

Transcript of Lecture Delivered By
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on September 12, 1998
John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, The First Governor of the East End

If the man I'm going to tell you about this afternoon had had his way 325 years ago, East Hampton would now be a town in the state of Connecticut rather than in New York. Whether that would have been a good thing or a bad thing, I leave to you. But John Winthrop, Jr.'s repeated efforts to annex the East End of Long Island to Connecticut are well worth examining. Obviously he failed. But the East Enders in the 1650s, 1660s, and 1670s wanted him to succeed. And the struggle that he led for about twenty years for control of eastern Long Island reveals a lot about the political situation in English America at that time.

John Winthrop, Jr. was one of the most attractive, intelligent, and interesting men in seventeenth-century New England. He has always been overshadowed by his famous father, John Winthrop (who was governor of Massachusetts from 1630 to 1649), and indeed the father was a more creative and influential leader than the son. But John Winthrop, Jr. was a highly creative and influential leader in his own right. He was born in England in 1606, came to America one year after his father in 1631, and had a strikingly diversified career until he died in 1676. Winthrop was good at many different things. He was the premier scientist in early America, and a founding member of the Royal Society in England. He was a skilled physician who treated hundreds of patients. He conducted experiments in alchemy. He extracted salt from sea water. He discovered a deposit of black lead or graphite near Sturbridge, Massachusetts from which he tried to extract silver. And he built and operated the first iron works in New England at Braintree, south of Boston.

But Winthrop's most enduring accomplishments were political. He was a town builder and a colony builder. He founded three towns: Ipswich in Massachusetts, and Saybrook and New London in Connecticut. He moved permanently from Massachusetts to Connecticut in 1645, and was elected Governor of Connecticut eighteen times between 1657 and his death in 1676.

Winthrop was endlessly exploratory, trying new scientific experiments or finding new places to live. He moved around a lot in the 1630s and 1640s--in large part I think because he wanted to keep some physical and psychic distance from his authoritative and imposing father. We know a quite a lot about the relationship between these two men because they wrote to each other frequently, and many of their letters are preserved in the magnificent collection of Winthrop Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston. The father's handwriting is execrable, and the son's hand is also pretty hard to decipher. But it is worth the challenge to figure out what they had to say to each other, and then to read between the lines. On the surface father and son got along swimmingly, and the younger Winthrop was always scrupulously deferential to his revered parent. But I'm sure that he disagreed with him on many many occasions. The son was a much less rigid Puritan than the father, and he had a much more diplomatic temperament. For example, the younger Winthrop remained on cordial terms with Roger Williams after

Williams had been banished to Rhode Island in 1635 for his radical religious opinions. He avoided attending the Massachusetts Court session in 1637 where Mistress Anne Hutchinson and about eighty of her fellow Antinomians were banished or disfranchised or disarmed for challenging the elder Winthrop's religious beliefs and practices. A decade later the son continued his friendship with his fellow scientist Robert Child after Child was imprisoned in Boston in 1646 for daring to criticize the Massachusetts government. And the younger Winthrop even showed some tolerance toward Quakers, the most radical religious sect of the time. In 1658, nine years after the elder Winthrop's death, the leaders of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven colonies approved a drastic course of action toward Quaker missionaries. Any Quaker who reappeared in one of these four colonies after having being punished and expelled twice before was to be put to death. Winthrop refused to endorse this policy. And he tried to persuade his fellow magistrates not to enforce it. But he failed. Between 1659 and 1661, four Quakers were executed in Massachusetts.

I don't wish to exaggerate Winthrop's benevolence. He was never completely altruistic. He always had a healthy interest in acquiring real estate for himself and his children. His biggest tract was 50,000 acres of wilderness land surrounding his lead mine at Sturbridge. He never developed this land, nor did he cultivate the farm land he acquired in the 1630s at Ipswich, Massachusetts. But he did operate a large farm on the Mystic River near Boston, and when he moved to New London he opened up further extensive farm land. He was also one of seven partners in a land company that claimed Indian title to a huge tract within the territorial limits of Rhode Island on the western shore of Narragansett Bay. And in 1641 he acquired possession of Fishers Island off the Connecticut coast in Long Island Sound. He used Fishers Island as his stock pen. By the 1660s he had 100 head of cattle, 400 sheep, and 400 goats as well as some horses and deer on this island, and he regarded Fishers Island as one of his most valuable assets. Winthrop's acquisition of Fishers Island gave him a personal interest in the future development of Long Island Sound--and by extension, a personal interest in the future development of Long Island.

As you know, the western end of Long Island had been initially settled by the Dutch and the eastern end by the English. Southampton and Southold were the first towns on the East End; Southampton was started in 1640, and Southold soon after. East Hampton was the third town, started in 1648. All three towns can be seen as off-shoots of the mass migration of 20,000 Englishmen to New England between 1630 and 1640. The East End towns were principally settled by people who had tried living in Massachusetts or in one of the other New England colonies and then moved on to Long Island in search of better opportunities or more freedom. The most important early planter in East Hampton, Lion Gardiner, had lived in Saybrook, Connecticut, before he moved to Gardiners Island and East Hampton. And as often happened when new towns were started in New England, many of the original Long Island settlers knew each other previously because they came from the same towns or villages in England. In East Hampton's case, about a third of them came from Maidstone in Kent. The three East End villages were very isolated geographically, and East Hampton was the most isolated of all. The first settlers bought their land from the local Indians, but they did not have English patents and so

their titles were insecure. They lived simply, in a virtual state of nature, with minimalist local self-government and no external supervision. And they wished to keep it that way.

However, the East End towns did need protection from Dutch or Indian attack, so they were willing to consider continuing some sort of loose affiliation with the New England governments that they had withdrawn from. The two closest of these colonies were Connecticut and New Haven, on the northern side of Long Island Sound. Both Connecticut and New Haven had been founded in the 1630s by migrants from Massachusetts who acted entirely on their own without any sponsorship from England. Neither colony had an English patent, let alone a royal charter. But this did not matter in the 1640s, because King Charles I and Parliament were fighting a civil war, which allowed the New England colonies to manage their affairs as they wished. In 1643, Connecticut and New Haven formed a military alliance with Massachusetts and Plymouth to protect themselves against the Indians and the Dutch and the French. Thus they were able to offer some measure of protection to the East Enders. The people in Connecticut and New Haven lived in small self-governing towns that were similar in structure and character to the three English towns in eastern Long Island. Connecticut incorporated a dozen towns on the Connecticut River and along the Sound. New Haven colony was smaller and more rigidly Puritanical; it incorporated six towns along the western end of Long Island Sound. In the mid-1640s, the town of Southampton decided to join Connecticut, and the town of Southold decided to join New Haven. From 1647 to 1664--a period of eighteen years--Southampton regularly sent representatives to the meetings of the Connecticut General Court at Hartford. Usually one or two Southampton men were chosen as magistrates, or members of the colony council, in the annual Hartford elections, as a way of legitimating Connecticut's jurisdiction over the town. But in most respects Southampton operated as an autonomous unit: the townsmen chose their own leaders and conducted their own local court. Meanwhile, the people in East Hampton hesitated to accept even this degree of union. In 1649 they finally did ask to join Connecticut, and the Connecticut General Court ordered that "East Hampton, of Long Island, shall be accepted and entertained under this Government according to their importunate desire." The town adopted Connecticut's law code, but continued to dicker over the terms of union and to complain about the difficult "passage by sea" from East Hampton to Hartford. When the people of East Hampton discovered that they were expected to pay taxes to support the Connecticut government, they balked again and told the Hartford authorities that they wished to discontinue their union. In 1655 the Connecticut General Court sent a stiff letter to East Hampton telling the townspeople that they were in a "divided, shattered condition" and that they needed to submit to some settled jurisdiction, and that they ought to "pay what is their just dues to this Commonwealth." This letter did not work, however, and for several more years East Hampton continued to cling to its independent status.

Meanwhile in 1650 the Dutch governor of New Netherland and the English leaders of Connecticut, New Haven, Massachusetts, and Plymouth had agreed to a Long Island boundary line running from Oyster Bay to the vicinity of Jones Beach that gave the western quarter of the island to the Dutch and the thinly occupied eastern three-quarters of the island to the English. But this treaty did not resolve the Dutch-English tensions on

Long Island. The English population was growing faster than the Dutch population, and as English settlers moved into the Dutch towns at the western end of the island, they demanded New England-style local self-government. Back home in England, where Parliament had defeated the King and executed Charles I in 1649, the aggressive Puritan commander Oliver Cromwell took charge of the government and went to war with the Dutch in 1652. There was fear among the English colonists in 1653 that Governor Peter Stuyvesant of New Netherland was preparing to invade New England. And in 1654 Cromwell sent an expeditionary force to New England to attack New Netherland. The town of East Hampton mobilized to join this war. No actual fighting took place, because the English and the Dutch negotiated a peace treaty in 1654. But the situation remained tense and unstable.

It was against this background that John Winthrop, Jr. was elected governor of Connecticut in 1657. One year later, at the close of his first year in office, the town of East Hampton finally accepted the jurisdiction of Connecticut--which is why I can speak of John Winthrop, Jr. as the first governor of the East End. In 1658, East Hampton was a small community; some thirty-two families lived here, and the total population was less than 200. In negotiating with Connecticut, the town asked to have the same terms of union that Southampton already had. Articles of agreement were drawn up and signed, and representatives from East Hampton attended the Connecticut General Court session in Hartford. John Mulford of East Hampton was elected as a member of the Connecticut Council in May 1658 as a way of confirming East Hampton's incorporation into the colony.

Why did the East Hamptonites finally decide to join Connecticut in 1658? One reason, I think, is that they were drawn by John Winthrop, Jr.'s election as governor. Winthrop lived in New London, the closest Connecticut town to the East End, and he was known and admired in East Hampton. In the 1650s, Lion Gardiner corresponded frequently with him about buying and selling and exchanging livestock and grain. Another East Hampton correspondent was Robert Bond--also a leading settler--who wrote to Winthrop in 1652 to thank him for giving medical treatment to three members of his family. Then Bond wrote again to ask if Winthrop could help the children in a neighboring East Hampton family who had white scabs all over their heads. Unfortunately Winthrop's answer has not survived. But Bond's grateful letters suggest that he had great confidence in Winthrop. Gardiner addressed him as "Honored Sir." Bond addressed him as "Worshipful Sir."

There was a second reason why East Hampton decided to join Connecticut in 1658. The town was bitterly divided over the behavior of Elizabeth Garlick. Goodwife Garlick had been accused of witchcraft and arrested in March 1658--as has been discussed in a previous lecture in this series. Some of her neighbors were certain of her guilt, and others were certain of her innocence. Witchcraft was a capital offence according to the law codes in all of the New England colonies, and the people of East Hampton concluded that they did not have the authority to try capital cases. So they turned to the Connecticut courts. Elizabeth Garlick was brought to Hartford, along with the witnesses against her. And Governor Winthrop presided over Garlick's witchcraft trial.

Seven people had been tried for witchcraft in Connecticut courts between 1647 and 1654. All seven had been found guilty and executed. Elizabeth Garlick was thus the eighth Connecticut witch suspect to be brought to trial in a dozen years, and her chances looked bleak. However, the Hartford jury returned a verdict of not guilty. Subsequently, three other witch suspects were indicted in Connecticut between 1659 and 1661, and they also escaped hanging. Then in 1662-1663, when Winthrop was in England, witchcraft accusations reached a crescendo in Connecticut. During these two years, ten suspects were indicted or tried, four were executed, and two others escaped before they could be judged guilty. When Winthrop returned, the accusations continued but the outcomes were different. Seven more suspects were brought to trial during the closing years of his governorship, but none was executed. Clearly Winthrop's moderating temper helped to effect this change of policy.

During the next few years, East Hampton settled into the same relationship with Connecticut as Southampton. Both towns elected their local officers and conducted their local courts and impaneled their local juries. It was agreed in 1659 that no disputes could be referred from the East End of Long Island to Hartford unless one of the litigants appealed the local decision. Thomas Baker of East Hampton was elected a Connecticut councilor for five years in a row, from 1659 to 1663. In addition, his neighbor Robert Bond was elected a councilor in 1660 and 1661, so that during these two years two of the twelve seats on the Connecticut Council were occupied by East Hampton men. In 1661, the Connecticut General Court fixed the boundary line between East Hampton and Southampton, and declared that it was set "forever". However, there seems to have been considerable friction between the two towns. In 1664 the Connecticut General Court reproved East Hampton for shooting a stray Southampton horse and impounding stray Southampton cattle, and directed the town to construct adequate fencing to protect its fields from intruding Southampton livestock.

Meanwhile, momentous changes were taking place in England--changes that quickly affected East Hampton. Puritan control fizzled out after Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658, and Charles II--son of the martyred Charles I who had been executed by the Puritans in 1649--was restored to the throne in 1660. Most New Englanders were distressed by this turn of events, but John Winthrop, Jr. was not among them. He saw the need for settled constitutional government at home, and he saw the opportunity to gain royal recognition and political sovereignty for Connecticut. None of the New England colonies except Massachusetts had royal charters in 1660, so their title to self-government was highly suspect in the eyes of royal officials. Winthrop set out to remedy this situation. The Connecticut General Court proclaimed its allegiance to Charles II, and empowered Winthrop to go to England and obtain a royal charter. The Court was thinking big: it instructed Winthrop to petition for chartered boundaries that extended east to the Plymouth line, north to the Massachusetts line, and south to Delaware Bay. In other words, the new Connecticut would incorporate Rhode Island, New Haven, and Dutch New Netherland--presumably including Long Island. Winthrop revealed none of his plans to the governments of Rhode Island, New Haven, or New Netherland, and in July 1661 he set sail from New Amsterdam rather than Boston

in order to avoid requests for assistance in England from Massachusetts and Plymouth. Reaching London in September 1661, he mixed with scientific friends and was elected a member of the brand-new Royal Society. He gave advice to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England on how to work with the Narragansett and Pequot Indians. But chiefly he assessed the government's colonial policy and sought the patronage of influential courtiers who could help him get a royal charter for Connecticut. He found that the King and his ministers had no clear idea of what was happening in English America, and that Charles II was quite willing to make large territorial grants in America and to charter colony governments as long as he didn't have to pay for their upkeep.

Winthrop petitioned the King for a charter that would give Connecticut large privileges and generous territorial bounds. His application was quickly approved. The Connecticut charter was drawn up and dated April 23, 1662, and enrolled and sealed on May 10, 1662. The charter granted the colonists complete self-government, and permitted them to continue their existing political structure unchanged. Connecticut officials were to swear allegiance to the King, and Connecticut law must conform to English law, but there was no requirement that the colony report to the home authorities, nor any mechanism for enforcing royal instructions. The colony boundaries were defined in an extraordinarily loose way. The King granted Connecticut "all that part of our Dominions in New England in America bounded on the East by Narragansett River commonly called Narragansett Bay where the said River falleth into the Sea, and on the North by the Line of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the South by the Sea, and in longitude as the Line of the Massachusetts Colony running from East to West, that is to say from the said Narragansett Bay on the East to the South Sea on the West part, with the Islands thereunto adjoining." Interpreted liberally, Connecticut was granted jurisdiction over a huge ribbon of territory approximately 100 miles wide north to south and 3,000 miles wide east to west across the North American continent, though no one in Charles II's government had any idea that the South Sea or Pacific Ocean was so far distant from the Atlantic Ocean.

In negotiating his charter, Winthrop revised the boundaries requested by the Connecticut General Court. He set the eastern boundary of Connecticut at Narragansett Bay instead of the Plymouth line, and thus laid claim to the western half of Rhode Island where the land company that he shared in was situated, but left the eastern half of Rhode Island--where Providence and Newport were located--outside of his jurisdiction. He omitted reference to Delaware Bay, and thus avoided laying explicit claim to all of Dutch New Netherland. But his charter definitely incorporated New Haven Colony, and Winthrop evidently intended to annex Long Island as well. To be sure, Long Island was not mentioned by name in the charter. But the charter did refer to the islands adjoining Connecticut--which seemed to include Long Island. When the Connecticut magistrates received the royal charter in September 1662, they immediately concluded that it embraced Long Island. Councilor Samuel Willys told Winthrop that "those of Long Island that I have spoken with all like well that our patent should include them, as the words seem fully to do."

As it turned out, Winthrop was too clever for his own good. In 1662 Rhode Island also had an agent in London, one Dr. John Clarke, who was trying to obtain a royal charter for his colony. When Clarke learned that Winthrop's charter had passed the seals, he got the Lord Chancellor to call it in so that he could examine it, and then complained that "Mr. Winthrop hath injuriously swallowed up the one half of our Colony." Clarke insisted that the Connecticut charter be redrawn to exclude the western half of Rhode Island. Winthrop stayed on in England an additional year in order to negotiate with Clarke. In the end, he signed an agreement that the Connecticut-Rhode Island boundary was at Pawcatuck River (as it is today) rather than at Narragansett Bay, and he solicited the crown to issue a charter to Rhode Island, dated in July 1663, which fixed that colony's western bounds at the Pawcatuck River. However, the Connecticut General Court ignored Winthrop's 1663 boundary adjustment with Rhode Island, and kept trying to expand east to Narragansett Bay well into the eighteenth century.

Winthrop's charter also initiated a bitter struggle with New Haven Colony, which rejected union with Connecticut. While still in England, Winthrop had done his best to block any effort by New Haven agents to petition for a separate royal charter, but he found on returning to Connecticut that his Hartford colleagues had adopted strong-arm tactics in his absence. The Connecticut government had received four defecting New Haven towns into her jurisdiction, and ordered the remaining towns to surrender. This only stiffened resistance. New Haven appealed to Massachusetts and Plymouth, and they told Connecticut to stop trespassing. By the end of 1663 the two colonies were nearly at war. Finally in December 1664 the remaining New Haven Colony towns voted to join Connecticut, but some New Havenites never surrendered. The Reverend Abraham Pierson, pastor of the Branford church in New Haven Colony, condemned Connecticut's ecclesiastical system as far too loose, and in 1667 he led most of his Branford flock to a wilderness site not far beyond Manhattan where they founded a town called New Ark--the town we know today as Newark, New Jersey.

Meanwhile, Winthrop's efforts to annex Long Island also ran into trouble. When he was negotiating for his charter in England, he encountered a certain Captain John Scott, a real estate speculator who was trying to obtain a proprietary patent for Long Island for himself. When Scott discovered that Winthrop had gotten ahead of him, he paid a quick visit to America in the fall of 1662 while Winthrop was still in England to stir up opposition to Winthrop's plans. He told everyone who would listen to him on Long Island that they were excluded from the Connecticut charter. And he assured the people of New Haven Colony that the King had explicitly excluded them from the Connecticut charter. When Scott reappeared in England in 1663, Winthrop made a bargain with him in which Winthrop wrote a letter telling the Connecticut General Court to stop trying to annex New Haven Colony. In return, Scott promised not to petition for a royal charter for New Haven. But Scott continued to scheme for personal control of Long Island. By the time Winthrop got home in June 1663 the Connecticut General Court was claiming authority over all the English villages on Long Island--on the West End as well as the East End. Governor Peter Stuyvesant asked Winthrop if the Dutch-English boundary agreement of 1650 was still in force, and Winthrop equivocated. He told a Dutch delegation that the Connecticut patent comprehended land in New England, not

New Netherland, but when the Dutchmen asked to have this statement in writing, he declined, "saying it was sufficiently plain from the patent itself." In November 1663 a troop of one hundred Englishmen marched through the five English towns in western Long Island, and Stuyvesant felt forced to surrender his claim to these towns in the hope that he would be allowed to keep control of the Dutch towns adjacent to New Amsterdam.

At this point, Captain John Scott returned from England. He had learned what Winthrop didn't yet know, that Charles II was planning a new war against the Netherlands. He was sending an expeditionary force to capture New Netherland, and he was going to give the Dutch colony to his brother, the Duke of York, the future James II. New Netherland would become New York. Scott hoped that if he posed as the Duke's agent and chased the Dutch officials out of their remaining Long Island villages before the arrival of the invasion fleet, he might be given title to the island as a reward for his services. This was not an altogether foolish hope, because the Duke of York took very little interest in America, and after the Dutch colony was captured he did in fact give away the southern part of his territory to two of his friends who established the colonies of East Jersey and West Jersey. Scott offered to help Connecticut secure full possession of Long Island, marched into the West End at the head of an armed band, and proclaimed that Long Island was the King's territory. Stuyvesant recognized him as "President of the English on Long Island" and the Connecticut government belatedly discovered that Scott was appointing his own officials in some of the English towns, and that he was establishing his own private state on Long Island.

In March 1664 Scott was seized, taken to Hartford for trial, and found guilty of usurping the King's authority. In May the Connecticut General Court declared that Long Island was within her charter limits. However, at this same court, when two East Hampton men--John Mulford and Robert Bond--were nominated for election to the Connecticut Council, neither was chosen. For the first time in seven years East Hampton had no representative on the colony council. Why Mulford and Bond were passed over, I do not know. Perhaps they were considered to be too friendly to Captain John Scott. In June 1664, Governor Winthrop visited the English towns in Long Island and replaced Scott's officers with new ones.

In July 1664--one month after Winthrop's visit to Long Island--a small royal fleet sailed into Boston harbor. Colonel Richard Nicolls was in charge. He had four frigates and 400 men, and orders from Charles II to take New Netherland. Then he was to govern the captured territory for the Duke of York. Nicolls asked for additional troops from the New England colonies and proceeded to western Long Island, where he established headquarters near Coney Island. Winthrop joined him there in mid-August 1664 to support the English invasion force. When Stuyvesant tried to stall for time, Winthrop rowed over to Manhattan under a white flag, and delivered a letter to Stuyvesant and his Dutch Council, urging them to accept Nicolls' generous terms of surrender. Stuyvesant tore up the letter, but the outcry from the Dutch burghers was so great that he feared they would mutiny. So he pieced the letter together and let everyone see it. On August 27, Stuyvesant surrendered without a shot being fired. Winthrop was one of the six

Englishmen to sign the articles of capitulation. New Netherland became New York.

Winthrop discovered to his dismay that Charles II had granted a royal charter to the Duke of York, dated March 1664, that conflicted head on with the Connecticut charter issued two years earlier. The Duke was given, in addition to Dutch territory, all of Long Island, Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, a large section of Maine, and everything on the New England mainland west of the Connecticut River! And the charter declared that the Duke's grant superceded any previous English grant which might conflict with it. Thus not only was Long Island taken from Connecticut, but the western half of the colony, containing every significant town except New London.

After assisting with the Dutch surrender, Winthrop's next task was to secure Connecticut's boundary with New York on as favorable terms as possible. Winthrop and his son FitzJohn Winthrop returned to New York in November 1664 to congratulate Governor Nicolls on his victory and to negotiate the New York-Connecticut boundary. They argued their right not only to the western half of Connecticut but to the eastern two-thirds of Long Island, where they had been exercising authority for twenty years. Winthrop sweetened his argument by presenting a gift horse to Nicolls from his Fisher's Island stud farm. Nicolls liked and respected Winthrop, and he dropped the Duke's claim to the Connecticut River. In fact he was misled by the Connecticut delegation into drawing the boundary between the two colonies at Mamaroneck River, further west than it had been before. But otherwise Connecticut lost out. Long Island was to be part of New York "as is expressed by plain words" in the Duke's patent, and all other offshore islands in Long Island Sound were assigned to New York--even Fisher's Island, which was only two miles from the Connecticut coast. However, Nicolls confirmed Winthrop's title to Fisher's Island in return for a quitrent of one lamb per annum. It was perhaps some consolation to Winthrop that Captain John Scott's pretensions to the presidency of Long Island were also dismissed. Nicolls decided that the Captain was a knave, and Scott skipped off to the West Indies.

Nicolls quickly promulgated a special law code known as the Duke's Laws, modeled largely on New England codes, for use in the English towns on Long Island. And he announced that the civil administration and property titles previously settled by Connecticut would continue unaltered. In 1666 he granted a patent to the town of East Hampton confirming all purchases and privileges. However, the people of East Hampton and the other East End towns were discontented with life under the Duke of York. They complained that there was no legislative assembly in New York. The Duke was no friend of representative government, and he instructed Nicolls not to call a popularly elected legislature. The East Enders had never paid much attention to the Connecticut General Court because of their distance from Hartford, but now that they had no legislature they wanted to have one. Furthermore, the New York government seems to have kept closer watch on them than the Connecticut government, and made them pay taxes. The East Enders had never been enthusiastic tax payers, and they vociferously objected to taxation without representation.

Winthrop and Nicolls kept on close personal terms. In 1665 Nicolls urged Winthrop to retire from the Connecticut governorship and move to New York, and in 1668, when

Nicolls was himself replaced as governor of New York, Winthrop wrote him a sorrowful farewell letter. The new governor of New York was Francis Lovelace. He kept in amicable correspondence with Winthrop, but was not a real friend as Nicolls had been. Probably he suspected that Winthrop was encouraging rebellion among the English towns on Long Island, particularly the three East End towns of East Hampton, Southampton, and Southold. When Lovelace burned their "seditious" protests, the people of East Hampton, Southampton and Southold sent an appeal to the King, "praying that they might be continued under the Government and Patent of Mr. Winthrop," or else be granted independence. This appeal was referred to the King's Council for Foreign Plantations in July 1672. Before the Council could reach a decision, the situation in America had dramatically altered once again. As we have just heard in the previous lecture, a new Anglo-Dutch war broke out in 1672. Governor Winthrop called a special session of the Connecticut Court to ready the colony's defences against the Dutch. In midsummer 1673, a Dutch squadron several times more powerful than Nicolls' fleet of 1664 was plundering Virginia and heading north. Governor Lovelace of New York chose this moment to visit Winthrop at Hartford. While he was off in Connecticut, the Dutch fleet sailed into New York harbor and besieged Fort James. The outmanned English garrison surrendered after putting up token resistance, the Dutch took Lovelace into custody, and resumed control of New Netherland. Rumors flew that they would soon move on to New England with an army of three thousand men. Ironically, only the Duke of York's most dissatisfied subjects on eastern Long Island offered any resistance to the Dutch. On August 7, 1673 the people of East Hampton and Southampton appealed to Hartford for protection. The Connecticut Court warned the Dutch commander to stay away from the East End, which had never been in Dutch hands, and in October 1673 the three towns refused point blank to take an oath of allegiance to the Dutch governor, Anthony Colve. Fortunately for them, the Dutch fleet had sailed away in September, greatly reducing the enemy's potency, and Colve was afraid of inciting a New England attack on New Netherland. Winthrop for his part was eager to protect the East End, figuring that this would strengthen Connecticut's claim against the Duke of York for jurisdiction over the three towns.

From October 1673 to April 1674, Long Island was a battlefield. The East Enders would raid the Dutch farmers at the West End, and force them to retire with their grain and livestock to the fort on Manhattan. Repeatedly Colve sent counter sorties against the East End towns, and Winthrop's son FitzJohn would race across the Sound from New London with Connecticut volunteers. In February 1674 a pitched battle of sorts took place at Southold. A Dutch ketch and two sloops drew up before the town, the commander demanded surrender, and prepared to land his men. As FitzJohn Winthrop described the scene in a letter to Hartford, the Dutch commander "fired one of his great guns upon us, but the shot grazing by the disadvantage of the ground did no hurt to our men. I gave order to return him thanks by firing a piece of ordinance upon him, but the shot falling at his fore foot did him no hurt. Whereupon he fired two more great guns, and his small shot, which fell thick but did us no hurt. We then presently answered; many of our small shot hitting the ship as we could perceive, but know not of any hurt done him. Whereupon he presently weighed and set sail." Although the Dutch had been driven off, further attacks were anticipated, and FitzJohn Winthrop and his men remained on the

East End until mid-April 1674. They finally came home when Connecticut learned that the two home governments had signed a peace treaty in February.

Governor Winthrop was happy to hear that the Dutch were handing New Netherland back to the English, and that the Duke had appointed a new governor, one Major Edmund Andros, to manage New York. He set out once again to detach the East End from the Duke's province. East Hampton, Southampton, and Southold asked to join Connecticut, and their application was accepted "as far as shall be in our lawful power from His Majesty's gracious grant in his charter." The three towns voted in June 1674 to petition the King, and raised £150 to cover the cost of petitioning. Winthrop started to draft a narrative of the Dutch attack for presentation to the King's Privy Council. In this narrative he emphasized the heroism of "those famous towns of the East end of Long Island, by whose loyalty, prudence, and valor the honor of the English hath been maintained in these parts of the world."

But once again Winthrop's plans for annexing eastern Long Island were checkmated by the Duke of York. Governor Andros arrived at New York in November 1674, and received the colony from the Dutch. He learned that the people of the three East End towns--led by John Mulford of East Hampton, John Howell of Southampton, and John Younge of Southold--had declared that they were under the government of Connecticut "and are desirous to use all good and lawful means so to continue." Andros told Winthrop that if there was "any pretended Engagement between you (which cannot now be valid) I do hereby desire that you will send to disabuse any such persons at the East End of Long Island." And he immediately went out to the East End and told the three towns that they were within New York jurisdiction and must accept his authority. The three local leaders--Mulford, Howell, and Younge--were forced to submit. The Duke was pleased with his governor's decisive behavior, and complimented him in April 1675 for "reducing to obedience those three factious towns at the East end of Long Island."

The Duke also urged Andros to revive New York's claim to the western half of Connecticut. Andros had already done so. He wrote to the Connecticut General Court to state that New York's eastern boundary was the Connecticut River. "I do therefore desire," said Andros, "and will not doubt from so worthy an assembly, that you will give present and effectual orders for my receiving, in his Royal Highness's behalf, that part of his territories as yet under your jurisdiction." The Connecticut government protested that the New York-Connecticut boundary had been settled in 1664, but Andros reiterated his demand that western Connecticut be surrendered. In June 1675, at the height of King Philip's War, Andros sailed into the Connecticut River with two sloops full of soldiers. He found the militia of Saybrook and the other neighboring towns standing in arms. Evidence from Andros's memoranda indicate that he intended to take possession of Saybrook Fort, but when the Connecticut militia began unlimbering the cannon in the fort, he kept to his ship. The local militia captain handed him a letter from the Connecticut General Court stating that the militia would forbid Andros from landing his men. Outbluffed at last, Andros came ashore without his troops and read the Duke of

York's charter to the hostile crowd. They in turn made him listen to the Connecticut Court's proclamation against him. Connecticut ordered all subjects of the colony government "utterly to refuse to attend, countenance, or obey the said Major Edmund Andros or any under him. God save the King!"

Andros sailed away, and the crisis faded when the Duke of York ordered him to drop the fight over western Connecticut. So the net result of two years' agitation was to leave everything as it had been in 1664: the Duke kept Long Island and Connecticut kept her mainland territory. By this time Winthrop himself was an old man, in poor health. The first governor of the East End died in 1676 at age 70. But this isn't quite the end of my story. In 1739, more than sixty years after Winthrop's death, a new town was founded in Connecticut. A band of settlers migrated from the village of Eastham on Cape Cod to a site in central Connecticut about ten miles east of Middletown. Apparently these migrants didn't want to call their new Connecticut town by the same name as their old Massachusetts town, but they did want to come close. So--you guessed it--they named the place East Hampton.