years following the reverses of the colonists in 1650, we can find nothing to warrant us in believing that New Haven had not lost its commerce, its enterprise, and its maritime interests; and in lieu of taking its place as an opulent, prosperous colony, deriving its support from trade with foreign

lands, it was compelled to turn to agriculture for its sustenance, which eventually proved partially successful.

New London, at about the date before named, had several sea-going ships, and exceeded New Haven in foreign commerce; but even there the commercial transactions were so limited and upon such a small scale that vessels of twelve to twenty tons were found to be sufficient for prosecuting foreign voyages. In 1660, Mr. Mould built at his ship yard in New London three vessels for foreign commerce. They were named respectively "Speedwell," "Hopewell," and "Endeavor," and were severally of twelve, seventeen, and twenty tons burden. The last named made several voyages to Barbados, and was sold there, on the 10th of April, 1666, for 2,000 weight of sugar.*

In 1669, an English ship of seventy tons, the "America," was sold in New London to Mr. Richard Lord and John Blackheath, of Stratford, for £230. She was at the time commanded and owned by Captain John Proute, of County Devon, England. After selling his ship, Captain Proute came to New Haven and took a grant of land. His house stood nearly opposite the street which now bears his name. His remains and those of his wife lie in the Center Church crypt.

During the many years in which New Haven seems to have been without a foreign trade, the surplus production of the farms was sent to the towns at the eastward, which were in a flourishing condition. Several pinnaces and ketches were trading to Boston and Salem, and to these places grain and beaver skins were sent for sale. The coasters on their return brought back to the colony such foreign articles as the settlers could afford to purchase.

Doctor Dana, in the discourse delivered by him, January 11, 1801, remarks that in 1740, "the whole navigation of New Haven consisted of two coasters and one West India vessel;"

* In 1642, Mr. Richard Malbon journeyed from New Haven to Windsor, where he bought a horse for his friend in Barbados. He engaged with the owner of a New Haven vessel to carry the horse to Barbados; but when he brought his horse to the ship, she was not large enough to accommodate the animal.

and we are justified in believing that such had been substantially the case for sixty years previous, from which period till the close of the French war the commerce of New Haven ceased to exist.

Evidence of the small transactions which were carried on in New Haven is furnished us in the lading of the ketch "Speedwell," which left this port in 1745 for the Azores. The value of her cargo (in which was also included "sixteen quarts of rum for the master"), amounted to but £90. 4. 6.*

Chapter II.

Revival of the commerce of New Haven previous to the Revolutionary war.

With the fall of Quebec and the subsequent cession of Canada to Great Britain, in 1763, the maritime interests of New Haven may be said to have been successfully established; and so rapidly did the commerce increase, that from almost nothing in the decade from 1740 to 1750, it had in the following ten years grown so much, that from 1760 to 1770, some thirty vessels annually left the port on foreign voyages, and during that time commercial relations were initiated between New Haven and the West India Islands which, with but slight interruption, have continued till the present time. Trade was also maintained with Great Britain, and in 1764 there arrived here from the city of Dublin the brig Derby, of Derby, of forty tons, bringing for a cargo twenty tons of coals, and thirty-eight Irish servants. This is the first record of the arrival of Irish emigrants in our town, and I think, of coals.

In the same year there sailed from New Haven for the island of Martinico, a diminuitive brigantine by name the

* In 1724, there were but 151 buildings in the town containing not over 900 inhabitants. In 1748, the number of buildings had increased to 225, and the inhabitants to about 1400.

"Fortune." She was owned and commanded by one who, though at the time respected and trusted by his fellow-colonists, was in a few years thereafter to be known to all Americans as the *traitor*, Benedict Arnold. His name figures extensively in the Custom House records of those days. Adam Babcock and Benedict Arnold were owners of no less than three vessels which were known as sea-going ships. They were severally named the Fortune, of forty tons; Charming Sally, of thirty tons; Three Brothers, of twenty-eight tons. Until the Revolution they were sailing to the French and English islands of the West Indies.

Arnold's store at one time stood near the corner of George and Church streets, and subsequently in front of the "Arnold House," in Water street, where it is now to be seen.*

During the decade last named, New Haven vessels were occasionally sent to England and France, and the McAulays sent their diminutive schooners to Lisbon with wheat, in return bringing back salt and wines.

In the country adjacent to New Haven was raised in those days immense quantities of flax. The fibre was used in the domestic manufacture of linen, and the seed exported to Europe. So large were the quantities produced in the neighboring colony of New York, that in 1765 thirteen thousand hogsheads of the seeds were shipped abroad.

In New Haven the article was used as a medium of exchange, and appended to many advertisements in the "Journal" was the notice that "cash or flax seed is received in payment for goods."

Captain Peter Bontecou, in his barque "Hawke," of forty-seven tons, made many voyages to Cork, Ireland, having New Haven flax seed for his cargoes. Many others did the same. These vessels on their return stopped at some of the West India islands, and after procuring another cargo, were headed for New Haven.

This route home was what for nearly three centuries has

*Since the foregoing was written the building has been removed. The house is still in good repair.

been known as the Southern Passage, and which, till a comparatively recent date, was the course followed by ships from Europe bound to the westward.

The relations of the colonies at this time to England were of such a nature as to assure most of the American people that war would eventually follow.

In 1765 the delegates from most of the colonies met in Congress, at New York, issued a protest against the grievances which they were compelled to endure, and prepared a declaration of their rights.

Three years later, agreements were made between many of the leading merchants of New York, Boston, and other ports, to import no British goods; and this in turn was followed by stringent measures of the British government.

The commencement of the Revolution, however, found the commerce of New Haven in a more prosperous condition than ever before. Not only had the population of the town increased, but its wealth also, in a corresponding degree. Many new mercantile houses had been established, larger and more costly vessels had taken the place of those in use a few years previous, and it seemed as if the dreams of the early settlers, "that New Haven was to become a chief seat of trade," were about to be realized.

In exports, amounting to a few hundred dollars in 1750, the increase was so great, that in the year ending May 1st, 1774, they amounted to $142,000. Of the articles which contributed to make this value, there were 150,000 lbs. of flax seed; 15,000 bushels wheat; 20,000 of rye; 33,000 of Indian corn; 2,000 oxen, and 1,400 horses. The imports for the same period were of nearly equal value, as indeed they had been for the previous two years.

Chapter III.

THE COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN DESTROYED BY THE REVOLUTION.

The War of the Revolution put an almost, if not quite, complete stoppage to our commerce. During its continuance, little or none was prosecuted from this port. Occasionally clearances were issued to some adventurous shipmasters who sailed for the West Indies, hoping to elude the vigilance of the British fleet and to enter some of the French islands.

During the latter part of December, 1776, the brig "Liberty" sailed from our town, and by good fortune reached the island of Martinique, where by the sale of her cargo a sum almost fabulous was received by her master. Reaching New Haven in safety, he reported his good news, which caused three other vessels to be fitted out for a similar voyage. But all of them were captured by an English frigate, and condemned.

Many of the vessels belonging to the town were taken up the Quinnipiac and the East Haven rivers, and also up the Housatonic, where they were dismantled and "laid up."

In November, 1780, a vessel was loaded for a foreign port. While she was lying at the Long Wharf, waiting an opportunity to proceed to sea, a boat was sent in the night from a British ship of war with a sufficient force to take this vessel to the enemy.

The last years of the war (judging from the New Haven papers of the period) were years of great privation; and in 1779, President Stiles notified the students of Yale College, "that on account of the great difficulty in procuring bread and flour, the vacation would be extended a fortnight longer."

Those of the citizens who felt that they could not go without their customary "11 o'clock dram," were notified by the distillers, "Jacobs & Israel," that "they were prepared to turn all of their *Corn Stalk* Juice into Rum on shares or otherwise." That accommodating firm also offered to "distill any cider which families might have on hand."

Many of the quaint and rudely fashioned articles of household use, which are now-a-days so eagerly seized and treasured as relics of the *earlier* Colonial days, were doubtless merely the make-shifts which our good ancestors used till they should have an opportunity to supply themselves again with imported goods.

The termination of the Revolutionary War was a source of the greatest joy in New Haven, and we read in Mr. Green's paper of May 1st, 1783, the following:

"Thursday last was observed as a day of festivity and rejoicing, in this town, on receipt of indubitable testimony of the most important, grand, and ever memorable event—the total cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and these United States, and the full acknowledgment of their sovereignty and independence. Accordingly, the day, with the rising sun, was ushered in by the discharge of thirteen cannon, paraded on the Green for that purpose, under elegant silk colors, with the Coat of Arms of the United States most ingeniously represented thereon, which was generously contributed upon the occasion by the ladies of the town. At 9 o'clock in the forenoon, the inhabitants met in the Brick Meeting-House for divine service, where were convened a very crowded assembly. The service was opened with an Anthem. Then a very pertinent prayer, together with thanksgiving, was made by the Rev. Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College; after was sung some lines purposely composed for the occasion, by the singers of all the congregations, in concert. Then followed a very ingenious oration, spoken by Mr. Elizur Goodrich, one of the Tutors of the College; after which a very liberal collection was made for the poor of the town, to elevate their hearts for rejoicing. At 3 o'clock were discharged thirteen cannon, at four twenty-one ditto, at five seven ditto, at six thirteen ditto. At seven o'clock were displayed the fireworks, with rockets, serpents, &c. At nine o'clock, a bonfire on the Green concluded the diversions of the day. The whole affair was conducted with a decorum and decency uncommon for such occasions, without any unfortunate accident; a most pacific disposition, and heart-felt joy, was universally conspicuous, and most emphatically expressed by the features of every countenance."

Chapter IV.

RESTORATION OF THE COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN AFTER THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

At the conclusion of the war, the ancient enterprise of New Haven immediately evinced itself in the eagerness with which the merchants and shipowners recommenced their commerce with foreign countries.

To the West Indian colonies, their vessels were dispatched in large numbers, and most welcome they were; for, during eight tedious years those colonies had been deprived of the food-stuffs which America only was competent to supply in such quantities that the price was rendered moderate to the consumer.

Throughout the war, those islands which had during one hundred and fifty years depended for their supplies of food upon the American colonies, were forced to turn for the same to Canada and Europe; but from those countries such small quantities were received that the prices demanded for the same placed all imported food beyond the reach of thousands, who, to sustain life, were compelled to live upon the cheaper and less nutritious cereals of the tropics. Now were to be seen fleets of American vessels holding their course to the numerous islands of the Caribbean, laden with cargoes acceptable to the islands, and which, when sold, brought rich rewards to their enterprising owners. At that period, our whole country, owing to the fact that our principal ports had been in the possession of the British during the war, was entirely destitute of all imported articles; and when once again commerce was permitted to resume its wonted course, it found a ready market to receive all of its importations, as well as a foreign demand for the surplus production of the country. The decade from 1783 to 1793 was a favorable one for the commerce of the town. The arrivals and departures of vessels for foreign ports during that period averaged seventy annually. The population of the place had gradually increased

till in 1787 the city contained 3,820 souls, and there were registered in the district 7,250 tons of shipping. Many new houses for the prosecution of foreign trade were organized, and many vessels were yearly built at the three shipyards of the town; and, for the first time in its history, the city was able to boast of a full rigged ship of *one hundred tons*, the "Philadelphia" by name; and so important had the commercial interests of the town become that a bank was found to be a necessity. Accordingly, in 1792, the New Haven Bank, with a capital of 80,000 dollars, was incorporated. Soon after the New Haven Marine Insurance Company was chartered, with a capital of 50,000 dollars; and but a little later the New Haven Chamber of Commerce, with Mr. Elias Shipman, president, and William Powell, secretary, was holding its weekly sessions in Ebenezer Parmalee's "front room on the first floor," for the use of which the Chamber voted to pay Mr. Parmalee eight shillings each night, he to furnish good candle light and good fire.

In 1790 the increase of commerce required more wharf accommodation for the ships which were yearly increasing in size and number, and at a meeting of the directors, it was resolved to petition the General Assembly to authorize "the setting up of a Lottery to raise £3,000, the money, if received, to be used in repairing and extending the wharf;" and it was also resolved by the directors (who probably saw prospective dividends resulting from the first resolution) to instruct Mr. Lyman, the taverner, "to increase hereafter at their meetings the quantity of his sling and toddy."

CHAPTER V.

THE COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN WITH BARBADOS.

During the decade before named, there was a restoration of our commercial intercourse with the ancient colony of Barbados, which merits more than a passing notice; for with that old Dominion of the Antilles, has New Haven been commercially connected since the days of Stephen Goodyeare and Isaacke Allerton; and as early as 1622, ships were sailing between this island and Plymouth.

Barbados, or "the Berbadoes," as it was fondly called in the days of the Stuarts, lies in 13° 4′ north latitude and 59° 37′ west longitude, is sixty miles in circumference, and contains one hundred and sixty square miles.

The Portuguese Admiral Don Alvarez Cabral discovered the island in 1501, while on his passage from Brazil to Lisbon. He took no interest in it, however, beyond erecting a cross upon it and claiming it in the name of his sovereign; nor does it appear that Emmanuel, King of Portugal, ever deigned to notice the discovery of the future garden of the Antilles.

Not until 1605, more than a century afterwards, and the year previous to the settlement of Virginia, was any attempt made to colonize the island. At that date, the "Olive Blossom," a ship owned by a London merchant, Sir Olive Leigh by name, and commanded by a veteran English seaman, John Catiline, was fitted out and set sail from Woolwich, England, for "the Berbadoes," on the 18th April, 1605.

A colony embarked in this ship, under the patronage and at the cost of Sir Olive, and in due time reached the island. It made, however, but a short stay, and then went further south to Guiana, the fame whereof, through Sir Walter Raleigh's romantic reports, had filled all England.

The island was to remain unpeopled for nineteen years longer, and it continued unnoticed by the English shipmasters who were then beginning to frequent the Caribbean.

In 1624 a Dutch ship, having experienced a severe tempest a short distance south of the island, touched there for water, and also to repair the damage she had sustained.

The Dutch captain was so well pleased with the place, that when he reached Amsterdam he made very favorable reports of it and endeavored to persuade a Dutch Company to colonize it. Not succeeding in his project, he communicated his intelligence to Sir William Courteen, the "Great and Princely Merchant of London," who was in Amsterdam at the time.

Sir William was born in the Netherlands during the persecutions inflicted by the Duke of Alva, but he escaped at an early age to London and engaged in the manufacture of French hoods. This proved so lucrative that he and his family were induced to interest themselves in the silk and linen trade, by which they made themselves so rich that, in the year 1631, the profits of their vast transactions brought them the sum of £150,000; and so respected was Sir William, that he was knighted by James "for his merit."

The family of Courteen, of which Sir William was the head, had at one time a claim of £200,000 against King James and Prince Charles.

The ships of Courteen were among the first to cross the Atlantic to America. He had also many more sailing to China.

A very interesting fact in respect to the Courteen family is, that the immense collections of Sir William's nephew were bequeathed to Sir Hans Sloane and formed the nucleus of the British Museum.

On receiving so favorable report from the Dutch captain, Sir William at once resolved to establish a factory in the island and found a colony; and this determination was made decisive when he returned to London by meeting one of his own shipmasters who, on his passage from Guiana, had visited the island and who confirmed the glowing reports which Courteen had learned in Holland.

In the winter of the same year, under the powerful patronage of the Duke of Marlborough, Sir William dispatched two

of his ships from the city of London for "the Berbadoes." They were supplied, we are told, "righte well and bountifullie by the mighty Sir William with all things needfull for a new Plantation."

One only of the ships, the "William and John," reached the island. The other was separated from her consort during a violent gale, and doubtless perished with all of her company. She was never more heard of.

The colonists numbered but forty Englishmen and eight negroes. After protracted religious services on board the ship, which was anchored in the bay, they landed, and after a second religious service, cast their lots for a governor.

The choice was one Mr. Will. Arnold, who had been the first to land, having jumped from the landing boat and waded to the shore, and from that period till to-day, the island, sustained by the strong, protecting arm of England, has in the highest degree enjoyed all the blessings of constitutional liberty; has ever been a model of industry and good order; is the only spot in the New World which, since its settlement, has had the British ensign waving over it without any interruption even of an hour; is the only island in the British West Indies which has increased in wealth and population unassisted by governmental aid, since the emancipation; and its loyalty and devotion to the British Crown is not exceeded by any county in old England itself.

The early colonists of Barbados were in a great degree Church of England men, and staunch Royalists; yet, as Oldmixon quaintly puts it, "Some there were of the Party called Roundheads or Parliamentarians. However, both sides lived amicably, and by arrangement among themselves they agreed that whoever should even so much as name the words Cavalier or Roundhead should entertain all of his friends at his own house.*

*So loyal were the islanders to the Crown that during the earlier years of the civil war, the Parliament forbade all trade with the island on account of its people continuing to acknowledge the authority of the king. When Charles II. came to the throne, one of his first acts was to create thirteen of the islanders Baronets.

How well they entertained on the island at that date, let Richard Ligon tell.

And who was Richard Ligon? A zealous Royalist, a devoted churchman, and a lover of his king, he was obliged to quit London in 1649; and taking his passage on the ship "Achilles," he reached, after a tedious and eventful voyage, the island of Barbados. There he resided for two years, during which time he was a careful observer of men and of things in the opulent colony we are considering. On his return to London, he was thrown into Upper Bench Prison, where he remained for several years. In the prison he wrote his "History of Barbados," which he dedicated to his good friend and patron, Dr. Brian Duppa, Lord Bishop of Salisbury, that firm and loyal friend of King Charles I.

To Mr. Ligon we are indebted for the earliest history of a British West Indian Island; and, save a little romancing so common to the ancient historians, it is doubtless a faithful and true account of the island in the seventeenth century; and it has preserved much valuable information which otherwise must have been irremediably lost.

In one of Ligon's letters to the Lord Bishop, he informs his lordship that to impress him with some idea of the "prodigality and lavishness of the style of living then prevalent in Barbados," he will truly describe to him a dinner which he had attended at one of the island plantations shortly before his letter was written.

The years in which Mr. Ligon witnessed such evidences of wealth in the island were to our New Haven colony years of great privation and distress; and, as before stated, were those in which the abandonment of the colony was earnestly considered. The Barbados colony, on the contrary, was in the full tide of its prosperity. To the little company that had landed from the "William and John," in 1625, the increase had been so great from immigration, that the population in 1650 amounted to 56,000 souls; and sugar-making had become so profitable that an estate of five hundred acres well stocked with servants, slaves, horses, camels, cattle and asses, was worth £14,000, or

nearly one half of the aggregate estates of the New Haven colonists in 1642, at which time the "grand list" was made, before disaster had overtaken them.

Mr. Ligon was invited to dine at the house of a famous Royalist, Colonel Drax, at his plantation, "Drax Hall" (which is to-day in the highest state of cultivation), and to show the contrast between the two colonies in regard to affluence and wealth, as well as the style of living, is the reason for giving the *menu* of the feast which gladdened old Ligon's eyes in 1649; and I am quite sure that Shakespeare had no such dinner in view when he made Prince Henry say of Falstaff's tavern bill:

"O, monstrous! but one half-pennyworth of bread to this intolerable deal of sack!"

"FIRST.

A Rompe boyl'd, a Chine roasted, a large piece of the brest roasted, the Cheeks bak'd, of which is a dish to either messe, the tongue and part of the tripes minc't for Pyes, season'd with sweet Herbs finely minc't, suet, Spice and Currans; the legges, pallets and other ingredients for an Olio Podrido to either messe, a dish of Marrow bones, so here are 14 dishes at the Table and all of beef: and this he intends as the great Regalio, to which he invites his fellow planters; who having well eaten of it, the dishes are taken away, and another Course brought in, which is a Potato pudding, a dish of Scots Collips of a legge of Porke, as good as any in the world, a fricacy of the same, a dish of boyl'd Chickens, a shoulder of a young Goate drest with his bloud and tyme, a Kid with a pudding in his belly, a sucking pig, which is there the fattest whitest & sweetest in the world, with the pognant sauce of the brains, salt, sage, and Nutmeg done with Claret wine, a shoulder of mutton which is there a rare dish, a Pasty of the side of a young Goate, and a side of a fat young Shot upon it, well season'd with Pepper and salt, and with some Nutmeg, a loyne of Veale, to which there wants no sauce being so well furnisht with Oranges, Lymons, and Lymes, three young Turkies in a dish, two Capons, of which sort I have seen some extreame large and very fat, two henns with egges in a dish, four Ducklings, eight Turtle doves, and three Rabbets; and for cold bak't meats, two Muscovie Ducks larded, and season'd well with pepper and salt: and these being taken off the Table, another course is set on, and that is of *Westphalia* or Spanish bacon, dried Neats Tongues, Botargo, pickled Oysters, Caviare, Anchoves, Olives, and (intermixt with these) Custards, Creams, some alone, some with preserves of Piantines, Bonano, Gnavers, put in, and those preserv'd alone by themselves, Cheese-cakes, Puffes, which are to be made with English flower, and bread; for the Cassavie will not

serve for this kind of Cookerie; sometimes Tansies, sometimes Froizes, or Amulets, and for fruite, Plantines, Bonanoes, Gnavers, Milions, prickled Peare, Anchove Peare, prickled Apple, Custard Apple, water Milions, and Pines worth all that went before. To this meat you seldome faile of this drink, Mobbie, Beveridge, Brandy, kill-Divell, Drink of the Plantine, Claret wine, White wine, and Renish wine, Sherry, Canary, Red sack, wine of Fiall, with all Spirits that come from *England;* and with all this, you shall finde as cheerfull a look, and as hearty a welcome, as any man can give to his best friends. And so much for a Feast of an inland Plantation."

Nor is the foregoing an extravagant account. Oldmixon, author of "the British Empire in America," who was a sojourner on the Island in 1700, tells us of the "rich equipages, fine liveries, and the magnificent chairs, chaises, and traveling conveniences; of the splendid hospitality of the Gentlemen; of the genteel, polite behaviour of the Ladies, most of whom are bred in London."

In 1751 George Washington, who accompanied his invalid brother Lawrence to Barbados, was equally impressed with the evidences of wealth and culture which he witnessed there. In his Journal he was particular to describe a dinner which he had attended at Judge Maynard's, and which was given by "the Beef-steak and Tripe Club."

Washington, after a pleasant sojourn in the Island, sailed for Virginia on the brig "Industry," December 22, 1751.

The first commercial products of the Island were woods of various kinds, tobacco, ginger, indigo, and cotton; and of these articles, large quantities were sent to London and Bristol; so large, that when Ligon arrived in 1647, he found in the Bay twenty-four London ships loading and discharging their cargoes, notwithstanding the fact that there prevailed a violent plague at the time, "so great that the living were scarce able to bury their dead."

Not until 1640, fifteen years after the settlement in 1625, were the colonists aware of the wonderful adaptability of the soil for the production of the sugar-cane, and then it was only by accident that they learned it.

As early as 1140 the sugar-cane was imported into Sicily from Tripoli. Sicilian ships carried it to Madeira soon after its set-

tlement in 1344, and thence it was carried by the Portuguese colonists to Brazil, from which country it was eventually taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the cane-growing islands of the West Indies.

In 1640, a Dutch ship on her voyage to Holland from Ternanbock, now Pernambuco, touched at Barbados and landed some sugar-canes, which were no sooner planted than they began to grow "marvellously well." They speedily attained a wonderfully great height, and were so well filled with saccharine substances, that the planters, in great haste, sent to Brazil for more. From that time the cane has been cultivated with such success, that it has been the great staple of production in that long chain of islands which stretch from British Guiana to the Gulf of Mexico.

The colonists of Barbados indeed urged the growth of the cane and the production of sugar with such eagerness, that instead of a few hundred tons sent to London in 1643, it had in 1690, increased to such magnitude, that one hundred large ships were required to take the crop to England; in 1720, the production was 23,800 tons; in 1784, while the Island was still suffering from the effects of the great hurricanes of 1780, the exports of sugar, rum, cotton, and fustic amounted in value to £540,000 sterling; in 1792, but eight years later, the value of the crop was exactly double that of 1784, amounting to 19,580 tons of sugar, 5,100 hogsheads of rum, 3,100 barrels of ginger, and 1,200,000 pounds of cotton, and it required 243 ships to take these rich products to London.

Sir Richard Schomburgh, after the most careful observation, reports the population of the Island in 1840 to equal 734 souls to every square mile, and in comparison cites the most populous district in Europe, the Dukedom of Lucca, which contains 401 persons to the square mile. Belgium has 321; Ireland, 251; France, 167; and England and Wales, 275.

In this island, African slavery was seen for two centuries in its most hideous aspect; and from 1630 to 1825, it was, with Jamaica, the great slave mart of America.

The constitution of the white man was not well able to labor

under the burning sun of the Tropics; and had the production of the soil depended upon the labor of Europeans, Barbados would not have occupied the high station which she has held during the last one hundred years.

The earliest settlers, especially those who first essayed the cultivation of the cane, were so eager to obtain laborers, that no means were unused for this purpose; and it is worthy of note, that during the year when Isaac Allerton was in London endeavoring to facilitate the removal of the Leyden church to New Plymouth, there was in that city an agent from Barbados seeking some way by which more negroes could be forwarded from Africa to the Colony, in order to increase the growth of cotton. So early as 1631, an "African Company" (of which no less a personage than Sir Kenelm Digby was a director) was organized to supply the British colonies in the West Indies with negro slaves; and in 1670, the Royal African Company—among whose subscribers were the King and the Duke of York—with a capital of £110,000 sterling, was hard at work, with a large fleet of ships, crowding the negroes into the West Indian Islands.

Upon the accession of William and Mary, the African slave trade was thrown open to all of their Majesties' subjects who might wish to engage in it; and, thereafter, the traffic, with all its distressing concomitants, was maintained and continued until the British Government, no longer able to endure it, finally in 1807 abolished and prohibited it.

At so early a date as 1650, there were in that diminutive Island 30,000 negro slaves; 41,000 in 1670; and nearly 47,000 in 1683. At this period, it required the importation of 3,680 annually "to keep up the stock;" and 60,000 tons of shipping were required to carry away the result of their labor.

During the ten years including 1698 to 1707, there were imported from Africa 35,000 slaves. The arrival of them was so unceasing, that the price of an able-bodied man was less than £20 sterling. The number continued to increase thereafter, so that when Washington visited the Island in 1751, there were 70,000; and these were not the highest figures; for in 1833, it

was found by a most careful enumeration, that there were 82,380 men, women, and children held in bondage; and on the first of August, 1834 (to use the words of Sir Robert Schombourck), "the sun rose upon 84,000 free human beings who the day before were in a state of slavery."

In early days, the island enjoyed the reputation of being a place where labor of any description would readily find purchasers, and thither went those who had labor to dispose of. When the Dutch captured Maranham from the Portuguese in 1643, the prisoners, numbering nearly one hundred, were sent by the Dutch General to "the Berbadoes" for sale; and about the same period, two English buccaneers took to the Island two hundred young Frenchmen whom they sold for 900 pounds of cotton each.

Cromwell sent to Barbados many thousands of the Scots and the Irish whom he captured in the civil wars. When he received his "Crowning Mercy" at Worcester, he sent over seven thousand unfortunate Scots to the West Indies. Most of these were landed at Jamaica and Barbados.

Many of the Irish taken at the siege of Drogheda were sent to the island, and so much of this business was done by the Protector, that Carlyle, in "Cromwell's Letters," quoting from Thurloe, says: "He can take your estate:—is there not proof enough to take your head, if he pleases? He dislikes shedding blood; but is very apt to 'barbadoes' an unruly man—has sent and sends us by hundreds to Barbadoes, so that we have made an active verb of it—'*barbadoes you.*' Safest to let this Protector alone!"

Jeffreys, while on his "Campaign in the West," sent hundreds of his poor victims to the Barbados; and numbers of honest young Somerset yeomen, who had followed the unfortunate Duke, were doomed to toil under the fierce tropical sun.

Indeed, these poor Englishmen were so hardly used, that out of 7,235 white slaves who were in 1683 on the island, 2,330 only were living in 1698.

"To the Barbados with them!" appears to have been an equally favorite maxim with both Oliver and Jeffreys.

It was the severe usage of the slaves in that island and in Jamaica, that, in 1780, prompted Cowper to write his plaintive "Negro's Complaint," and his "Pity for poor Africans;" and in 1807, it caused the formation of "the African Institution," among the members whereof were Wilberforce, Clarkson, Buxton, Brougham, Macaulay, and others, whose names deserve well of their race in the centuries yet to come.

In 1823, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton brought forward in the House of Commons his famous resolution "to abolish slavery throughout the British dominions," declaring it to be repugnant to the principles of the British constitution and of the Christian religion. Though the resolution was not literally adopted, it was practically so, in a supplemental resolution offered by Mr. Canning.

The bitter contest between the supporters and the opponents of the Emancipation Bill has long since become a matter of English history. After ten years of incessant labor by the friends of emancipation, they were rewarded by the passage of the Act which forever abolished slavery in the British empire.

It was eminently proper too, that the descendants of the men who, in 1562, encouraged Sir John Hawkins to introduce negro slaves into Hispanola, should be the ones, nearly three centuries afterwards, to doom the trade to obloquy.

Mr. Wilberforce lived long enough to know that the bill would pass, and was told that it had been read for the second time, and died with the full assurance that the grand effort of his life would soon be successful.

The splendid statue in Westminster Abbey is not so noble a monument to his memory as is the gratitude enshrined in the hearts of one million dusky sons of toil dwelling and laboring as free men beneath the equator.*

* In a house in this place (Grosvenor Square) on July 29, 1833, died William Wilberforce, the eminent philanthropist, many years M. P. for Yorkshire, who is best known for his devotion to the abolition of the slave-trade. There is something peculiarly touching in the fact that Wilberforce died—*felix opportunitate mortis*—just as the abolition of the slave-trade was in the act of being carried through Parliament, and the last fetters struck from the slave's hands and feet. His funeral took

In the vaults of the little parish church of Saint John, situated in the most romantic spot, perhaps, in the British West Indies, repose the mortal parts of Ferdinando Paleologus, the last of that great family of the Paleologi who, for so many centuries, upheld the cross in Constantinople; and when, at last yielding to the crescent, they became fugitives and were scattered throughout Europe, this solitary island was chosen by Ferdinando as his home. After living in the place many years as a planter, he died on the third of October, 1698.

Many years before the heroism and valor of Lord Nelson were commemorated by the erection of those noble monuments which stand in Sackville street, on Calton Hill, in the Court of the Merchants' Exchange at Liverpool, and also before the great Column rose in Trafalgar Square, there was raised in that far away colony, an enduring statue of the admiral in bronze. Of heroic size, in the full uniform of a British Admiral, it stands with the hand pointing to those waters which, for years, he so gallantly and faithfully guarded, and which were the scene of his early exploits and the witness of his patriotism and courage.

With this colony, whose history I have so rapidly and imperfectly given, New Haven, as before mentioned, has exchanged commodities for two hundred and fifty years; and in commercial relations with the Island were most of the pioneers of our colony, and not the least interested was Governor Theophilus Eaton.

place on the 3d of August, in Westminster Abbey. On that day his friend's son, Thomas Babington Macaulay, wrote: "We have laid him side by side with Canning, at the feet of Pitt, and within two steps of Fox and Grattan. He died with the promised land full in view."—*Walford's Old and New London.*

Chapter VI.

THE COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN DAMAGED BY THE WAR OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

At no time in the commercial history of New Haven had the future seemed so auspicious as in 1793, when this place began to feel the baneful effects of the wars of the French Revolution.

Fully two-thirds of the commerce of this port was with the islands of the West Indies, and their waters were soon filled with the war vessels of the contending powers.

The depredations committed by the French men-of-war, privateers and letters of marque caused great loss to American shipowners in general, and particularly to those owning New Haven vessels. From these seizures and confiscations arose those interests which have, for over three-quarters of a century, been known as "the French Spoliation Claims," and which in all probability will ever remain little else than "claims."

After a long series of spoliation upon our commerce by the French vessels of war, a claim for damage was made by our government. A counter claim was made by the French, who accused us of disregarding the terms of the alliance made between the two nations. To have kept the treaty would have involved us in a war with Great Britain, and this course of action President Washington strenuously opposed.

Finally a settlement was reached by an "offset." France agreed to give up the obligation of the treaty, and the Government of the United States promised to settle with those of its citizens who had suffered from French spoliation.

From that time to the present, no reimbursement to such citizens has ever taken place; and it must go down through all future history, as a "most shameful neglect of a sacred obligation."

During the wars which began in 1793, the great number of French and British cruisers which were to be seen in the West

Indian seas made navigation in that quarter, as before remarked, a most perilous undertaking for ships owned by citizens of neutral nations, and more especially so for those vessels which sailed under the American flag. Our ensign, at that period, did not elicit a tithe of the respect which is now extended to it wherever it is seen.

Through all the years in which the commerce of the world was disturbed and deranged by the fierce conflicts of the mighty powers of Europe, no country, except those directly engaged in war, suffered so severely in its commerce as did the United States; and no city of this country, in proportion to the capital invested in foreign trade, suffered more inconvenience or met with heavier pecuniary losses than did New Haven. This was due to the fact, that almost the entire foreign commerce of the port was with the islands of the Caribbean, and nine-tenths of that commerce was with the colonies of the contending powers. Upon the slightest suspicion that an American vessel contained either English or French property, her seizure was inevitable; and for adjudication she was sent into ports belonging to the belligerents. Within a few months after the outbreak of hostilities, a large number of vessels owned in New Haven had been seized, condemned, and sold by the two powers. In April, 1794, there were lying in the harbors of Antigua, Saint Christopher, and Barbados one hundred and fifty-two American vessels awaiting the decision of the British Courts of Admiralty; and of that number eleven were owned in the New Haven district. In the harbors of Martinique and Guadaloupe, there were, at the same period, one hundred and two American vessels awaiting the decision of the French Marine Court, and included in the list were eight New Haven brigantines. The interpretation of seizure was generally confiscation, and few American merchants, after learning of the capture of their vessels, had the hope of ever again beholding them.

To the many sufferers from English seizures, doubtless some satisfaction was offered by the knowledge that in December, 1794, there were so many captured ships belonging to Great Britain lying in the harbor of Brest, that a gentleman of our

city, writing from that place, observed that he "fancied himself on the banks of the Thames, so numerous were the captured British ships, and rich Indiamen by scores."

Great indignation, as well as sorrow, was observed in New Haven in May, 1794, when a small vessel arriving from the West Indies brought intelligence of the seizure of six brigs owned in the town. These unfortunate crafts, by name the Cygnet, Sally, William, Neutrality, James, and Anna, were filled with cargoes representing a very large value, and bound for English ports in the West Indies. They had nearly reached their respective destinations when they fell into the hands of the French and were sent into Guadaloupe for trial; and so *effectually* were they tried that one only was released. All the others were condemned and sold. The pecuniary loss which the New Haven commerce suffered by the seizure of these six vessels amounted in value to $93,000.

The British and French cruisers in the Atlantic were so numerous, that it was by no means an infrequent occurrence that a neutral ship was boarded by officers attached to these vessels several times during the passage to and from ports in the Caribbean. Such was the experience of the brig "Anne," of New Haven. On her passage home from the Danish island of Santa Cruz, she was five times boarded by boats from cruisers, twice from those belonging to France, and thrice by those of Great Britain. An officer of one of the French boats ordered his men to carry off nearly everything eatable on board of the New Haven vessel. When the captain enquired what he and his people were to do for food, he was told by the French officer to "eat pine shavings," and was also informed that this juicy and nutritious diet "was proper food for Yankees." Fortunately for the vessel, she was from a neutral port and afforded no pretext for seizure.

Not so fortunate, however, was that veteran shipmaster and shipowner, Captain Gad Peck, who was captured no less than three times while commanding as many different vessels. His last capture is well worthy of a brief description, and presents one of the most interesting adventures in the experience of a New Haven shipmaster.

The ship "Mohawk," built in 1793 at the Olive street shipyard, was mainly owned by several New Haven merchants, and commanded by Captain Peck, who owned one quarter of her. Soon after the intelligence was received of the capture of Martinique by the British, the owners of the "Mohawk" loaded her with flour, and under the command of Capt. Peck, she was headed for the island before named. She had well nigh made the passage when a large and heavily armed French privateer came in sight, gave chase, and captured the "Mohawk." A prize crew of a lieutenant and twelve seamen were placed on board; and the New Haven men felt great fear and anxiety when they learned the next morning that the privateer which had captured them, was owned and sailed in the interest of Victor Hugues, Governor of Guadeloupe.

That wretch, whose memory is almost daily cursed throughout the English islands, was born in the north of France, of most obscure parents, and was apprenticed in his boyhood to a hairdresser; and in the occupation to which he was thus trained he emigrated to Guadeloupe. On reaching the island he gave up his shears and became an innkeeper. Not succeeding in his new pursuit, he became the master of a small trading vessel and thereafter received a lieutenant's commission in the Republican Navy of France. He was in Paris when the Reign of Terror began, and forthwith attached himself to the Robespierre faction, and through the influence of the latter he was made a member of the National Assembly. A few weeks later Robespierre appointed him Commissioner of the Republic at the splendid island of Guadeloupe, giving him the controlling power over the entire Army and Navy in that quarter. Of all who were engaged in the French Revolution, no one proved himself more worthy of his great patron and exemplar than Victor Hugues. He was a savage, remorseless and bloody as Robespierre himself.

The first act of Hugues, on landing at the island as Commissioner, was to order the remains of the honored Major General Dundas (who, while leading the British troops the year previous, had been killed and interred in the fort by the honorable

predecessor of Hugues) to be dug up and thrown into the little creek which flows through the town. The same day he visited the little hamlet of Petit Bourg, where lay one hundred sick and wounded British seamen and soldiers. When he appeared, a committee of the prisoners met him and requested to be allowed to enter the hospital. Promising to consider their appeal, he ordered a company of French soldiers to proceed to the village and slaughter every one of the hundred prisoners. The order was thoroughly obeyed. Only one prisoner, Col. Drummond, was spared; and he was driven from a sick bed to work, like the meanest laborer, on the docks; and to add indignity to hardship and cruelty, he was compelled to wear the garb usually worn by condemned criminals.*

With the knowledge of these acts of Hugues, it is no wonder that Captain Peck and his company dreaded to meet the Commissioner and answer the charge of supplying the enemies of France with provisions.

The prize crew, when put on board the "Mohawk," were ordered to carry her into Guadeloupe, about five days' sail from the place of her capture. The night after the seizure of the ship, Captain Peck cleverly managed to converse with each of his crew, and it was arranged, that the next evening they would retake their vessel or lose their lives in the effort. At 8 o'clock the following night, soon after the French watch had been sent below, Captain Peck, who had been conversing, as well as he was able, with the Frenchman in command, said: "I think, (or probably I *guess*), I'll go below and turn in." The French lieutenant bade him a courteous "good night," and into the cabin went the quondam Captain of the ship. Knocking down the sentry who was stationed inside of the doors, and grasping a broad-sword belonging to the officer, he

* When Benedict Arnold visited Guadeloupe, in 1794, to endeavor to collect some debts due him, Hugues and his General, Fremont, learning that Arnold had a large sum of money in his possession, decided that he should be guillotined, and the headsman was so ordered. But Arnold became apprised of the order, and contrived in the night to barrel up his effects and throw them into the sea, and to escape himself upon a raft. He was picked up by the Boyne frigate the next morning.

gave the signal agreed upon between himself and crew, rushed upon deck, and seized the Prize Master, who saw over his head his own sword in the hand of a desperate man, and so yielded at once. Meanwhile the crew had overpowered the six men composing the French watch, as well as secured the hatches to prevent the other six from coming on deck; and in less time than we have consumed in narrating the story, the "Mohawk" was again under the command of her original master. The voyage to Martinique was abandoned, and with her starboard tacks aboard, the ship was headed for Saint Eustatius, which island was reached the fifth day after the re-capture.

The news of Capt. Peck's courage and achievements soon reached America, and gained for him much renown; and when he finally brought his fine ship in safety back to our port and gave to his fellow townsmen a true account of the adventure, their admiration of him was so great that they honored him in the old Anglo-Saxon style by a "public dinner."

A few weeks after his arrival at home, he again sailed in the "Mohawk" for a French island, but was captured by a British frigate (on suspicion of his having on board French property), and sent into Tortola where an Admiralty Court was occasionally held. The cargo was confiscated, but the ship was released. It was said that the release was owing to the fact, that the master had "a friend at Court."

As before intimated, the presence of so many vessels of war carrying the ensigns of the contending powers in the West India waters made the frequenting of those seas far too hazardous a business for American vessels to prosecute; and it was evident, that to sustain a commercial intercourse with the West Indian islands a neutral port was a necessity—a port where American vessels could in safety discharge their cargoes and themselves be safe from capture.

"If thine enemy hunger, feed him" is a maxim quite as politic as it is Christian. America certainly did her share toward feeding the great armies and navies which were near her from 1794 to 1797 and again from 1799 to 1815—whether entirely from the latter motive is hardly doubtful.

The demand throughout the West Indies for American cereals, great in times of peace, became in those years of war enormous, from the fact that the body of consumers was vastly increased by the accession of the navies and armies of European Powers. The supplying of so great a population with food could be done by America more easily and cheaply than by any other country.

Over 50,000 soldiers were stationed in the British islands for many years, and full as many in the French colonies. During the military and naval operations of the English against Saint Domingo from 1794 to 1798, not fewer than 20,000 British soldiers were buried, nine tenths of whom were victims of the climate.

At different times during the war, Jarvis, Hood, Saint Vincent, Cochrane (those famous hunters of Frenchmen), were with their fleets pursuing their enemy through the nooks and hiding places of the West India waters.

Nelson was in that quarter four months only previous to his death at Trafalgar, with his famous squadron of seventy-fours. The flag ship of that squadron, the "Victory," of one hundred guns, is still to be seen at Portsmouth, and no man with Anglo-Saxon blood in his veins can visit her without almost involuntarily raising his hat as he crosses her bulwarks and steps upon the deck where Lord Nelson received his fatal wound.

But the French in those days did not fall far behind their opponents either in the number of ships or of men. Villeneuve was at the time in Martinique with a splendid fleet of forty-five men of war. Most of these carried eighty guns each. They were manned with 12,000 French soldiers, who, in addition to the seamen, accompanied the fleet wherever it might be ordered.

Crüising in those waters also was the veteran French Admiral Missiesay with his flying squadron of ten 50-gun frigates and 5,000 troops, the latter under the command of Count LaGrange.

To the United States these great numbers of men looked for the supply of breadstuffs; and to obtain the high prices which were paid in the Islands, hundreds of American vessels bent

their course thither, willingly running all risks of capture and confiscation.

Into Jamaica, during the years of 1800 and 1801, there were imported, for the use of the troops only, American provisions of the value of £105,881; and for the use of the navy, provisions amounting in value to £115,692. This sum, however, fell materially behind that which arose from the purchase of American provisions for the army and navy at the headquarters of the Windward Islands in Barbados. At that place, the importations from America were almost fabulous in value.

In the furnishing of supplies for the uses before mentioned, the New Haven vessels enjoyed their share, and during the few first years of the war, the exportations from our port were of a very extensive character; and notwithstanding the heavy losses which seizure had inflicted on the commerce of our town, we find that in 1800 there were registered in the district upwards of 11,000 tons of shipping. This proves that there must have been constant building of ships to replace those which had been captured.

There seems to have been at the commencement of this century many importations from European ports; and, for the days of which we are speaking, very valuable ones. From Marseilles came several New Haven vessels with cargoes of wine and brandy. From Bordeaux, shiploads of rich French goods, one vessel, the "Esther," bringing to our port a cargo of claret wine and silks upon which was paid a duty of nearly $9,000. From Cadiz were brought several cargoes of wines, oil, opium, etc. From London came ships laden with the myriads of articles of British manufacture; and it may be said, that our city imported at that time nearly every thing required *direct* from Europe. During the years 1800, '1, '2, and '3, a very gratifying increase is witnessed in exports and imports, and the multitudes of advertisements which are to be seen in the *Connecticut Journal*, show us how prosperous was our commerce, and how rapidly the maritime interests of the town advanced.

Among the principal articles brought to our port during the years before noted, were

Tea,....	781,620 pounds.	Wines, ..	197,681 gallons!
Coffee, .	518,000 pounds.	Gin,.....	38,600 gallons!
Sugar, .	5,805,000 pounds.	Brandy, .	81,000 gallons!
Rum, ..	1,596,983 gallons!		

The large importations of the four last named articles fill us with wonder—to say the least—when we contemplate the swallowing capacities of our old townsmen. No wonder that they required the enormous flip bowls which are occasionally met with in our ancient houses.

In the history of American commerce it had never experienced so disastrous a shock as was caused by the order which Bonaparte issued in November, 1806. He therein declared "the British Islands in a state of siege, forbidding all commerce or correspondence with them. No ship, coming from any English port or from any British colony was allowed to enter *any* port. All trade in English goods was prohibited. Any ship seeking by false declarations to evade the regulation was, with its cargo, to be confiscated, the same as if British property."

England was prompt in making reprisals, and on the 7th of January, 1807, an order in Council was issued, "forbidding neutral vessels to enter any port belonging to France or to her allies, or under her control. Every neutral vessel violating this law was, with its cargo, liable to seizure and confiscation."

Still more oppressive for the commerce of neutral nations was a second order in Council of November 11, 1807. By this order, "all harbors and places of France, and of her allies in Europe and the colonies, as well as of every country with which England was at war, or from which the English flag was excluded, was placed under the same restriction as if blockaded by an English fleet." This was immediately followed by a manifesto from Bonaparte. He issued at Milan his famous, or, shall we not rather say, infamous decree, by which it was ordered, "that any vessel of whatever nation, that had been searched by a British ship; that had been sent on a voyage to

an English port; or that had ever paid any duty to the British government, was declared to be *denationalized*, and treated as English." This was supplemented by the "Fontainbleau decree," "whereby the destruction of all British property by burning or otherwise was ordered."

Then began that distasteful, annoying and intolerable "searching of American ships" by English and French war vessels—a practice which continued till the close of our later, and we trust our *last* war with Great Britain.

So intent where the cruisers of the contending powers in carrying out the instructions of their respective governments, that captures of American vessels were made almost within sight of Sandy Hook lighthouse, and of the shores of Cape Cod. Several large ships with valuable cargoes from British East Indian ports, after having circumnavigated the globe in safety, fell prizes to the insignificant French letters of marque which ranged up and down our coast, boarding our ships, and seizing those that had British clearances.*

Our government was not in a position either to protect the commerce of the country, or to resent the countless insults which were daily inflicted upon the flag. A short-sighted economical policy had caused so small appropriations to be made towards placing the navy in an efficient condition, that at the period of which we are treating, the United States possessed but fifteen ships of war, carrying 366 guns only, the two largest vessels the "Constitution" and the "Constellation," having a battery of forty-four guns each. This small naval force was totally inadequate to extend any protection to the merchant marine of the country, which then measured 876,912 tons. Several of the large cities built and equipped ships of war of their own, and either loaned or presented them to the government. As early as 1798, the patriotic citizens of Newburyport, through their representative in Congress, made the following proposition:

* About this period, the ship "Jupiter," from Calcutta, with a cargo of the value of nearly half a million dollars, was captured in sight of Barnegat Beach by a French privateer of eighty tons, and the ship thus seized was sent to Brest.

"SIR: A number of the inhabitants of this Town have agreed to build and equip a ship of 355 tons burthen, to be mounted with twenty (20) six pound cannon, and to offer her to the government of the United States for their use. They have also voted that they will not accept of any further or other compensation from the government than an interest of six per cent. per annum on the nett cost of the ship and equipments, and a final reimbursement at the convenience of the government of said nett cost; and they have appointed us a committee to inform you of their intentions and to request you to promote a provision whereby they may be enabled to carry their designs into execution by the countenance of the government so far as the same shall appear necessary."

This offer was most gratefully accepted by the government; for its treasury was almost empty and it was unable to build ships of its own in sufficient numbers to guard even the entrances to our important ports.

The city of Philadelphia, soon after the above memorial was presented to Congress, built and outfitted a fine ship of five hundred tons, which was tendered to the government of the United States. Six years later (1805), Congress passed an act whereby "armed vessels were forbidden to leave the ports of the United States, unless by special permission, under penalty of forfeiture." This was caused by the cautious policy of the government, that chose rather to maintain peace by avoiding collisions at sea, than to assert forcibly the rights of her citizens to carry on a lawful trade with foreign nations. For several years previous to the passage of the foregoing regulation, it had been the custom of nearly all sea-going vessels (from our own town as well as from others) to carry an armament varying from one to twenty guns; and frequently good service was done by those old-fashioned four and six pounders.

Handicapped as was our commerce by the arbitrary orders of France and Great Britain, as well as by the inability of our own government to protect it, or to compel restitution to be made to the injured citizens, it was only too willing to avail itself of the advantages which were offered by neutral ports; and to the shipowners whose vessels frequented the Caribbean, no place presented so many advantages as did the Dutch island of Saint Eustatius, which, from the fact that with it for many years New Haven held rather peculiar relations (much like

those which France and England maintained at Nassau during our civil war), is deserving of a passing notice.

Saint Eustatius, so named in honor of the brave old soldier, Eustache, lies in north latitude 17° 30′, and was discovered by Columbus on his second voyage to America. The island is scarcely more than a rock which springs abruptly from the waters of the Caribbean. Its singular pyramidal form presents to the traveler a very unique and pleasing object, while it affords to the mariner an infallible beacon. No island in the West India group has experienced the vicissitudes of war and fortune as this now obscure island of Saint Eustatius. It was first settled by the Dutch in 1600, and remained in their possession till 1665, when it was captured by an English fleet, but restored by the British two years later. In 1687, it was again captured by the English, who ceded it to France, but soon received it again, and then returned it to the original owners on the accession of the Prince of Orange to the British Crown. Thus it passed from nation to nation six times in about thirty years during the last half of the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century a large trade was maintained between the island and New England, many vessels coming from thence to New Haven.

During our revolutionary war, this country received from the island large quantities of ammunition and naval stores. When this fact was reported to the admiral in command of the British fleet at Jamaica, a squadron commanded by Rodney was at once sent to chastise the islanders severely. Upon arriving at the island the British admiral demanded its surrender, which was at once yielded. The merchants, however, protested against what they termed an invasion of their rights. They also insisted that Saint Eustatius was a *free port*, and that the valuable stores which it contained were the property of many other nations as well as of the Dutch. Rodney's reply was, "that the merchants, of whom many were British, were even then under contract to furnish naval stores and provisions to the enemies of Great Britain." "The island of Saint Eustatius," said he, "is Dutch; everything in it is Dutch; every-

thing is under the Dutch flag; and as Dutch it shall be treated." He accordingly seized property of the value of *two millions sterling*, including six Dutch men-of-war and one hundred and thirty merchant vessels.*

A squadron was also sent by Rodney to overtake a convoy which had sailed just previous to his arrival, and which was valued at one half-million sterling. The British squadron overtook and captured it entire.

The town was destroyed, and the inhabitants rendered penniless as well as homeless. A large emigration took place from the island to the neighboring Dutch colonies, and the place sunk into decay.

A few months after Rodney's visitation it was captured by the French Admiral De Bouiellé, who forthwith returned it to the Dutch.

Once again it was taken by the British in 1809; but in 1814, they restored it to Holland, under whose government it has since remained. Thus it passed some ten or twelve times in a century and a half from the hands of one nation into the possession of another power.

In 1794, the population consisted of a few thousand whites and blacks, who, while cultivating the land and building boats, did but little else. Almost immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and France, vessels of various nations began to frequent the harbor, and French and English merchants took up their abode upon the island.

The place not only possessed a safe and spacious harbor, but also enjoyed that great advantage to a neutral port, proximity to the important islands of the belligerent Powers; and to that harbor of refuge and security hundreds of American and other neutral vessels held their course; and from England, France, Spain, and the United States thousands of adventurers hastened their steps to that heretofore almost desolated island. In such numbers did they arrive there, that in six years the population

* Horace Walpole, in his last Journals, 1781, makes the remark: "Today came news of Rodney taking Saint Eustatius. The Dutch Admiral was killed."

increased from 4,500 to 21,300 persons, exclusive of the seamen in the ships anchored in the bay.

So great was the demand for warehouses, that two sides of the bay—a tract as large as that which extends from our old lighthouse to Fair Haven—presented one continuous line of solid one story stone buildings. These warehouses are now in a dilapidated condition; but in them at that time were exposed for sale the representative products of every clime. For nearly fifteen years this place was "the shop" of the West Indies; and from this island were brought by the New Haven seamen many of the curious and interesting articles of glass and pottery which are owned by representatives of our old families, and which upon inquiry we are told "came from 'Statia."*

The island was for several years a great resort for New Haven vessels, and often fully one-half of the sea-going fleet of our port was at the same time in its spacious harbor.†

Much of the commerce of the island was of a description which would not have borne a close investigation; and at the period of which we are speaking, there could have been seen in the port the contrabandier from the French islands, the contrabandista from the Main, and the genuine old channel smuggler from the English colonies. Any of these were ready at all times to undertake, "for a consideration," the risk of landing a cargo at a port in any of the blockaded islands, or of conveying important intelligence to the officers of the blockading squadron, or of the besieged forts.

Such an unhealthy status of commerce naturally begot a demoralized condition of society at large. All there knew that when peace should be declared their occupation would be gone and themselves forced to seek for pastures new.

*In a letter from a friend in St. Eustache received to-day, he asks: "Are you aware that in this now almost forgotten spot the American flag received its first salute from a foreign nation?"

†Since writing the above, I have been informed by one of our oldest citizens, now in his ninetieth year, that at the commencement of the century he counted thirty New Haven vessels moored together in that fine harbor of Saint Eustatia.

We are told that "men's words and bonds became of but little value, contracts were annulled at will, pledges were violated, and a debased state of morals was observed in every calling."

Perhaps nothing can give us a better expression of the disgust that such a condition of things produced in Englishmen some distance removed from the place, than the following report of the market which was presented to the readers of the "Royal Nassau Gazette," of

"MAY 15TH, 1803.

Prices Current at Saint Eustatius.

Good Names,	Very scarce, 200 will sell at from 500 to 800 dollars each, some honest gentlemen will engage to take one monthly.
Genuine Courage,	Is worth from $8 to $14 per gill.
Honor and Honesty,	Of no value.
False Oaths,	In demand, say 2 shillings each.
Self-consequence,	Overstocked with.
Hospitality,	Scarcely known, is much wanted.
Promises,	Dog cheap.
Performances,	Very scarce.
Credit,	Died last Wednesday.
Merit,	No recommendation.
Gratitude,	Quite out of fashion.
Duplicity,	Much in vogue.
Hypocrisy,	We are glutted with."

This, no doubt, was a correct view of the commercial unhealthiness of the island during the days of the neutral trade.

A few years subsequent to the publishing of the foregoing report, a Britist fleet commanded by Admiral Cochrane, accompanied by a powerful military expedition under the command of Sir George Beckwith, appeared off the island and demanded its surrender on the ground that the interests of Great Britain required the port to be subject to the immediate control of the British forces in the West Indies; and under such jurisdiction it remained till the treaty of Paris, in 1814. Since this date it has continued under the Dutch government.

Immediately after the capture of the island by Admiral Cochrane, the commerce of the place began to decrease, and the

close of the following decade saw it the obscure and deserted spot which is to be witnessed to-day.

During the troublous times to which we have referred, there was granted to those New Haven vessels that were sent into the Caribbean the following Municipal Letter, which was appended to the regular custom house clearance.

It appears to us of to-day a very useless as well as a most obsequious document. It was printed in English, French, and Dutch, and read:

"Most Serene, Most Puissant, High, Noble, Illustrious, Honorable, Venerable, Wise and Prudent, Lords, Emperours, Kings, Republics, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords, Burgomasters, Schepens, Counsellors, as also Judges, Officers, Justiciaries, and Regents of all the good Cities and Places whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, who shall see these Patents or hear them read. We, Samuel Bishop, Mayor, make known, that the Master of the "Catherine," of 84 tons burthen, which he at present navigates, is of the U. S. of America, and that no subject of the present belligerent Powers has any part or portion therein, directly or indirectly; and as we wish to see the said Master prosper in his lawful affairs, our prayer is to all the before named, and to each of them separately, where the said Master shall arrive with his vessel, they may be pleased to receive the said Master with goodness, and treat him in a kind, becoming manner, permitting him upon the usual tolls and expenses, in passing and repassing, to pass, navigate and frequent the Ports, Places and Territories, to the end to transact his business, where, and in what manner, he shall judge proper.

In which we shall be willingly indebted.

[Signed] SAMUEL BISHOP, *Mayor*."

The clearance to which the above is appended is signed by George Washington and Edw. Randolph, and bears date of 3d February, 1796. This style of sea letter was used till 1812.

Chapter VII.

THE MARITIME ENTERPRISE OF NEW HAVEN IN THE SOUTH SEAS—THE SEALING SHIPS.

In the decade which ended in 1806, there was witnessed in our city one very important maritime interest, which, in all probability, will never again exist in this place.

At no time since the settlement of the town till the present, has there been more enterprise or enthusiasm exhibited in any commercial adventure than in 1796, '97, '98 and '99, when were loaded, outfitted and equipped, and sent on their long and weary journeys, the ships which formed "the New Haven South Sea Fleet." It was composed of fine, staunch, and for the day, large, full-rigged ships, the equals of any which sailed from American ports. Their commanders were the peers of any seamen who navigated the ocean. They were manned by American sailors, who were, for the most part, from our own town and county, and who, having shares in the adventures, felt that it was their own individual good for which they were to toil. There was scarcely one of them who did not look hopefully forward to the time when he should either command a ship or own a "snug" farm near New Haven.

The ships themselves were as fine as could be obtained, nearly all of them new. They were models of beauty, having lines and dimensions which attracted attention in whatever portion of the world they were observed.

As the entire fleet numbered less than twenty ships, I will give the names, dimensions, and armaments of the most famous.

Neptune,	ship,	350 tons,	20 guns,
Oneida,	"	223 "	16 "
Hope,	"	200 "	12 "
Sally,	"	236 "	16 "
Betsy,	"	265 "	20 "
Huron,	"	230 "	20 "
Augusta,	"	280 "	20 "
Triumph,	"	305 "	20 "
Zephyr,	"	330 "	12 "
Polly,	brig,	210 "	6 "

Each of these vessels sailed from New Haven, circumnavigated the globe, and returned to our harbor in safety. The ships carried crews of about forty men and boys, also a surgeon, supercargo, carpenter, blacksmith, and cooper; and as before noted, armaments of six-pound guns, muskets, cutlasses, boarding pikes, etc.

The voyages which were made by these sealing ships were of long duration, generally from twenty to thirty months; and it reflects great credit upon the men who commanded the ships when we are told that none of them lost his vessel, or with one exception met with an accident.

The object of the adventure was to load the ships with seal skins in the South Seas. These skins were sold at Canton, where the ships were laden with silks and teas, which were brought to New Haven.

Perhaps it may not be uninteresting to describe the *modus operandi* of the sealing voyages from our port so many years ago.

The ships, after leaving the Sound, were placed on a course to terminate at the Falkland Islands, where they remained several days, or longer if necessary; and during this time the crews were recruited, and the vessels put in order to encounter the severe weather likely to be experienced in passing Cape Horn. Once beyond that stormy point, the ships were headed for the Saint Felix group of Islands, the Gallapagoes, or even as far north as Nootka Sound. In the earlier days of the New Haven seal fishery, however, it was not often that the ships sailed north of the Saint Felix group.

The manner of taking seals at that period was this: the men who were detailed for the purpose watched near the sandy beach of the Seal Islands till the seals at the proper time of the tide had left the water and crawled up to the dry sand. After large numbers had left the water, the seal-takers, placing themselves between the animals and the lower edge of the beach, rushed upon them and dispatched them by a blow on the head. At Juan Fernandez, so many were killed at one tide by a company of men from the ship "Hope" of New Haven, that by actual count the skins numbered 2,142.

No sooner were the animals killed, than the skins were taken off and sent to the ship, where, after "breaming," that is, removing the fat, which was used for fuel, they were salted and packed away in the hold of the vessel. In some of the voyages, the ships, after a large number of skins had been taken, where headed for the Main, where the pelts were "sun-dried" on the beach. There was on the coast of Patagonia a tract of land nearly two miles in length, used by New Haven captains to dry the skins of seals taken in the Atlantic. It was known in the days of sealing by the name of "the New Haven Green."

When the ships were laden, after months of the tedious labor which we have described, a course was laid for the Sandwich Islands, which were then frequented by all ships crossing the Pacific. At those Islands, the crews of the ships were recruited, and thence a course was laid to Canton, where the skins were disposed of through the American factories, a cargo of tea and silk received, and to the joy of all on board, the ship was placed on the long looked for homeward course, which was eventually to end at Montauk Point.

Such a romance was there regarding those South Sea ships, which were "bound around the world," that very many of the young men of the town were lured to enrol themselves among the companies which manned the fleet—not only to add to their worldly store, but to gratify a desire to see foreign lands; to be able to say to their friends at home, that they had been "round the Horn," and to "the place where Captain Cook was murdered;" and such a voyage was, ninety years ago, something to boast of in New Haven, and none of the ships which left our port for the Pacific but carried representatives of the most respected families of this place. Those were the illustrious days of American ships and American seamen.

It was partly, if not in a great measure owing to the fact, that some twelve fine ships from New Haven had visited the Sandwich Islands, and the ports in China, before the close of the year 1804, which prompted that eminent English traveler, John Turnbull, to speak of American commerce in those Islands as follows:

"The Americans in particular carry on a most active trade with the Sandwich Islands, supplying them with property at a very easy rate in exchange for their provisions, and unless I am deceived will do more than any others to exalt them to a singular degree of civilization. So far does American commerce exceed all previous attempts of former nations, that even the Dutch themselves sink under the comparison.

"Scarcely is there a port of the world, scarcely an inlet in the most unknown sea, in which this commercial hive have not penetrated. The East Indies are open to them, and their flags are displayed in the seas of China, and it must be admitted, that their success is *merited* by their industry."

Among the names of the commanders of New Haven's East India fleet, there is no one which ranks so high as that of Capt. Daniel Greene, who had the honor of being the first New Haven shipmaster that sailed his ship in the Pacific; and he likewise has the credit of having commanded the ship which made the most lucrative voyage ever recorded in New Haven. It was also, if I am not mistaken, the most profitable voyage of which there is any record in the State.

Born in Boston, Daniel Greene came to our town at an early age, and was soon employed on a vessel sailing to the West Indies. Success seems to have been his lot from the first; and before he became of age he commanded one of the largest ships sailing from our district.

In his thirtieth year, he was placed in command of the ship "Neptune," and sailed for China, making as before stated, the most profitable voyage as yet recorded in New Haven.

It was this same commander who, on his return from Canton in the "Neptune," brought with him several curious Chinese paintings upon glass, which were generally of a patriotic or Masonic type. These so captivated the eyes of many of our ancient townsmen, that several persons requested the Captain, should he return to China, to bring them duplicates. Some, however, wishing alterations in the colors and figures, so perplexed the Captain with their suggestions, that he was obliged to call in a friend, who was an artist and also a deacon in the church, to consult with him about his commissions. After the artist had carefully inspected several of the paintings, and given his opinion as to the posturing, coloring, and

other particulars of those to be ordered, the Captain quietly presented to the deacon's view two very elaborate pictures of a decidedly oriental type, saying: "Deacon, what suggestion as to the color of these?" The pure-minded deacon, more accustomed to criticise Amos Doolittle's patriotic engravings, was of course shocked. Closing his eyes and raising his hands in a horror-stricken manner, he exclaimed in a stentorian voice: "How would *I* color them? *Black!* *Black!!* Captain Greene! as *black* as black can be!

After the sealing voyages were discontinued, Captain Greene made many voyages to the West Indies, and while in command of the ship "Draper," was after a long chase overtaken and captured by a French frigate. His vessel and cargo were confiscated and sold at one of the French islands.

The Captain was a rich man, and during the war of 1812, when our commerce was so paralyzed, he invested extensively in lands in New Connecticut, intending to remain there and pass his declining years in that new country. He did, however, that which has so many times been done by shipmasters who have for a while retired from life at sea, and which has so often proved disastrous; he essayed to make "one voyage more," which, he said, "should be his last;" and having made this last voyage, and returned to New Haven, he would, he said, take his family to Ohio, (New Connecticut.)

He sailed from our port soon after the blockade was raised, embarking from a little wharf which stood in front of his house, now the Harvey Hoadley residence in Water street. His vessel, called the "Grace," after a member of his family, was owned by him. His eldest son was his first officer, and the Spanish Main was their destination. A few days subsequent to the sailing of the ship, the entire coast of New England was swept by a violent gale, and as no tidings of Captain Greene were ever received, it is supposed that his ship foundered during the tempest. A monument erected in memory of the father and the son is to be seen in the old burying ground.

Other commanders of the sealing ships were Caleb Brintnall, of the "Oneida," the "Triumph," and the "Zephyr;" John

Hurlbut, of the "Oneida" on her second voyage to China; William Howell, of the "Betsey" and the "Draper;" Gilbert Totten, of the splendid ship "Constellation;" Amos Townsend, of the ships "Frances Ann" and "Clarissa;" Nathaniel Storer, of the ship "Sally;" James Ray, of the "Huron" and the "Hope;" all of whom were famous sea captains in their day and generation.

Of the many New Haven merchants who were interested in these voyages, the most prominent was Ebenezer Townsend, who for more than half a century was engaged in commercial undertakings from our port.

Mr. Townsend was born here in 1742, and was interested at an early age in foreign commerce. For many years he was far the most extensive merchant in the city. His ships were the largest, his cargoes the most valuable, and for many years in which he was a ship owner, he was known as "the fortunate man." He had been so successful in his enterprises, that when one of his friends remonstrated with him for risking so much property as he did in sending his ship "Neptune," in 1796, to the South Seas, he replied: "*If all should be lost I shall have plenty left.*"

His commercial transactions, for the time, were very large and important; and his enterprise had never been surpassed by any of his townsmen.

He it was who first sent his ship to the Pacific, and Daniel Greene was the commander.

In 1801 and 1802, Mr. Townsend sent his ships "Frances Ann" and "Clarissa," to the Spice Islands in the Indian Ocean. These ships brought their valuable cargoes of spices to our city, where they were unloaded and stored in the cellar of the "Broome House," or "Hoadley House," and in due time shipped to New York.

The "Frances Ann" made such a prolonged voyage, that Mr. Townsend had abandoned all hopes of ever again hearing of her. Late in the spring of 1803, a strange ship—she had been purchased in New York, and had never been in our port—was seen sailing up our harbor, causing great speculation

among our citizens as to her character. After anchoring midway between Long Wharf and Tomlinson's Bridge, Captain Townsend with his supercargo was rowed in a small boat from the ship to the Broome House. These officers reported to the owner, Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, the safe arrival of his ship from Batavia and Poulo Pinang, with a cargo of pepper, valued at over 100,000 dollars, after a voyage of 195 days.

Mr. Townsend was pecuniarily interested in many of the sealing ships besides the "Neptune." He not only sent ships to hunt for the *fur* seals, whose skins were to be taken to the Canton factories, but he also sent vessels to bring the skins of the *hair* seals to New Haven. One of his vessels, the "Polly," came early in 1803, from the Pacific, with 48,000 skins, which were sold to the tanners of the town and of the vicinity.

His cargoes from the West Indies and from European ports were many and valuable; and for several years, the duties levied on cargoes brought in his ships far exceeded in value those paid by any other three commercial houses in the city, the "Derby Fishing Company" alone excepted.

After a long life of activity and enterprise, Mr. Townsend died at his residence in New Haven at the age of 82 years. His remains were interred in the old cemetery.

Others who were either owners of the ships, or of their cargoes, may be named, for example, Thomas Atwater, Henry Dennison, Elias Shipman, Thaddeus Beecher, Henry Daggett, Ward Atwater, the Cowleses of Farmington, Thomas Painter of West Haven, Ebenezer Peck, Enos Monson, Phelps and Sanford, Kneeland Townsend, Elihu Mix, who died at Honolulu, in 1804, on board of the New Haven ship "Triumph," of which he was part owner and supercargo.

Memorable days in our town's history were those upon which the first few ships of the sealing fleet sailed from our port on their long and perilous voyages, as well as those on which they arrived after their protracted absence. In several instances nearly, if not quite, the entire business of the place was suspended, and a large portion of the population was at the wharf to witness the departure of the ships; to give their friends a good "send off"—and afterwards a "welcome home."

The most noted of those old voyages was that which Mr. Ebenezer Townsend's ship, the "Neptune," accomplished. She was a New Haven vessel, built at the Olive street shipyard, and, as before stated, commanded by Daniel Greene.

Of a burthen of 350 tons—a "Great Eastern" for the day—with an armament of twenty twelve-pounders, this ship carried for her crew forty-five young, active, and sturdy New Haven county men, a large portion of whom belonged to respectable families of the town and vicinity. One of them, Mr. Thomas Howell, had, but a few months previous to the sailing of the ship, been graduated at Yale College. He was a classmate of the late President Day and of Stephen Twining. Mr. Leverett Griswold was first officer; Mr. Driggs, of Middletown, surgeon; and Mr. Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., supercargo.

Amidst the cheering of the citizens and the firing of cannon, the sails of the "Neptune" were sheeted home, and with anchor weighed, the ship sailed down the harbor, through the Sound, and was soon in the open sea, where a course was laid for the Falkland Islands, which in due time were reached. She remained there two weeks, and then sailed for Cape Horn, which was soon doubled, and, for the first time, the Pacific was furrowed by the keel of a New Haven ship. Good fortune was met with at the seal islands in collecting skins; and at the island of Juan Fernandez, several men (of whom Thomas Howell was one) were left to collect and sun-dry seal skins in anticipation of the arrival of another ship, which the enterprising owner of the "Neptune" intended to send out the following year.

From the seal islands the ship was sailed to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence to Canton, where the great price of three and one-half dollars each was obtained for the 80,000 skins which the ship contained. Three months were required to discharge and reload the ship, and at the expiration of that time, the "Neptune," laden with tea, 3,000 chests; nankeens, 54,000 pieces, costing $24,000; silks, a large quantity; and 547 boxes of China ware, were placed upon the homeward course for New Haven, which port was safely reached after a passage of *six months and two days*, arriving here on the 14th of July, 1799.

The result of the voyage was most satisfactory, the profits astonishing even the shrewd projector himself.

For his share in the adventure, Mr. Townsend received *one hundred thousand dollars*, a *vast* sum in those days.

The supercargo, son of the owner, received fifty thousand dollars, and all others who were interested had proportionate amounts.

Never was a ship so heartily welcomed home as was the "Neptune" after her voyage of nearly thirty months.

Mr. Green, in his "Journal" of July 17th, 1799, alluded to the voyage of the "Neptune" as follows:

"Last Thursday arrived the ship 'Neptune," Captain Daniel Green, master, in six months from Canton.

"This ship is owned in New Haven and Hartford, and is richly laden with silks, teas, and nankeens. We do not recollect to have observed more general joy diffused among our citizens, than on the return of this ship with the captain and his crew after an absence of two years and eight months.

"We join in congratulations to the owners, who are by this event receiving the just rewards of honest enterprise; to friends and parents, whose hearts are gladdened at the return of friends and sons from a long, tedious, and hazardous voyage; and to our citizens at large, on this first arrival of so valuable an Indiaman.

"While we witness the general joy, we sincerely sympathize with the friends of Mr. Leverett Griswold of this city, mate of the ship, who died on the homeward passage, a young man of very promising talents, aged twenty-three years."

In the same newspaper there appeared, a few days later, the following communication, which is interesting from the fact that it was penned a few months previous to the presidential election in 1800. In 1877, we should call it a "campaign document."

"*Mr. Editor*:—The ship 'Neptune,' lately arrived from Canton, pays to the Revenue of the United States about $75,000 in duties.

"This sum is at least $20,000 *more* than *the civil list tax of the whole State of Connecticut* for any *one year* within the last *ten years*.

"These duties arise on Teas, Silks and Nankeens.

"No man is *obliged* to buy either of these articles, and, of course, no man is *compelled* to pay any part of this sum.

"Now, I beg leave to ask the Farmers of our neighborhood, if they have any just reason to oppose a Government which obtains its revenues

from luxuries? On reflection, is it not a fact of importance, that a single ship should pay more taxes than the whole taxable property of Connecticut, which by our grand levy appears to be about six millions of dollars? [Signed] A. B."

These initials, I imagine, are those of Abraham Bishop, the collector of the port at that period.

In the autumn of 1799, the "Neptune" again sailed on a voyage similar to the previous one. She returned in safety to our port on the 29th of June, 1801, and though the ship brought a cargo upon which duties amounting to $35,000 were paid, the adventure was not pecuniarily successful, owing to the small price paid by the Chinese for the seal skins. The price received in 1798 for the first cargo, $3.50, was by far the highest ever paid for skins from a New Haven ship. On the second voyage of the "Neptune," the seal skins, 77,000, were sold for less than one dollar each.

The first voyage of the "Neptune" having proved so remunerative, several ships were at once purchased and fitted out for sealing voyages.

In October, 1799, the "Oneida," commanded by Caleb Brintnall, sailed for the seal islands and China. From the latter country, she came to New Haven, arriving here 17th June, 1801, bringing a cargo so valuable that a duty amounting to $27,540 was laid upon it.

Soon after the departure of the "Oneida," another ship sailed. This was the "Betsy," and her commander was Captain William Howell. Ebenezer Townsend and Daniel Greene owned the "Betsy," having purchased her in New York. She was absent from New Haven about two years, and brought home a valuable cargo of tea and silk, which paid a duty of $44,135.74, the third largest ever paid in our district.

I may say here, that the largest amount of duty ever paid by a New Haven ship, was that of the brig "Ann," which arrived here from Liverpool soon after the close of the war in 1814. The lading of the brig, a cargo entirely composed of hardware, was consigned to merchants, some fifty in number, residing in every part of the State. The duty amounted to $87,430.78.

This is the largest on record at our custom house. The next in magnitude was the duty paid by the "Neptune" on her first cargo, $75,000; the third, that paid on the cargo of the "Betsy," amounting, as before stated, to nearly, $45,000.

Besides the "Oneida" and the "Betsy," there were several other ships sent to the Pacific about the same period. They all returned in safety. This fact is highly creditable to the commanders, who, with imperfect charts and nautical instruments not far in advance of Drake's astrolabe, found their way, through almost unknown seas, around the globe.

Some idea can be formed of the magnitude of the commercial intercourse existing at the time between New Haven and China by knowing that in 1800 three ships, the "Huron," the "Hope," and the "Draper," paid into the depleted purse of Uncle Samuel over $60,000 in duties. With the exception of those who were interested in the first voyage of the "Neptune," it appears that the before named individual gained more by the several China adventures than did any one else.

On the 22d of May, 1800, there sailed from New Haven, bound for the Seal islands, the ship "Sally," of 236 tons and twenty four-pounders for an armament.

Commanded by Nathaniel Storer, the ship was laid on a course for the Pacific. After capturing 45,000 fur seals and 8,350 hair seals, she was sailed to China, where, owing to the immense number of seal skins, only 87½ cents each were received for those by the "Sally." This was a great disappointment to the outfitters, who had counted on receiving the same rates as those obtained by Capt. Greene.

So small a sum was realized by the sale of the skins, that the master was obliged to make drafts at ruinous premiums upon the owners in New Haven and also upon the Cowleses of Farmington, who were part owners. It is needless to say that the voyage was wholly unsuccessful.

I should have heretofore said, that those expensive voyages were not undertaken by any one commercial house. On the contrary, very many houses and individuals had shares in the ships. Merchants in the large towns of the State had an inter-

est in nearly every ship. Hartford, Wethersfield, Middletown, East Haddam, Farmington, Derby, Litchfield, Milford, Branford, Stratford, were largely interested in several of the earlier ships; so too were Providence and New London. Thirty-six merchants in different parts of the State were owners of the cargo of tea and silk brought home from Canton in 1801 by the ship "Sally." Of the cargo of the "Betsy," there were eleven owners; and of the other cargoes, the ownership belonged to not a few persons.

This type of commerce was maintained with great vigor till 1806, and at intervals till the war with Great Britain in 1812.

It cannot be said that the China voyages were on the whole remunerative. This was in the main owing to the fact that so many vessels were sent on sealing voyages from Salem, Providence, and Boston, that the supply of seal skins became so great at Canton as to make a very low price only obtainable. Furthermore, the seals in the Pacific were very nearly exterminated in consequence of the unceasing capturing of them by ships sent from New England ports.

That the results of the first voyages were not encouraging is manifest from the fact, that only two or three of the New Haven ships made a second voyage to China.

Before leaving the sealing voyages, I would like to say a word of the last one made by a New Haven vessel.

Shortly after the close of the war of 1812, there came to New Haven from Middletown, where she had just been launched, the beautiful ship "Zephyr," of 330 tons burden, to be equipped for a sealing voyage.

She was commanded by that veteran navigator, Caleb Brintnall, who made more voyages to the Pacific than any other New Haven shipmaster of his day.

Interested in the ship were several New Haven and Providence merchants, who were resolved to make one more attempt at sealing in the Pacific.

The "Zephyr" carried an armament of twelve twelve-pounders, besides two large swivel guns, muskets, pikes, etc.; and for

company had thirty-seven young Connecticut men, a majority of whom had seen service in the privateers "Teazer," "Saucy Jake," "Sabine," and "Quinnipiack." These men had shares in the adventure, and were determined, that if hard work, care and watchfulness could bring success to the voyage, these very desirable conditions should not be wanting.

Thoroughly equipped and out-fitted, the "Zephyr" sailed from our port early in the morning of the 25th of October, 1815. A large concourse of citizens had assembled at the pier-head to witness her departure.

From Montauk Point the ship held her course for the coast of Patagonia, and at one of the Falkland Islands she was placed in condition to encounter the severe Cape weather.

So rapidly did the "Zephyr" sail, that when off Cape Saint Roque, being chased by a swift French man-of-war, she made fourteen knots an hour by the log, with wind abeam, and ran the Frenchman out of sight.

Having entered the Pacific, the commander felt great disappointment in finding no seals at any of the usual seal islands, although he visited all of the localities where, in earlier years, so many seals had been found. He resolved, however, to find them, and sailed his ship to the North Pacific, carefully searching through the Gallapagoes, the Boneto Islands, Guadeloupe, and the Gulf of California. His search was in vain. He met with no success.

On consulting with his officers, Captain Brintnall determined, as he said, to find seals if he had to search the Pacific from Cape Horn to the North Pole, and he placed his ship upon a course for Nootka Sound, then almost a *terra incognita*, to *New Haven* navigators at least.

A few days only had the "Zephyr" been sailing toward the north when she encountered a tempest whose severity exceeded any thing ever experienced by those on board. After a vain effort to make headway against the gale, the ship was placed before it; and for nearly twenty-four hours the fury of the storm increased. Throughout the night and the following day the sea ran so high and the wind blew so violently, that it was

perilous for the sailors to attempt to reach the yards. Sails were blown into ribbons. The sea poured into the cabin through the doors and broken deadlights, drenching the crew and making it impossible to keep a fire in the galleys. During the second night the gale continued to increase, and many of the crew gave themselves up for lost. To lighten the ship several of her guns, spars, and casks were thrown overboard. The vessel was under bare poles, and no one could live on deck unless lashed there. In that almost unknown sea, this New Haven ship lay reeling, plunging, and half submerged in the volumes of water that filled the decks. Morning came at last, but with it no abatement of the tempest. The wind now veered to the north, caught the ship at an unfortunate moment, and practically dismasted her. In that dismal plight she remained until the following day. The storm then abated; the sea went down; the sun came forth; the wreck was partially cleared up; the fires in the galleys were relighted; jury masts were rigged; old sails were bent upon them, and in this forlorn, crippled condition (the voyage to the north having been abandoned), the "Zephyr" was headed for the Sandwich Islands; and in seventy-two days after the disaster, and thirteen and a half months after leaving New Haven, the "Zephyr," with her discouraged and exhausted company, dropped her anchor in Kealakealkua Bay, where Captain Cook had been murdered not many years before.

The ship was there refitted, and became once again the showy craft that had attracted so much attention when lying in our harbor. But she had now been absent nearly eighteen months and had earned not a dollar. The captain was desirous of retrieving the disastrous voyage, and made therefore what he considered a very advantageous arrangement with the King of the Sandwich Islands. The latter, a partially clothed savage, hired the "Zephyr" to cruise around his islands for one year, her master to rank as admiral; and for this service he agreed to give a very handsome consideration. The contract was signed; and for twelve months the "Zephyr" was constantly cruising around the Islands. There were bright expectations.

on board; for my venerable friend, to whom I am indebted for these details, and who was a lad on board of the "Zephyr," informs me, that the commander anticipated the receipt of a sum sufficiently large to mend a broken voyage, "but which," my friend adds, "never was mended."*

The savage violated his contract and paid the captain little or nothing for his arduous services thoughout a whole year. This treatment of Captain Brintnall was a losing policy for the king, because many of the American shipmasters, who touched at the islands, refrained for several years from making the customary presents to him, being offended at his bad faith in his dealings with the captain of the "Zephyr."

When it became evident that no recompense was to be obtained from the king, the "Zephyr" was headed for Canton, where she had no funds wherewith to purchase a cargo for New Haven, and consequently a freight was taken for a European port; and thence the ship sailed for Providence. She reached this latter place after a perilous passage and an absence of three years from America.

The voyage was a signal failure, a very large amount of money having been lost in the adventure. The seamen for their long and dangerous cruise received little or nothing. My respected informant tells me, that when presented with his account he found *himself* indebted to the ship five dollars; but he was so desirous to reach home, that he "argued not;" the debt was forgiven him; and with his bag on his back, he started for New Haven on foot, reaching it in good time, and in a few weeks was again afloat. He has since, as owner and master of his ship, carried the American ensign at his mast-head into most of the principal ports of the world, and has done honor to his country, his State, and his native city of New Haven. With the voyage of the "Zephyr" ended all commercial intercourse between our city and China.

*The chief of the islands, at the time of Captain Brintnall's arrival, was fearing an attack from the warriors of a neighboring island. The reward promised to the captain of the "Zephyr" was sufficient sandal wood to load the ship. The quantity received was six and a half tons!

Several of the ships which had been employed in that interest, fell into the hands of the French and English cruisers in West India waters; some were sold in New York; and the "Zephyr," of which we have spoken, was eventually employed as a whaler, and, not many years since, was seen at New Bedford in a good state of preservation.

Of all the sturdy young men who composed the crews of those famous New Haven ships, I can learn of but two who are still living. They both reside in the town, highly esteemed and respected by all who know them.

It may be interesting to some persons to know that many pieces of blue and white china, as well as the plain white having the initials of the original owners, to be found in many of the old houses in New Haven county, were brought here by the officers and men who navigated the ships known as the old "New Haven China ships."

Somewhat related to the capture of seals, there was one other maritime interest of New Haven, to which I may briefly allude.

In 1820, a number of merchants who were interested in foreign commerce, formed a company, though not incorporated, whose object was the prosecution of the whale fishery in the North Pacific. Two ships were purchased, the "Henry" and the "Thames" by name. They were outfitted and sent on whaling voyages in 1822. In the expectation that this enterprise would be successful, preparations were made for building other ships to be employed in the same manner. Large quantities of ship timber were brought for the purpose from the adjacent country and deposited, where now are Mr. Benedict's coal yards at the foot of Brewery street. The place was then known as Tomlinson's wharf.

Those who were pecuniarily interested in the adventure, awaited the return of the two ships which had been sent out as pioneers, before building others. At an earlier day than expected, the whaling ships appeared in our harbor, having met with such success in catching whales, that in a comparatively short time they were filled with cargoes of oil and whalebone,

and by remarkably favoring gales were hastened home some months sooner than it was reasonably supposed that they would return. Unfortunately for the enterprise, when the ships arrived the prices obtained for the oil and the bone were so low—in fact lower almost than ever before or since—that no remuneration was received. It becoming known also that large fleets of whaling ships were fitting out at New London, New Bedford, and Stonington, and the New Haven company "fearing that no whales would be left in the Pacific," abandoned the enterprise and sold the ships.

It was the New Haven whaler "Thames," Captain Crosby, that carried, on her way to the North Pacific, the second band of missionaries who left America for the Sandwich Islands.

The missionaries, some eighteen in number, including three South Sea Islanders who had been educated here, embarked from Tomlinson's wharf on the nineteenth of December, 1822, and after a safe and pleasant voyage reached the harbor of Owyhee (Hawaii).

Perhaps the day of the sailing of "the Greate Shippe" in 1645 was the only time in which our city has ever beheld such a manifestation of warm affection and kindly feeling as our people witnessed at the departure of these missionaries, who were leaving their country to toil through many years and perhaps for life in educating the inhabitants of those far off Isles of the sea.

Nor were they sent away with benedictions only. The sum of one thousand three hundred and fifty-four dollars was donated for the use of the missionaries after their landing. Abundant supplies of provisions and necessaries were also placed in the ship for the mission families during the long and dangerous journey.

Retracing our steps to 1807, we find that the exports and imports of our district were yearly increasing in value. For several years about that period, the duties annually paid into the customs averaged $150,000, and there departed annually from the port full one hundred foreign bound vessels. The increase in the value of trade was apparent, in spite of the losses by seizure and confiscation of vessel property.

Closely related to this increase of trade were many important changes to be seen at that time in the city, which then contained a population of about 6,000 souls. New streets were laid out and old ones widened and straightened. A contract was entered into whereby Long Wharf was to be made solid and continuous to the end. A short time previous, the Green had been enclosed by a "neat wooden fence." The "Derby Turnpike" was made, and so also was the turnpike built from Hartford, by using which travelers were saved the long journey by the Cheshire road, or "Long Lane," as it was then called. It was evident also from the manner of some of the more advanced and progressive members of the old Brick Church, that the structure which had stood since 1757, had nearly, if not quite fulfilled its destiny, and was soon to give place to the edifice which we now see.

In 1807 was erected the first Methodist Church in New Haven. It occupied the site of the present Colored Church in Temple street.

Many new brick buildings were erected, the sidewalks of the principal streets were paved, and on every hand were seen evidences of increasing wealth and culture.

Chapter VIII.

THE COMMERCE OF NEW HAVEN AND THE UNITED STATES EMBARGO.

On the 7th of January, 1808, the foreign commercial interests of the entire country were not only paralyzed, but, for the time being, destroyed, by the passage of the Act of Congress of December 22, 1807, establishing an embargo, and by the instructions given to the officers of the revenue and of the navy under the authority of that act by President Jefferson.

This enactment was so remarkable, and its consequences were so great and disastrous, as to make it desirable that it be here presented in full.

"AN ACT

LAYING AN EMBARGO ON ALL SHIPS AND VESSELS IN THE PORTS AND HARBORS OF THE UNITED STATES.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That an embargo be, and hereby is laid on all ships and vessels in the ports and places within the limits or jurisdiction of the United States, cleared or not cleared, bound to any foreign port or place; and that no clearance be furnished to any ship or vessel bound to such foreign port or place, except vessels under the immediate direction of the President of the United States; and that the President be authorized to give such instructions to the officers of the revenue, and of the navy and revenue cutters of the United States, as shall appear best adapted for carrying the same into full effect.

Provided, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the departure of any foreign ship or vessel, either in ballast, or with the goods, wares, and merchandise on board such foreign ship or vessel when notified of this act.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That during the continuance of this act, no registered or sea-letter vessel, having on board goods, wares, and merchandise, shall be allowed to depart from one port of the United States to another within the same, unless the master, owner, consignee, or factor of such vessel shall first give bond with one or more sureties to the collector of the district from which she is bound to depart, in a sum of double the value of the vessel and cargo, that the said goods, wares, and merchandise shall be relanded in some port of the United States, danger of the seas excepted; which bond, and also a certificate from the collector where the same goods, wares and merchandise may be relanded, shall by the collectors respectively be transmitted to the Secretary of the Treasury.

All armed vessels possessing public commissions from any foreign power, are not to be considered as liable to the embargo laid by this act.

J. B. VARNUM,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.
GEO. CLINTON,
Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

December, 1807.

Approved. TH. JEFFERSON.

This embargo was chiefly intended to be a retaliation upon Great Britain for the repeated insults given to American vessels by British ships of war. These indignities consisted mainly in the searching of our vessels, examining the ship's papers, and compelling the master of every ship to answer *any* question

concerning his cargo and destination which might be put to him by the boarding officer.

The chief grievance, however, was the impressment of American seamen to serve on British ships of war; and to such an extent was this outrage practiced, that in September, 1808, there were forcibly detained in the British navy *three thousand two hundred and eighteen American seamen*. The navy of the United States at the same period employed but *one thousand four hundred and twenty-five seamen*, or less than one-half the number of those who were impressed by the British.

The embargo, be it remembered, was laid upon all ships and vessels in the ports of the United States bound for any foreign port or place, and the act forbade the issuing of clearances to all ships except those under the direction of the President of the United States. The President was furthermore authorized to give such instructions to officers of the revenue as should appear to be best adapted to carry the law into effect.

The orders immediately given were so stringent, that not even a small coasting vessel was allowed to leave port without having an endorsement of the collector and naval officer upon its papers. More effectually to carry out the President's instructions, it became necessary to guard every port and harbor of importance with armed boats, which were known as "Jefferson's Gun Boats," and were supposed to maintain a vigilant watch for vessels whose masters were ready to go to sea, should opportunity offer. Whether the gun boats always kept a strict lookout off our harbor can be ascertained by consulting some of the ancient log-books to be seen in the archives of our own Historical Society.

One of the most important results which the supporters of the act hoped to see, as a consequence of the embargo, was great distress and suffering in the British West Indies, caused by the absence of American breadstuffs and provisions. It was thought, that to avert such dire results, England would willingly accede to the demands made by the United States, "that American vessels should forever be exempt from search by British cruisers."

In that expectation, however, the friends of the act were disappointed. The British islands, though greatly inconvenienced, and obliged to pay exorbitant rates for food, were supplied from Europe and Canada with many of the articles usually imported from America; and throughout the islands generally were cultivated in immense quantities the cereals indigenous to the soil.

More than this was done by the British Islanders, who saw distress, and perhaps famine, likely to ensue from a protracted embargo in the ports of the United States on food-laden ships. All American vessels which were in the various islands were at once embargoed and forced to land their cargoes. In Barbados, when the news of our embargo was received in that place, there were lying in the bay thirty-one American vessels laden with flour and grain, waiting for an opportunity to force the blockade of the French islands. They were all compelled to discharge their cargoes, which were sold of course for the benefit of their owners.

The inducements held out by the English islands to tempt the violation of the embargo, were both numerous and enticing. Proclamations issued by the colonial governors were sent to Canada, and thence widely distributed in the sea-port towns of the United States. These documents gave our people notice of the temporary abolition of all duties on produce of the United States, and cargoes were landed free of all cost to the vessels taking them to the islands. Premiums were offered to those shipmasters who should bring the largest cargoes of breadstuffs; all charges and expenses usually incurred by ships visiting foreign ports were for the time to be borne by the several island governments; in fine, nothing was left undone, which could induce the American merchants to send out their ships to the West Indies.

Nor did the British government do less than the colonial authorities. Orders were transmitted to all commanders of His Majesty's ships directing them not to molest or interrupt in any way or manner American vessels laden with provisions, lumber, or cattle, bound for any British port; and particular

instructions were issued to all officers of His Majesty's customs throughout the West Indies and South America, requiring them to overlook the fact, should clearances and registers of American vessels be irregular.

These great and manifold inducements naturally made not a few shipowners eager to avail themselves of the advantages arising from the fabulous prices to be obtained in the West Indies for American cereals.

In the early days of the embargo, many vessels from northern ports succeeded in getting to sea; and two brigantines from our city, eluding the vigilance of the gun-boats, reached the West Indies, and at Saint Christopher's realized upon their cargoes 550 *per cent.* Their cargoes were composed of flour, and they sold it at $54 *per barrel.*

Such instances were rare. Those two were in fact the only ones in which New Haven capital was interested; and the commerce of the port in general, with the rest of the sea-ports of the country, was practically dead. From Maine to Maryland prevailed one feeling of discontent and indignation, parularly so in New York and New England, where many of the inhabitants witnessed the main source of their livelihood cut off, meaning to thousands nothing less than penury and starvation.

In July, 1808, there were lying embargoed in the port of New York 666 American vessels; in Boston, 310; in Baltimore, 335; in Philadelphia, 190; in Portland, 187; in Newburyport, 160; and in New Haven, 78.

Here in our own city great distress was immediately observed. "Month after month passed away and not a sail was allowed to be unfurled in our lately cheerful and busy harbor. Not a ship was to be seen discharging her cargo at our wharves. The stores and warehouses of our merchants were well nigh deserted and empty. Their merchandise was valueless. The cheerful voice of the sailor and the hammer of the shipwright were to be heard no more. Their figures, as they scowled upon the wharves, or wandered listlessly along the streets, told too plainly, that their occupation was at an end."

In Salem, with a population of 9,560 persons, 1,200 were daily fed at the public soup house. The same thing was done in Portland, and also in our own town.

There were very few citizens of New Haven, in 1807, who were not either directly or indirectly dependent upon foreign commerce. Above one hundred shipwrights were living in the place. Engaged in trade with foreign lands were eighty-two vessels. Thirty-two commercial houses in foreign trade were to be seen on Long Wharf and State street. With these facts before us, it is no difficult matter to imagine the inconvenience, annoyance, and even suffering, caused by the embargo, or as it was frequently called in the New Haven vernacular, "*the dambargo.*"

It is not surprising that some of the merchants of our city in those days, having little or no business wherewith to occupy themselves, fell into evil ways—one of which was to visit too frequently "J. K. L."

In 1791, the brig "Nancy" brought from Saint Croix, to Atwater and Daggett, a cargo of rum, for one puncheon of which no owner ever appeared; and in an upper story of the warehouse it had been fining and mellowing for nearly twenty years. The cask was marked in large black letters, "J. K. L." When the embargo put a stop to the importation of the principal ingredient of their toddy, the old merchants bethought themselves of the ownerless puncheon of rum; and during the embargo, repeated visits were made to the warehouse loft. "Let us go for some 'J. K. L.'" became the usual post-prandial expression of several of those benighted men. So constant and faithful were the visits to J. K. L. by that band of embargoed merchants, that, when the repeal of the act was effected and some of the more abstemious ones proposed to drink the health of the American Congress in Santa Cruz rum, a visit to the puncheon revealed the sad fact, that it was standing "on end and empty."

It is doubtful whether in any part of the country there was more indignation caused by the embargo act than in New Haven. There was a town meeting held in our city, August 20,

1808, of which Elizur Goodrich was moderator. It was unanimously voted, that Elias Shipman, Noah Webster, David Daggett, Jonathan Ingersoll, and Thomas Painter, Esquires, be a committee to prepare an address to Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, praying for a modification or suspension of the embargo laws. In accordance with the vote of the meeting, an address to the president was prepared by the committee. It was a long and earnest appeal, in which were clearly set forth the evils arising from the embargo. The document closed as follows:

"In every view of this subject, your memorialists conceive a continuance of the Embargo to be as distressing as it is impolitic, and far more injurious to our own people than to any other Nation. We therefore request that—in pursuance of the Power vested in you as President of the United States by an act of Congress for that purpose—the operations of the several laws imposing an Embargo may be *immediately suspended.*"

On the 10th of September came a reply from Mr. Jefferson, saying that, "no one knew better than himself the inconvenience caused by the embargo, but that the Legislature alone could prescribe the course to be pursued."

In the autumn of the year 1808, the shipowners of our town, seeing no indications that the embargo would be removed, dismantled their ships and laid them up to await the advent of more propitious times.

Many of the seamen who were in the habit of sailing from our port, journeyed to the British Provinces, where they remained till the embargo was removed, while others, who had their families to care for, were forced to remain and subsist upon the public charities.

The newspapers of that day often contained vigorous lampoons regarding the embargo. One of them will bear repetition here. It appeared in the *Brattleborough Witness*, September 1, 1808.

"EMBARGO.

Why is the embargo intended by Mr. Jefferson to be like a circle?
Because it is to have no end.
Why is the embargo like a poor portrait painter?
Because it makes many bad looking faces.
Why is the embargo like the jaw bone of an ass?
Because it has slain its thousands.
Why is the embargo like the fifth wheel of a coach?
Because it is of no manner of use.
Why is the embargo like couching for the cataract?
Because it makes those who were before partially blind see clearly.
Why is the embargo like an incurably sore finger?
Because it ought to be taken off.
Why is the embargo like red wine when we have no white?
Because it makes us stick to Port.
Why is the embargo like the sting of ingratitude?
Because it is painful to bear.
Why is the embargo like good strong coffee?
Because Bonaparte is remarkably fond of it.

LASTLY.

Why is the embargo like French influence in the United States Cabinet?
Because unless speedily removed it will be the ruin of

AMERICA.

The anniversary of the passage of the embargo act was observed in New Haven by many tokens of mourning and despondency. At 7 o'clock on that day the flags of all the shipping were displayed at half mast, and at 9 o'clock a procession was formed in Fleet street, comprising all classes and grades of society. It was led by a young man clad in mourning and mounted on a black horse. He carried in his hand a banner on which was inscribed the legend:

Bonaparte—"O-grab-me."

The motto presents, in the latter part of the line, the anagram of embargo.

Following the leader were many seamen neatly dressed, with crape attached to their left arms. Six of them bore a boat, the flag of which was at half mast, shrouded in mourning, being emblematical of the Constitution of the United States.

Throngs of people joined the procession as it passed through State and Chapel streets to the Green. When the head of the column reached the Green, it was estimated that 1,400 persons were in line, being nearly one-fourth of the population of the city. After an address had been delivered to them, the people were dismissed, and those who had taken part in the procession quietly returned to their homes.

At the session of the General Assembly in October, 1808, Governor Trumbull reflected in severe terms on the act of embargo, and said, in his address to the House:

"However pressed by existing circumstances, the people of this State, I believe, have been quite as observant of the embargo regulations as any of our neighbors.

"The efficacy of this experiment has been as fairly tested within our jurisdiction as perhaps in any part of the United States; but amidst heavy and severe injuries to our trade, and many privations to our citizens, we have yet to learn what are to be its benefits in a rational point of view.

"I say this not to weaken your confidence in the laws of the Union, nor to discourage you in their full and fair observance. So long as the embargo laws exist, it is our duty faithfully and patiently to obey them."

Resolutions were passed during that session on this subject. They called on Congress in powerful language, and urged that body to repeal a law which "upon cool and impartial reflection appears to this Assembly to be unnecessary and grievous."

Mr. Hillhouse, at the time our representative at Washington, said in his speech on this topic before the House: "My people are not *bound to submit*, and in my opinion, they *will not submit* to such laws."

Early in 1809, the President issued his proclamation declaring the embargo at an end, but that an act of non-intercourse would take effect on the 20th of May, 1809, by which British and French vessels would be forbidden the use of American ports, and until that time the laws of the embargo acts were to be observed.

This news was received in our city with every demonstration of joy; and at a splendid subscription dinner spread in Mr. Butler's famous tavern, the following toasts were drank:

"The State of Connecticut. Here's to the ship that has weathered the storm.

"New England. The ocean is her birthright: her sons will never flee to the mountains.

"Non-intercourse, the embargo, and non-importation acts. The shells of these terrapins are cracked.

"American sailors. They were never made for weavers nor land-lubbers."

Mr. Green, in his newspaper of June 15th, wrote:

"The 10th of June *was* a day of unusual animation in this city. . . .

"On this auspicious day commerce was partially relieved of its oppressive shackles, and disburdened of its most embarrassing regulations.

"The enterprising merchant, and adventurous navigator, companions in the chances and experiments of fortune, are now at liberty to embark upon an element, the free use and benefits of which the great Creator designed for the commercial and civilized world. Unrestrained by that fallacious policy which proscribed a meritorious and prosperous class of citizens, and prohibited their right to the ocean, trade it is hoped will now resume its accustomed channels, and the American mariner become a joint proprietor of the seas.

"The schemes of enterprise, blessed with the auspices of Heaven, will feed the mouth of labor with that precious bread for which it has pined, and diffuse its blessings through the nation.

"*Poor Jack*, confiding in that mysterious and protecting Power who sits aloft, and protected by the government, will quit his *dignified* retirement to ride upon the waves, cheered with the prospect of employ, and content with his hardy fare and o'erflowing can.

"The husbandman will carol at the plough, and cultivate his fields with joy, pleased with the hopes that the surplus productions of his labor will command a ready market; and the mechanic, as he plies the tools of his art, will find a cure for the spleen of discouragement, when his hands are no longer paralyzed by the poverty of the times.

"Should respect to commerce and regard to the prosperity of New England deter the government from any future acts of national suicide, this section of the Union will cheerfully contribute to the support of its dignity, and pride itself in being foremost in the maintenance of its rights and permanency."

Now that the dreaded embargo was removed, although the maritime interests of our town still suffered from the non-intercourse act, the old time enterprise of New Haven again asserted itself, and the wheels of industry were once more set in motion. All was bustle and activity. Vessels which, for nearly eighteen months, had been "laid up," were loosed from their moorings,

taken to the wharves, and outfitted for sea. The ropewalks, of which there were four in the town, were busy at work; and the numerous mechanical trades, which are so intimately allied to navigation, were again in the enjoyment of occupation. From the adjoining country towns came great numbers of farmers with their staples, which were speedily purchased.

So quickly did the New Haven men improve their opportunity, that in one month after the embargo was annulled, thirty-three vessels had been refitted, loaded, and sent to the Dutch and Swedish islands of the Caribbean, from which places were sent, in fast-sailing British and French schooners, articles designed for the Windward Islands. From that period till the war with Great Britain in 1812, a constant and rapid appreciation in the maritime interests of our city was to be observed. We can have no stronger evidence of the enterprise and activity of the old New Haven merchants than the fact, that in a few months after the embargoed vessels were released, the American ensign was flying from the gaffs of New Haven vessels in the ports of Saint Petersburg, Cronstadt, Hamburg, Lisbon, Cadiz, Bordeaux, Liverpool, London, Cork, Mogadore, along the Spanish Main, and in the far distant ports of Batavia, Canton, and Polo Penang. Some of the vessels visiting these ports were employed in carrrying freight for New York merchants; but far the greater number were making their weary voyages under the direction of their owners in New Haven.

Throughout New England, a bitter feeling was still exhibited towards the government at the non-repeal of the non-intercourse and non-importation acts. By these acts no vessel could receive clearance papers for a British West India colony; and by the latter act, a British vessel was not allowed to bring the produce of the islands to an American port.

Great Britain of course retaliated, and enacted laws, that no American ships, at any of the British islands or colonies in the West Indies should receive cargoes of the produce of these places, unless they came there laden with the produce of the United States.

I doubt whether any more logical remark was made regard-

ing the hurtfulness of the non-intercourse act, than one made at the old Albany tavern in June, 1809.

"Have you heard the news?" asked a democrat in the general room of the tavern.

"What news?" inquired a bystander.

"Why, the Congress has repealed the embargo laws," said the first speaker.

"Yes," replied a young man in a distant part of the room, "in the same way that my father used to relieve his poor old horse. When the *fetters* galled him on *one* side, he took them off, and put them on *the other*."

On the 10th of May, 1810, the non-intercourse act was repealed, and about the same time the non-importation act ceased to be enforced. The British government, in the spirit of mutual concession, forthwith made new regulations, which were uninterrupted till the war of 1812.

Chapter IX.

THE MARITIME INTERESTS OF NEW HAVEN IN RELATION TO THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

The repeal of the non-intercourse and non-importation acts permitted commerce with the Windward Islands to renew its activity, subject to no restrictions and interdiction, and many of the New Haven ships were sent to those ports. We are told that great energy was displayed in the effort to determine which of the numerous vessels in our harbor should be the first to proceed to sea under the new régime in commercial affairs.

The ship "Julius Cæsar" was the fortunate vessel, followed in three hours by the barque "Maria," commanded by the late Captain James Goodrich.

From that period till the declaration of war with Great Britain, a very extensive commerce was maintained with all of the British colonies in the West Indies. During the two years following the repeal of the restrictive and burdensome acts, those

who had a part in the foreign trade of New Haven were generally successful. Many shipowners, however, tempted by the enormously high prices paid for American productions in the blockaded ports of the French West Indies, endeavored under cover of night to run through the blockading squadron. In not a few instances they succeeded; but they often paid a heavy penalty by the capture and confiscation of their vessels.

Many of our merchants also lost their vessels by capture while trying to enter the Dutch ports of the West Indies, which were likewise blockaded. This was the fate of the fine new brigs, "Mercury," "Julia," and "Argo," of this port, all of which were captured the same day by the same frigate, sent to Jamaica, and confiscated, entailing heavy losses upon the owners.

In November, 1810, the long desired news reached the United States, that the French government had revoked the Berlin and Milan decree, under which obnoxious law so many New Haven vessels had come to grief. From this period till the declaration of war with Great Britain, a satisfactory increase was visible in the foreign commerce of New Haven.

Many new vessels were built, others were purchased at other ports and brought here for registry, all being of larger dimensions than those of former days.

It was about this time that the "Derby Fishing Company" was in its most prosperous condition.

This company (famous in its day), was organized in Hull's tavern in Derby, January 15, 1807. It carried on a very extensive fishing business on the Newfoundland Banks, taking the fish to Europe and the West Indies, and bringing home the products of those respective countries. Several of its vessels sailed regularly to Lisbon and ports in the Mediterranean, bringing home to New Haven cargoes of wine, oil, and salt. The company used the latter in preparing its fish.

The capital subscribed at the first meeting was, according to the act of incorporation, fifty thousand dollars. It was soon increased, and made two hundred thousand, the increase being allotted in shares of twenty-five dollars each.

The transactions of the company were, for that period, immense; and the duties which it paid during several years were equal to those paid by the three largest commercial houses of the port.

So extensive was its business transactions, that at one time a chest of specie, which was brought to Derby, required eight men to take it from the wagon and place it in the vault of the Derby bank. The bank building was the brick edifice still standing at Derby Narrows.

The newspapers of that day often spoke in high praise of the fine vessels owned by the company. Among these vessels were the "Victor," "Naugatuck" (which disappeared at sea), "Charles," "Housatonic," "Lark," "Sally," "Patriot," "Derby," and "Keziah." This latter ship, in 1810, brought sixty Irish emigrants to New Haven direct from Belfast.

The stock of the company was owned in New Haven and Derby; and at its inception several of the most eminent merchants of our town were directors, Mr. Ebenezer Townsend being one of the most prominent.

After a few years of prosperity, the tide ebbed. Disasters overtook the company; several of its ships were lost at sea; others were captured and sold by the British and French admiralty orders; men to whom goods had been sold could not pay for them; and finally, in the summer of 1815, the company failed and made a disastrous ending.*

The "Eagle Bank" was organized about this period, January 1, 1812. The books were opened for subscription at John Clarke's tavern, giving a generous public an opportunity to take five thousand shares at one hundred dollars each. The bank at once began business in the store next west of the New Haven Bank. The first installment paid upon the stock was fifteen dollars per share, and this sum was fifteen dollars more than the stockholders *eventually* received for each share. Imprudent loaning of money and general mismanagement ruined the institution after a brief period of existence.

* During the first few years of the company's existence, the directors voted the president a salary of $1,500 a year. The last year their vote made it six and one-quarter cents.

On the 4th of April, 1812, an embargo was laid by Mr. Madison upon all vessels for ninety days. All ships were forbidden to sail for a foreign port under a penalty of twenty thousand dollars. This embargo was soon followed by the first rumors that war was probable between the United States and Great Britain. The commercial men of New Haven were among the earliest of American merchants to take the alarm. They saw what a dearth and scarcity of imported goods would ensue in case of a war with England, and at once ordered their ships home with such cargoes as could be procured at the ports where they chanced to be.

Even so recently as 1812 the manufacturing interest of the United States was in its infancy; and manufactures in New Haven were almost unknown. It was necessary to import from Europe many articles which are now manufactured in nearly every village of New England.

In 1810, the most important manufactured articles in New Haven were:

Linen,	10,300 yards.
Cotton,	331 "
Woolen,	1,581 "

To New Haven, as I have said, came large and valuable cargoes of goods of every description, particularly of hardware and dry goods. One enterprising merchant, doubtless foreseeing what would be the probable requirement of a large portion of his townsmen (in case they should be rendered idle by the expected war), imported in his ninety ton brig from Saint Martin's a cargo consisting of but two articles—gin and sugar.

One cargo of hardware and iron, imported into New Haven by the ship "Ann," paid the United States a duty of $87,431. It was a handsome sum, the largest amount of duty, if I mistake not, ever paid on the cargo of a single vessel in the history of this port. This particular cargo was brought to no less than forty-six consignees who were living in different sections of the State.

From the many West Indian ports, the New Haven vessels hastened home, bringing rich and valuable cargoes.

At last, on the 19th of June, 1812, President Madison issued his proclamation, in which he stated the many grievances, indignities, and insults that the United States had received from Great Britain, and declared that war existed between the respective countries. He called upon all good citizens, and urged, as they loved their country, as they valued the precious heritage derived from the virtue and valor of their fathers, as they felt the wrongs which had forced upon the country the last resort of injured nations, and as they consulted the best means under the blessings of Divine Providence to abridge the calamities of war, that they would exert themselves to preserve order, to promote concord, to maintain the authority of the laws, and to support and encourage all measures which might be adopted by the constituted authorities for obtaining a speedy, a just, and an honorable peace.

This particular appeal to the country was coolly received throughout New England, and particularly so in Connecticut.

On the 2d of July in that year, Governor Strong of Massachusetts issued a proclamation, setting apart the 23d day of the same month as a day of fasting and prayer, that the war and its terrible calamities might be averted.

This example was followed by the governors of most of the New England States, and of New York and Pennsylvania.

In our own State, a feeling inimical and hostile to the general government was engendered. The several embargo and non-intercourse acts had caused the merchants and shipowners severe trials in their commercial pursuits; and now that war was to be added to the list, they had reason for solicitude and dread when they feared that a repetition of the disasters of the early colonists was about to visit them.

A few only of the New Haven shipowners ventured to send their vessels away from their moorings in and about the harbor. Some, however, ran the risk of capture by the British cruisers, and found at the French ports in the West Indies a ready sale for their cargoes. The shipowners generally dismantled their vessels and took them up Dragon river, some of the smallest being towed as far as North Haven, where they remained until the close of the war.

In consequence of these reasonable precautions, many seafaring men were forthwith deprived of all means of supporting themselves and their families. At that period there were by count over six hundred seamen living in New Haven. A large part of these immediately entered the navy; others shipped in the privateers then fitting out here and elsewhere; many formed themselves into a company, which was known as the "Ring Bolt Guard," and which did good service in assisting to erect the rude fortifications on Beacon Hill. They also had charge of the Block House which stood at the extreme end of the pier. Others were employed on the gun-boats which at nigth patrolled the lower portion of our harbor to prevent the patriotic citizens of our town from carrying supplies to the British squadron employed in blockading the Sound at its entrance.

Very few of those who visit the ruins of the old fort on Beacon Hill, have any idea of the great interest which its erection created in New Haven and the surrounding villages. In our own town, those who were unable to give their days' work, sent substitutes. The carpenters of the city spent their day there in a body. So, too, did the masons, blacksmiths, shipwrights, sailmakers, etc. From the neighboring towns, came large delegations, sometimes camping on the hillside and remaining two or more days. From Cheshire came Col. Hull at the head of one hundred and thirty men, who spent three days at the work. When they passed through the city, they stopped for a short time on the Green, where they were saluted with the discharge of cannon and refreshments were served to them. On one day came seventy-five sturdy farmers from North Haven under the direction of Dr. Trumbull, the historian of our State, then in his seventy-eighth year. Joseph Whiting came with the same number of men from the town of Hamden, and large delegations came from Branford, Naugatuck, Derby, and as far up the valley as Watertown.

Soon after the establishment of the blockade, a very complete code of signals was used between this fortification, Fort Hale, and the Block House on the pier; and all movements of the enemy's ships and tenders were at once signaled to the city.

No sooner had war been declared than the cruisers and privateers of both nations swarmed on our coast; and within the first three months of the war, no fewer than one hundred and eighty-five American vessels of all descriptions had been taken by the British. Of this number

109 were sent to Halifax and Bermuda.
22 were burnt at sea,
14 were retaken by the Americans,
33 were released,
7 were lost at sea.

Of the whole number, four only hailed from New Haven.

It is a singular coincidence, that there were, during the same period, one hundred and eighty-five British vessels also captured by our countrymen. Of these, one hundred and sixteen were sent into American ports, some of them representing large amounts of money.

No history or sketch of the maritime interests of New Haven would be faithfully narrated, if the story of our privateers were left untold. Their enterprise, skill, and courage must be recorded as a memorial for coming generations. I regret, however, that I am forced to write that our privateersmen came home poorer than they went out.

There were several privateers that sailed from New Haven. Among them were the "Quinnipiack," "Saucy Talk," "New Broom," "Teazer," "Wasp," and "Actress." The "New Broom," was commanded by Israel Bishop of New Haven, and was captured by the Somerset and sent into New York.

I must tell the story of the "Actress." She was a fine, fast-sailing sloop of sixty tons, and had for a crew forty-two young, able-bodied, New Haven county men, every one of whom was anxious to make his fortune by privateering. For an armament the sloop carried eight small guns, with the usual assortment of small arms, cutlasses, boarding-pikes, etc.

The commander of the "Actress" was John Lumsden, an Englishman by birth, but a naturalized American. He was an able seaman and had commanded several of the best New Haven ships. His officers were experienced sailors; and thus

appointed, she sailed from Long Wharf on the evening of the 11th of July, 1812, "on a cruise." Reaching the open sea early next morning, every thing on board the privateer was put into shipshape order, and a six weeks' cruise agreed upon. Sharp and anxious eyes scanned the horizon; for a reward of fifty dollars was promised to the man who should first descry a vessel that should prove to be a "Britisher."

Nothing, however, was seen for several days, and the ship's company began to think privateering slow work, and to long for their farms, when, to the joy of all, at daybreak, July 19th, on the northern edge of the Gulf Stream, a man on the fore-topmast rigging cried out: "Sail ho!!!" with the singular prolongation of sound that no landsman can imitate.

"Where away?" bawled the officer in charge of the deck.

"A mile to lu'ard," was the reply, and then came the welcome words, "and a Britisher too."

True it was. In a few moments the mist lifted, and less than a mile to the leeward of the privateer lay a huge British ship, to all appearances a merchantman. There she lay, with all her three topsails mastheaded, waiting for the morning breeze to spring up.

From the fact that the topsails were "mastheaded," i. e., hauled up to the head of the topmast, the privateersmen accepted it as a sure sign that the stranger was a merchant vessel and her capture was certain. There was on board the sloop a great contrast to the dullness of the previous days. Muskets, cutlasses and boarding pikes were brought on deck, cleaned and put in order; the little eight-pounders were swabbed out, loaded, and a supply of powder and shot placed near them. Aboard the "Actress," excitement and bustle were everywhere from stem to stern.

I am told that when the commander first saw the ship, he was in the ordinary costume of a New Haven privateersman, namely, a tarpaulin hat, red shirt, and a pair of blue trousers "cat-harpinned at the knee." When he was satisfied that a prize was soon to fall into his hands, he retired to his cabin to array himself in a becoming manner, and shortly afterwards

appeared on his quarter deck clad in a blue suit with red facings, and a cocked hat, all of which were loaned him by a Foxon militia captain, Jeduthan Bradley by name.

Sword by his side and speaking trumpet under his arm, the doughty sailor trod his weather deck, and after feasting his eyes for several minutes upon the Britisher, he gave his helmsman orders to put up the wheel. Forthwith the "Actress," with her two score valiant New Haveners, bore down upon the stranger; and so certain was commander Lumsden and his crew of securing the prize, that a crew of eighteen men were immediately told off to carry the ship into New London, if possible; but into Boston at all hazards.

All hands judged the helpless Englishman to be a London tea-ship from Canton bound for Boston, and of course ignorant that war had been declared. They considered, therefore, that their fortunes were made, and that lives of ease and luxury awaited them at home.

Just before the "Actress" left Long Wharf, a friend of the commander and a part owner of the vessel had put on board a quarter cask of Jamaica rum, requesting that it should be drunk when the first prize should be captured. The captain and crew reckoning to a certainty that the Englishman was as good as captured, it was now proposed to drink the rum without further delay. The captain at first opposed it; but after the prize crew had explained to him, that if *they* were sent aboard the ship *they* would lose *their* share, he gave his consent. The cask was accordingly hoisted on deck and broached. The libations were heavy and frequent.

In the meantime the privateer had been gradually nearing the ship, apparently unnoticed by the leviathan; and when within speaking distance, Captain Lumsden, in a voice tremulous with patriotic pride, hailed the ship.

In a moment the answer came back: "The Spartan of London."

At the mention of this name a peculiar expression, we are told, was visible in the faces of many of the privateersmen, several pairs of jaws chattered, many knees knocked feelingly

one against another, and cans half emptied were laid upon the deck (a rare proceeding in those days), because the "Spartan" was the well known name of one of the fleet blockading New London. It was the name of one that had caused a wholesome dread to be entertained all along our shores from the Vineyard to Sandy Hook. She had for several months harried our coast, her vigilant commander boasting that nothing escaped him. Only two weeks previous to Captain Lumsden's experience with her, she had chased, captured, and sent into Halifax, the splendid American ship "Melancthon," bound from Valparaiso to Boston with a cargo of copper ore valued at $350,000.

Our privateersmen, however, soon recovered their courage and coolness, and reasoned: the "Spartan" is a frigate; this is a helpless Indiaman hailing from London. Captain Lumsden now drew himself up to his full height. In a manner as imposing as he could assume, he roared out: "Consider your ship a prize to the United States privateer "Actress." Send your papers aboard."

The commander of the "Spartan," who afterwards attained the highest post in the British navy, was in his way a wag, and he made answer: "Really now, captain, would you ask that I, the commander of such a great ship as this, should strike my flag to such a little fellow as you?"

The reply from the New Haven Nelson, liberally garnished with his country's oaths, was: "Strike, or I'll fire into you."

A moment thereafter the shrill sound of a boatswain's whistle was heard, and suddenly, as if by magic, the ports on each side of the ship were triced up, exposing to view about sixty heavy guns. At the same time a cheery, wholesome voice said: "Come to our gangway, and we'll hoist you in."

Never was an order obeyed with more alacrity; and amidst the laughter of derision and scorn, the "Actress" was swept alongside. At eight A. M., with a prize crew of ten men, she was on her course for Halifax. Her valiant crew were divided. Half were transferred to the frigate, and half left on board of the privateer. They all returned to New Haven some weeks afterwards; but without their cruiser.

The brig "Holkar" was fitted out in New York as a privateer; but Captain Rowland, unable to ship the crew (which he wished to be exclusively Americans) in New York, decided to come to New Haven to complete his ship's company; and on a Sunday morning in October, 1812, the brig dropped anchor in the Cove. She began at once a heavy cannonading from her battery of sixteen guns. The townspeople, especially those in the churches, were alarmed at the noise. Many feared that some of the enemy's ships had begun to destroy the town. The firing continued for more than two hours. Then the American ensign was displayed at the brig's masthead, and two boats, crowded with sailors, left her side, and were pulled towards the pierhead. The lieutenant in charge of the party landed, and soon after notified the large crowd that had collected about him, that the vessel at anchor was the privateer brig "Holkar," Commander Rowland, bound on a cruise through the West Indies, and along the coast of Brazil, and had come here to ship the part of her crew yet lacking, namely sixty men. Over one hundred were then on board. The lieutenant held forth the most flattering inducements to those who would ship, and he dwelt particularly upon the rich prizes which they would be sure to pick up off Brazil. His arguments were so effective that on the first day more than twenty seamen enrolled themselves on board the "Holkar."

But there was vigorous opposition in New Haven to the shipping of a privateer crew; for even at that early date, many of our people were strong in their denunciation of privateering. However, the news that a privateer was recruiting in New Haven harbor soon reached the ears of the old sailors who were living in adjoining towns, and down to the Wharf hastened these men of the sea, and by Thursday noon the sixty men desired were selected and shipped. Shortly afterwards there was another somewhat heavy cannonade; the brig sheeted home her topsails, and went down the Sound to sea.

This privateer made many captures; but none of great value. One of her prizes was the East Indiaman "Surrur," which the British government had chartered to convey two hundred con-

vict women to Botany Bay. After a long chase, the "Surrur" struck her flag to the "Holkar;" and a prize crew having been put on board, she was taken into St. Nicholas, Cape de Verde Islands, where, to the delight of the convicts, they were put on shore and their liberty given to them. A few weeks subsequently, the "Holkar" was overhauled by the seventy-four "Romulus," and after a long and exciting chase, captured and sent to St. Helena. One of the crew who joined the privateer in our port is still living, Augustus Willoughby of Branford.

Several privateers were manned in large part by New Haven sailors, and did good service. This was the case with the "Sabine," whose crew were shipped here, though she sailed from New York. In the British Channel, off Dover, she fell in with the "Countess of Harcourt," 520 tons, six heavy guns, and ninety men. She took her; and this was the very Guineaman for whose capture the "Sabine" was especially fitted out. The prize was of great value—one of the most valuable captured during the war. The "Sabine" was the privateer, a part of whose crew rowed in a whale boat the entire distance from Charleston, South Carolina, to New York.

Within a few months after war had been declared, the British Government saw the necessity of encouraging the exportation of American breadstuffs to its colonies in the West Indies and Bermuda, and accordingly transmitted orders to the Admiral in command of the blockading fleet, who in turn sent the same to the several commanders, that neutral vessels might enter certain blockaded ports of the United States.

New Haven was one of the ports designated; and for several months, large numbers of Spanish, Swedish, Portuguese, Norwegian, and even Russian vessels crowded into our harbor. All of these ships, except a few from Lisbon, came from ports in the West Indies. Most of them, and their masters, rejoiced in unpronounceable foreign names; but there were many whose appearance indicated that they were British vessels, and even some, that they were American vessels, in disguise. This so-called neutral trade was so extensive, that in one day, July 10, 1813, there were entered at this port no fewer than sixteen foreign ships, and there were cleared twenty.

A trade so important could not continue long without attracting the attention of the authorities at Washington, and on the 20th of July, 1813, the President, Mr. Madison, sent to the Senate and House of Representatives a confidential message, recommending that an embargo be immediately placed upon all vessels in the ports of the United States and bound on foreign voyages. In respect to this measure, the votes were cast in the House, and eighty were in favor and fifty against it. In the Senate it failed to pass, being favored by sixteen and opposed by eighteen votes.

Most of the New England people, and particularly those of Connecticut, considered this proposition an act of avowed hostility on the part of the President, who was accused of a desire to ruin what little trade there was left to their section of the country; and a feeling was at once aroused that led in due time to the adoption of the resolutions presented to the delegates from Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, who met at Hartford, 15th December, 1814, in the convention which has become known to history as "the Hartford Convention."

Among the amendments to the constitution of the United States recommended by this convention one was, that "Congress shall not have the power to lay an embargo on ships or vessels belonging to citizens of the United States in the ports or harbors thereof for more than sixty days." Another was this: "Congress shall not have power, without the concurrence of two thirds of both houses, to interdict the commercial intercourse between the United States and any foreign nation or the dependencies thereof."

The report of this convention, with the resolutions above stated, was, to quote from Hollister, "immediately published to the world, and, as was naturally to be expected, filled the whole country with excitement. Some hailed it with demonstrations of lively joy, and others with hisses of derision; some called it patriotic, others averred that it was treasonable; some made it their banner-cry, others were ready under other banners to go out and give battle to the men who dared to march under it."

The proceedings of the convention were at once approved by the Legislature of Massachusetts, but the prevailing sentiment of the Union was opposed to it. The convention had transacted its business with closed doors; and although, in doubtful times, the General Assembly of Connecticut had always done the same, and even the very convention that had adopted the constitution of the United States had done the same, yet the delegates to the Hartford Convention were not allowed to plead these precedents in answer to the charge that: "*Secrecy was a badge of fraud.*"

Allusion has been made to this matter only for the purpose of showing to what extremities we had arrived in Connecticut when a State, ever prominent in its loyalty to the Union, could adopt and promulgate such sentiments as are to be observed in many of the resolutions passed by this convention, composed of so large a number of the eminent men of the several States that have been named.

Those from Connecticut were Chauncey Goodrich, James Hillhouse, John Treadwell, Zephaniah Swift, Nathaniel Smith, Calvin Goddard, and Roger Minot Sherman.

I should have stated, that several months previous to the convention at Hartford, Captain Oliver, of the frigate "Valiant," and commodore of the blockading squadron, sent word to New Haven by the skipper of a fishing smack, that "*there was no blockade of New Haven.*"

Encouraged by this message, several vessels were hastily fitted out and sent to sea; but, before they returned, Captain Oliver issued an order, declaring that the Sound would be in state of rigorous blockade after the sixth day of December, that is, four days later than the date of his sweeping order.

This rigorous blockade, together with the act of embargo passed by Congress, January 1st, 1814, had the effect of entirely closing the harbor of New Haven to commercial enterprise. From that time until the close of the war, the foreign commerce of the port may be said to have scarcely existed even in name.

It was at this period that the whole country was admiring the

courage and seamanship of Isaac Hull, a New Haven sailor. He was born and bred in the neighboring town of Derby in this county. He entered at an early age the profession which he was destined to honor beyond any one of his countrymen before him. He held at first a lowly place on board of a coasting vessel belonging to his native town. He afterwards came to New Haven and engaged himself on board of a West Indiaman. He rose through the successive grades of his arduous profession so rapidly that while yet a young man he commanded one of the most valuable ships sailing from the port.

Soon after the commencement of the war, we find him commander of the "Constitution," a ship as dear to Americans as Nelson's ship, "Victory," is to the British people; and his career in "Old Ironsides" is a noble part of American history. In his engagement with the "Guerrière," he convinced the British navy that in him they had "a foeman worthy of their steel," in spite of the fact that they had the recent prestige of Trafalgar and the Nile.

On the 19th of August, 1812, he gained this victory, the "Guerrière," commanded by Dacres, being one of the fleet which had shortly before prevented him from entering New York harbor by way of Sandy Hook. In the battle the British captain lost eighty of his crew, killed and wounded, while Captain Hull lost seven killed and seven wounded. Nothing more clearly shows the severity of the firing than the fact that the "Guerrière" was so riddled by the shot of the "Constitution" as to make it necessary to burn her. She was in too helpless a condition to be taken to port.

"Isaac did so maul and rake her
That the decks of Captain Dacres
Were in such a woeful pickle
As if death with scythe and sickle,
With his sling and with his shaft
Had cut his harvest fore and aft.

"Thus in thirty minutes ended
Mischief that could not be mended.
Masts and yards and ship descended,
All to David Jones's locker.
Such a ship in such a pucker!" [*Old Song.*]

Soon after the close of the war the legislature of Connecticut *resolved*,

"That they entertain a high and respectful sense of the virtues, gallantry and naval skill of their fellow citizen, Commodore Isaac Hull; that an elegant sword [now in Archives of State Department at Washington] and pair of pistols, both mounted with gold, with suitable inscription, and manufactured in this State, be procured; and that his Excellency, the Governor, be respectfully requested to present the same to the Commodore, with a copy of this resolution, as honorary tokens of the high esteem in which he is held by the people of this State for his personal worth and public services; and that his Excellency be requested to do this in a manner which he shall deem most expressive of the sincerity of our esteem."

Among the most valued historical treasures of the New Haven Colony Historical Society are the two quaint portmanteaux which were once owned by the commodore. The larger of the two, which served as a reading desk when this History was read before the society, was in Hull's cabin when he fought the "Guerrière."

The society has also the vote of thanks, handsomely engrossed on parchment, presented to Commodore Hull by the General Assembly of the State of New York, as well as a document showing that "the freedom of the city of Albany" was given to the gallant sailor.

One word for the frigate "Constitution," so intimately associated with our New Haven county hero who commanded her. She was built at Boston in 1797 and became a famous ship by her successes in the course of the war of 1812, during which she defeated the "Guerrière," the "Java," and other British vessels. After serving many years on the different European stations and several others, she was in 1849 the flag-ship of Commodore Moulton in the Mediterranean, and in 1856 the flag-ship of Commodore Mayo on the west coast of Africa. As a fighting vessel, she has for many years been out of date, and was not used in suppressing the Rebellion.

A short time previous to the Centennial Exposition she was thoroughly overhauled and visited by thousands of Americans. She carried a cargo of goods from the United States to the

Paris exhibition, and visited in 1880 the city of Halifax and several of the West Indian ports.

On the 15th of December, 1881, she was put out of commission, her flag hauled down, in the presence of a large number of officers and men. Hereafter she will be known as a hulk only, in the "Rotten Row" of the Brooklyn navy yard.

During the blockade of the Sound, the roads between New York and Boston presented a scene never before witnessed. It was one which in all probability will never be repeated. Strung along this distance were wagons going either way and conveying merchandise of every kind and description. The government was forced to transport all its vast supplies for the use of the army and the navy by teams; and so numerous were the teams in public and private employment, that at one of the stage houses here in New Haven it was a common sight to see thirty or forty arrive in one night.

By the same road and in the same style of conveyance, the coffins containing the bodies of Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow of the "Chesapeake" passed through our town on the journey to New York.

Passengers willing to pay the extra fare, were accommodated by the "Diligence Stages," which were owned and controlled by Mr. Seaman of New York. The schedule time was forty hours between New York and Boston, not including stoppages.

The traffic on the roads was so great, that many of the turnpikes paid dividends for the first and the last time. One part of the way, the Milford turnpike, which generally paid but a small dividend, so increased its profits at this time as to average ten dollars per share. It made one dividend of fifteen dollars.

During this period, and in fact throughout the whole time that the blockade was maintained, the prices of imported articles appreciated until they rose in value to almost fabulous sums; and during the winter of 1814, great suffering was experienced by many of our people who had been deprived of the means of earning a livelihood.

Previous to the establishment of a strict blockade of Long Island Sound, the New York and New Haven packets had

made regular trips between these two places, bringing from New York great quantities of merchandise which was loaded upon wagons and distributed through the North. But after the proclamation of Captain Oliver ordering a strict blockade of the Sound, the packets made very infrequent and irregular trips.

The fleet at the entrance of the Sound included some of the largest and finest ships of the British navy. At different periods of the war there were stationed there the

Ramillies,	74 guns.	Acosta,	38 guns.
Valiant,	74 guns.	Shannon,	38 guns.
Narcissus,	50 guns.	Pactolus,	15 gun brig.
Pomone,	50 guns.	Dispatch,	10 guns.
Orpheus,	44 guns.	Tenedos,	10 guns.
Superb,	44 guns.	Terror,	10 guns.
Arab,	40 guns.	Spartan,	50 guns.
Nimrod,	40 guns.		

This last named ship was the one Captain Lumsden mistook for an Indiaman.

The fleet dispatched every day several small tenders, which cruised up and down the coast, and kept the packets in a continual state of alarm. One of these tenders was the "Liverpool Packet," so-called. She was formerly an American schooner, and a very fast sailer. She was captured by one of the ships at New London, and her name changed. Now, for nearly two years, she had pestered the Connecticut coast from Connecticut river to Sands Point. So constantly did she pass and repass the mouth of our harbor, that her name became a household word, though not a name of fondness and delight. Many small crafts had been captured by her; and no coasting skipper ventured into the Sound unless the "Liverpool Packet" had passed in the opposite direction from his course. On the little earth-works at Beacon Hill there was a signal station, whence signals were transmitted to New Haven, giving news of the doings of the cruiser. One signal was: "'Liverpool Packet' gone to the eastward." Another: "'Liverpool Packet' gone to the westward." Thus our people were tolerably well informed respecting her proximity to the port.

There are many amusing incidents told of the doings of those fast sailing tenders, and of the "Liverpool Packet" in particular; and at the expense of being accused of relating one of the ancient stories with which we are annually regaled, I will spend a moment in narrating the misfortunes which befell one of the New Haven packets in the days of the blockade.

The packet "Susan" lay in our harbor, ready to proceed to New York, but waited several days for the signal to be raised which would indicate that the "Liverwool Packet" had gone to the eastward. The captain of the "Susan" was John Miles, of whom one word must be said.

He was born of good old New Haven stock. His ancestors' house stood near the corner of George and State streets, and was built many years prior to 1748, when a survey of the colony was made. John Miles was born on the ancestral ground, and began at an early age to follow the sea. This pursuit was interrupted by the breaking out of the War of Independence, and among the first to enlist in the service of his country was John Miles. He joined the heavy artillery, and remained in the army till the end of the war. He received his commission through the hand of Benedict Arnold.

His regiment was stationed at West Point when a transport loaded with arms, ammunition and provisions for the American army arrived off the Point. She had no sooner dropped anchor than she was boarded and set on fire by the British who were in force on the eastern side of the river. Washington, who was on the shore and an observer of the proceedings, at once called for volunteers to swim to the transport and extinguish the fire. The loss of the supplies he knew would be almost irreparable, and he promised a commission to any who would go. Twelve soldiers of the artillery volunteered. One of the twelve was John Miles. Nine of the number were shot by the enemy; but our townsman returned uninjured. Washington forthwith gave the survivors their commissions as lieutenants.

The regiment of Miles marched from West Point to Yorktown, and were present at the surrender of the British forces.

Till the last days of his life he never tired of relating the particulars of that event; but he said no one could describe the joy and enthusiasm which prevailed throughout the American camp when it was seen that the British had been forced into a place from which there was no escape but in surrender. Capt. Miles used to say: "We had him (Cornwallis) where we could shell the *corn* off his body and leave him *Cob*wallis."

When the army was disbanded, Capt. Miles returned home, and resumed his seafaring life. He afterwards engaged in trade and built his store where the Mechanics Bank now stands. His house was the large brick building which stands next north of the bank.

When LaFayette held his reception in New Haven at Butler's tavern, he noticed Capt. Miles in the throng of people who had assembled to do him honor. He called him to his side and gave him a kindly and affectionate greeting.

Capt. Miles died in 1830 and was buried in the old cemetery.

The packet "Susan" was in the time of the blockade commanded by this old New Havener of whom we have been speaking. Early on the morning of October 1st, 1814, the signal gave notice that the "Liverpool Packet" had passed to the eastward at daybreak. The "Susan" therefore proceeded upon her voyage to New York, and reached that city in due time without adventure. On the 7th of the same month she was ready to return; and on Sunday morning she sailed for New Haven. Some of our citizens afterwards maintained that the disasters which befell Capt. Miles came upon him because he commenced his voyage on the Sabbath day. Be that as it may, he sailed for home with a cargo of merchandise valued at not less than $15,000. Most of this sum was represented by imported goods of every description. One part of his cargo was several months' supply of paper for the "Connecticut Journal."

Capt. Miles was a cautious navigator, and he anchored his vessel for the first night in Greenwich bay. Getting under way again early Monday morning, he sailed prosperously, and on the afternoon of that day was off Stratford Point, with so strong a westerly wind that he expected to be in our harbor during the evening.

Capt. Miles had the reputation of always having a *good cook*. He generally had his cabin filled with passengers. On this voyage he had several, among whom were Mr. Isaac Townsend and son and Mr. Ebenezer Johnson. The latter lived in the house where Mr. Veitch now has his seed store. He had been to New York on business. All the passengers expected to reach home in time to get ashore that night and appear in their usual places of business the next morning.

At noon on Monday the master of a Long Island sloop had spoken Capt. Miles and informed him that the dreaded "Liverpool packet" had been to the eastward several days. Thus encouraged, the "Susan" had been jogging along till we find her off Stratford Point.

Shortly after passing this place, the "Susan" observed a sail approaching, evidently from Long Island. The advancing craft was a stranger to all on board; but they did not at all fancy her appearance, and as she continued her course towards him, Capt. Miles tacked ship and headed his vessel for Stratford river. The passengers took the alarm and secreted their valuables as well as possible. Mr. Johnson put a large number of gold dollars inside of his stock.

The "Susan" made good headway towards the desired haven; but it was too late. The stranger gained rapidly; and though she had a load of cord wood upon her deck, the practiced eye of Capt. Miles perceived through her disguise that she was a vessel in the service of the blockading squadron.

He thought, however, that if he could only reach the river, all would be well. He would try at all events; and crew and passengers bent bravely to the sweeps, which had been quickly put out, while visions of "Dartmoor" and of Halifax jail presented themselves to their imaginations.

No use! The stranger, which had hoisted a British ensign, ran down abreast of them, luffed to the wind, and threw an eight pound shot across the bow of the "Susan." Capt. Miles was too old a sailor not to comprehend that marine language, and with a sigh, he told his helmsman to bring his vessel to the wind. He then dropped his gaff, and in a few moments a boat

came alongside from the cruiser, and out of it a midshipman stepped upon the deck of the "Susan," informing Capt. Miles that his vessel was a prize to His Majesty's brig "Dispatch," and that he would at once relieve him of the further command of the "Susan." Several men were immediately sent on board and with the passengers and crew, Capt. Miles's packet, carrying her rich cargo, was soon standing towards the British fleet off New London.

A Stratford man who had been fishing in his boat near the river's mouth, witnessed the proceedings, and forthwith put in for the shore; and as soon as he reached it he saddled his horse and made a straight wake for New Haven. Going through the streets, he continually cried out: "They 've captured the 'Susan!' They 've captured the 'Susan!'" Thus by the time that he had reached the wharf, the news was very generally known.

The excitement was great, and the indignation knew no bounds, when it was told that the British had actually captured a New Haven packet, and that one of all others, Captain Miles' "Susan."

They would rescue their fellow citizens at all hazards. Word was immediately sent abroad that those who willing to go out to retake her, should meet at the conference room of the Center church in Orange street. Without delay, amidst a shower of expletives and threats of vengeance, the cutter "Eagle," which had been moored for safety above Tomlinson's bridge, was towed to the end of Long Wharf and hastily fitted for a cruise.

An aged shipmaster, now in his ninetieth year, tells me that on that eventful day he was returning from East Haven, and was on the bridge just as the draw was swung to allow the "Eagle" to pass through. Some ten or more boats were towing her. Her deck was filled with men and boys, reeving rigging, bending sails, and generally putting things to rights. He says that judging from the threats which were uttered and the anger displayed, he supposed that the "Eagle," single handed, was going to attack the entire blockading squadron.

Thirty-odd men in the meantime met at the conference room and speedily started to join the cutter. Elnathan Attwater was chosen commander of the volunteers and John Davis, lieutenant. Large quantities of lint and linen bandages were packed by the women and sent on board.

That afternoon at five o'clock, in tow of many boats, the "Eagle" passed down the harbor, and with a light breeze from the south, stood out into the Sound, heading towards Mattituck on the Long Island shore, hoping to cut off the tender and her prize. The crew of the "Eagle," however, saw nothing of the object of their pursuit. But when the mist lifted on the following morning, they saw, in close proximity to them, an English fifteen gun brig, "Dispatch" by name.

A yearning for home now filled the hearts of the cutter's men—the volunteers especially—and as it was judged useless to contend with a vessel so heavily armed as was the "Dispatch," it was instantly: *Sauve qui peut.*

Captain Lee, the regular commander of the "Eagle," ordered the great sweeps to be put out. They were manned by nearly all the thirty volunteers. The crew of the cutter manned two of the boats and propelled in this manner the shore was pulled for, a creek being the objective point.

The gun-brig immediately hoisted out two boats, sending them in pursuit. They soon came up with the "Eagle," and sharp firing began without waste of time; but little or no damage was done by it.

When within hailing distance of the shore, Captain Lee ascertained from some farmers who were on the beach, that there was not sufficient depth of water in the creek to float the cutter. This intelligence caused a hasty consultation, and then it was decided to ground her on the sand. This was soon done, and her armament, consisting of two two-pounders and two four-pounders, was dragged on shore, placed on a bank of earth, with the cutter's flag and the American ensign set over them.

Just at this time, the "Liverpool Packet" hove in sight and joined the brig. Both immediately began to shell the crew of the "Eagle;" but after three hours of hard work, they drew off.

The only life lost in this engagement was that of a young heifer, grazing near by in a pasture. A writer in the Hartford newspaper, a few days after the affair, said that the "Dispatch" was "the same gun-brig whose shot, at the bombardment of Stonington, killed a horse and a hog."

The "Eagle" was floated off from the beach that night; but several armed boats from "the cattle-killing brig" came a few hours before daylight and took possession of her. She was sent to Halifax, where she was refitted and employed by the British as a cruiser. From that period, all record of her is lost.

The name "Eagle" was at this particular time in ill repute with the officers of the blockading fleet. A short time previous private individuals in New York had sent a small vessel called the "Eagle" in charge of a captain and crew towards the fleet. To deceive the enemy as to her true character, her hold was partially filled with barrels of lime and stone and her deck with timber. Under the stones five hundred pounds of gunpowder were placed, and an apparatus so arranged that in consequence of a clock-like machine being set in motion, an explosion would follow at a given time. Off Hammonasset Point this vessel was captured, after a slight show of resistance, by one of the tenders and sent to the fleet. Fortunately for the frigate to which she was a prize, she was not moored alongside, but was anchored some distance away. Her crew were paroled and sent on shore; but before leaving they set the machinery of the apparatus in motion. Two hours afterwards the vessel was blown to fragments! The British lieutenant who was in charge was instantly killed; also ten of his men, and an equal number wounded.

This so aggravated the officers of the whole fleet, and especially Commodore Hardy, whose frigate, "Ramillies," so narrowly escaped destruction, that he sent word to General Isham, commanding at New London, that he would thenceforth allow no vessels but those carrying a flag of truce to pass through his fleet. Soon afterwards, however, he announced that he would not molest any fishing vessels employed about the Sound.

The "Susan" meantime had reached the squadron, where, after a few days' detention, all the passengers were paroled. Captain Miles ransomed his vessel by the payment of two thousand dollars, and arrived at New Haven shortly after his passengers returned to this place. Both passengers and crew, during their sojourn with the fleet, were kindly treated by the commanding officer and his men.

The successful eluding of the vigilance of the blockading squadron by Captain Howard, of the New London packet "Juno," deserves notice even at this late day. In respect to this craft, Miss Caulkins says:

"Had her compass and helm been charmed to guide her safely, she could scarcely have performed her trips with better success. Once indeed she was driven into Saybrook river, and her mast shot away; but this was her only serious disaster. Her enterprising commander generally chose a dark night in which to leave the harbor and run through the blockading squadron, and as no shore lights were then allowed, he steered his course by the stern lights of the enemy's ships. He often went out and came in under cover of falling rain or driving snow. He had four pieces of cannon on his deck and was well supplied with shot, but confined himself strictly to a defensive course, pursuing his way steadily, and never firing a gun except in case of attack. He was narrowly watched by the British, who easily obtained all the newspapers published on the coast, and could ascertain with tolerable accuracy his periods of departure and return. He was several times pursued by their boats, but a spirited discharge of his guns always succeeded in driving them away; and in several critical periods when he found himself in peril from the large vessels of the enemy, a favorable wind and a turn of the tide assisted his escape. This very fact, that the 'Juno' continually eluded their grasp, made the British more desirous of putting an end to her career, and rendered her ultimate escape the more remarkable."

Early in January, 1815, rumors were heard that peace would probably be declared; and on the 25th of that month there arrived at the capes of the Delaware a British frigate whose commander reported that he had spoken a London ship and learned from the captain that when the Londoner left England the preliminary articles of peace were ready to be signed at Ghent. This report was soon afterwards denied not only; but on the contrary, it was reported, and apparently up-

on good authority, that all negotiations were broken up, and even that our commissioners were on their way home.

Thus hopes for a return of peace and prosperity were confounded; and in this part of the country, all were dispirited and discouraged.

Fortunately, however, brighter days were soon to follow; and on the 13th of February, 1815, came the welcome news, that a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States had been signed at Ghent on the 24th of December, 1814, and that it had been ratified on the 30th of the same month by the Prince Regent. It was also reported that the American commissioners would sail for home in the British frigate "Favorite," and bring with them the treaty for ratification by the President.

The treaty thus made was extremely acceptable to us, but most unpalatable to the British nation at large. Most of them painfully felt the conviction that their boasted supremacy of the seas had been divided with another nation, and that even this was not the worst of the case; but that, in yielding to "the boastful, insolent and naturally vain American," the concessions which had been demanded, the ancient honor of England had been sullied. The London "Times" belched forth its usual thunderings and prophecies. On the 28th of December, it presented to its readers a powerful leader, lamenting the national disgrace, and urging that the war, cruel as it was, be prosecuted unless the United States should yield. It said:

"Better is it that we should grapple with the young lion when he is first flushed with the taste of our flock, than wait until in the maturity of his strength he bears away both sheep and shepherd."

In the London "Advertiser" of the same day appeared the following

"ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

Wanted, The spirit which animated Elizabeth, Oliver, and William.
Wanted, Better negotiations or more gunpowder.
Lost, All ideas of national honor and dignity.
Found, That any insignificant State may insult *that* which used to call herself 'Mistress of the Waves.'"

The London "Chronicle" also lamented a dishonorable peace, but informed its readers that "the best means of ascertaining the fact of the treaty being palatable, or the contrary, will be from the returns of the manufacturing districts throughout the empire and the state of the Custom House books."

In our own country the news of peace was received with undisguised feelings of joy and satisfaction.

Within one hour after the news reached New Haven, the church bells were rung. Cannon fired on the Green. Citizens shook hands and congratulated each other as they met on the streets. The ever busy school boy marked the word *Peace* on doors, fences, pavements. The cannon from the fortifications on Beacon Hill and Fort Hale proclaimed to the surrounding villages the joyful tidings that peace was once more to reign over our land.

Such a tumult of joy (an eye-witness once told me) was never before seen in our streets.

At night the city was illuminated—not a house but had its candle at every window. Candles were placed on the tops of the posts of the fences surrounding the Green and the colleges. The streets were filled with a happy multitude; and, if report be true, most of the rum which had weathered the gales of non-intercourse, the embargo act, and the blockade, was consumed during the joyful night of February 13, 1815. The rejoicings extended in various ways for nearly a week.

There was great rejoicing again on the day after it became known that the President had ratified the treaty. The newspaper of the time said:

"Wednesday last, the treaty having been previously ratified (being also the birthday of Washington), was devoted to the celebration of these two great events—the one as the harbinger of our former glory, the other of our future prosperity. A Committee had been appointed to make the necessary arrangements. The day was ushered in with the roar of Cannon and the ringing of the Church Bells. The Military were called out. The Governor's Horse and Foot Guards and the Artillery appeared in their usual brilliancy. At eleven o'clock, the Military and Citizens repaired to the new brick Meeting House (Center Church) where discourses were delivered by Dr. Dwight and the Rev. Messrs. Merwin and Taylor."

At Butler's tavern a large party of our citizens dined together; the military at their armory. At Goodyear's tavern, which stood at the head of Long Wharf, the merchants provided a hearty dinner for the "Ring Bolt Guard." At this dinner, we are told, they clasped hands across the rough deal table at which they sat, and over their cans of grog congratulated each other upon the return of peace and prosperity. Eliakim Bonticou, an aged mariner, with a face reminding one of the beak of a Roman galley, struck up the then popular song:

"Free Trade and Sailors' Rights, John Bull."

This, like a gale in itself, was chorused by all the Jack Tars in the room.

Salutes were fired at intervals and the day passed in festivity and mirth.

During the day were seen in many places and on many vessels the American and the British flags displayed from the same staff.

There were similar rejoicings in many of the New England seaport towns, particularly at New London.

On board of the "Superb," Admiral Hotham's flag ship, the parole for the day was "America" and the countersign "Amity." A grand banquet was given, and the admiral and many of his officers were present. The interest of the event was heightened by the arrival of the British frigate "Narcissus," having on board Commodore Decatur and his Lieutenant Shubrick, who in command of the "President" had been captured a short time previous by the British frigate "Majestic." Decatur and Commodore Shaw served as ushers at the banquet the same evening. Early in the morning of the 11th of March, 1815, the British fleet saluted the fort and sailed away for Jamaica.

The return of peace was an incalculable benefit to the nation generally; but it caused so sudden a depreciation of prices that not a few commercial houses throughout the country were unable to withstand the pressure. They succumbed and were swept away.

Prices of foreign goods receded so rapidly, that in one day tea declined one dollar a pound; sugar, from twenty-six and one-half to twelve cents; specie fell from a premium of twenty-two per cent. to two per cent.; tin from $80 the box to $25, and other commodities in like proportion.

Six per cent. United States stocks rose from seventy-six to eighty-eight per cent; Treasury notes from ninety-two to ninety-eight; and throughout the country the value of bank shares rose from five to twenty dollars each.

In New Haven, the return of peace found many of our merchants with considerable stocks of imported goods: yet nearly all maintained their credit, and speedily made preparations to recommence their relations with foreign ports.

There was a renewal of the scenes which followed the repeal of the embargo and non-intercourse acts. All was bustle and activity. The ships were brought from their moorings. Twenty-four sea-going vessels were taken to the wharf in one day. Many of them were hastily sent on voyages to various ports of Europe, the West Indies, and the Southern States.

A writer in the New Haven "Journal" of that date says:

"All is activity and enterprise. Sailors' rights beat time to the sound of the shipwright's hammer at every wharf; and no longer in toasts and sentiment does Free Trade exist, but in reality. Henceforth, and we trust forever, are American ships to enjoy to the full extent their heritage of the ocean, to journey through its most frequented waters, to voyage over its most distant seas, feeling that the standard under which they sail is forever a sign manual, to be respected by friends and to be feared by foes."

Immediately after the close of the war, an Order in Council was issued whereby all British ports in the West Indies were thrown open to vessels of the United States for six months; but if, at the expiration of that time no commercial treaty should be made, all intercourse in American bottoms should cease. No treaty was made within the time specified, and those particular ports were closed. They remained unopened, with one or two intervals, until 1831.

Short-sighted policy and narrow-minded legislation caused, soon after the peace, a bill to be passed by Congress taxing

British vessels one dollar per ton, and, if loaded, a discriminating duty of ten per cent. This provoked of course retaliation on the part of Great Britain, and an Order in Council was immediately issued excluding American vessels from ports in the British West Indies.

Mr. Adams followed this with a proclamation prohibiting all intercourse with those islands. This caused great inconvenience to British vessels then on their way from those ports. After several years of annoyance and trouble, mutual concessions being made, the order of Mr. Adams was repealed, and on the 5th of October, 1830, Gen. Jackson issued a proclamation in which he declared that British vessels were henceforth to be admitted to all ports in the United States upon the terms accorded to the most favored nations. The British government forthwith repealed their previous orders, and from that time till to-day—over fifty years—the ports under the jurisdiction of the British Empire have never been closed to vessels carrying the American ensign.

At the termination of the war there were owned in New Haven one hundred sea-going vessels; nearly all of them commanded by New Haven captains, and manned by American-born seamen, carrying the American flag to every quarter of the globe.

The commercial relations formed with distant ports in Europe and South America, and with the fruit-ports of the Mediterranean, were profitable, and for many years valuable cargoes from those ports were brought to New Haven. But within the last thirty years New York has gradually absorbed the commerce of our port, and although there is to-day more tonnage owned in New Haven than at any previous time in her history, New York receives the credit of it in the fiscal returns of the government of the United States.

Before closing this chapter, it may be proper to recall the names of the men who, during the troublous times of which we have here spoken, were engaged in the foreign commerce of New Haven, employing more than one hundred ships, whose keels furrowed every sea, on their peaceful missions, and fur-

nishing the means of livelihood to many hundreds of American seamen and their families. Prominent among these merchants and ship-owners of our city were

Elnathan Attwater,
Ward Atwater,
Walter Buddington,
John C. Bush,
Bradley & Mulford,
Joseph N. Clarke,
Samuel Collis,
Eber H. Collins,
Lockwood DeForest,
Henry Daggett,
James Goodrich,
Jehiel Forbes,
Samuel Forbes,
Elias Hotchkiss,
Ezra Hotchkiss,
Russel Hotchkiss,
William S. Hotchkiss,
Abram Heaton,
Frederick Hunt,
James Hunt,
Ammi Harrison,
Justus Harrison,
James Henry,
Simeon Hoadley,
Hull & Foote,
Kidston & Bishop,
Samuel Langdon,
Birdseye Norton,
Aaron N. Ogden,
Thomas Painter,
Samuel Palmer,
Ebenezer Peck,
Gad Peck,
Anthony Perit,
Prescott & Sherman,
Shipman & Dennison,
Isaac Tomlinson,
Capt. Totten,
Caleb A. Townsend,
Ebenezer Townsend,
William Townsend,
Wm. & Wm. B. Townsend,
Henry Trowbridge,
Stephen Trowbridge,
Thomas & Henry Ward,
Samuel Ward,
Noah Wheedon,
Chauncey Whittlesey,
Thomas Woodward.