

## EXPEDITION OF SIR EDMOND ANDROS TO CONNECTICUT IN 1687

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**K**ING JAMES II after his accession to the throne of Great Britain in 1685 undertook to annul, so far as possible, the various charters that had been granted by his predecessor Charles II. Among these was the extremely liberal charter of Connecticut which, through the efforts of Governor John Winthrop, Jr., had been granted to the colony in 1662. Within a short time complaints were made against the colony resulting in the issue of two writs of quo warranto in July 1685, which were served by Edward Randolph in July 1686, when both of them were void through not being served until after the time for their return had passed.

A third writ against the colony, dated October 23, 1686, was sent to Edward Randolph in Boston. It was served for him on Governor Robert Treat at Hartford by Joseph Cowell of Boston on December 28, 1686. Accompanying the writ were two letters, one from Randolph and the other from Sir Edmond Andros, who had arrived at Boston from England nine days previously and who was already the royal governor of the Territory and Dominion of New England, which included the former colony of Massachusetts, whose charter had previously been annulled. Randolph wrote, "a door is yet open to you," and that "You have no way to make yourselves happy but by an early application to his Excellence," meaning Andros. While Andros wrote, "I am commanded and authorized by his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, at my arrival in these Parts, to

receive in his name the surrender of your Charter (if tendered by you) and to take you into my present care and charge, as other parts of the Government."

Following the service of the third writ and the receipt of the accompanying letters, the General Court of Connecticut forwarded a letter to the authorities in England in which they said "we are heartily desirous that we may continue in the same station that we are in, if it may consist with his princely wisdom to continue us so: But, if his Majesty's royal purposes be otherwise to dispose of us, we shall, as in duty bound, submit to his royal commands; and, if it be to conjoin us with the other colonies and provinces under Sir Edmond Andros, his Majesty's present Governor, it will be more pleasing than to be joined with any other province." This letter the royal authorities chose to consider as a surrender by the colony of its charter rights, and no further action was taken upon the writ of quo warranto. Instructions were accordingly prepared in June 1687 by order of his Majesty and transmitted to Sir Edmond Andros "for taking the Colony of Connecticut under his Government" and at the same time for making Governor Robert Treat and Secretary John Allyn members of his council.

Meanwhile in letters of February 25, 1686/7 Andros offers to the Governor and Council "another opportunity" for surrender, "if you yett do itt, and lett me heare from you without delay;" and informs Governor Treat that through his action in not complying with the king's commands "you thereby hazard the advantages might bee to y<sup>e</sup> Colony, and totally your owne."

Once more Andros endeavored to coerce Connecticut to surrender to him by sending his secretary Edward Randolph to Hartford on June 16th "to psuade y<sup>e</sup> comp(any) to subm<sup>n</sup>", bearing a letter to the Governor and Council in which he expresses his "inclynacons still not to be wanting for yo<sup>r</sup> welfare if you yett give me oppertunity by accepting his Ma<sup>ties</sup>

favour soe gratioſly offered you, in a p'sent compliance & ſurrender."

The Connecticut authorities, however, remained firm in their determination not to ſurrender either her government or her charter, "by reaſon we have by o'r ſeverall addreſſes formerly ſent to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> left o'rſelves ſo fully to be guided and diſpoſed by his princely wiſdome, and have not rece<sup>d</sup> any return or direction from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> ſince."

Thus matters reſted for more than four months until on October 22d, at a meeting of Andros and his Council in Boſton, ſeveral days after the expedition had been planned and privately announced, it was "Adviſed and Reſolved" that purſuant to His Majeſty's orders, which he had recently received, Andros ſhould go in perſon or ſend to Connecticut during the following week "to take the ſaid places under his Government." Upon which he the ſame day addreſſed the following letter to Governor Treat:

S<sup>r</sup>.

This is to acquaint you that I have received effectual orders and commands from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> for Connecticut, annexed to this Government, (in a very gratioſ manner) with particular regard and favour to y<sup>r</sup> ſelfe. And reſolve to ſend or be myſelf att Hartford ab<sup>t</sup> the end of next weeke, purſuant thereunto, to meete you and ſuch Gent<sup>n</sup> as you ſhall think fitt for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> ſervice w<sup>ch</sup> I will not doubt to y<sup>r</sup> ſatisfaccon, and other his Ma<sup>ties</sup> loyall ſubjects in y<sup>r</sup> parts; and remain, S<sup>r</sup>,

Yo<sup>r</sup> affectionate Friend,

E. ANDROS.

Upon receipt of this letter the members of the General Court were haſtily called to Hartford, although probably no date was ſet on which they were to formally convene. It was evident that their government was about to be taken from them, and there muſt have been much earneſt diſcuſſion among thoſe in authority as to what ſhould be done, what action, if any, could be taken.

While they are giving the matter their attention,

let us take up consideration of the journey to Connecticut announced by Andros in his letter of October 22d 1687, as it is recorded in a manuscript that has recently come to light. This manuscript has the following heading:

The acco<sup>t</sup> of Sundry charges and disbursem<sup>ts</sup> on a Journey from Boston to Harford begun the 26 day of Octob<sup>r</sup> 1687, and Ended the 16 of Novemb<sup>r</sup> following with a retinue of Seventy six persons mounted on horseback to attend his Excellency to Harford to receive for his Majesty the Surrender of the Pattent for the Collony of Connecticott."

True to his announced intention of visiting Hartford, Andros and his party, seventy-six men in all, set out from Boston for Connecticut on the morning of Wednesday, October twenty-sixth, accompanied by two guides (at a charge of six shillings). This was undoubtedly the largest cavalcade that had ever traversed the colonies of New England, and it may be doubted if any member of the party had previously traveled the route. Little did they know of or appreciate the fatigues and hardships of the journey. Their start must have been a brilliant spectacle; the determined Andros and members of his council with sundry other officials and gentlemen, doubtless all dressed as "gentlemen" of the period should be arrayed for an important official meeting; the red coated soldiers; the blue coated soldiers with their small guns and short lances in the top of them; the grenadiers; the trumpeters, who doubtless blew the proper fanfares as the company moved off amidst the clattering of many hoofs and shouts of farewell. We may wonder if Andros started on the journey attired in the "Scarlet Coat Laced" which he wore when he first met the dignitaries of Massachusetts; or if possibly he wore the armour in which he appears in a picture of him painted in England.

Unfortunately, we can name but a few of the seventy-six members of the party. There was, of course

Sir Edmond himself. With him was his deputy secretary, John West (he of the peculiar autograph). The following seven members of Andros' council were of the party: Judge Joseph Dudley, William Stoughton, Robert Mason, Treasurer John Usher, John Pynchon, Bartholomew Gidney and Edward (also called Jonathan) Tyng. Colonel Charles Lidget, who undoubtedly would be classed as one of the gentlemen, was a member of the party at least until he received notice of the death of his mother. Major John Henschman, who may have been in command of some of the soldiers, was sent back to Narragansett from Hartford. It is reasonable to suppose that Captain Francis Nicholson (Nicolson), the commander of the grenadiers, who had accompanied Andros from England with "his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Owne Comission for one of the Companies come w<sup>th</sup> mee (Andros) for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Service in these parts," was with his contingent. Sam Bligh was one of the trumpeters. George Monck was taken along as cook, and Richard Peacock was in "attendance," presumably carrying on the many duties of a servant to the gentlemen. There was also the nameless clerk or accountant (who may have been one of the gentlemen) from whose record of the expenses of the expedition many of the items in this paper were extracted. The military contingent who constituted Andros' guard consisted of four red coats; fifteen or twenty, let us say nineteen, blue coats; fifteen grenadiers, for whom horses were hired at thirty shillings each for the journey, and two trumpeters. There were also twenty-five volunteers, for whom horses were hired at a cost of thirty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings. Whether these were "General" volunteers or "Gentlemen" volunteers depends on one's reading of a somewhat uncertain abbreviation. Probably the latter reading is the correct one, for we know that "Justices and other Gentlemen" formed a part of the "retinue." If the foregoing identifications are correct, they exactly make

up the number of seventy-six of which the party consisted.

"Sundry provisions" for the journey were bought at a cost of three pounds, twelve shillings, of which sugar is the only item not obliterated through the wearing of the folded paper. At Dedham, ten miles from Boston, the horses were baited at a cost of two pounds, six shillings. "Expenses," not itemized, at Medfield, were six shillings.

The first night out was spent at "Woodcock's," a tavern kept by John Woodcock in what is now the town of Attleborough, Mass. This was about thirty-three miles from Boston. Men and horses were fresh, and it may be presumed that as yet the trip seemed in the nature of a gala jaunt, and that at the end of this first day the members of the party said to one another let us eat, drink and be merry. At any rate, they appear to have indulged freely in "wine," "beer" and "cyder," as the bill for these items together with their "diet," lodging and care of their horses amounted to £14. 1s. 1d. about double the average amount paid by the party for an overnight stop, and a sum equivalent today to perhaps \$350.

The following day, October 27th, they set out from Woodcock's, again accompanied by guides (12s.), and baited their horses at Providence, R. I. (£3. 10s.) after traveling fifteen miles, then continued on an estimated twenty-eight miles to Narragansett. The distances given are in some instances taken from almanacs of the period; while others are estimates based on present-day maps and are probably less than the distance actually traveled by the party.

Stopping over night at "Major Smith's" (Richard Smith, a prominent citizen of Narragansett) at a cost of £5. 14s. 3d. they left Narragansett with guides (£1. 4s.) on Friday for "Stonington," Conn., some thirty-five miles distant, where they stayed for the night at an expense of £9. 16s. The facts that no mention is made of any midday repasts, that a cook and an

attendant were of the party and that "sundry provisions" had been purchased, leads to the conclusion that the "gentlemen" at least, may have been provided with lunches on the way.

Again taking guides (15s.) they proceeded twenty miles or more on Saturday the 29th to Norwich where they spent Saturday night, Sunday and Sunday night, their "diett and Lodging for man and horse" for that time costing £17. It had been the plan to reach Norwich on Friday the 28th, but Andros, as he writes, "Nott being very well" and "most of our compayny faltering, man & horse almost tired," they spent that night at Stonington. He desires that Major Fitz John Winthrop and Captain Adam Winthrop, both of whom were then at New London, would meet him at Hartford, where he will also "be glad to see" Major Edward Palmes of New London. Major Winthrop accordingly hastened to Hartford and was there on the following Tuesday serving as a member of Andros' council, to which office he may have been appointed at this time by Andros.

The following day, Monday, October 31st, accompanied by guides at a cost of £3. 9s. and by one of the Assistants, probably either Captain James Fitch or Captain Samuel Mason, Andros and his party traveled to Hartford, a distance of at least forty-five miles when the indirect route which they took and the necessity of avoiding lakes and swamps is considered. There was not a town or any settlement between Norwich and Glastonbury at that time, although a few resolute pioneers may have already built homes along the route.

The Assistant who was "personally attending him in his journey to Hartford, posted away before him to the River," arranged for the party's transfer across the Connecticut "and then posted to Hartford to give notice of his coming that way."

Upon information of the near approach of the party, Governor Treat evidently hastily convened in formal

session, such members of the General Court as were in Hartford. There were present Governor Robert Treat, Deputy Governor James Bishop, nine of the twelve assistants and twenty-four of the thirty-four deputies. The only entry on the records for this court session, aside from the names and residences of those present, is the following:

His Excelency S<sup>r</sup> Edmond Andross Kn<sup>t</sup>, Capt. Generall & Gov<sup>r</sup> of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Teritorie & Dominion in New England, by order from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> James the second, King of England, Scotland, France & Ireland, the 31 of October, 1687, took into his hands the Government of this colony of Connecticut, it being by his Ma<sup>tie</sup> annexed to the Massachusets & other colonies under his Excelencies Government. Finis.

Andros had already given notice that he was about to come to Hartford to annex Connecticut to the other New England colonies under his government. He was now almost there. At his advent the charter government would be abolished and the colony annexed. The governor had already been told by Andros that by his lack of regard for the king's commands, he was hazarding the advantages that might be to both the colony and himself. What more natural, under the circumstances, than that the Court should endeavor to put the best appearance possible on its attitude by recording that on this day of his coming the government of the colony was taken into his hands by Andros and was annexed to his government of New England. If the only evidence to be found may be credited, this meeting of the Court and making of the record occurred previous to the arrival of Andros in the town. It should be noted that this record is not a vote by the Court to submit to Andros, although it appears to have been construed as such by some who favored his government, or to surrender the rights of the colony; in truth, it is not a vote at all. It is merely a plain statement of fact, although a fact yet to be consummated at the time the record was made.



It has been frequently stated, and it appeared in print nearly ninety years ago, that at that memorable meeting of the Court on October 31st, Andros in a moment of anger seized a pen and himself wrote the word "Finis" which closes the record. A glance at the formal record book in the office of the Secretary of the State shows that the whole entry, including that final word, is in the distinctive handwriting of Secretary John Allyn. The writer had been credibly informed (although he has not himself seen the document) that in Secretary Allyn's "waste book," in which he jotted down the proceedings of the General Courts as they occurred and previous to their formal entry on the records, the record of this meeting is entirely in his handwriting. This could not be otherwise if the session of the Court was held, as it apparently was, at once upon word of the approach of Andros and before he had met the Connecticut officials.

The party reached the Connecticut River at Wethersfield, a few miles below Hartford, and there its members were ferried across at a cost of £2. 2s. There was also a charge of 12s. for "perys ferrige" which is interlined in the account in a different hand and not reckoned in the footing. This evidently is a reference to John Perry, the post, who went from Boston towards or to New York and who had been desired by Andros in Boston to go "betwene this & Hartford, once a month, this winter." As the party was accompanied by more than one guide, it is probable that they traveled in two or more sections and it may be that not all crossed the river on that Monday afternoon or early evening, especially as the item for ferriage is not entered in the account until Thursday, November third.

Upon crossing the river that Monday, Andros and his party were met by the troop of horse of Hartford County, at that period under the command of Captain Samuel Talcott, which had come down from Hartford upon word of their approach and which "conducted

him honorably from the ferry through Wethersfield up to Hartford, where the trained bands of divers towns (who had waited there some part of the week before, expecting his coming then, now again, being commanded by their leaders), waited to pay him their respects at his coming."

Reverend Gershom Bulkeley of Wethersfield in his "Will and Doom," written in 1692, says that at Hartford Andros "was received with all respect and welcome congratulation that Connecticut was capable of." Bulkeley relates at some length the doings of Andros while in Connecticut in part as follows:

Being arrived at Hartford, he is greeted and caressed by the governor and assistants, (whose part it was, being the heads of the people, to be most active in what was now to be done,) and some say, though I will not confidently assert it, that the governor and one of the assistants did declare to him the vote of the general court for their submission to him.

However, after some treaty between his excellency and them that evening, he was the next morning waited on and conducted by the governor, deputy governor, assistants and deputies, to the courtchamber, and by the governor himself directed to the governor's seat; and being there seated, (the late governor, assistants and deputies being present, and the chamber thronged as full of people as it was capable of,) his excellency declared, that his majesty had, according to their desire, given him a commission to come and take on him the government of Connecticut, and caused his commission to be publickly read.

That being done, his excellency shewed, that it was his majesty's pleasure to make the late governor and Capt. John Allyn members of his council, and called upon them to take their oaths, which they did forthwith; and all this in that publick and great assembly, nemine contradicente, only one man said that they first desired that they might continue as they were.

After this, his excellency proceeded to erect courts of judicature, and constituted the said Jno. Allyn, Esq., judge of the inferior court of common pleas for the county of Hartford; and all other who before had been assistants, and dwelling in the same county, he now made justices of the peace for the said county.

From hence his excellency passed thro' all the rest of the counties of N. Haven, N. London and Fairfield, settling the

government, was every where cheerfully and gratefully received, and erected the king's courts as aforesaid, wherein those who were before in the office of governor, deputy governor and assistants, were made judges of the pleas, or justices of the peace, not one excepted, nor (finally) excepting but accepting the same; some few others being by his excellency added to them in the several counties, not without, but by and with their own advice and approbation, and all sworn by the oaths (of allegiance and) of their respective offices, to do equal justice to rich and poor, after the laws and customs of the realm of England and of this his majesty's dominion.

His excellency also made sheriffs in the several counties, and gave order for the making and swearing of constables in the several towns, etc.

Bulkeley also states that Secretary Allyn delivered to Andros the common seal of the colony. Bulkeley's account conforms in general to the formal record, written probably by Secretary West, which follows:

At a Council held at Hartford, on Tuesday, the first day of November, 1687, Present: His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knight, etc.

Joseph Dudley,	John Fitz Winthrop,	John Pynchon,
Wm. Stoughton,	John Usher,	Barth. Gidney,
Rob't Mason,		Edw. Ting, Esq'rs.

His Excellency, pursuant to the orders and commands he had received from his majesty, being come to take that colony under his government, as annexed to the Dominion of New England, advised what way proper further to proceed to effect the same accordingly.

Resolved, That Robert Treat, Esq'r, Governor of the said colony, and John Allen, Esq'r, Secretary, be sent for to attend his excellency in council, and that his majesty's said commands be first communicated to them.

Pursuant to the said resolve, the said governor and secretary came, and to them was signified by his excellency his majesty's commands for that colony. And for the further publication of his majesty's said commands, it was

Advised and resolved, That the said governor and magistrates do forthwith attend on his excellency and council, and bring with them such persons as they shall think fit, to hear his majesty's said commands.

Before noon, the said governor and magistrates attending on his excellency at his lodging, they all together went from thence to the publique court house, where his excellency publicly signified the occasion of his coming, and commanded his majesty's letters patents for the government of New England, and his majesty's orders for his excellency for annexing the said colony to this dominion of New England and to take the same under his government, to be publicly read; which was done accordingly.

His excellency after repeated the substance of what had been read, and shewed how gracious his majesty had been to his subjects of Connecticut, telling them that they were now entitled to all the grace and favor contained in the said letters patents, and that the former authority and general court of that colony was dissolved and the said colony annexed to the Dominion of New England accordingly.

Pursuant to his majesty's commands, Robert Treat, Esq'r, the late governor of Connecticut, and John Allen, Esq'r, the late secretary, were sworn of his majesty's council.

At a Council held at the Town-house in Hartford, on Wednesday, the 2d day of November, 1687.

Present:

His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros, Knt. etc.

Joseph Dudley,	John Usher,	Jonath. Ting,
Wm. Stoughton,	John Pynchon,	Robert Treat,
Robt. Mason,	John Fitz Winthrop,	John Allen,
	Barth. Gidney,	Esq'rs.

His Excellency in council was pleased to nominate and appoint the persons hereafter named to be Justices of the Peace and Sheriffs for the respective counties following, for whom commissions are ordered to be prepared accordingly, viz:

For the County of Hartford	For the County of Newhaven.
Justices of the Peace.	Justices of the Peace.
John Talcott,	William Jones,
Sam'l Willis,	James Bishop,
Humph. Davy,	William Roswell,
Gershom Bulkeley,	Andrew Leete,
Benj. Newberry,	Tho. Trowbridge,
John Wadsworth,	Rich. Bryant,
Sam'l Talcott,	John Beard.
Giles Hamlin,	John Hudson, Sheriff.
John Chester,	
Phineas Wilson, Sheriff.	

For the county of New London.      For the County of Fairfield.  
Justices of the Peace.                      Justices of the Peace.

Edward Palmes,	} Quorum.	Nathan Gold,	} Quorum.
James Fitch,		Jonathan Sellick,	
Sam'l Mason,		Sam'l Sherman,	
George Denison,		Joseph Hawley,	
Daniel Witherly,		John Burr,	
John Chapman,		Joseph Judson,	
Matthew Griswold.		Tho. Fitch,	
Richard Edgecomb, Sheriff.		Jonath. Lockwood,	
		Will'm Sydenham, Sheriff.	

Upon the motion of John Allen, Esq., one of the members of this board, that the rate lately appointed by the general court of Connecticut for payment of the country debts may be raised and applied to that use.

Ordered, That an account be taken of the country debts and what the said rate may amount to, and that the same be collected and applied to satisfy the same accordingly.

His excellency travelled from Hartford to Fairfield, saw the justices of the peace in their respective counties and sheriffs sworn, commissioned military officers in each town and custom officers in the several sea ports.

These records prove conclusively that Andros did not assume the government of Connecticut on October 31st, as has been the popular belief, but on the following day, Tuesday, November first, 1687. It is not likely that all members of his party could have been accommodated at any one place in Hartford. They must have scattered among various inns or private homes. It seems probable that Andros and the more important members of the party found lodgings at the inn then kept by Zachary Sanford, in which the colony had previously had an interest and which was located on the east side of Main Street where the building of the Travelers Insurance Company now stands. From "his lodging" the record states that Andros went to attend a meeting of his Council on the first instant at "the publique court house," and on the second "at the Town-house"; both presumably referring to the same place. There has been much

controversy as to where these meetings, particularly the first one, was held. There was no separate building designated as a court house at that time. The generally accepted opinion is that they were held in an upper or second floor room of the meeting house.

The most interesting incident in connection with this visit of Andros to Hartford—his endeavor and failure to secure the charter of Connecticut—remains to be considered. There is no contemporary account of the incident and no official mention of the matter, except the grant of twenty shillings to Joseph Wadsworth by the General Assembly in May 1715 for "securing the Duplicate Charter of this Colony in a very troublesome season when our constitution was struck at, and in safely keeping and preserving the same ever since unto this day." Yet the popular story of its preservation and hiding is universally credited. The earliest recital in print, from which all later writers have drawn, appears in "A complete History of Connecticut" by Benjamin Trumbull, D.D., printed in 1797. It reads as follows:

About this time (the last of October) Sir Edmund, with his suit, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, when the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country, the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges, so dearly bought and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a

large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Honorable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person, who had conveyed it away.

Dr. Trumbull, who had gathered much of the material for his history previous to 1774, had received valuable assistance from Secretary George Wyllys (1710-1796), whose father Hezekiah Wyllys (1672-1741) had also been Secretary and whose grandfather, Samuel Wyllys (1632-1709) was a man of prominence and for many years an assistant, although Dr. Trumbull erred in stating that he held that office at the time the charter was secreted in the hollow oak tree in front of his house. It was doubtless through this family that the story came down to Dr. Trumbull.

This is not the place to enter into any discussion (as the writer has done elsewhere<sup>1</sup>) as to whether or not both charters were taken, or which one if only one, or the meaning of the word duplicate, or if others besides Wadsworth had any part in the filching of the charter.

Let us summarize the foregoing. Andros, accompanied probably by members of his party, together with the governor and perhaps thirty-four other officials of the colony, left his lodging place before noon on November first and all together proceeded to the public court house where the room they occupied filled with interested spectators and where a great number of people soon assembled, presumably in other rooms or outside of the building. Governor Treat, as he was still designated by Andros, seated Andros in the governor's chair and Andros then ordered his commission as governor to be read, doubtless by his Deputy Secretary, John West. This was a document of nearly four thousand words and the reading of it would consume no little time. This was followed by the reading of the king's orders to Andros for annexing

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<sup>1</sup>"The Charter of Connecticut," by Albert Carlos Bates, Hartford, 1932.

Connecticut to his government—a document of unknown length. After this Andros repeated the substance of what had been read and announced that the former government was dissolved and the colony annexed to his Dominion of New England. It must have been at this juncture that Andros demanded the charter and that Governor Treat made the long and impassioned speech setting forth the hardships and dangers endured in planting the colony and saying that it was like giving up his life to surrender the patent and the privileges enjoyed under it. All of these proceedings took up much time. The sun set early at this time of the year. Before the debate was over, darkness had fallen and candles were lighted. The charter was at last brought in and laid on the table. Suddenly the lights were extinguished. When they were relighted, all was peaceable and orderly; but the charter was gone and could not be found. It had been spirited away and hidden in an old oak tree by Lieutenant, later Captain, Joseph Wadsworth, who retained it in his possession until 1715. Other business transacted at this meeting after the annexation of the colony by Andros included his appointment of the “late” (in the sense of former) governor Robert Treat and the “late” secretary John Allyn as members of Andros’ council.

While the party was at Hartford Major Henchman was sent back to Narragansett; the expenses for him “and Pilott,” probably meaning a guide, being 19s. Whether or not he returned, is not stated. The constant employment of guides between Boston and Hartford is a commentary upon the roads of that day. They could have been little more than trails or bridle paths through what was for the most part a wilderness inhabited only by Indians and wild beasts. The apparent change of guides for each day’s journey may indicate that each section of the route was familiar only to those who lived in that immediate vicinity, else competent guides might have been engaged in Boston for the whole journey. Why the company took the



circuitous route from Boston to Hartford by way of Providence, Narragansett, Stonington and Norwich can not now be told. It would seem that they might better have traveled the shorter and perhaps better known Bay Path, one branch of which led directly to Hartford.

On November first, Mrs. Elizabeth Saffin, second wife of Thomas Saffin, a wealthy merchant of Boston, died after a long illness. Her maiden name was Scammon and at the time of her marriage to Saffin in 1680 she was the widow of Peter Lidget, who was also a resident of Boston. At once upon her death, Joseph Cowell, who had previously visited Hartford to serve the third writ of quo warranto, was "sent away Post to Hartford to acquaint Col. Lidget and Counsellour Usher" who were "waiting on his Excellency," Sir Edmond Andros. The Colonel, Charles Lidget, was a son of the deceased Mrs. Saffin, and Elizabeth, wife of Councillor John Usher, was a daughter. The messenger could not have reached Hartford before the Andros party had left for the southward. He probably followed and may even have gone as far as Fairfield before overtaking them. Apparently the gentlemen to whom the post was sent, returned at once to Boston, reaching there some eleven days after the messenger was dispatched in quest of them; for Mrs. Saffin was not "intombed" until the twelfth "about 5 P.M."

A messenger was sent from Hartford to Captain Adam Winthrop of Boston, who was then in New London, on November 3d at a cost of 6s. His message may have related to the previously expressed desire of Andros that the Captain should meet him in Hartford.

On November 3d 10s. was "paid a messenger for bringing the acts from Springfield to Hartford." Evidently Andros had failed to bring with him any copy of the laws already enacted by himself and his council for the government of his Dominion of New England, which at that time included Massachusetts; and now

that Connecticut had been joined to that dominion it was fitting that her people should be informed of the laws that they would be expected to obey. To that end a copy of those laws was brought down from Springfield for their perusal. The state archives contain a copy of the bill for an act declaring the Andros laws which had previously been enacted to be in force in Connecticut. Deputy Secretary West wrote to Councillor John Allyn on November 23d that as soon as the bill was passed a copy of it together with a copy of the laws would be forwarded to him by the first conveyance; but no copy of the act itself, which was passed December 3d, or of any of the laws enacted by Andros and his council is now among the archives of either Connecticut or Massachusetts.

It would appear probable that the laws brought from Springfield were transcribed by former Secretary Allyn and then returned, for the heading to a contemporary copy of them made by Lietutenant Colonel John Talcott of Hartford reads as follows:

The seuerall Acts passed by the Goue<sup>r</sup> & Council of this his Ma<sup>tes</sup> Territory and Dominion, and Translated from the Coppys, Examined by the Secr<sup>y</sup>: &<sup>c</sup>: 1687:

The word translated is here apparently used in the sense of transcribed and the reference to copies having been examined by the secretary would seem to indicate that the secretary had only a copy of the acts brought from Springfield at the time Talcott's copy was itself transcribed. Another early copy of the Andros laws written by John Wadsworth, Sr., of Farmington, on the blank pages appended to his own copy of the Connecticut "*Acts and Laws*," edition of 1673, is preserved in the Yale University Library. From this copy these laws were printed in 1859 by J. Hammond Trumbull in the third volume of "*The Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*."

True to his promise, West, writing from Boston on January 5, 1688 to Allyn in Hartford, says—"Coppys

of y<sup>e</sup> Lawes are herewith Sent for y<sup>e</sup> use of Each County. W<sup>ch</sup> are to be P<sup>d</sup> for out of y<sup>e</sup> County rating to be made by y<sup>e</sup> Justices to defray that & other County Charges." Allyn in acknowledging this letter and one of the same date from Andros on January 27th says to Andros, the "Lawes I received by M<sup>r</sup> Pery & haue published the Lawes here in this Town"; and to West "the Lawes . . . I reced by Jon<sup>o</sup> perry, & wish you were as well satisfiye for your paying as I am in what you haue Sent, and that according to your desire it is up (to) the Justices to take care that you may be paid as soon as conveniently may be."

It seems strange that no one of the four copies sent to Connecticut for the different counties has survived until the present time.

The Connecticut authorities had proclaimed November 3d as a day of public thanksgiving throughout the colony. Andros considered the issuing of such proclamations for his Dominion of New England as a royal prerogative vested only in himself as representative of the crown. He evidently therefore sought to annul this appointment of a thanksgiving day, but was apparently too late to prevent its being observed except in the two towns of Hartford and Wethersfield where it was not observed. Upon his return to Boston on November 16th Andros attempted to annul a similar proclamation which had been made there for a day of thanksgiving on the following day; but there, as in Connecticut, he was only partially successful. He then, through his council, proclaimed December 1st as a day of public thanksgiving throughout his Dominion and sent notice to that effect to Hartford, and a thanksgiving was duly observed in the former colony of Connecticut on that day.

The cost for the party "ffor diet and Lodging & Expenses at Hartford three days" was £69. 19s. 6d., equivalent to perhaps \$1750 today.

On Friday, November 4th, the company again sallied forth, heading to the southward. At Wallingord the horses were baited at an expense of £3. Con-

tinuing on from there an overnight stop was made at an unnamed place, perhaps New Haven, some forty miles from Hartford, at a cost of £5. 10s.

The next day, November 5th, after paying one pound "For Ferrige of Horses at Stratford" across the Housatonic River, the company continued on to Fairfield, county seat of Fairfield County, a distance of twenty-two miles from New Haven. Here "Two days & Two nights," including Sunday the sixth, were spent at a charge of £14. 10s. Here he settled the government by erecting the king's courts and appointing or commissioning judges, justices and other officials.

The return trip was begun from Fairfield on Monday the seventh. Three posts were sent to "Woodberry & Stanford" (13s.), presumably to notify the inhabitants of those places of the change in government. Again one pound was paid for ferriage. A stop was made at "Ye Ordinary at Millford," twelve miles from Fairfield, where "Expenses" of £1. 12s. were incurred. The journey was continued to New Haven where an overnight stop was made at a cost of £5. 9s. At this point and on this day Andros commissioned former Governor Robert Treat "to be Collonell of the Militia within the County of New Haven and Captaine of a Troope of Horse or Dragoons to be raised in the Towne of New Haven in the said County." Probably at this time he also settled the government in New Haven county.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>(Seal) S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros Kn<sup>t</sup>, Cap<sup>t</sup> Gr<sup>all</sup> and Governour in Cheife of his Mat<sup>ties</sup> Territory and Dominion of New England, To Robert Treet Esq<sup>r</sup> Greeting: Reposeing spetiall Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and Good Conduct, I Doe by these p<sup>s</sup>ents constitute and appoint you to be Collonell of the Militia within the County of New Haven (and Captaine of a Troope of Horse or Dragoons to be raised in the Towne of New Haven in the said County): You are therefore Carefully and Dilligently to discharge the Duty of a Collonell and Cap<sup>t</sup>, by Ordering and exerciseing the said Militia in Armes, both Officers and Souldiers, Keeping them in good Order and DisciPLYne, Comanding them to Obey you as their Collonell and Captaine; and yourselfe to follow such Orders and Direccons as you shall receive from me or other your Superior Officers, according to the Rules and DisciPLYne of Warr, Pursuant to the Trust reposed in you. Given under my hand and seale at New Haven the Seaventh day of November, in the third yeare of the Raigne of our Sov<sup>r</sup>aigne Lord James the Second, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defend<sup>r</sup> of the Faith, &c. Annoq. Dni. 1687.

By his Excell's Comand,  
John West, D. Sec'y.

E. ANDROS.

Next day, the eighth, a post was sent back to Greenwich. Then after ferriage across the Quinnipiac River at a cost of £1. 3s., the party continued to the eastward. Expenses incurred during the day were: at Branford 10s., "at Gillford Ordinary" £2, which perhaps included dinner; "at Killingsworth & Seabrooke" £1. 10s. The night's stop was "at Seabrook Ordinary" for which the charge was £5. 11s. The distance was about forty-four miles. This was probably the day on which residents of Long Island listened to the echoes of great guns being fired as "his Ex<sup>cy</sup> Sr Edmund Andros' welcome back to the river's mouth from his progresse through Connecticut." These are the words of one who was favorable to the government of Andros.

Serj<sup>t</sup> Chapman and Robert Lord were paid 18s. next day, Wednesday the 9th, either for furnishing guides or for themselves acting in that capacity. £2. 3s. was paid for ferriage across the Connecticut River and after expenses of £2. 5s. at Lyme, the journey was continued to New London about eighteen miles, where the charges for the night were £6. 6s. On the tenth, while at New London, Andros issued a commission to Fitz John Winthrop appointing him Major General of the militia in what had previously been the colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut.<sup>2</sup> Doubtless he also

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<sup>2</sup>(Seal) Sr Edmund Andros Kn<sup>t</sup> Cap<sup>t</sup> Generall and Governour in Cheife of his maties Territory and Dominion of New England To Collonell John Winthrop Greeting Reposeing Spetial Trust and Confidence In your Loyalty Courage and good Conduct I Doe by these p'sents Constitute and appoint you to be Major Generall of the Militia of the Seurall Counties and Precinets of Rhoad Island Kings Province Providence Plantations Hartford New London New Haven and Fairefeild within his Majesties Territory and Dominion of New England You are Therefore Carefully and Dilligently to Discharge the Duty of a Major Generall By Ordering and Exerciseing the said Militia in Armes keeping them in good Order and Disciptyne Comanding them to Obey you as their Major Generall And your selfe to Observe and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall from time to time receive from me or other your Superiour Officers According to the Rules and Disciptyne of Warr Pursuant to the trust Reposed in you Given vnder my hand and Seale Att New London the Tenth day of November In y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> yeare of y<sup>e</sup> Raigne Of our Souraigne Lord James the Second By the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the faith &c. Anno q<sup>o</sup> Dni 1687

By his Excells Comand  
John West D. Secry.

E Andros.

settled the government in New London county at this time. Then after payments of £1. 9s. to "y<sup>e</sup> Smith" for shoeing horses, and of £1. 3s. for ferriage across the Thames River and further ferriage of 16s. at "Mistick," the party reached Stonington, having traveled only fifteen miles.

At Stonington they stopped at "Richenson," probably at the home of John Richardson who although not an inn keeper, may have entertained travelers. He appears to have been a man of prominence in the town and a teacher or preacher or both. There they appear to have stayed two night as the expenses amounted to £15. 11s. As 5s. was paid on the eleventh for a pilot, it seems not unlikely that some of the party went forward that day. Richard Arnold was paid 15s. for a post to "Col Winthrop."

There was more shoeing of horses (18s.) on the twelfth, Thursday, and a sadler was paid 5s. for mending saddles. A payment of £3 was made to "Coll Sanford" for four sloops to transport the party from "Boston Neck," which is a little south of Narragansett, to the large island of "Rhoad Island," and another payment of £1. 5s. at Rhode Island ferry, which is at the north end of the island. Expenses at Rhode Island entered under date of the twelfth and probably for lodging that night, were £8. 14s.; and further expenses at Bristol and Swansea, Massachusetts, are entered as £1. 12s.

The next two entries are under date of the fifteenth. The first for expenses at Seaconck £4. 11s., perhaps for lodgings on the night of the thirteenth. The second for one night, probably the fourteenth, at their former stopping place, Woodcock's in Attleborough, at an expense of £8. 6s.

Under date of the sixteenth, Wednesday, on which day the party reached Boston, there is a charge of £3. 17s. for expenses at Dedham, probably for the night of the fifteenth, and an entry of 11s. for expenses at "Y<sup>e</sup> Red Bull." A week later, deputy Secretary

West writes to John Allyn that "his Excell<sup>y</sup> is pritty well, and desires kindly to be remembered to you."

Long before reaching Boston on their return, the company had become disrupted. Even as early as when they left Hartford, a few may have been left behind, else why were "some of y<sup>e</sup> K:(ing's) red coats" at Middletown on November sixth, two days after the company had left Hartford.

In the end, fifteen persons of whom the accountant was one, came home apart from and probably later than the major part of the company, at an expense of £9. 8s. 4d. The reason for the partial disruption of the company is explained by the payment of £30. 17s. 10d. for "y<sup>e</sup> keeping & takeing up Sundry horses that Tired on the Road, Shoeing & Cureing their Sore backs." Two horses were "killed upon y<sup>e</sup> Road," for the loss of which £12 was paid. The final item of the account is for "Sundry disburse<sup>m</sup> on his Journey" by Deputy Secretary John West amounting to £5. 10s. This account, totals £374. 14s. 9d., probably equivalent to more than \$9,300 today, and we are left to wonder who paid so large a sum. Did Andros himself foot the bill out of the salary of £1200 which he received that year, or was it paid by some of his officials out of the fees which they collected from the inhabitants of the Dominion of New England?

About March 1688 Secretary Randolph addresses Andros, saying that in going from Boston to Hartford in July 1686 "for his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Service," that is to serve the first two writs of quo warranto, he "lost his horse valued at 10<sup>lb</sup> & expended the sum of eight pounds in guides horse hire & travelling expenses for himselfe and Cap<sup>t</sup> (Benjamin) Davis" and petitions "that the said sums may be allowed of and added to the Generall Charges of the expedition to Hartford." Apparently this bill was not included in the expense of the Hartford expedition.

The journey of Andros to Connecticut was unsuccessful so far as receiving the surrender of the patent or

charter was concerned. True, he did, by virtue of his commission from King James II and with a show of arms, "well accompanied for said services," he said, and after a formal record (but not a vote) by the General Court to that effect, annul for a time the charter government and make himself the ruler of the colony. Yet he must have known that so long as the charter remained in the Colony's possession and no vote to vacate or annul it had been passed by the General Court, his government was only one of force. Although the charter government was for a time dormant, the charter itself was still valid, legal and of full force and effect.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>To show how completely Andros exercised and dominated the Government of Connecticut the following commission is given, although it does not directly bear upon his visit of October–November 1687. The date of the Commission would be 1688 according to our present method of reckoning time.

(Seal) S<sup>r</sup> Edmund Andros Kn<sup>t</sup> Captaine Generall and Gouverneur in Cheife of his Maj<sup>ties</sup> Territory and Dominion of New England To Ensigne Abraham Phelps Greeting I Doe by these presents Constitute [and] appoint you to be Ensigne of a foot Company of Militia in the Towne [of] Windsor in the County of Hartford Wherof Joseph Fitch Gent is Captaine You are Therefore Carefully and Dilligently to Discharge the Duty of an Ensigne by Ordering and Exerciseing the said Company in Arms both Inferiour Officers and Souldiers keeping them in good Order and Disciplin Comanding them to Obey you as their Ensigne And your selfe to Obserue and follow such Orders and Directions as you shall Receiue from your said Capt<sup>n</sup> or other your superior Officers According to the Rules and Discipline of Warr pursuant to the Trust Reposed in you Given under my hand and seale att Boston the thirteenth Day of February in the fourth yeare of his Majties Reigne Anno q<sup>o</sup> Domini 1687.

By his Excell<sup>ty</sup> Comand  
John West. D. Secry

E Andros



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