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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

JANUARY, 1875.

No. 1.

THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE MEETING OF THE
PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE IN SALEM, OCT. 5, 1774.*

AN ADDRESS BY A. C. GOODELL, JR.

ONE of the most striking and suggestive fables of Greek history is the story of the founder of Athens. Arrived at manhood, Theseus parts from his mother, lifts the stone under which lie concealed the patrimonial sword and sandals, and proceeds on his eventful way. Wielded by his vigorous arm, his trenchant blade now parries the tremendous club of Corynetes, and now pierces the obdurate hide of the terrible Phæa. He crowns his triumphant progress by still greater deeds of renown; he safely threads the dismal and intricate labyrinth of Crete, frees its despairing captives, and slays the monster Minotaur. Returning thence, he calls together the sons of Hellas, and raises the standard of united Attica.

The true story we are assembled to commemorate finds in this fable a parallel. Sprung from a nation the proudest

* Delivered before the Essex Institute on Monday evening, Oct. 5, 1874.

and greatest in all history, the genius of independence was first transplanted to these rugged shores of the Massachusetts Bay. Nurtured long in the severe and heroic discipline of this western wilderness, as if preparing for its majestic mission, at length, in this ancient town, it first officially repudiated the control of the motherland, and, fully comprehending the greatness of its destiny, girded itself for desperate conflict. Later, it lifted and laid the corner-stone of the Republic, in the immortal Declaration at Philadelphia, and turned the sword, already unsheathed in self-defence, to deeds of aggressive war. Against formidable obstacles and discouragements, with matchless fortitude, through eight dreary years of conflict, it parried the thrusts of treason, pricked the sides of apathy and halting discontent, vanquished that unnatural monster,—a hireling foe, and compelled the ministers of tyranny to acknowledge the victory. Meanwhile, it had successfully threaded the labyrinth of the untried inter-colonial system, delivered these youthful states from the frowning walls of doubt that environed them, and raised the standard of a harmonious confederation.

In one important feature, however, the parallel fails. The noble Æthra, looking upon her son as the heaven-favored scion of Pelops' line, and swelling with high hopes of his future glory, invoked a favorable issue on his journey, led him to the stone which his father's hand had placed, and rejoiced as, with elastic step, he went forth from her presence. Not so with her to whom our fathers looked with filial love and reverence. The bosom that had heroically nursed the spirit of independence, heaved only with indignation when her sons asserted their birth-right. The mother who with almost mortal pangs had brought forth every idea involved in our struggle for the

right of self-government, answered the appeals of her children for the liberties of Englishmen, with taunts and oburgations, and met every effort to assert them with new measures of oppression, and fresh displays of coercive power. Nay, she herself created the monsters of tyranny that beset the path of her children, and rejoiced with unnatural joy, when their defeat seemed imminent.

This is the theme, so inspiring and yet so sad, which the lapse of a century invites us to ponder. If, haply, in restoring tints that have faded from the well-worn pictures of the past, we bring into brighter relief examples of heroism that shall stimulate a just and healthy pride, and furnish new incentives to patriotism and noble living, then the labor will be not without profit; or if, in waking the echoes of those voices, long silent, which, from the inmost heart of England, and above the hostile din of partisan clamor, spoke words of lofty cheer to our struggling grandsires in the solemn hours of the Revolution, we shall strengthen the ancient ties of love and friendship which still attach us to the home of our ancestors, the effort will be rewarded with unspeakable pleasure.

In order better to understand the historical and political significance of the events we are about to consider, it will be well to review the relations that had existed between Great Britain and her American colonies, before we inquire, particularly, what took place in the town of Salem one hundred years ago.

Three kings of the house of Hanover, of the same name, had successively held the sceptre of Great Britain. George the Third had been upon the throne fourteen years; and, though reputed a faithful husband and indulgent father, had shown, from the first, an utter want of sympathy with the traditional tendencies of English government, and ignorance of, or disregard for, the best les-

sons of English history. He emulated the Stuarts in his jealous zeal for the Royal prerogative, opposition to political progress and indifference to the welfare of the people, except so far as he imagined it might insure the stability or increase the grandeur of the throne. Generally it happens that some great minister or cabal stands behind the throne, and directs its motions; but this monarch seldom permitted himself to be persuaded, and never to be intimidated. He remembered his mother's injunction, "George, be King," and he observed it with undoubting, and, apparently, unconscious fidelity, as if in the exercise of a right as clear and unquestioned as an axiom in mathematics. How far he secretly entertained the doctrine of divine right, which had become infamous under the Stuarts, and was finally rejected in the revolution of 1688, and the act of settlement, it is needless to inquire. It is enough that his construction of the constitution, by its menace of peril to English liberties, put him in opposition to the best minds of the nation as surely as did their assumption of divine ordination and independent authority.

Partly by the bestowment of offices, dignities, and pensions, and partly by notoriously promoting the election of those whose known views accorded with his own, King George the Third had found it possible to surround himself with ministers, and to secure numerical majorities in parliament, willing to go almost any length in support of his favorite measures.

It was in a parliament thus constituted that a theory, affirming the absolute right of the Home Government to unlimited control of all legislative and administrative functions in the colonies, began to be asserted and acted upon, by the King and his retainers, with vigor and without scruple. This theory, which had been maintained in the days of the Stuarts, and proposed in later times

against strenuous protests, and had been put in practice when the colonies were too much occupied, in their struggles with a common enemy, to make effective opposition possible, was unsupported by the best established precedents. But it could be presented in such specious forms, and defended by such refinement of reasoning, that those of its opponents who could keep their vision steadily fixed upon its essential fallacy were few. So, while the injustice of its practical application to the American colonies was evident to all friends of the constitution, their grounds of objection were various, and the novel questions of law and policy which it involved, evoked heated discussions on both sides of the Atlantic.

Other unsound propositions respecting personal liberty, and the freedom of speech and of the press, began to be maintained at the instance, or with the sanction, of the Government, and were adopted and applied in the courts of justice. These met with vehement opposition; and England teemed with controversial pamphlets and newspaper articles, upon the powers of the government and the rights of the citizen. The popular party, prominent in which appeared the anonymous writer Junius, whose elegant and incisive criticisms laid his antagonists, by their own confession, upon a bed of torture,* made the best arguments; but their opponents had the countenance of the Crown. These effusions were copied and widely circulated in the colonies; and there were many here who began to share the conviction of the more radical reformers of England, that the King and his advisers were conspirators against the constitutional liberties of Englishmen and the natural rights of man. In both countries, among thoughtful men, the course

* See the letter of Sir William Draper to Junius, Oct. 7, 1769.

of the Government was a theme constantly agitated, and the source of repeated discomfiture and profound alarm.

With regard to colonial affairs, what to Englishmen at home seemed but a subversive theory, and therefore worthy of denunciation and of efforts for repeal, was to these colonies a terrible and bitter realization of the encroachments of tyranny, and engendered thoughts of open resistance.

The stamp act of 1765, imposing a tax without the consent of the colonies, provoked prompt demonstrations of hostility, here, and led to a Congress of nine of the colonies, at New York, whose earnest protest effected a repeal. Massachusetts, the principal maritime colony, had taken the lead in all measures of opposition, and she had assumed the most prominent part in the movement for united colonial action. The repeal of this act was accompanied by a declaration of the right of parliament to tax the colonies, and was followed by the adoption of more stringent measures, proposed by a new ministry.

The impost act of 1767, laying a duty on several imported articles, including tea, and reinforced by provisions intended to make the courts of justice here, more effective agents of the Crown, was promulgated with a display of land and naval forces, to intimidate, if not to coerce, the colonists into obedience. Again Massachusetts appealed to her sister colonies; and, in defiance of the express orders of the Crown, her Legislature, by an overwhelming majority, refused to rescind the vote whereby that appeal was authorized.

After the Boston Massacre, the British troops, which had been quartered in that town almost within hearing of the debates of the Assembly, were withdrawn at the instant and firm demand of the brave inhabitants, made

through their spokesman, Samuel Adams; and this impost act was repealed, except the item fixing a duty on tea, which was, however, rendered practically void by the refusal of the people to use that article.

But the King was determined not to be foiled in his purpose to exact from these colonies an acknowledgment of the supreme authority of the imperial legislature; and, although in the year 1772 the whole net income derived by Great Britain from colonial taxation had amounted to but eighty-five pounds sterling,* parliament, the next year, under pretence of increasing the revenue, renewed its attempts to bring the colonies into subjection, by conferring upon the East-India Company privileges amounting to a monopoly of the tea trade with America, and exacting from them a duty of but three-pence per pound, instead of the shilling duty previously imposed. This insidious measure, it was thought, would prevail against the scruples of the colonists, put an end to smuggling, and establish a precedent in favor of the claims of the ministry.

The excitement which ensued here upon the publication of this act, the violent demonstrations of the mobs,—especially the destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, the particulars of which were discussed at our anniversary notice of that event last winter,—convinced the Home Government that the objections of the colonists were radical, that they were founded on principle, and could not be overcome by menaces, or silenced by any considerations of temporary profit, in the nature of a bribe.

* So stated at the time, without dissent, in the famous speech of the Bishop of St. Asaph, *Am. Archives*, Fourth Series, Vol. i, p. 99. This speech was published in England, at the time, in a pamphlet, at one shilling, sterling. It was republished in Salem, by the brothers Hall, of the "Essex Gazette," for "no more than six coppers."—See "Essex Gazette," of Sept. 20, 1774, No. 321. It was widely read in the Colonies.

They were satisfied that to insure the success of the new measures, something more was needed than the former show of authority, and the appointment of subservient agents ; and plans for active co-ercion were now promptly determined upon. Accordingly, in response to a message from the King, parliament, in the spring of 1774, enacted a law closing the port of Boston, as a punishment for her contumacy, and removing the seat of customs to Salem and Marblehead. To enforce the blockade, and to insure obedience to the orders of the privy council, and to certain contemplated acts of parliament, which were soon to be promulgated, it was deemed proper to call to the highest office of the provincial government—which had hitherto been held by native-born citizens, or persons in civil life—a British soldier, competent to direct the movements of forces sufficiently large to overawe the colonists. Therefore Thomas Gage, who had been commander-in-chief of the army in America, was appointed to the command of this province, and soon after commissioned as Governor.

Gage arrived at Boston on the 13th of May, and was soon followed by several regiments of the regular army. Here he found that writs had already been issued for convening the General Assembly in the old State House in Boston, on the 25th of the same month. He accordingly met with that body and, after rejecting thirteen of their newly-chosen councillors, including those who were most prominent in their opposition to the acts of parliament, he notified them that, after the first day of the following month, he should hold the General Court in Salem, in accordance with the special command of the King. Fearing a voluntary adjournment, the Governor, a week later, suddenly adjourned the Court to meet here on the 7th of June. More than forty years before, Gov. Burnet had

executed a threat against the patriots of Boston, who controlled affairs in that brave old town, by adjourning the Assembly to the same place, alleging, as one reason for this course, that he was informed that the people here were, like their representatives, well-inclined to the King, and that the country members would "not be so much tampered with" here as in Boston.*

From the selection of this new seat of government it would seem that the impression made upon the ministry by Burnet's action had not been effaced. Perhaps it was kept vivid by the known popularity here of the Browne family †—a family always conspicuously loyal, and to a member of which Gov. Burnet had given his daughter in marriage.

The removal of the legislature from Boston had never been ordered without a protest from the Representatives, even when the prevalence of the small-pox there rendered it imperative; and Gage's predecessor, Hutchinson, had greatly added to the opprobrium with which his name was loaded, by adjourning to, and holding the General Court at, Cambridge, in obedience to the orders of the privy council. The old arguments against this removal were mainly based on the form of the writ for convening the Assembly, in which Boston was named as the place of meeting; and as that form, though enacted by the provincial legislature, had been sanctioned by the King in council, and never repealed, it was urged that the General Court could not be held elsewhere. But this position had been generally abandoned as untenable, and the change was now opposed on grounds of policy and con-

* See Burnet's Letter to the Lords of Trade, Oct. 26, 1728, in notes to Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay, Vol. ii, p. 523.

† Although that family is now extinct here, in the male line, the name is still attached to one of our public schools, and designates one of our principal streets.

venience. The adjournment by the Governor, without consultation with the Assembly, and by the unauthorized direction of the privy council, was loudly denounced as uncalled for, and a grievance.

This rapid sketch of the progress and posture of affairs down to the time of the first meeting of the Assembly here under Gage, excludes many important events which were transpiring in quick succession in Great Britain, in this province, and throughout the American colonies.

Dr. Franklin, for his advocacy of the claims of the colonies, had been removed from the charge of the general post-office,—which, under his prudent and skilful management, had become useful and profitable,—and a private system of letter-carriage had been put in competition with the regular mails, whereby the committees of correspondence might exchange advices with speed and safety. These committees, which, on former occasions, had been found useful in promoting local and inter-colonial concert of action, were now revived and actively employed. Pulpits rang with earnest denunciations of the tyranny of the administration, and with exhortations to firmness in patriotic duty. The Boston massacre was commemorated by an annual oration. Pamphlets circulated the arguments of patriots and tories; and broadsides and newspapers brought to every household reports of the doings of municipal and legislative bodies, the most eloquent speeches of the friends of the colonies in parliament, patriotic songs, and narratives of turbulent proceedings. The minutest actions of the civil agents of the Crown, and the movements of troops, transports and armed vessels, were watched with lynx-eyed vigilance, and tidings of every important step of the enemy were conveyed, by swift messengers, from town to town and from colony to colony.

Massachusetts was still the principal theatre of opposition to tyranny, but her patriots, chief among whom

stood Samuel Adams of Boston—a man ever to be held in highest veneration—were wise enough to foresee that, unless the general consent of the sister colonies could be secured, all efforts for liberty were without the prospect of success. Such a coöperation had effected the repeal of the stamp act in 1765, and similar efforts, in 1768, had been followed by the partial repeal of the impost act of the previous year. Who should say that the united action of the colonies in another Congress would not result in some final plan of agreement upon the great questions at issue between them and the Home Government?

Up to this time, and long afterwards, nothing was sought by the colonists but reconciliation, without the sacrifice of constitutional rights. The colonists claimed to be Englishmen, loyal to the Crown and constitution, and would not tolerate the suggestion of a resort to measures directly aiming at separation.

Unfortunately for the prospect of union, for some time previous to the destruction of the tea, serious differences had arisen among the colonies. These differences grew, partly, out of the breach, by some of them, of an agreement not to import goods from Great Britain until the oppressive acts of parliament had been repealed, and partly from the uncertain location of boundary-lines between adjoining colonies. They had estranged the colonists to such a degree that all but the most sanguine patriots were discouraged; and Hutchinson was led to write exultingly to Lord Hillsborough, at the beginning of 1772, that the Massachusetts patriots seemed "to be deserted by their late correspondents in Pennsylvania and New York, and all confidence is at an end."* It was also

*From a copy of the letter (No. 20) furnished me by Mr. Sainsbury, of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. It is dated Jan. 24, 1772.

a disheartening recollection that in the Congress of 1765 the great colony of Virginia was not represented.

That colony embraced a territory larger, by nearly ten thousand square miles, than the entire surface of Great Britain, and claimed contiguous territory larger than both Great Britain and Ireland. It had a population, in 1774, of between five hundred thousand and six hundred thousand inhabitants,—which, added to that of Massachusetts Bay, nearly equalled the population of all the other New England and Middle colonies.

Without Virginia, therefore, any confederation would appear weak and defective; but with Virginia, it would show a front sufficiently formidable, it was hoped and believed, to insure effectual resistance. What, then, was the joy of our patriots to find that ancient and powerful colony, aroused by the new measures now specially directed against Massachusetts, chivalrously siding with her injured sister and actually starting the suggestion for a Continental Congress.

The persecution of Massachusetts, moreover, had brought the other colonies to prompt and spontaneous renewals of their former professions of sympathy; and the idea of a Congress seemed so warmly and generally entertained, that our patriots saw in the change the active interposition of Providence, and broke forth in prayers of gratitude and strains of rejoicing.

Such were the causes of the conflicting emotions which filled the hearts of the assembly-men when they came together, by the Governor's appointment, at Salem, on the memorable 7th of June.

Philadelphia, and the month of September, had been fixed as the time and place for the proposed Congress.

The Governor proceeded to Salem on the Thursday before the Assembly met, and, the next Saturday, being

the anniversary of the birth of the King, he was received with great parade, ending with a most brilliant ball at the old Assembly-hall,* on Monday evening.

But under these outward demonstrations of joy, there rankled in every patriotic breast increasing pangs of disappointment and sorrow; for, only two nights before, there had arrived from Bristol, copies of two bills pending before parliament, which, there was every reason to believe, had received the Royal assent before their publication here. These two acts—one purporting to be for better regulating the government of the province, and the other for the impartial administration of justice here, in certain cases—would, if firmly established and enforced, sweep away the last vestige of the right of self-government, and reduce the province to absolute subjection to foreign rule.

The session lasted but eleven days. On the second day, before proceeding to business, the House passed five resolutions protesting against the removal to Salem, as a grievance; and the next day sent to the Governor as their answer to his speech at the opening of the session, a communication full of the same subject. Six days later the Council presented to the Governor an address, in which an invidious allusion was made to Gage's predecessor. Gage interrupted the reader of the address, at this point, and refused to let him proceed. He then returned a brief written reply, concluding, "I consider the address an insult upon his Majesty, and the Lords of the privy council, and an affront to myself."

The communications between the Governor and the

*This hall stood on Cambridge street, and was afterwards purchased and used by the congregation of the South Church, until they built their present meeting house, when it was removed to Federal street, and is now a private residence.

Assembly having proved thus fruitless and exasperating, no further political measures transpired in either branch until the 17th, when the House passed a resolve, appointing as delegates to the Congress at Philadelphia, James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams and Robert Treat Paine. The purpose of the Congress, as indicated by this resolve, was, "to consult upon measures for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the colonies." A majority of the delegates was to constitute a quorum, and an appropriation of five hundred pounds was voted to defray their expenses.

The Council promptly concurred in this appropriation, but the Governor withheld his consent. The House, not disconcerted by this refusal of the Governor, immediately, through their committee, began to prepare three other resolves; one, recommending the towns and districts to collect and pay over, before the 15th of August, to Thomas Cushing, one of the delegates, the sum of five hundred pounds. This sum was to be assessed according to a tax-list to be circulated among the towns, and was in place of the appropriation which failed to pass. The second resolve recommended, that other towns of the province relieve the necessities of the inhabitants of Boston and Charlestown, who were suffering from the operation of the act closing the port of Boston. The third resolve recommended abstinence from the use of imported tea, and of all goods and manufactures brought from the East Indies and Great Britain, and the encouragement of American manufactures. This last resolve was the basis of that Solemn League and Covenant, the consequences of which were so disastrous to the manufacturing districts of England.

The choice of delegates and the appropriation for their expenses had, evidently, greatly disturbed the Governor.

He soon received a hint of the subsequent proceedings of the House, through the treachery, it was suspected, of Elisha Jones, a tavern-keeper, who represented the town of Weston.*

The Governor forthwith ordered a proclamation, for dissolving the General Court, to be prepared by Thomas Flucker, the Secretary of the province, and to be read as soon as possible to the House of Representatives.

By this time, word had got abroad that the House were pushing measures, with the utmost speed and secrecy, and that the Governor, aware of the nature of their proposed action, had set the Secretary at work in equal haste to thwart their purposes.

The proclamation was soon ready for the Governor's signature, and read as follows:—

*
 PROVINCE OF THE }
 MASSACHUSETTS BAY. } By the GOVERNOR.

A PROCLAMATION

FOR DISSOLVING THE GENERAL COURT.

WHEREAS the Proceedings of the House of Representatives in the present Session of the General Court make it necessary for his Majesty's Service, that the said General Court should be dissolved.

I have therefore thought fit to dissolve the said General Court, and the same is hereby dissolved accordingly, and the members thereof are discharged from any further attendance.

* This suspicion was strengthened by subsequent events. Jones revealed his character to the two spies sent out by Gage to reconnoitre. See the interesting narrative of their adventures, by one of them, Ensign D' Bernicre, in *Am. Archives*, 4 Series, Vol. i, p. 1263. Jones is briefly noticed by Sabine in his sketches of the Loyalists of the Am. Revolution.

Given under my hand at Salem, the 17th Day of June,
1774, in the Fourteenth Year of his Majesty's Reign.

T. GAGE.

By his Excellency's command,

THOS. FLUCKER, Secretary.

GOD save the KING.*

Armed with this instrument, the Secretary started at once for the town-house. Elbowing his way through the eager crowd, he mounted the stairs leading to the hall above, but found the door locked and the messenger on guard. He "directed the messenger to go in and acquaint the speaker that the Secretary had a message from His Excellency to the honorable House, and desired he might be admitted to deliver it." The messenger returned, and said he had informed the speaker, as requested, "who mentioned it to the House, and their orders were to keep the door fast."

Thereupon, while the House were finally passing the last resolve, the Secretary proceeded to read the paper, upon the stairs, in presence of the assembled multitude, and then, immediately after, read it in the Council chamber. †

Thus ended the last General Court held in Massachusetts under a provincial governor. After more than eighty years of experiment, since the Commissioners of the Great Seal, under William and Mary, appended its impress to the charter devised by the great lawyers of the English revolution—a period during which this vigorous but comparatively insignificant colony had grown to a large and flourishing province—the system of government was now, by another revolution, soon to change into a government of the people, by the people and for

* Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 308. † Ibid.

the people. True, the ancient methods prescribed by the charter might be, as they certainly were, resumed, but every member of the government was to be chosen by the people, directly or indirectly, and to become amenable, solely, to his constituency—the electors of the commonwealth.

Such, too, were the dramatic incidents attending the choice of the first five delegates* to that Congress which, by successive elections, continued throughout the war. This august assembly managed the vast and various concerns of the colonies, raised, equipped and officered armies, organized and fitted out a navy, built forts, borrowed money, issued bills of public credit, established a general post-office and a national hospital, entered into treaties, leagues and alliances, and, in short, was the prototype of our present national government, until the adoption of the federal constitution raised over all the States the ægis of a Republic.

Letting this digression suffice to impress more vividly upon our minds the importance of the events which took place in this town just one year before the battle of Bunker's Hill, we will proceed with our narrative. The Governor had taken up his residence in the elegant mansion of Robert Hooper, in Danvers, now known as the "Collins

* Of the delegates thus chosen, all held places of the highest trust after the adoption of the constitution. From them were selected two governors and two lieutenant-governors of this commonwealth. Two of them received commissions as justices of the highest court in the state; and one of them was also attorney-general. John Adams never sat under his commission as chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, but had his ambition gratified by being elected the first Vice President and the second President of the United States of America, and by being appointed commissioner to France, ambassador to the Netherlands, and minister plenipotentiary to Great Britain before the peace; and afterwards, the first minister of the United States to the Court of St. James.

House,"* but deemed it prudent, towards the end of the next month, to order hither two companies of the 64th regiment, to guard his head-quarters; and, on the 13th of August, the 59th regiment, under Col. Otho Hamilton, landed from the transports in which they had arrived the day before, and encamped near the fort on the Neck. †

The meaning of this martial demonstration was soon evident. Handbills were posted, and a notice appeared in the *Essex Gazette*, ‡ calling the freeholders together on Wednesday, the 24th day of August, to choose five or more delegates to a county convention at Ipswich, for the purpose of considering and determining upon a course of action to be pursued with reference to the recent acts of parliament, "and our other grievances."

One of these acts had provided that, with certain exceptions, no town meeting should be held upon the call of the selectmen, without the leave of the Governor; § and the Governor deemed this call, and the proposed meeting, to be violations of the act. He therefore issued a proclamation, the day before the meeting, forbidding the freeholders to assemble at their peril; and, the next morning, an hour before the time fixed for the meeting, he summoned before him the committee of correspondence, by whose direction the call had been issued, told them that he considered their proceedings unlawful and seditious, and asked them to disperse the assembly. || As the act only forbade meetings called by the selectmen, the committee protested that there was no violation of the act, and that they had no authority to break up the meeting. The Governor declined to argue the point so ingeniously

* See *Essex Gazette*, 1774, No. 306.

† *Ibid.*, No. 316. ‡ *Ibid.*, No. 317.

§ "Act for better regulating the government," etc.

|| *Essex Gazette*, 1774, No. 318.

made, but informed them that the sheriff would proceed first and warn the assembly to disperse, and, if that expedient failed, he should resort to forcible measures.*

The troops at the Neck were then provided with ammunition, and put in motion. At the lower end of the town they halted and loaded, and eighty of them advanced as far as Newbury street. But the delegates, having been chosen in the mean time, and the business of the meeting being over, the troops were ordered back to their encampment.† The next Saturday the Governor departed for Boston.‡

Throughout the previous night his guards were under arms, and his safe arrival in Boston was announced in the newspapers.§ There is a tradition, in Danvers, that an attempt had been made to assassinate him; and the old front-door of his mansion, perforated by the bullet, it is said, of one who, in passing, boldly fired, and then, spurring his horse, quickly disappeared in the darkness, was long shown in proof of the tradition. Whatever reasons he had for seeking greater safety, it is certain that he reported to the Earl of Dartmouth that his object in going to Boston was that he might attend the approaching session of the Superior Court. || Chief Justice Oliver, who stood impeached by the House of Representatives, had promised to preside; and it was feared that the people would prevent him, unless the Governor forcibly interfered.

From Saturday to Thursday, the angry Governor was thinking how he might inflict exemplary punishment on the refractory committee at Salem, whose adroit evasion of the act of parliament, although he affected to treat it

* Essex Gazette, 1774. No. 318. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.* § *Ibid.*

|| Letter of Gage to Dartmouth, Aug. 27, 1774, in Am. Archives, 4 Series, Vol. i, p. 741; also same to same, Sept. 2, 1774, *Ibid.*, p. 767.

as a quibble, had so disturbed him that he mentioned it, as a matter of importance, in his despatches to the Secretary for colonial affairs. He had already ordered the arrest of the Salem committee, and Colonel Peter Frye, a magistrate here, had issued a warrant upon which some of them had been brought before him, and bound over to the Superior Court, as violators of the act of parliament.* Gage swore that the whole committee should recognize or go to prison; and it was rumored that he intended to seize them, and send them as prisoners in the Scarborough, man-of-war, which was about to sail for England.† But the Governor soon had other troublesome and more momentous subjects to consider.

On Thursday, the 1st of September, writs for calling a new General Court, to be held at Salem on the 5th of the next month, were published by the Governor's order. Fortunately, the fatality attending so many of his schemes awaited this measure. His threats against the Salem committee had been too freely and openly uttered. On Wednesday the watchful committee at Boston, suspicious of evil designs against their brethren here, despatched an express, after ten o'clock at night, to warn the latter of a movement of troops, possibly destined for Salem.

The messenger was cordially received, and returned with the encouraging reply that they were ready for any attacks to which they might be "exposed for acting in pursuance of the laws and interest of their country, and as became men and Christians."‡

At half-past four o'clock the next morning, the very day on which the writs for calling the Assembly were issued, thirteen boats, filled with troops, pushed stealthily off from the Long wharf in Boston and headed up Mystic

* Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 320.

† Am. Archives, *ut supra*, p. 762. ‡ *Ibid.*

River. It soon appeared that the powder-house on Quarry Hill in Charlestown was their chief objective point. Here they seized and carried off two hundred and fifty half-barrels of gunpowder, while a detachment marched to Cambridge and brought away two pieces of artillery belonging to the militia.*

All Middlesex was soon aroused, and excited and indignant crowds gathered in the highway, increasing as they proceeded, and arming themselves with the weapons that came nearest at hand. Before this multitude had dispersed, it was rumored that Gage was on the way to attack them. To prevent a collision, they extorted from Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, whose house in Cambridge they had surrounded, a promise to dissuade the Governor from resorting to forcible measures. This promise was kept, and the Governor returned for answer that no such purpose had been entertained by him, and that he should not molest them.†

Had the Governor proceeded to Salem in pursuance of his rumored intention to arrest the committee, no doubt the first great tragedy of the Revolution would have been enacted here, or had he marched against the exasperated freeholders of Middlesex, the battle of Lexington would have been anticipated nearly eight months, in sight of Harvard College.

The demonstrations in Middlesex, quickly followed by reports of the hostile attitude of other parts of the Province, and the neighboring colonies of Rhode Island and Connecticut, thoroughly alarmed the Governor and his Councillors. Their plans for aggression were abandoned; and they resolved that "the first and only step now to take was to secure the friends of Government, and reinforce

* Am. Archives, *ut supra*, p. 762. † *Ibid.*, p. 764.

the troops," in Boston, "with as many more as could possibly be collected." The Governor wrote, the next day, to the Earl of Dartmouth, that he had thoughts of sending transports to bring the two regiments at Quebec, to Boston, and that he intended to order Major General Haldimand to bring, from New York and Philadelphia, the troops under his command at those places.*

The people of Salem, though anxiously preparing for the future, preserved, with few exceptions, † an appearance of firmness and self-control. In a determined but quiet way, Col. Frye was made to recall his warrant for the arrest of the committee and to give up their bail-bonds to the principals. He further gratified the committee and people by publishing a card averring that this retraction was of his own free will, and announcing his determination not to take or hold any office under the objectionable acts of parliament.

The troops were still here, but, on the 10th of September, a measured drum-beat, and the shrill whistle of the fife, first caught faintly from the lower end of the town, but momentarily growing louder, announced to the people up town that the troops were in motion. Soon, the whole regiment from the Neck appeared. They made no show of violence, but were watched in silence, by the crowds on the street corners, as, with colors flying, they kept their way through the town and towards the old road to Boston.

At Danvers South-Parish, now Peabody, they were joined by the guards from the Governor's head-quarters, and, resuming their march together, they soon turned out

* Gage to Dartmouth, *Ibid.*, 768.

† Some disturbances occurred, but the town authorities took prompt action to quell them, and succeeded in preserving order.

of sight, around the wooded knolls that bordered the road to Lynn.* The dust raised by the feet of the last, armed soldier of Britain who should ever encamp upon the soil of Essex County, floated off, and settled upon blackberry vines, or sprinkled with drab the yellow spikes of the golden-rod that fringed the old stone walls along the way. And where a few moments before rose and fell the monotonous sound of marching platoons, broken by strains of martial music, oaths and ribald jests, nothing was heard but the peaceful tinkle of the cow-bell, the distant bleating of sheep and the crickets' chirruping trill.

The concentration of the Governor's forces in Boston, which deprived him of all protection or show of power in Salem, was a sufficient reason for not attempting to hold the General Court here; but another circumstance was conclusive against such a proceeding. The act for better regulating the government of the province had revoked the clause in the Charter providing for the annual election of twenty-eight Councillors, by the Assembly, and had substituted a council of the King's nomination, who, from the name of the warrant conferring the office, received the title of *Mandamus* Councillors. Of the thirty-six councillors selected by the King, twenty-five responded to the Governor's call, and were sworn in.† As soon as the fact of their acceptance of the office became known, they were held up as traitors and outlaws. The Middlesex freeholders in their furious march, besieged in their own homes, three of these Councillors, including the Lieutenant-Governor, and forced them to resign their seats at the

* Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 320.

† *Ibid.*, Nos. 315, 316, 317. Nine of these resigned their seats before the 6th of September. Palmer was absent from the province, and Woodbridge was dead when the appointment arrived. So that but fourteen sworn councillors remained.—*Ibid.*, No. 319.

Board. There were indications that this was to be the settled policy of the people ; and those of the new Council who were determined to hold their places, were obliged to seek refuge in Boston, where they were closely guarded by the King's troops.

To get this odious body from their shelter in Boston to the Court House in Salem, was, therefore, a task which, under the circumstances, the military strategist at the head of the government and army, did not feel inclined to undertake.* If the members were courageous enough to venture upon the journey, they would, in all probability, be waylaid and forced to resign like their brethren in Middlesex ; or, something still worse might happen, to precipitate a collision between the troops and the people, — a contingency for which Gage began to believe he was not fully prepared. To hold a General Court without the coördinate upper branch was impossible ; and he might, therefore, be obliged, from sheer necessity, to recognize a council chosen under the Charter, which would surely have lost him his place and the favor of the Crown. In this state of affairs no other course was open to the Governor but to notify the members not to attend ; and, accordingly, a week before the first day of the session, he caused to be published his proclamation, excusing the Representatives elect from appearing at, or holding, a General Court.†

Notwithstanding this proclamation, when the fifth of October arrived, ninety of the Representatives assembled.‡ Among them were men of tried courage and determination, who were bent upon executing the purpose they had in view, whether the Governor appeared or not. They had long been looked up to by the people of the Province,

* See letter of Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1774, *supra*.

† Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 323. ‡ *Ibid.*, No. 324.

for advice and encouragement, and their proceedings were now watched with eager expectation.

So, on that eventful October morning, we can conceive the excitement here to have been intense.

The quaint old gables that looked down upon the crooked streets and narrow lanes of the town must have seemed to share the anxious curiosity of their tenants, as, under the shadows of projecting covings, or from open casements above, bare-armed gossips discussed with neighbors opposite the probable doings of the Representatives.

In the taverns, and under the more modern roofs that crowned the mansions of such patriots as Mason, Gardner, Williams and Derby,* the kitchens echoed with the

* Capt. Thomas Mason was in early life a cooper, then a master mariner, and afterwards an opulent merchant. He built in 1755 the house now owned and occupied by F. S. Peck, No. 133 Essex street. He died July, 1801, aged 78.

Capt. Jonathan Gardner, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Gardner) Gardner, born in Salem, May 25, 1728, died March 2, 1791; m. Sarah Putnam. A master mariner, for many years held important offices in the Salem Marine Society, owned and lived in the house that stood on the site of the late Dr. B. Cox's house, No. 132 Essex street.

Capt. George Williams, son of Henry Williams, m. Lydia, dau. of Timothy and Mary (Wingate) Pickering. A master mariner and wealthy merchant; bought in 1756 the three story wooden house taken down in 1839, that stood on the western part of the estate on Essex street recently sold by the heirs of the late Col. F. Peabody to Dr. S. H. Holbrook. He died in June, 1797. He was one of the board of war in the revolution.

Capt. Richard Derby, son of Richard and Martha (Hasket) Derby, b. Sept. 16, 1712, d. Nov. 9, 1783; m., first, Mary, dau. of Gamaliel and Sarah (Williams) Hodges; 2d, Mrs. Sarah (Langley) widow of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham, who endowed several professorships in Harvard College (she founded the Derby Academy in Hingham). In early life a master mariner, afterwards an eminent and successful merchant, the father of Richard Derby, jr., a member of the committee of safety and correspondence, and an ardent patriot during the revolution, who d. March 20, 1781, and Elias Hasket Derby, an eminent merchant and one of the pioneers in the East India trade. He died in 1799.

clatter of preparations for distinguished guests: there was an odor of savory herbs, and spits creaked before the open fires. Gilded and painted beaufets, now freshly dusted and thrown wide open, proffered decanters of choice cordials, or wines from Lisbon and the Western Islands, and on the sideboards, home-made raisin-wine, gin and West-India rum were holiday companions of the universal beverage prepared in the neighboring distilleries. Along the wharves, the shipping lay, idly flying the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, but deserted except by a few stevedores, or, possibly, some gauger or other officer of the impost. Merchant and mariner, smith and shipwright, caulker and graver, had gone up to the neighborhood of the town-house, to see the Representatives and to discuss the momentous questions of the day with the carpenters, masons, tanners, shopkeepers, and husbandmen who thronged the place, usually the exclusive haunt of the patriarchs of the town, idle gentlemen and town officers.

This edifice, of which, unfortunately, no contemporary picture is known to exist, stood in the morning shadow of the steeple where, it is said, the exuberant fancy of the youthful Hawthorne excogitated some of those weird dreams which have possessed our minds with their ghastly and bewitching images. Close beside it stood the old town pump, now of world-wide fame; and its northern wall nearly coincided with the line upon which stands the southern parapet of the Eastern railroad tunnel. Its lower story was the town-house proper. Here for more than half a century the freeholders had held their town meetings, and the selectmen had consulted on municipal affairs. On the walls still hung, shrivelled and dusty, a few scalps of those fierce Algonquins, upon whom our fathers inflicted their own methods of punishment in the long and sanguinary Indian wars. These trophies,

having been purchased not only with precious blood but with liberal bounties from the town treasury, were the property of town or province, and, not being of a nature to excite cupidity, had remained, repulsive mementos of some of the darkest days in our provincial annals, and a terror to superstitious boys.*

High against the northern wall of the room above, in bold relief, were affixed the royal arms of Great Britain, bravely supported by the traditional lion and unicorn. Beneath these arms was the bench for the judges of the Superior Court of Judicature, and the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, and, continuous with the bench, and running south, for twenty feet, on the eastern and western sides, were the forms for the justices of the county, when they sat as a court of Sessions. A line from the southern end of these forms enclosed a space containing the jury seats,—immediately in front of the justices; and the bar, with a seat in front, and flanked by boxes for the sheriff and crier. Before the bench and between the two juries, was an open space, provided with a table and seats for the convenience of suitors and their counsel.†

I will not detain you by attempting to finish this imperfect outline, which I have sketched by the aid of hints laboriously gathered from forgotten files and faded records, and from the more unsatisfactory lips of tradition. It is to be regretted that some one had not deemed a full and exact picture of this historic structure worthy of his pen or pencil, before the many old people who remembered it perfectly had passed away.

* My authority for this is the late William W. Oliver, who told me that these scalps were buried when the old building was removed, after its purchase by Henry Rust and Benjamin Brown, Oct. 11, 1785.

† From a "portra" of the court-room by Nathaniel Bowen and Wm. Bourn, Dec. 29, 1763, in the files of the Court of Sessions.

When the whole Assembly met here in June, the upper room was the hall of the Representatives. The Council chamber may have been below, or, more likely, in the old tavern opposite, on the site now covered by the Stearns Building; while the Governor, doubtless, had rooms not far distant, or, possibly, he may have remained at his head-quarters in Danvers.

On this occasion, the whole body of legislators, consisting of the assembled ninety, found ample space in the court room I have described, which was fifty feet long and thirty feet wide.

Of course the Governor was not expected; but, that they might not be charged with unseemly haste or discourtesy, the Assembly did no formal business on the first day. No doubt there were earnest discussions of matters requiring future action; but there was no one to administer the official oaths, and no message from Governor or Council, and the time spent, in this show of respect for the King's immediate representative, could be well improved by an interchange of views and the arrangement of business for the morrow.

In the afternoon the Governor had not arrived, and the Assembly adjourned. The evening's discussions were but unfoldings of the day's thoughts. Night fell upon the quiet town. The last lamplight had disappeared, and the sound of the watchman's cry, "All is well!" blended into patriotic dreams, and then fell on unconscious ears.* Suddenly, at the stroke of three, by the town clock, the whole town was startled by the cry of "fire." Seizing their leathern buckets,† and rushing toward the town-house, the roused sleepers saw a dense volume of smoke

*The night watch was reorganized and increased after this fire.

†Several of these, of different dates, are preserved in the cabinets of the Essex Institute.

issuing from the warehouse of Col. Frye, which stood on Essex street, then Queen street, nearly opposite the entrance of Barton square, and just above the meeting house of the society under the charge of the Rev. Nathaniel Whittaker. The little engines,—one of which, with unwarrantable generosity, was given, a few years ago, to the firemen of Philadelphia,—were unable to check the progress of the flames; and not until a large force of strong and active workers, from Marblehead, had relieved our exhausted townsmen, was the fire subdued.

When the Representatives assembled in the morning, four-and-twenty buildings, including the meeting-house, lay smouldering in ruins, before the town-house door. Even this structure had not escaped injury, but was saved by the active exertions of the Marblehead men after its fair, painted front had been scorched and blistered, its windows cracked, and its front cornice nearly consumed.

The Assembly now organized; John Hancock was chosen chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln, clerk. A committee was then appointed to consider the Governor's proclamation and to consult on measures to be adopted, and the Assembly again adjourned.

On Friday, the 7th of October, the committee reported four resolutions, concluding with the declaration that the grievances which they set forth were such as, "in all good governments," had "been considered among the greatest reasons for convening a parliament or assembly," and that the proclamation was further proof of the necessity of "most vigorous and immediate exertions for preserving the freedom and constitution" of the province.

The resolutions were immediately adopted, and thereupon the following vote was passed:—

Voted, that the members aforesaid do now resolve themselves into a **PROVINCIAL CONGRESS**, to be joined by

such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming situation of public affairs in this province, and to consult and determine on such measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true interest of His Majesty, and the peace, welfare, and prosperity of the province."

Having thus solemnly renounced the authority of parliament, and affirmed the fundamental right of the people to institute a government, when in their judgment the regular administration had overstepped the limits of the constitution, they adjourned to more comfortable quarters at Concord, to meet on the following Tuesday.

Here they organized the Congress by raising Hancock to the presidency, and electing Lincoln secretary. At Concord and at Cambridge they continued their sittings, with a few weeks intermission, until the 10th of December. Their progress towards practical independence was now sure and speedy. Before the end of October, all constables and collectors of taxes had submitted to their order to withhold payment from Harrison Gray, the province treasurer, and to return their collections to Henry Gardner, who, soon after, was appointed receiver-general; and, with closed doors, and under a solemn pledge of secrecy, they had resolved upon the momentous subject of "the most proper time" to procure arms and ammunition, by unanimously adopting a report that "now is the time!"*

By midsummer, three sessions had been held, had transacted business, and finally dissolved. On the day of their dissolution they again assembled, by the recommendation of the Continental Congress, as an independent government under the Charter.

Before this reorganization, the established tribunals of

* Journals of the Provincial Congress, Oct. 24, p. 29.

justice, which had either ceased to hold sessions or were disregarded by the people, had been replaced by a Court of Inquiry, to insure the preservation of order; the establishment of a navy had been favorably reported upon, and the great work of raising and equipping an army had been accomplished. Under the new style of government, the Council and Representatives removed the judges who had been appointed by Royal governors, and issued commissions to new magistrates of their own selection.

Thus, in less than ten months from the taking of their first bold step at Salem, the new *régime* was in the full exercise of the three great functions of government,—legislative, judicial and executive. The sword, the purse and the scales thus taken possession of by the people, have been held by them with unyielding grasp from that time to the present.

Let me here call your attention to a fact which imparts a character to this *revolution* in the Assembly, more important than has been sometimes surmised. The idea of a provincial congress had been suggested on the 31st of August, by a convention of the freeholders of Middlesex, who, after Boston fell into the possession of the enemy, were foremost in their active opposition to tyranny; but the congress contemplated by them was a voluntary organization; it had no connection with the previous government, and could in no sense claim legality or authority. The inhabitants of Boston who, on the 26th of September held their town meeting for the choice of representatives to the Assembly at Salem, improved the opportunity to choose, also, delegates to Concord, where, by common consent, the voluntary congress or convention was to be held.

The vote of the assembly, therefore,—all the members of which had been legally elected in the manner pre-

scribed by the charter, and under the call of the Governor,—must be considered the legitimate act of the *province*, in the only way in which the province could express its pleasure.

From this fact the movement in Salem derives a peculiar significance, and we have a right to claim that it was that *first official act of the province* by which she put herself in open, actual opposition to the Home Government.

Salem is not, however, to claim any precedence or honor for this event, beyond what is involved in the circumstance that the deed was here performed — an honor similar to that claimed by Philadelphia in regard to the Declaration of Independence.

While the Legislature was thus employed, the people were busy arming and organizing the militia. Through the autumn and winter, colonels of regiments, and other military officers, who were not in known sympathy with the popular movement, were either forced to resign, or the men under their command voluntarily disbanded and reorganized under other leaders. New companies were started, beginning with an artillery company in Marblehead for which subscriptions were opened early in November.

The expedition of Col. Leslie, on the 26th of February, 1775, and the affair at the North Bridge in Salem, when the first bloodshed of the revolution occurred, present a theme inviting discussion, when the anniversary of that day arrives. To this subject I only advert, as to one incident among many, indicating to what lengths the people were then prepared to go in resenting what they deemed unconstitutional interference.

Col. Leslie's encounter, however, led to two other proceedings, important as illustrating the determined spirit

of independence here prevalent. The surprise and indignation which that event excited were followed by a conviction of the necessity of more thorough preparation for hostilities. Accordingly, the town militia were more diligently exercised, and a general muster was ordered, to take place in School street, now Washington street, on the 14th of March. All persons liable to military duty were summoned to appear, equipped with proper arms and accoutrements.*

Burning with indignation at the outrage attempted by Leslie, the recollection of which grew more exasperating with the lapse of time, the sight of the colors under which their invaders marched was intolerable to the militia. Another standard was therefore prepared, to be used for rallying the men, and, afterwards, to be displayed at the muster; and an ample sheet of pure, white bunting, bearing, on one side, a green pine-tree, and, on the reverse, the words, "an appeal to Heaven," was received with general applause.† The brig Betsey, carrying, as passengers, two

* Essex Gazette, 1775, No. 345.

† The silence of the military journals of the revolution, and of the contemporary press and historians, on so important a matter as the flag borne by the colonial forces, has given rise to doubts, which have not yet been removed, as to the date of adoption and the extent of use of the several flags which are known to have preceded the "stars and stripes." Probably, in the beginning of the conflict, each colony chose its own device; and after the forces were combined a general standard was agreed upon which varied in some small particulars at different times and places. All that is known on the subject may be found in Preble's admirable "History of the American Flag." Albany: 1872.

The Massachusetts Assembly formally adopted the pine-tree flag, April 11, 1776; but it had been in use here the previous year. It was, undoubtedly, the flag mentioned in Paul Lunt's diary, July 18, 1775. In the autumn of 1775 it was used on the floating batteries about Boston, and also by our privateers.

The first vessel of the American navy, the "Alfred," Com. Hopkins,

refugees from Salem,* conveyed the news to Bristol, and, on the 17th of April, two days before the Battle of Lexington, the "Gentlemen's Magazine" announced to the British public that the Americans had hoisted their standard of liberty at Salem.

If the spirits of the departed were ever permitted to displayed a flag nearly identical with this in Dec., 1775. Naturally, vessels of war would adopt the standard recognized in the chief maritime towns, from which they either sailed or received enlistments, and the fact of the appearance of this flag in 1775 on the high seas would seem to confirm the uniform tradition that this was the "standard of liberty" raised in Salem.

A still stronger corroboration of the tradition was the display, at Salem, of the pine-tree banner, in the semi-centennial celebration of July 4, 1826, and the frequent reference then made to it as "the revolutionary banner," in the presence of many surviving soldiers of the revolution, chief among whom, and president of the day, was the veteran Col. Timothy Pickering.

Mr. Colman, the orator of the occasion, pointing to the banner, exclaimed, "There stands the simple and affecting memorial of this great event, *upborne by the same hands which sustained it in that trying period; 'WE APPEAL TO HEAVEN.'*" "The effect" of this allusion, says the Salem Gazette of July 7, 1826, "was electrical." This banner, which was made for the occasion, is preserved in the cabinet of the Essex Institute.

If we bear in mind that the war was commenced by the colonists under sincere professions of loyalty to the crown, and only, as they maintained, in defence of their constitutional liberties against a tyrannical ministry, we shall not be surprised to find occasional mention of the display of the old flag of the province, by the colonial forces. This was very similar to the flag of the British army, the only difference being in the design in the canton or upper angle of the field next the staff. This device is represented as a pine tree in one instance, and two hemispheres severed in another.— *Vide Preble, ut supra.*

From a paper on file, in our county records, for the discovery of which we are indebted to Hon. James Kimball, it appears that the old colonial flag of 1675 was red, with a white canton bearing the cross of St. George; also red, and a blue ball for difference. See Bulletin of the Essex Institute, vol. 4, pp. 50, 51.

* Benjamin Pickman, Esq., and Capt. Thomas Poynton. Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 346.

take note of mundane affairs, the stern and pallid features of Endicott must have kindled with a glow of life and warmth, as he saw the symbol of idolatry which, one hundred and forty years before, he had cut out from the national ensign, with the point of his sword, now laid aside, first and forever, in the town which his energy helped to establish.

The old manual of exercises of 1764, which had been recommended by the Provincial Congress, was used at the muster; but the necessity of some improvement was manifest, and, on the very day of the muster, notice appeared in the *Essex Gazette*, that Col. Timothy Pickering's new manual, which he had been for some time preparing, would be ready in about three weeks.* This laid the foundation of the military system of the Continental armies.† Its author lived to see this handful of unskilled militia swell to a great army; to see that army stand before the trained legions of Europe, on many a bloody field, and finally, bear off, as well-earned trophies, the white damask flag of the Hessian mercenaries, and the proud ensign of Britain.

At this point let us pause and recapitulate the events which, in the brief period of nine months, gave our beloved town an enviable history.

Here, we have seen, were convened the last Provincial Assembly and first Provincial Congress; here were chosen the first delegates to the Continental Congress; here the assembled province first formally renounced allegiance to the Imperial Legislature; here was made the first attempt to enforce the last oppressive acts of parliament, and here

* *Essex Gazette*, 1775, No. 346.

† It was adopted by the Massachusetts Assembly, May 1, 1776, and a copy of the second edition, published that year, is in the library of the Essex Institute.

that attempt was resisted ; here, though no mortal wound was given, was shed the first blood of the American Revolution ; here was first organized the nucleus of an army ; and here the banner of independence first spoke defiance, as it flapped and rustled in the wind.

I am aware that opposite views have been expressed concerning the purposes of the leaders of the Revolution in respect to independence. But, with due deference to those whose study of the subject has brought them to a different conclusion, I venture to affirm that this contrariety of opinion hinges on the meaning of a word.* Our English critics have been disposed to trace the progress of independence, which they confound with separation, back to the earliest colonial times, and to charge the colonists with insincerity in their constant professions of loyalty. Others, applying the same meaning to the word, have denied that the idea of independence was entertained until about the time of the Declaration at Philadelphia.† Both of these views are reconciled without impeaching the honor of our forefathers, and without any perversion of history, when we admit that independence, in the sense of entire, local self-government, was always kept in view by the colonists, claimed by them as a right expressly conferred by their charters, or compacts with

* It is remarkable that the uncertain application of the same word to parties in the great English revolution led Rapin to exclaim, "After all my pains, I have not been able to discover, precisely, the first rise of the Independent sect or faction." Mosheim, more profound and accurate than Rapin, was more successful. See Mosheim's Hist., Ed. 1790, Vol. 5, pp. 405-6, note q.

† The history of American Independence has been most thoroughly treated by Frothingham, in his masterly "Rise of the Republic,"—a book which should be read in all our common schools. The author invariably uses the word independence in the sense of separation, but he does not suppress or pervert the facts.

the Sovereign, and defended, as their heritage by the fundamental common-law, or those acknowledged principles of government which limit, alike, the jurisdiction of parliament and the prerogatives of the crown, and are now embraced under the comprehensive name of the British Constitution.

This was the independence that Samuel Adams intended when, as Hutchinson informs us, he concluded his speech, in 1769, with the words, "Independent we are, and independent we will be!" and we have Jefferson's own statement that the independence he looked forward to was such exemption from the control of parliament as the Kingdom of Hanover might claim, or such as Scotland maintained before the union.* This was what the colonists universally demanded, and for this, and this alone, they resorted to arms.

The right of the parent state to bind the colonies by such negotiations with foreign enemies or allies, as the welfare of all required, and to regulate navigation on the high seas, they never denied.

The assertion that under outward professions of loyalty the colonists secretly aspired to separation has never been, and, I venture to say, never will be proved. Had the claims of the colonies been granted, they would have had no motive for separation. Under such circumstances, it would have been but the exchange of the protection of an empire, for the empty glory of a name.

Nothing but obstinate prepossession, or utter inattention to the arguments and statements repeatedly made,

* "I took the ground that" * * * "the relation between Great Britain and these colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland, after the accession of James, and until the union, and the same as her present relations with Hanover, having the same executive chief, but no other necessary political connection."—*Jefferson's Autobiography*.

by and in behalf of the colonies, could lead to the conclusion that they did not mean what they professed, or that the only relations they were willing to maintain with the parent state, were inconsistent with loyalty, nominal, or absurd. Biassed by such prepossessions, and the suggestions of our enemies, too often did the privy council, and the Lords of trade, reach results unfavorable to our character and aims, from a view of facts that might, easily and naturally, have received a construction diametrically different.

But for the short-sightedness of Britain we might to-day have been her subjects. Would it have diminished her greatness, disturbed her peace, or injured her prosperity, if she had retained her hold upon us, by adopting the American policy, in accordance with the advice of her best and wisest men? "Let us reflect," said the good Bishop of St. Asaph, in his speech intended for the House of Lords, on the bill for the better regulating the government of Massachusetts,—“Let us reflect that, before these innovations were thought of, by following the line of good conduct which had been marked out by our ancestors, we governed North America with mutual benefit to them and ourselves. It was a happy idea that made us first consider them rather as instruments of commerce than as objects of government.” This is the New England idea happily presented; and how do these generous sentiments shine, in contrast with the miserable doctrine of Sir William Blackstone, concerning the power of parliament over these colonies—a doctrine based on the fiction that ours was a conquered territory, and our rights, only such as were vouchsafed by the clemency or bounty of the conqueror!* How, unlike, too, those pettifogging arguments

* See Sharswood's edition of Blackstone's Commentaries, Vol. i, p. 107, and the note by the American editor.

on the abstract power of parliament, which could be logically reduced to the proposition that the solemn pledges of the Great Charter, and every article in the Bill of Rights, nay, even parliament itself, existed solely, by the sufferance of the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in parliament, for the time being, assembled!

As the history of the revolution becomes more thoroughly studied, interest will not be so exclusively felt in those later scenes which have been oftenest depicted—the final separation from the mother country, the larger military movements, and the incidents attending and following the close of the war; the earlier stages,—of debate, of personal heroism, and of the first organized resistance will be more eagerly studied. To the men and doings of the Puritan commonwealth, the student of English history is quickly remitted, to find a key to the sudden mastery of great ideas exhibited by the historic personages who gave lustre to the reign of William and Mary.

Our independence was not the growth of a year, or of ten years. It began in the infancy of the colonies; and found its best tutelage here in New England.

The founders of these states were Englishmen, with all the characteristics which that name implies when spoken of those who did most to establish the reputation and shape the destiny of England in the sixteenth century. Their clergymen were, almost without exception, graduates of the great English universities;—well versed in the learning of their time, deeply interested in all political and ecclesiastical movements, and with a strong bias against un-English tendencies in church or state. Next to the Bible and the Catechism, they knew the old Charter.

They discussed it line by line, and word by word; and, as, from the Pentateuch they were able to deduce a civil and moral code minutely particular, so, in this instrument, they found authority for, or, at least, no obstacle to, the advanced ideas of political liberty which they had imbibed elsewhere. Children were taught to consider it the source of inestimable blessings; and the old men were glad to relate its perilous history.

The sentiments which the fathers had entertained for the Charter of King Charles, were, by their posterity, transferred to the Charter of William and Mary. True, this new Charter reserved to the Crown the appointment of the chief executive officers of the province—a feature which was, at first, earnestly opposed; but, as these officers, when not native born and enjoying public confidence, had, sometimes, commended themselves to popular favor in various ways, hostility to the Charter, on this account, grew feeble, and, finally ceased. The King had also reserved in this instrument the right to reject the acts of their legislature; but this negative voice, though it might embarrass them and retard their progress in some directions, was not a positive encroachment on their independence.

In a school of politics thus peculiar, and confined to few and simple issues, our fathers were educated. The absence of complex interests in their political and civil affairs, led to clearness in their perception, and adroitness and force in their treatment, of topics of political controversy. For a long time before what the good Bishop of St. Asaph calls "these innovations" were started in parliament, they had, skilfully, and generally with success, conducted a diplomatic contest with the privy council, and the Lords of trade, who, from courteously advising and negativing, had begun, in a more imperious tone, to direct

and order. From the privy council they had been inclined to appeal to parliament; not, indeed, with the idea of surrendering their independence, but to secure a powerful ally in the defence of their rights under the charter, or as submitting their case to a referee accepted by their opponents. While the prospect of redress by parliament was fair, they were disposed to look too exclusively to that quarter for a remedy, and had well-nigh submitted to some encroachment, on their traditional autonomy. The joint operations of the home government and the colonies, in the wars with France and Spain, had the effect, in a great measure, to push aside, as of secondary importance, questions that in times of peace had appeared of vital moment.

When it was discovered that the chances of securing a recognition of their claims by parliament were even less encouraging than at the council-board, they began to correct their recent error. They repudiated the authority of parliament; first, in matters of internal government. And, though they appealed in vain to their own courts for the preservation of their rights under the charter, their success in parliament encouraged them, in due time, to deny the authority of parliament in all matters of external government peculiarly affecting them; and they came back, at length, to the original claim of the fathers,—to entire exemption from legislative and executive interference in all matters of government, except in those particulars stipulated in the charter; in short, to the claim of *local independence*.

This point they had reached at the time of the events we have been considering.

Having thus viewed the outward incidents in which the event we commemorate is clothed,—the garb in which it moves across the stage in the grand drama of history, and

having, I fear, overstepped the limits which the occasion, and your patience, prescribe, by a too dry and a very imperfect representation of the interior processes which led up to this event, I shall not trespass upon your indulgence by pursuing these subjects further.

The theme is fruitful of suggestions, appropriate and deeply interesting. How it tempts us, for instance, to emphasize the distinction between *liberty* and *independence*, to look both backward and forward from this event, for epochs in the history of personal independence—of individual liberty; to trace the indebtedness of Massachusetts, for this blessing, to a despised sect, now fast dissolving in the beams of toleration; to note how that toleration had been secured in this colony by the meek persistency of the same sect—the long-suffering Quakers—almost a generation before the great act of William and Mary; how Thomas Maule, a Quaker, in this very town, and in the court house which preceded the building of 1774, vindicated the freedom of the press, and the right of the jury to judge of the law, as well as of the fact, in criminal cases, more than two generations before the discussion of the same issues in Westminster Hall shook the very foundations of the British throne;* how the Quaker inhabitants of Dartmouth and Tiverton, a generation later still, secured, for the members of their own sect, an exemption from the support of the ministers and meeting-houses of another denomination; † and how this exemption was, afterward, extended to the Baptists, and, finally, to all citizens.

* See an account of this trial in Chandler's American Criminal Trials, and in Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, Vol. iii, pp. 238-253.

† See Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay, Vol. ii, note to the act of 1722-23, chap. 8, on p. 269.

On an occasion like this, when the heart is stirred by patriotic emotions, and the cheek mantles with the glow of pride, as we recount the peculiar blessings of liberty which we enjoy, it is well to make some inquiry after the forgotten few by whose testaments, sealed with their blood, we, the descendants of their persecutors, have received these invaluable legacies, and to make, even thus late, an acknowledgment as free and broad as the bounty bestowed.

The story of the past intimate connection between the two kindred nations, revived by this great occasion, and the change of feeling which a century has wrought, irresistibly impel us, at this time, to do something to remove any lingering trace of that old and indiscriminate prejudice against the country whose ministers inflicted such harsh and unnatural wrongs upon our fathers; to plead that the abuses of a party, however large, should not forever be laid to the charge of a nation; to invoke a larger measure of love and veneration for the great characters who, in both houses of parliament, on the bench, and in the cabinet, were our stanch friends throughout our contest with the mother country; and to pay a fresh tribute of gratitude and sympathy to our warm friends, in the great community of England, who were forced to bear their portion of the burden of a useless and fratricidal war,—a war begun and continued against their entreaties, and absorbing from the public treasury the enormous sum of one hundred millions of pounds sterling.

As we recall the eloquence of Chatham and Burke, Barré and Conway; the efforts of the representatives from London; the mild persuasion of Jonathan Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph; and, above all, the intense earnestness and the mighty weight of authority which Lord Camden unsuccessfully brought to the support of his views

of our cause,—views so accordant with those of our own patriots that, while we read, we query whether, after all, his ideas were not furnished from Boston;—when we behold that array of noble names in the House of Lords, which, once and again, appears subscribed to a protest against the passage of the acts of tyranny; when we read the appeals in our behalf by the mayor, aldermen and livery of the city of London,—we begin to feel, as our fathers felt, that skies may change, but not the hearts of those who pass beyond the sea. We are at home, once more, on the green sward of England, all aglow with our old-time love and admiration.

'Tis true, alas! that there was the darker and the prevailing side. But the minority who were with us far outweigh, in point of character and intellect, the misinformed and infatuated crowd opposed to us. The thoughts of Joseph Priestly, Richard Price, and Lord Camden, will be studied with profit by coming generations wherever our tongue is spoken; while the "Taxation no Tyranny" of Dr. Johnson; the imitations of his weak idolaters; John Wesley's abridgment of the Doctor's tract,—his prayers for our overthrow, and those Wesleyan songs, breathing anathemas and invoking Divine vengeance upon us, have passed into oblivion. Possibly, by the aid of the bookbinder, they have been turned to their only useful purpose—pasted, it may be, in the backs of elegant editions of the speeches of William Pitt and Edmund Burke.

The mention of these things must suffice. Resisting the temptation to wander further from our immediate theme, let us turn once more to the earnest men whose daring and fortitude secured the boon of independence which has been transmitted to us, their posterity. What inspired them to attempt so great an enterprise, and why were they successful?

We have been accustomed to hear it said that our fathers were sensitive of their rights, persistent in their purposes, unwearied in endeavor and fortunate in achievement because of their education; that they had been taught to cherish every tradition of liberty, and ever to aspire to the high ideal presented by the self-sacrifice, courage and devotion of their fathers. Be it so; then this is a sufficient reason for imitating their example, and fully justifies what we are doing to-day in commemoration of their deeds.

But was there not a deeper and more comprehensive cause than this? Something not accidental, nor elective; not dependent upon tradition, times or circumstances, but inherent; sure to produce the same peculiarities in every generation, and under all circumstances; something spontaneous, irrepressible, constitutional?

Start not when I affirm that there was such a cause: it lay in the superiority of the American stock.

Superiority in the feudal sense may not always indicate native excellence, yet the distinctions of rank were, originally, the badge of preëminent services rendered to what represented the state, and, in early times, when pecuniary possessions were insecure, they were the only adequate rewards which could be conferred for superior valor and virtue. Families which can be traced step by step, for centuries, must have possessed some commanding qualities to have continued to hold a conspicuous place among their contemporaries, and to have thus marked their course by enduring monuments.

In the great struggle for existence I think it will be found, that not only the strongest and healthiest survive, but that, in the end, the best prevail and make the most permanent impressions. Indeed, if this is not so, the world is surely retrograding and the highest hopes of mankind are a snare and a delusion.

Our fathers from the first cared perhaps too little for what they considered the accidents of birth and lineage; and, except in the case of John Adams, and the few who shared his views, there was a universal tendency among the revolutionary patriots to suppress even the mention of family superiority. But, though they would not boast of it, they could not be insensible of its influence not only on the character of the people, but as a motive of conduct. Time has lifted the veil which the Puritans and revolutionary republicans allowed to fall between the public eye and their family records. All around us are surnames, inherited from the first immigrants, that are to be found in Domesday-Book and the Roll of Battle Abbey. The later investigations of genealogists have surprised us with their revelations of the antiquity and historic eminence of a large number of early New England families. Several hundred elaborate pedigrees have now been published, some of which have been traced through noble lines, with names and dates, from generation to generation, back to the days of the Plantagenets, and the house of Blois.* In our probate files, among private papers, and on neglected tombstones in the oldest grave-yards are yet to be seen the arms of many families whose connection with their ancient kindred in England

*Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England, in four volumes, Whitmore's American Genealogist, and the Heraldic Journal, exhibit striking evidence of the accurate and full manner in which family histories are preserved in New England, and of the social superiority of the colonists. Savage declares, "Even if our views be restricted to the lineal origin of those people here, when the long protracted impolicy of Great Britain drove our fathers into open hostility, and forced them to become a nation in 1776, in that century and a half from its colonization, a purer Anglo Saxon race would be seen on this side of the ocean than on the other;" and Whitmore affirms that nine-tenths of our native citizens can prove their descent for eight generations, and at each step find a man of distinguished position. There are no better authorities.

has thus been pointed out and subsequently verified. We know as a matter of history that in those grave-yards repose the dust of descendants of Saxon earls and Norman kings. A Puritan daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, descendants of the Earls of Northumberland, and the famous old family of St. John, share here, without a monument, a common receptacle with the posterity of Bishops Morton, Bonner and Still, and the known kindred of Archbishops Cranmer and Grindal. These are our kinsfolk and ancestry, and no foolish affectation of self-abasement, after the style of Mr. Bounderby,* and no fear of derision should deter us from a frank avowal of the fact.

Why should the man who discriminates between his Berkshire pig and a common shote, or jealously guards the pedigrees of his thoroughbred cattle and horses, admit nothing in favor of the transmission of good qualities in his own kind? It matters not whether transmitted excellence in the human family be congenital or traditionary. Either way the *fact* is most satisfactorily illustrated in the history of Puritan New England, and may account for the marked purity, frugality, industry, intelligence, courage and enterprise of her people in all generations.

Though, for want of evidence, I am not prepared to assert that this condition of society prevailed in the other colonies, it is unquestionable that the Revolution was not a protest against rank and titles. Samuel Adams declared that "The seeds of aristocracy began to spring even before the conclusion of our struggle for the natural rights of men."† At the close of the war there was more

* "What would Mr. Bounderby say?"—*Gradgrind*.

† "Not that a ditch was new to me, for I was born in a ditch."—*Bounderby*. "Hard Times," chaps. 3 and 4.

† The Life, etc., of Samuel Adams, by William V. Wells, Vol. iii, p. 316.

than mere discussion as to the propriety of establishing something like the European system here. Fortunately, the more democratic ideas prevailed. Our fathers wisely concluded that hereditary offices and honors were excessive compensation for the highest services which it is possible for any member of society to render. It seemed to them that they had gone far enough in that direction in confirming the principle of inheritance of property,—in permitting the wealth acquired by the skill or industry of one to pass intact to his descendants, who might be drones in society, and utterly unworthy to possess it.

Besides their natural inclination to dwell on the history and example of their forefathers, and their conviction of the legal soundness of their claims to the right of local independence, they were instinctively hopeful of the future.

The vision of a New Canaan in this wilderness,—that prognostication of ancient Puritan seers, which had been repeated in Puritan sermons and borne aloft on Puritan prayers; a prospect which had nerved them in battle, supported them in hardships, encouraged them to enterprise on the sea, and in the settlement of new territory, and made their exile from their native land not only tolerable but happy, grew in their descendants into a foresight of a great and prosperous state, eclipsing the effete kingdoms of the old world and becoming the chief gem in the British crown.

Nor was the idea peculiar to them. Their hopes ripened into assurance when they read the concurrent testimony of European bards and philosophers. Forty years before, they had committed to memory the stirring prediction of Bishop Berkeley:—

“The muse, disgusted at an age and clime
Barren of every glorious theme,
In distant lands now waits a better time,
Producing subjects worthy fame.

* * * * *

There shall be sung another golden age,
 The rise of empire and of arts,
 The good and great inspiring epic rage,
 The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

Not such as Europe breeds in her decay,
 Such as she bred when fresh and young,
 When heavenly flame did animate her clay,
 By future poets shall be sung.

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
 The four first acts already past,
 A fifth shall close the drama with the day;
 Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Minds thus certain of their rights, proud of their history, and constitutionally hopeful of a great destiny, would naturally be conscious of their dignity. They would be apt to resent any treatment implying indifference or contempt, and would submit to no imposition. While such men might lavishly respond to applications for favors, they would indignantly refuse the slightest tribute.

The claim of the Home Government to be reimbursed by the colonies a portion of the expenses incurred in the reduction of the French possessions in America, — the claim which was embodied in the acts of parliament that led to the revolt of the colonies — was considered by the latter as grossly unjust and inequitable. The colonists could not forget the story of alternate hope and disappointment, — the sad tale recorded in the annals of New England through a whole century — of their own endeavors to take and hold those possessions; of long, expensive war, signalized, it is true, by heroic achievements and crowned with the laurels of victory, but yet involving bloodshed, misery, poverty and despair.

Acadia and Canada wrested from the French before the settlement of Boston, but restored by the perfidious Charles, at St. Germain;—Acadia re-conquered by New England forces in the time of the commonwealth, but surrendered to France, after the Restoration, by the treaty of Breda;—Port Royal, and the whole coast westward, again taken by New England in 1690, but seven years later, together with Labrador, Hudson's Bay, Canada and the great Mississippi valley, ignominiously given back to France by the treaty of Ryswick;—Port Royal once more rescued from French dominion by the united forces of Old and New England, in 1710, to be held only three years, and then basely returned by the treaty of Utrecht;—the capture of Louisbourg and Cape Breton in 1745, and their restoration to France at Aix la Chapelle in 1748;—the conquest of Nova Scotia under Gen. Winslow in 1755;—the losses of the colonies in previous unsuccessful attempts, and their contributions to the recent war, seemed not only to entitle them to exemption from further burdens but to merit ampler acknowledgment from the mother country, than they had yet received.

Indeed, the forbearance of the colonies to press demands for reimbursement of their comparatively enormous expenses, incurred in extending and preserving the dominions of the Crown, can only be explained by the fact that they deemed it but a necessary incident to local independence, and that if they were incapable of maintaining their local dominion without assistance, they could not expect the home government to recognize their right to claim it.

I will pursue the theme no further. The slow march of a century has brought the mother and her distant progeny into new and more amicable relations. Unity of thought and language have inseparably blended their

literature and their science. The common law of both is expounded alike in their courts of justice, and the progressive tendencies of their legislation are identical. The ancient social distinctions of the mother country have lost much of the exclusiveness which formerly characterized them, and England no longer wears an aspect of hopeless senility but begins to realize the vision of the great Puritan bard:—

“Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam.”

In all directions we find a marked progress, in both countries, towards the embodiment of the grand idea of human brotherhood. Following the example of England, the United States have abolished the system of involuntary servitude, with all its demoralizing influences. We take a common pride in the thought that our language has already begun to be the chosen vehicle of science, and we unite in rejoicing in the belief that it will, one day, be the universal tongue.

Has not the time arrived for forgetting all feuds, burying all animosities, and uniting the two nations by a mutual pledge to abolish war, succor the oppressed, enlighten the ignorant, replace misery and poverty with joy and plenty, and set an example to all nations of dignity without tinsel and power without tyranny?

As a step towards this happy consummation, I suggest that, in the coming centennial celebration at Philadelphia, we unveil the statues of Charles Pratt, Lord Camden,—always the firm friend of America,—and Samuel Adams, our first patriot.

Whether the anniversary of our separation be thus

feliculously marked or not, it needs not the gift of prophecy to discern that the time is coming when the proud empress of the seas, laying aside her ancient diadem, will point to our prosperous states — her children — and say to the world "These are my jewels!"

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN CLEVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEVELAND.

Continued from page 196.

July 31. (Monday.) Particulars of the affair which took place between Fort Edward and Half-way Brook have now come in. There were thirty-five ox-teams, with a number of passengers, of whom at least a dozen were women, and they had an armed escort of forty-five men. They had got about five miles from Fort Edward when they were attacked. Of the teamsters more than twenty were killed, and four or five of the women. Of those who fled, some got so over-heated and exhausted that it caused their death. Col. Hart, of New Hampshire, who commands at Fort Edward, on hearing the guns, went out with a small force, but halted when in sight of the enemy. Meanwhile this enemy, finding some strong drink in the carts, had made themselves drunk with it. Capt. Burbank, being on his way to Fort Edward with forty-five men, discovered the condition of the Indians, and called on Hart to help him destroy them. This aid Hart refused, and is now under arrest. Then Burbank attacked and dispersed the enemy.

A "battoe" from Rogers came in to-day, bringing a man who belonged to Lord Howe's Regt, but who deserted before we went down the Lake. 'Tis said that Rogers would have cut off the enemy returning with their

prisoners and spoils, had he been only an hour sooner. A reinforcement of 200 men and provisions for Lyman, Haviland and Rogers, were sent down the Lake this evening. To-morrow morning at six o'clock 500 Provincials and 300 Regulars, with provisions for three days, are to set out for Half-way Brook.

Aug. 1. (Tues.) The detachment which left this morning for Half-way Brook is under the command of a Lieut. Col. of Regulars and of Lt. Col. Payson¹ and Maj. Ingersoll² of the Provincials. Sixty-six of the men (including officers, are from Col. Bagley's Regt.

Chaplain's meeting to-day. The prayers by J. C. and by Mr. Ogilvie, whose prayer is described as "excellent, pertinent, serious and fervent." The New England chaplains "are greatly pleased with this prayer and his freedom from that bigotry which prevails very much among New England Church Ministers."

2. (Wed.) A rumor this morning that Cape Breton is taken—but it turns out to be premature. From the Boston Prints we learn that the English have silenced the enemy's fire in ships and harbor, and were playing on the town with seventy pieces of cannon and twenty-four mortars. A letter came to-day "from Governor Pownall to the Provincial Colonels, recommending unanimity and harmony with the Regular officers, and subordination to the general officers." This evening, Gen. Lyman and Col. Haviland returned from down the Lake, having sent Major Rogers and Major Putnam with 800 men and ten

¹ Lt. Col. PAYSON served under Amherst in the campaign of 1759. See De Peyster's Journal, p. 76.

² Maj. JOSEPH INGERSOLL was of Bagley's regiment. I have not been able to trace him farther. De Peyster states that on the 15th of June, 1759, Lt. Col. Ingersoll was the Picquet Field officer. Was he the Major of 1758?

days' provisions to South Bay. They are to return by Wood Creek and Half-way Brook. There has been some delay, caused by an insufficient supply of provisions. "It seems to be our fate to suffer from delays and mistakes of this sort." J. C. dines to-day on venison at Col. Newhall's. With Mr. Woodbridge he calls on Mr. Ogilvie. "He treated us not only like a gentleman, but like a Christian; talked freely upon the doctrines of religion, and appears not only a sound but clear Calvinist."

3. (Thurs.) Nothing remarkable. He writes to his wife, and has agreeable conversation with his fellow chaplains.

4. (Friday.) Writes to his friend, Wm. Story. Meets with the chaplains for prayer. Mr. Pomeroy, being about to leave for Fort Edward, offers an affectionate petition. "It was a favored and gracious meeting." J. C. has letters from his wife, dated June 12 and 18, a letter from Esq. Choate, dated June 19. He calls on Mr. Pomeroy and his bro. Aaron, who are under orders to March to-morrow morning.

Aug. 5. Sat. A part of Col. Fitch's Reg^t left this morning. The chaplain converses with Corporal Stevens, who "is under some degree of soul-concern." The day mostly spent in preparing for the Sabbath.

6. (Sabb.) The morning service delayed because the men were getting their "stores and allowance." A large attendance in the afternoon, of Regulars as well as Provincials. The chaplain finds remarkable freedom of utterance and hopes that good is done. At evening prayers there were several Regular officers. One of these—Capt. Abercrombie³—"spake to me after prayers, and said 'that

³ This officer, who is mentioned more than once in the Journal, was a nephew of the commander-in-chief, and one of his aides. The first mention of Capt. ABERCROMBIE, which I have seen, is in Rogers'

religion was the only thing in an army if we would hope for good success.'”

7. Monday. After morning prayers J. C. visits the sick. To-day Capt. Davis is tried before a general court martial, on the charges that he had given a false alarm of the enemy on the Lake, and that he had abandoned the boats which were put under his charge by Maj. Rogers. Witnesses were examined, but no sentence has yet been passed. He hears that Nehemiah Burnam died at Half-Moon, of a fever. The small pòx is here, not only in General Lyman's Reg^t, but among the Regulars.

8. Tues. The chaplain's meeting prevented by a rumor that there is small pox near the place where it is held. Col. Hart's Regiment has returned to the Lake. A French captive, taken at South Bay, is brought in this

Memoir, p. 35. He states that in the winter of 1757, Abercrombie, who was then Capt. of the 42d Highlanders, volunteered to accompany him, in a scouting excursion upon Lake George, at that time frozen over. That his party was attacked by the enemy in superior force, and was compelled to retreat. The wounded soon gave out, and must have been left to perish, had not Lieut. Stark, with two others, volunteered to go to Fort William Henry for sleighs. The snow was four feet deep, and the distance, forty miles. Travelling with snow shoes, they made the terrible journey in a single day, and saved their comrades. It was in this engagement that Rogers, being shot through the wrist, made a pledget of his queue, and having stopped the flow of blood, went on with the fight.

Rogers also gives a letter which he received from Capt. Abercrombie, full of courage and patriotism. In 1759, Capt. Abercrombie acted as aide to Gen. Amherst. He attained to the rank of Major in 1760, and ten years later to that of Lieut. Colonel. Once, and only once more, we meet with this gallant and generous soldier. On the 17th of June, 1775, Col. Abercrombie, at the stern behest of military power, led his stately grenadiers against entrenchments defended, as he well knew, by men, with some of whom he had shared in all the dangers and hardships of the old French War. As the noble-hearted officer was borne, mortally wounded, from the field, he begged his men to spare the life of his old friend Putnam.

evening. A French deserter has come in,— what he says, not yet known. Wm. Thomson, and several men from Cape Ann, have just joined the army. Mr. Daniel Appleton brings a letter from M. C.

9. Wed. Report in the morning that Maj. Rogers has fallen in with the enemy, and got the better of them. In the evening there is something more, to wit. : that Maj. Rogers and Maj. Putnam have had a brush with the French and Indians at Wood Creek, near Fort Ann; that our men were marching in Indian file; that Maj. Rogers and a Regular officer were firing at marks upon a wager; that the enemy, being on the road in front of them, heard the firing and lay in wait; that after our force, with the exception of Maj. Putnam and twelve or fourteen men, had passed by, the enemy fell on these, and killed and scalped the most of them. Then our troops formed in line and made a stand for about an hour, when the enemy drew off. It is said also that Rogers has got nine scalps and two prisoners. Also that two of our men, after being scalped, have got into Fort Edward and are like to do well. Putnam is missing.

10. Thurs. The sloop was launched this morning. (It was begun on the 19th of July, and had been made ready for launching in 22 days.) One of Capt. Moore's company died last night. The first death from sickness and in camp that has occurred in Bagley's Reg^t.

A letter from Col. Choate, of Ipswich, to Col. Bagley, dated July 17, mentions that "my wife's bro., Lieut. Neh^m Dodge, was buried a few days before." "The Lord sanctify this heavy stroke to his surviving mother and children, to my mourning wife and to me, for good."

11. Friday. Public prayers omitted by Bagley's regiment—the whole army being ordered to muster at 6 A.M., that they might search for spies. This was owing

to deserters who had come in from Ticonderoga, and who, on examination, said that there was on the way, or probably already in the camp, a tall, good-looking fellow, with red hair, who could speak English, and who was sent as a spy. The search, however, was fruitless. Through misinformation, J. C. misses the chaplain's prayer meeting to-day. Word comes from Fort Edward, that Maj. Rogers has got in there, and that he and Capt. Giddinge, with 300 men, set off this morning for Fort Miller — having heard that some of the enemy had been on the east side of the river. Men who were in Rogers's late fight have come in this evening. They say that Putnam was in front, that the enemy, having ambushed, attacked our front, that the killed and wounded on our part, exceed a hundred, and that Rogers got more than fifty scalps.⁴ The Indians would not have got this advantage, but "for an inconsiderate firing for sport on our part. An evident judgment!"

This morning 300 Regulars under one field officer, three captains, etc., and 500 provincials, under Lt. Col. Coit⁵ and Maj. Slap,⁶ marched to Half-Way Brook to relieve Col. Payson and Maj. Ingersoll. A Flag of Truce from Ticonderoga came, it is said, last night, to the island on which our advanced guard is placed. P. M. we learn that the Flag of Truce has come to propose an exchange of prisoners. Maj. Putnam, now a prisoner at Ticonde-

⁴The adoption by men who called themselves civilized and Christian, of a savage custom so cruel as scalping, shocking as it seems to us, was evidently regarded as right and proper, a hundred years ago.

⁵"Col. SAMUEL COIT, in 1758, commanded a regiment raised in Norwich and its neighborhood, which wintered at Fort Edward." Calkins' Hist. of Norwich, p. 313.

⁶Major SLAP served also under Amherst in 1759. See De Peyster, p. 81, who also gives the name of Lieut. Col. PAYSON (see p. 76).

roga, writes "that Lieut. Train and three privates were taken with him: that, according to French accounts, only four Indians (of the party which attacked Rogers) are among the missing; and that he owes the preservation of his life, from the hands of the salvages, to M. Mourang, whom Rogers said he scalped and skinned his brest with his name wrote at large upon it."⁷

13. Sabb. The texts of the chaplain's sermons given as usual. An attentive audience. Many Regulars and Highlanders present. He learns that in a dispute the previous evening between two regulars, one of them killed the other with a blow of his fist. From Capt. Giddinge, who returned this afternoon and who was with Rogers in the fight, we get confirmation of the story concerning the firing at marks in the morning. He says that Rogers got 54 scalps and took two prisoners—that of our men 54 were killed or missing, and 40 were wounded.

14. Monday. A regular is killed by the accidental discharge of a musket. Another regular is drowned while bathing in the Lake. Conversing in his tent with Mr. Woodbridge, writing a sympathizing letter to his wife, calling around and chatting with his brother ministers—so the good chaplain passes the day, which is followed by a cool evening. No certain news yet of the reduction of Louisbourg.

15. Tues. The Flag of Truce which came yesterday went off this morning before light. Its object not yet published. Meeting of the chaplains: First and second prayers, Emerson and E. Cleaveland. Then came "agree-

⁷ Putnam's kind-hearted preserver was M. MOULIN, the commander of the French detachment. It is not strange that his foreign name suffered from English tongues and pens—but it is passing strange that the Ranger chieftain could make a boast so barbarous.

able conversation." "Mr. Ogilvie led the discourse to our great entertainment." J. C. dines with Col. Hart and Mr. Emerson, on salt fish. Teams come in from Fort Edward. Richard Osgood, "a Spanish Indian" of Capt. Taplin's company, was buried to-day—the second death by sickness in our Reg^t and in the camp.

16. Wed. A letter from Mary Cleaveland (July 26) says that her brother died on the 8th of July. "Major Rogers dined with us to-day. He told us that some of his men came in to-day, who have just been on the battleground near Fort Ann, and who report having seen there about twenty dead Indians unscalped, and several Frenchmen who were not discovered on the day of the action. They also say that they saw, near South Bay, a large body of French and Indians—perhaps a thousand. Rogers added that he had requested the General to send a reinforcement to General Lyman, who marched for South Bay on Monday with a thousand men.

17. Thurs. He feels very unwell. Writes to the Rev. Jonathan Parsons,⁸ of Newburyport. Toward evening

⁸ JONATHAN PARSONS was a native of West Springfield. He graduated at Yale in 1729, and was for sixteen years the minister of Lyme Conn. Then for thirty years more he was pastor of the Federal St. Society in Newburyport. He was an earnest and able preacher, distinguished not only for argumentative skill, but for his Latin and Greek and Hebrew lore. Mr. Parsons and Mr. Cleaveland were warm friends, agreeing, for the most part, in opinion, yet not without occasional differences, which led to animated discussions with tongue and pen. He was a friend of George Whitefield, and it was at his house that the greatest of pulpit orators suddenly closed his stormy yet brilliant career. Mr. Parsons died in 1776, aged seventy. His son, Samuel Holden Parsons, was a distinguished lawyer in Connecticut, an able and trusted officer of the continental army during the war of revolution, and afterwards Chief Justice of the Northwestern Territory. A daughter of Mr. Parsons, by her marriage with Moses Greenleaf, became the mother of Simon Greenleaf, Royall and Dane Professor of law in the University at Cambridge.

goes up the hill to Major Hawks's⁹ quarters, where he prays and exhorts.

18. Fri. After the chaplain's meeting he dines at Col. Payson's. A French prisoner is brought in. He had been taken by some of Rogers's men, near Crown Pt., while engaged in harvesting his grain. Lieut. Brewer, who took him, says he saw many battoes on Lake Champlain, bound for Canada.

19. Sat. Nothing special.

20. Sabb. In the afternoon E. Cleaveland preached to the Rangers and the Royal Hunters; J. C. to Col. Preble's regiment, and Bagley's and Williams' regiments listened to Mr. Woodbridge.

We hear that the General has letters from Boston, "asserting that Louisburg surrendered to the English on the 26th of July." Two Germans, deserters from Ticonderoga, brought in by the island advanced guard. These say that the French have 5000 in the garrison at Ticonderoga, and 1500 between the Mills and our landing place; that they are carrying back the great guns which they had placed on batteries at Batteau Island, and are daily expecting that we should give them another call. Gen. Lyman, it is said, has returned to Fort Edward, not having seen the enemy.

21. Mond. J. C. writes a letter to send by the "carpenters." He prays with Major Hawks's battalion. Some venison given by that officer, "is cooked for supper in our tent—a savory dish."

22. Tues. At the minister's meeting, Beckwith and

⁹JOHN HAWKS, of Deerfield, as early as 1746, had distinguished himself in defence of the western posts of Massachusetts, against French and Indians. He was for some time a prisoner among the Indians. He continued in the service after the campaign of 1758, and rose to the rank of Lieut. Colonel.

Eels offer prayer, and Ogilvie "reads an excellent discourse of the Bishop of London, setting forth the weakness of the religion of nature, and the necessity of divine revelation." "Dined with Major Hawks upon stewed venison, a very savory dish." He visits two of Rogers's men who are sick — prays with Hawks's men and then with his own regiment. Gen. Lyman returns this evening with his detachment, having met with no enemy.

23. Wed. Mr. Woodbury is sick with "Dysentery." Williams's, Preble's and Bagley's regiments join to-day in prayers. J. C. visits Col. Nichols and Maj. Gage,¹⁰ and receives "a copy of the remarkable letter sent by Aid-de-Camp Cunningham to Col. Cummings, which is as follows:—

"French Advance Guard, 8th July, 1758.

You are hereby directed to forward all the French prisoners to Albany and from thence to New York. Our

¹⁰ THOMAS GAGE was of noble descent, being the second son of the first Viscount of that name. As early as 1750, he had the rank of Lieut. Col. of Infantry. In 1755, he led the advance in Braddock's memorable defeat, and was among the wounded of that disastrous day. In 1758, he held an important place on the staff of the commander in-chief. On the "Pass," which was given by Col. Bagley to his chaplain, returning home, we have Gage's signature as follows: "Approved of by Tho' Gage Brig' Gen." In 1761 we find him a Maj. Gen. and Gov. of conquered Montreal. By 1770 he had become a Lieutenant General. Four years later he came to Boston as the royal Governor of Massachusetts. Of the conspicuous part which he then and there played, and of the odious distinction to which he rose, no reader of American history needs to be reminded. While we are compelled to regard his action as needlessly harsh and severe, we ought not to forget the extreme difficulty of the position in which he was placed. Among the enemies of the colonial cause, Thomas Gage was far from being the worst man. In private life he was regarded, no doubt justly, as being amiable and benevolent. His wife was of American origin—Margaret Kemble, of New Jersey—whom he married, probably, just after the campaign of 1758. This lady died in London in 1824, at the age of ninety.

sick and wounded are to be forwarded with the greatest expedition; finish your stockaded posts as soon as possible; you are to stop all stores from going down the Lake; you are also directed to forward all the heavy artillery back to New York, with all the large balls and shells, as soon as possible. A copy of this send to Capt. Reed at Fort Edward. Our men, after they had behaved with the greatest intrepidity, were obliged to give way to the strongest of Batteries and entrenchments; but we hope to advance again soon; collect all the Provincials at your Posts, as you may soon expect a large body of the enemy down at your Post. Defend your Post to the last.

I am Dear Cummings,

To Col. Cumming,	your humble serv ^t
commanding	J ^s Cunningham
at Fort William	Aid de Camp.'
Henry.	

A true copy errors excepted."¹¹

¹¹This despatch might well be called "remarkable." It was written in the evening of that shameful and disastrous day, when Abercrombie attacked Montcalm's entrenchment, and shows his utter want of courage and sense. His own precipitate return to Fort William Henry saved Col. Cummings from the necessity of attempting to execute the ridiculous order.

A NOTICE OF THE PEELE FAMILY.

THE following account of this branch of the Peele family was taken several years since, from a memorandum, then in the possession of the late Robert Peele, Esq., formerly a prominent and well known hardware dealer, of Salem, and which was copied by his father from the original record in the Family Bible.—(Aug., 1874. P. DERBY.

“Memorandum of Births of the children of Samuel Peele, of London, Silkman, and Ann his Wife, whose Maiden name was Wallis.

Viz. their first son William was Born Saturday 28 day of Febuary, 1673, between 3 & 4 o’Clock in the Afternoon, on the same day the Peace was Proclaimed on the Royal Exchange, between the Dutch & us, and registered the 27 of March following.

their second son Samuel was Born the fifth day of April 1674, about 3 o’Clock in the Afternoon and baptized the same day, being Ester Monday.

their third son Roger, was Born 25 January 1676 being St. Paul’s day and was baptized next day being Fryday.

their fourth son John was Born on the 7 November 1678, and baptized a day or two after.

their first Daughter Ann was Born on the 11 of April 1680 being Sunday and baptized the 18 Instant.

their fifth Son George was Born on the 11 of June 1681, about half an hour after 7 o’Clock in the Morning and was baptized the 26 of the same Instant being Indisposed.

their second Daughter Ann was Born on the 22 of January 1683 being Wendsay between 11 & 12 o’Clock and baptized next day.

their sixth son Robert was Born the 17 day of June 1684 about 8 o’Clock at night and baptized next day.”

“the above minucts was copied from the Bible of Roger Peele the first above mentioned, bought by him in 1720 and given to his son Roger Peele in 1746 by his mother then wife of Samuel Stone.

"William Peele, Samuel Peele and Robert Peele, sons of Samuel Peele of London, came and settled in Louden town, Ann Arundall county, Maryland, and all died their Unmarried between 1740 and 1750.

Roger Peele, son of Samuel Peele, of London, came to Salem, Massachusetts, and was Married to the Widow Margaret Kempton whose Maiden Name was Bartoll of Marblehead, November 15th, 1709.

their son Roger was Born August 5th, 1710, died April 11, 1790.

their son Robert was Born August 29, 1712, died April 29, 1773.

their son Samuel was Born March 23, 1716, died about 1745.

Roger Peele ye son of the above named Roger Peele was married to Hannah Peele May 18th 1736, by Rev'd Peter Clark, pastor of the Ch. of Christ at Salem Village.

their Daughter Margaret was Born January 8, 1737, married Mr. Reeves.

their Daughter Hannah was Born June 22, 1738.

their Son Roger was Born May 12, 1742, died unmarried.

their Daughter Patience Born December 3, 1747, married John Pierce.

their Son Samuel Born October 22, 1751, died young.

their Daughter Rebecca Waters Born May 26, 1753, Married Mr. White.

Roger Peele Son of the first named Roger Peele was Married to Mary Bartlett of Marblehead Daughter of Josiah and Obedience Bartlett. She died May 4, 1771.

their son Robert was Born January 4, 1737, died June 12, 1792.

their son William was Born December 27, 1738, died March 4, 1817.

their Daughter Mary was Born ———. Married Benjamin Cook.

their Daughter Margaret was Born Jan. 23, 1742. Married Joseph Hilliard.

their Daughter Ann was Born ———. Married George Smith.

their Daughter Lydia was Born ———. Married Jonathan Nichols.

their son Josiah Bartlett was Born ———, died young.

Robert Peele, jr., son of Robert Peele above named was married to Elizabeth Ropes, Dec. 1, 1763. She was Born July 3, 1743. She died Aug. 6, 1770.

their Son Josiah Bartlett was Born Febuary 5, 1765, died June 20, 1784.

their son Robert was Born April 19, 1767.

their son William was Born April 2, 1769, died March 21, 1770.

Robert Peele was again Married to Eunice Stearnes, June 11, 1771.
She died June 22, 1780.

Robert Peele was again married to the Widow Mary Bradshaw
whose maiden Name was Mansfield of Lynnfield. She died Jan'y 23,
1824, aged 82 years, six months.

their son William was Born Febuary 25, 1782, died June 21, 1782."

The following is copied from the original record in the old family
Bible of the Peele family: —

"father Peele Dide Aprel the 11, 1790.

My Brother Jonathan Dide March the 5, 1790.

"I was married November the 15 day 1709.

"The above writeing was wrote by Roger Peele the first owner of
this Bible who was married to Margarett Bartoll Kempton at the
time above mentioned. She was the widdow of thomas Kempton by
whom she had: Thomas Kempton Born on the — Day of January
1707. & the children of the above sd. Roger Peele are as follows,
vizt:

Roger Peele Born on Saturday August the fifth Between 6 & 7 of
Clock in the morning 1710.

Robert Peele born on thursday, August 29th 1712.

Samuel Peele born on Saturday, march 23d 1716, Between 11 and 12
of the Clock in the morning."

INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHARTER STREET BURIAL-
GROUND, SALEM, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., JUNE, 1874.

- ADAMS, MARY, wife of John. June 25, 1785, aged 22.
" JOS. HILLARD, son of John. June 21, 1785, aged 1.
- ALLEN, tomb. 1795.
" MARY, wife of Capt. Benjamin. Mar. 10, 1703-4, aged 43.
" MARY, wife of Samuel and dau. of Joseph and Mary Saul.
July 31, 1821, aged 20.
" JOSEPH. April 19, 171[0], aged 67.
- ANDERSON, ELIZA, dau. of Benj. and Eliza, of Boston. Nov. 27, 1801,
aged 7 m., 15 d.
- ANDREW, ELIZABETH, dau. of William and Seeth. Jan. 3, 1688, aged
3 y., 5 m.
" JOSEPH. July 28, 1732, 75th year.
" NATHANIEL. Feb. 4, 1762, 57th year.
" MARY, wife of Nathaniel. Oct. 3, 1747, 39th year.
" JOSEPH, son of Nathaniel and Mary, born Feb. 7, 1734-5, d.
Feb. 16, 1734-5.
" ABIGAIL, dau. of Nathaniel and Mary, born Feb. 7, 1734-5,
d. Feb. 25, 1734-5.
" JONATHAN. May 16, 1781, aged 43.
" MARY, wid. of Jona., born Mar. 30, 1739, d. Jan. 17, 1820,
aged 81.
" NATHANIEL, son of Jona., and Mary. Oct. 22, 1795, aged 18.
" JONATHAN. Apr. 18, 1844, aged 71.
- ANDREWS, ELIZABETH LEBETER, wife of Capt. Nehemiah. Mar. 12,
1851, aged 68 yrs., 3 m.
" CATHERINE S., dau. of Capt. Nehemiah. July 30, 1836, aged
28.
" Capt. NEHEMIAH. Feb. 10, 1800, aged 47.
" CATHERINE, dau. of Capt. Nehemiah. July 5, 1797, aged 25.
- APPLETON, WILLIAM. Sept. 23, 1822, aged 57.

- APPLETON, ANNA, wife of William. June 4, 1795, aged 23.
 " TAMESIN, wife of William. Jan. 27, 1850, aged 81.
 " WILLIAM, son of William and Anna. Sept. 1, 1795, aged 16
 m., 7 d.
- ARCHER, JONATHAN. July 16, 1746, aged 75.
 " ABIGAIL, wife of Jonathan. Oct. 8, 1738, 67th year.
 " NATHANIEL. June 10, 1782, aged 62.
 " HANNAH, wife of Nathaniel. May 21, 1767, aged 53 y., 2 m.
 " JONATHAN. June 1, 1800, aged 54.
 " MEHITABLE, wife of Jonathan. Dec. 1, 1791, 42d year.
 " MARY, wife of George. Oct. 25, 1800, aged 23.
 " JUDITH, dau. of Capt. George and Judith. Mar. 14, 1801,
 aged 5.
- ASHBY, POLLY, wife of David. Apr. 3, 1789, aged 31.
 " JONATHAN. Nov. 15, 1797, aged 51.
 " SALLY, wife of Jonathan, Jr. Sept. 24, 1807, aged 34.
 " SALLY, dau. of Jonathan, Jr., and Sally. Oct. 19, 1796, aged
 3 y., 7 m., 6 d.
 " ——— (broken stone). Jan. 22, 1729, ———.
- ASHTON, MARG'T H., wife of Francis P. and wid. of Benj. Bray. July
 6, 1819, aged 24.
- BABBIDGE, Miss LYDIA. July 9, 1800, aged 68.
 " Madam SUSANNA. June 2, 1804, aged 90.
- BARNARD, SAM'L, Esq. Nov. 21, 1762, aged 77.
 " RACHEL, wife of Sam'l, Esq. Aug. 30, 1743, aged 56.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Sam'l, Esq. Nov. 9, 1753, aged 46.
- BARR, PRISCILLA, wife of James. Sept. 28, 1794, aged 62.
- BARTHOLOMEW, ELIZABETH, wife of Henry. Sept. 1, 1682, aged ab't 60.
 (Her husband d. Dec., 1692, aged 92.)
- BARTLETT, WALTER PRICE, tomb, built 1650, repaired 1809.
- BARTON, ZACHEUS. Oct. 14, 1707, 25th yr.
 " LYDIA, widow of John. May 13, 1713, 62d yr.
 " TOPPAN, and PICKMAN, tomb.
- BATER, EDMOND. Nov. 2, 1756, aged 84.
 " MARTHA, wife of Edmond. June 1, 1713, aged 36.
- BEADLE, LEMMAN. Nov. 17, 1717, aged 36.
 " RUTH, dau. of Sam'l and Hannah. Oct. 5, 1716, aged 25.
- BECKET, RETIER. June 17, 1734, 31st yr.
- BECKETT, WILLIAM, Sr. Nov. 10, 1723, aged 54.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. John. Jan. 23, 1790, aged 44.
 " MARY W. Dec. 12, 1846, aged 47.
 " HANNAH, wid. of William. Jan. 23, 1855, aged 77.
 " HANNAH. Feb. 12, 1873, aged 69.

- BECKETT, ELIZABETH (foot stone).
 BEST, DAVID (obscure).
 BETHELL, HANNAH, wife of Richard. Dec. 22, 1733, aged 47.
 BLANCHARD, AARON. July 30, 1799, aged 48.
 BOWDITCH, Capt. WILLIAM, Merchant. May 28, 1728, aged 64 yrs., 9 m.
 " MARY, wife of Capt. Wm. ———, 1724, aged 54.
 " EBEN'R, son " " " Feb. 2, 1768, aged 64.
 " children of " " and Mary, " which died in their
 infancy."
 " WILLIAM, son of Eben'r and Mary. Dec. 29, 1752, aged 18.
 " MARY, dau. of " " " Apr. 22, 1757, aged 15.
 " HABAKKUK (son of " " ") July 28, 1798, aged 60.
 " EBEN'R (" " " " ") Aug. 3, 1771, aged 42.
 " ELIZABETH, relict of Capt. Eben'r. Feb. 11, 1824, aged 91.
 " EBEN'R (son of Capt. Eben'r and Eliz' th). July 23, 1830,
 aged 63.
 " MARY, wife of Capt. Eben'r. May 17, 1819, aged 47.
 " EBEN'R, son " " " and Mary. Aug. 22, 1825, aged
 25.
 " SARAH (probably wife of Capt. Joseph, Jr.), born Mar. 25,
 1734, d. Dec. 8, 1797.
 " JOSEPH, Esq. (son of Wm. and Mary, above). Oct. 6, 1780,
 aged 80.
 " WILLIAM, son of Joseph and Elizabeth. June 26, 1729, aged
 2 y., 5 m.
 " SARAH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. Oct. 2, 1764, aged 27.
 " EUNICE, " " " " " June 11, 1765, aged
 25.
 " Capt. THOMAS. July 29, 1808, aged 74.
 " SARAH, wife of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 26, 1808, aged 66.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Nathaniel. Oct. 18, 1798, aged 18.
 " JOSEPH. Aug. 30, 1824, aged 48.
 " LOIS, wife of Joseph. July 29, 1809, aged 28.
 " JOSEPH (son of Capt. Joseph, Jr.). Apr. 29, 1800, aged 42.
 " CHARLES INGERSOLL (son of Nath'l and Mary). Feb. 21,
 1820, aged 11.
 " STEPHEN. Aug. 30, 1821, aged 48.
 BRAY, DANIEL. June 24, 1798, aged 63.
 " MARY, wid. of Daniel. Sept. 28, 1805, aged 68.
 " BENJAMIN. June 2, 1808, aged 33.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Margaret H. Jan. 19, 1798,
 aged 15 m.
 " ALBERT (son of Benj. and Margaret H). Jan. 1, 1808, aged
 7 m.

- BRAY, WM. ROPES, son of John and Marg't, d. Lancaster, Feb. 15, 1839, aged 14 y., 7 m.
- “ JOHN MARTIN ULMER, son of John and Margaret. Dec. 11, 1829, aged 7 y., 1 m.
- BRIGGS, PRISCILLA H., wid. of Capt. Johnson. Sept. 10, 1829, aged 52.
- { BROOKS, LUCY ANN, wife of Luke. Jan. 23, 1840, aged 34.
 { “ Also an infant daughter. Feb. 17, 1840, aged 5 wks.
- BROWN, WILLIAM, Esq. Jan. 20, 1687, aged 79.
- BROWNE, HON. WILLIAM (on tomb of Benj. Lynde, Esq.) July 12, 1753, aged 74.
- “ JOHN, son of Capt. Nathan and Rebecca. ——— (Capt. Nathan, d. at Martinico, Aug. 7, 1787, aged 45.)
- “ ABIGAIL, wid. of Capt. William. June 21, 1781, aged 70.
- “ THOMAS. June 30, 1793, aged 46.
- “ MARGARET (wid. of Thomas). Aug. 11, 1818, aged 68.
- “ WILLIAM, tomb, 1801.
- “ TIMOTHY. Mar. 11, 1808, aged 30.
- “ MARY, wife of Timothy. Nov. 3, 1806, aged 26.
- “ TIMOTHY, son of Timothy and Mary. Feb. 20, 1807, aged 4 m., 28 d.
- “ MARY (probably wife of John). Dec. 18, 1838, aged 50.
- “ DAVID, son of John and Mary. Nov. 26, 1810, aged 2 yrs, 6 m.
- BUFFINGTON, ELIZ' TH GOULD, dau. of John and Betsy. Apr. 15, 1827, aged 16 y., 4 m.
- BURLEY, MARY, wife of John, and dau. of Dea. Lewis Hunt, born May 10, 1791, d. May 3, 1858, aged 67.
- BURRILL, EZRA, born Lynn, May 10, 1746, d. June 15, 1796, aged 50.
- “ ANNA, wife of Ezra. Sept. 4, 1792, aged 46.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Alden. Mar. 15, 1800, aged 46.
- BUTMAN, ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Wm. Mar. 22, 1798, aged 24.
- BUTTOLPH, JOHN. May 10, 1713, aged 51.
- “ WILLIAM, son of John and Priscilla. Sept. 23, 1720, aged 25.
- CABOT, JOHN, physician. June 3, 1749, aged 44.
- “ WM. CLARK, son of (John and) Hannah. Dec. 9, 1750, aged 1 y., 2 m.
- CAMBALL, JOHN, a native of Ireland, Co. of Meath. Apr. 4, 1840, aged 42.
- CHANDLER, MRS. ELIZABETH. June 5, 1837, aged 56.
- CHATWELL, NICHOLAS. Oct. 30, 1700, aged 56.
- “ SARAH, wife of Nicholas. Mar. 14, 1718, aged 80.

- CHEEVER, WILLIAM. Nov. 29, 1786, aged 34.
- CHIPMAN, MARY, wid. of Henry, son of John Chipman, of Beverly.
June 29, 1801, aged 84.
- COLE, ALEXANDER, mariner. June 27, 1687, aged 34.
- COMFORT, SAMUEL. Mar. 25, 1704, aged about 38.
- CONAN[T], CHRISTIAN, wife of Joshua and dau. to Richard More.
May 30, 1680, aged 28.
- CONKLING, JAMES, son of James and Hannah. June 30, 1807, aged 2
y., 7 m.
- COOK, ELIZABETH, wife of Joseph. Aug. 15, 1799, aged 51.
- “ WILLIAM (from Cambridge; his end was tragical. — *Dr.
Bentley's Records.*) Sept. 27, 1803, aged 50.
- “ REBECCA, wid. of William. May 11, 1824, aged 77.
- “ CAPT. CALEB. June 4, 1837, aged 66.
- “ CALEB, JR., died at Pulo Penang, Prince of Wales' Island.
Mar. 19, 1837, aged 39.
- COREY, MARY, wife of Giles, Aug. 27, 1684, aged 63.
- COX, MARY, wife of Edward, Sr. Nov. —, 1737, aged 63.
- CLEVELAND, CAPT. STEPHEN. Oct. 8, 1801, aged 60.
- “ MARGARET, wife of Stephen. Nov. 27, 1784, aged 39.
- CROMWELL, PHILIP. Mar. 30, 1693, aged 83.
- “ DORATY, wife of Philip. Sept. 27, 1673, aged 67.
- “ MARY, “ “ “ Nov. 14, 1683, aged 72.
- “ JOHN. Sept. 30, 1700, aged near 65.
- CROSBY, PEGGEY, wife of Capt. Nicholas. Sept. 25, 1795, aged 38.
- CROWNINSHIELD, CAPT. JOHN, mariner. May 25, 1761, aged 65.
- “ ANSTIS, wid. of Capt. John. Sept. 10, 1774, aged 72 y.
- “ CAPT. JOHN. June 24, 1766, aged 67.
- “ JOHN, son of Capt. Clifford. June 1, 1777, aged 49.
- “ MARY, wife of John. June 4, 1794, aged 66.
- “ MRS. SARAH (wife of John), dau. of Capt. Daniel and Rachel
Hathorne. Jan. 14, 1829, aged 66. (Her husband was
son of Jacob and Hannah, and died Feb. 19, 1786, aged
24.—*Dr. Bentley.*)
- “ CAPT. CLIFFORD. June 3, 1809, aged 47.
- CUMBS, ELIZABETH, wife of Frederick. Jan. 24, 1800, aged 25.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Frederick and Abigail. Apr. 20, 1773,
aged 6.
- “ SUSANNA, dau. of Frederick and Lydia. Jan. 1, 1813, aged
2 y.
- DANIEL, STEPHEN. Feb. 14, 1686–7, aged 54.
- “ STEPHEN. Mar. 12, 174–, aged 48.
- DEAN, THOMAS. Feb. 10, 1705, aged 42.

- DEAN, MARY, wife of Thomas. May 7, 1701, aged 30.
 " HANNAH, " " George. Sept. 7, 1718, aged 24.
 " THOMAS. Aug. 24, 1759, aged 61 y., 6 m.
 " MARTHA, wife of Thomas. Dec. 24, 1729, aged 30.
 " EDWARD, son of Philemon of Ipswich. Sept. 14, 1743, aged 21.
 " Capt. THOMAS, merchant. July 8, 1802, aged 79.
 " LYDIA, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Jan. 28, 1812, aged 48.
 " Capt. BENJAMIN. Dec. 10, 1826, aged 80.
 " SUSANNA, wife of Capt. Benj. Jan. 13, 1818, aged 70.
 " Miss SUSANNA. Feb. 8, 1835, aged 61.
- DERBY, RICHARD, tomb.
- DISMORE, JUDITH, wife of Thomas. Jan. 2, 1716-17, aged 25.
- DODGE, Capt. GEORGE. Jan. 18, 1808, aged 82.
 " LYDIA, wife of Capt. George. July 10, 1798, aged 72.
- DOLBEAR, BARNARD, son of Edmund and Sarah. Feb. 27, 1689-90, aged 4 mo.
- DUTCH, BARBARA, dau. of Samuel and Susanna. Apr. 10, 1678, aged 8 mo. (On stone with Sam'l, son of Rich'd and Sarah More.)
- ELKINS, JOHN, son of John and Abigail. Nov. 29, 1736, aged 1 y., 10 m.
 " THOMAS. Mar. 17, 1764, aged 26.
- ELVINS, SARAH, wife of Richard. July 9, 1743, aged 55.
 " SAMUEL, son of " and Sarah. May 5, 1723, aged 6.
- EMERSON, JOHN. Feb. 24, 1711-12, aged 58.
- EVELETH, MARY, wife of Joseph. Nov. 17, 1798, aged 31.
- FELT, GEORGE. Feb. 24, 1729, aged 73.
 " Capt. BENJAMIN. Mar. 1, 1769, aged 64.
 " ABIGAIL, wife of Benjamin. Nov. 12, 1748, aged 41 y., 4 m.
 " ELIZABETH. Dec. 8, 1789, aged 78.
- FEVERYEAR, MARY, wife of Edmund and formerly wife of Joseph Hardy. Nov. 19, 1705, aged about 45.
- FIELD, Miss SARAH. Sept. 22, 1803, aged 43.
- FORRESTER, SIMON, tomb. 1796.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Simon and Rachel. May 28, 1783, aged 5 days.
- FOSTER, MARY, wife of John. Mar. 14, 1751, aged 38.
- FOWLLS, ZACHARY. July 10, 1718, aged 44.
- FLINDER, RICHARD. Oct. 19, 1707, aged 69.
- FRYE, NABBY, wife of Capt. Peter. Jan. 21, 1802, aged 38.
 " NABBY, dau. of Capt. Peter and Nabby. June 30, 1800, aged 5 y., 3 m.

- FRYE, POLLY, dau. of Capt. Peter and Nabby. Apr. 5, 1803, aged 11.
- GARDNER, SARAH, wife of Eben'r. Sept. 5, 1682, aged 23. (He was son of George, born Aug. 16, 1657, died about May, 1685; married Sarah Bartholomew.)
- " BARTHOLOMEW, son of Eben'r and Sarah, born June 12, 1682, died Dec. 20, 1684, aged 2 y., 6 m.
- " Capt. JONATHAN (son of Abel and Sarah). Nov. 27, 1783, aged 86.
- " ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Jonathan. Apr. 20, 1752, aged 47.
- " MARY, wife of Capt. Jonathan. Apr. 20, 1755, aged 58.
- " ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Jonathan and Elizabeth. May 6, 1818, aged 88.
- " HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Jonathan and Elizabeth. Apr. 28, 1786, aged 43.
- " JONATHAN, Esq. Mar. 2, 1791, aged 63.
- " SARAH, wife of Jonathan, Esq. Nov. 10, 1791, aged 63.
- " SALLY, " " " and dau. of late Dr. Fairfield. Dec. 23, 1795, aged 30.
- " JONATHAN, son of Jona. and Sally. Dec. 17, 1795, aged 3 y., 4 m.
- " LUCIA, wife of Jona. and dau. of Israel Dodge. Mar. 24, 1812, aged 44.
- GATHMAN, LYDIA, dau. of Dr. Francis and Lydia. July 20, 1716, aged 3.
- " RACHEL, " " " " " " Aug. 22, 1716, aged 1 y., 6 m.
- " LYDIA, dau. of " " " " " " Aug. 13, 1719, aged 4 m.
- GEDNEY, WILLIAM, Esq. Jan. 24, 1729-30, aged 62.
- " HANNAH, wife of William, Esq. Jan. 4, 1703-4, aged 33.
- " SUSANNA, dau. of William, Esq., and Hannah. Dec. 17, 1712, aged 21 y., 8 m.
- " MARGARET, dau. of William, Esq., and Hannah. Dec. 14, 1718, aged 24 y., 6 m.
- GERRISH, BENJAMIN. Apr. 24, 1713, aged about 61.
- GIBBAUT, SARAH, wife of Capt. Edward. Oct. 8, 1793, aged 63.
- GLOVER, BENJ., son of Jona. and Abigail. May 10, 1754, aged 50.
- " SUSANNA, wife of Benjamin. Dec. 16, 1761, aged 51.
- " JOHN, son of Benjamin and Susanna. July 29, 1758, aged 22 y.
- " MARY, dau. of Ichabod and Mary. Sept. 18, 1784, aged 7 y., 3 m.
- " MARY, dau. of Ichabod and Mary. Feb. 4, 1776, aged 3 y., 11 m.

- GLOVER, SUSANNA, dau. of Ichabod and Mary. Feb. 9, 1776, aged 2 y., 2 m.
- “ PRISCILLA, dau. of Benjamin. July 21, 1791, aged 40.
- GOODHUE, DR. WILLIAM. July 10, 1782, aged 35.
- “ MERCY, wife of William. May 22, 1772, aged 55.
- “ Miss ELIZABETH. Jan. 29, 1782, aged 37.
- GOULD, ELIZABETH (on stone of Eliz'th Gould Buffington). July 1, 1827, aged 3 m.
- GRAFTON, JOSEPH. July 11, 1709, aged 51.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Joseph and Mary. June, 1697, aged 2.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of “ “ “ Mar. 10, 1691, aged 4.
- “ JOSHUA, son of Joseph and Mary. Sept. 3, 1702, aged 11 m.
- “ JOHN, Sr. (son of Jos., Sr., who d. 1683). Nov. 24, 1715, aged 77.
- “ JEHOADAN, dau. of John and Seeth. Dec. 5, 1707, aged 38.
- GRANT, SALLY, dau. of Capt. Samuel and Elizabeth. Sept. 16, 1789, aged 25.
- GRAY, ABRAHAM, tomb. 1790.
- “ JOHN. Dec. 9, 1838, aged 78.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John. Aug. 17, 1814, aged 47.
- “ SARAH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. May 3, 1830, aged 45.
- “ MARY N. Apr. 15, 1836, aged 29.
- “ CAROLINE T. Dec. 18, 1838, aged 38.
- GROVE, MARY, wife of Edward. Oct. 4, 1683, aged 73.
- HACKER, MEHITABLE, wife of Capt. Isaac. Oct. 13, 1813, aged 46.
- HARDY, JOSEPH (son of Joseph). Apr. 17, 1687, aged 29.
- “ SEETH, dau. of Joseph and Mary. Dec. 21, 1712, aged 25 y., 7 m.
- “ MARTHA, dau. of James and Ruth. Dec. 23, 1707, aged 9 y., 4 m.
- HARRIDAN, ANDREW, son of Andrew and Mary. May 1, 1794, aged 4 y., 3 m., 18 d.
- HART, MARY P., dau. of Joseph and Jane. Feb. 15, 1800, aged 4 m.
- HATHORNE, COL. JOHN. May 10, 1717, aged 76.
- “ JOHN, son of Joseph, and grandson of Hon. John. Feb. 6, 1750, aged 28.
- “ Capt. William. Apr. 4, 1794, aged 80.
- “ MARY, wife of Capt. William. June 14, 1805, aged 81.
- “ Capt. DANIEL. Apr. 18, 1796, aged 64.
- “ RACHEL, wid. of Capt. Daniel. Apr. 16, 1813, aged 78.
- “ EUNICE, dau. of Capt. Daniel and Rachel. May 10, 1827, aged 60.

HATHORNE, SARAH CROWNSHIELD, dau. of Capt. Daniel and Rachel.
Jan. 14, 1829, aged 66.

" ELIZABETH, wid. of Joseph. Jan. 19, 1836, aged 88.

" EBEN'R. Dec. 5, 1858, aged 69.

" CATHERINE, wife of Eben'r. Apr. 6, 1854, aged 50.

HEROE, ABIGAIL, wife of Rowlen. Feb. 13, 1765, aged 36.

HERRICK, SARAH. Nov. 28, 1849, aged 62 y., 8 m.

HEUSSLER, GEORGE. Apr. 3, 1817, aged 66.

" ABIGAIL, wife of George. Apr. 21, 1799, aged 46.

" ELIZABETH, wid. of George. Mar. 10, 1821, aged 60.

" ELIZABETH, dau. of George and Abigail. Nov. 1, 1825, aged 33.

HERBERT, BENJAMIN. Jan. 20, 1761, aged 51.-

" ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Benjamin. Oct. 23, 1772, aged 55.

HIGGINSON, SARAH, wife of Rev. John. July 8, 1675, aged 55. (He died Dec. 9, 1708, aged 92.—First Ch. Rec.).

" MARY, wife of Rev. John. Mar. 9, 1708-9, aged 72.

" THOMAS, son of John (jr.) and Sarah. Sept. 18, 1678, aged 9 m.

" MARGARET, dau. of John (jr.) and Sarah. June 18, 1688, aged 2 y., 2 m. (He died Mar. 23, 1720, aged 73; md., Oct. 9, 1672, Sarah, dau. of Thos. Savage, of Boston. She was buried June 26, 1713).

" JOHN, jr. (called 3d, son of John and Sarah). Apr. 26, 1718, aged 42 y., 6 m.

" HANNAH, wife of John, Jr. and dau. of Capt. Samuel Gardner. June 24, 1713, aged 37.

" FRANCIS, son of John, 3d, and Hannah, born and died Nov. 29, 1705.

" HENRY, son of John, 3d, and Hannah. Dec. 1, 1709, aged 14 m., 7 d.

" A son and dau. of John, 3d, and Margaret (2d wife) born July 22, 1715, buried next day.

" MEHITABLE (dau. of John and Mehitable). July 19, 1840, aged 82.

HILDRETH, LYDIA K., wife of Alvin. June 26, 1820, aged 24.

" LYDIA L., dau. " " and Lydia K. Jan. 28, 1822, aged 19 m.

HILL, BETHIA. May 7, 1689, aged about 33.

" PHIPPEN, son of Stephen and Sarah. Oct. 25, 1794, aged 14 m.

HILLARD, MRS. MARGARET (dau. of Robert and Mary Peele). May 4, 1826, aged 84.

HIRST, JOHN, son of William and Mary. Oct. 9, 1687, aged 1 y., 9 m.

- HODGES, GAMALIEL. Aug. 27, 1768, aged 51 y., 11 m.
 " PRISCILLA, wid. of Gamaliel. Mar. 22, 1807, aged 88.
 " GEORGE, son of Gamaliel and Priscilla. Mar. 25, 1764, aged 17.
 " JOSEPH, son of Gamaliel and Priscilla. Oct. 7, 1826, aged 69.
 " MARY, wife of John. Sept. 5, 1773, aged 49. (He died July 20, 1799.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Benjamin. Oct. 9, 1792, aged 13.
 " JOHN, son of Capt. Benjamin and Hannah. Nov. 30, 1797, aged 10.
- HOLLIMAN, SUSANNA, dau. of John and Susanna. Sept. 27, 1721, aged 1.
 " SUSANNA, dau. of John and Susanna. Nov. 4, 1729, aged 1.
 " JOHN, son of John and Susanna. July 1, 1732, aged 9.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Susanna. Aug. -, 1732, aged 5.
- { HOLLINGWORTH, WILLIAM (son of Wm. and Eleanor?). Nov. 7, 1688, aged 33.
 " ELIANOR (wife of Wm., Sr.?). Nov. 22, 1689, aged 59.
- HOSMER, HANNAH, wid. of Capt. Joseph. Dec. 12, 1852, aged 83.
 " HANNAH, dau. " " " and Hannah. Nov. 26, 1795, aged 2 y., 9 m., 21 d.
 " MARY, dau. of Capt. Joseph " " Dec. 1, 1795, aged 1 y., 4 m., 6 d.
 " SAMUEL W. Apr. 26, 1844, aged 44.
- HUNT, EUNICE, wife of William. Aug. 30, 1764, aged 57 y., 6 m.
 " WILLIAM, son of " and Eunice. May 29, 1769, aged 25.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of " " " Dec. 31, 1787, aged 55.
 " SARAH, dau. of " " " Oct. 6, 1811, 64.
 " Dea. LEWIS (son of Wm. and Eunice). Oct. 23, 1797, aged 51 yrs.
 " SARAH, wife of Dea. Lewis. Nov. 17, 1781, aged 31.
 " MARY, wid. " " " Mar. 18, 1829, aged 69.
 " LEWIS (son of Lewis and Mary). July 25, 1800, aged 17 y., 6 m.
 " JOSEPH " " " " " Aug. 7, 1808, aged 19.
 " Miss HANNAH (dau. of Lewis and Elizabeth). Nov. 17, 1783, aged 72.
 " Miss RUTH " " " " " Oct. 19, 1792, aged 86.
 " WILLIAM (son of Lewis and Elizabeth). Sept. 19, 1780, aged 79.
 " Dea. JOHN. Nov. 23, 1847, aged 70.
 " Mrs. DELIA (probably wife of Dea. John) born Jan. 30, 1771, d. June 1, 1834, aged 63 y., 4 m.

- INGALLS, COLLINS. Apr. 3, 1821, aged 49.
- “ MARY H., wife of Collins. Oct. 29, 1848, aged 77.
- “ MARY TRAILL, dau. of Collins and Rebecca. Oct. 1, 1833, aged 2 y., 11 m.
- INGERSOLL, SAMUEL. Nov. 19, 1696, aged 37.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John and dau. of Capt. Dan'l Bray. Aug. 5, 1768, aged 56.
- “ PHILIP, son of Capt. Samuel and Susanna. Sept. 8, 1781, aged 2. (Capt. Sam'l md. at Hampton, Susanna Hathorne; Oct. 19, 1772. He died July 15, 1804, on passage from Guadaloupe, aged 60. She died Dec. 16, 1811, aged 65).
- “ HANNAH, wife of John. Mar. 5, 1791, aged 31.
- “ HANNAH, “ “ “ Dec. 12, 1825, aged 64.
- “ Capt. JOHN, Jr. Oct. 14, 1829, aged 34.
- “ JOHN HUNT, son of Capt. John, Jr. Dec. 25, 1832, aged 8 y., 6 m.
- JAYNE, PRISCILLA, wife of John, born Dec. 29, 1788, d. July 18, 1810.
- JEFFERDS, SAMUEL, from Boston. Feb. 15, 1805, aged 27. (He was a brass founder; md. Ruth Green, of Mhd., Nov. 5, 1796.)
- “ SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Ruth. Nov. 11, 1798.
- “ RUTH, dau. of “ “ “ Oct. 6, 1798.
- “ RUTH, “ “ “ “ Nov. 31, 1800.
- JEFFRY, JAMES. Feb. 13, 1755, aged 49.
- “ Mrs. ELIZABETH. Oct. 22, 1797, aged 62.
- “ WILLIAM, son of James and Ruth. July 8, 1772, aged 34.
- “ JOHN, “ “ “ “ June 6, 1812, aged 73.
- JENISON, ABIGAIL, dau. of Rev. Wm. and Abigail. Aug. 19, 1732, 18 m.
- JONES, PETER. Jan. 17, 1772.
- KEHEW, LYDIA, dau. of Paul and Bethia. Nov. 27, 1814, aged 2 y., 6 m.
- KELLEY, ABIGAIL, widow. Aug. 15, 1834, aged 75.
- KENNEY, SARAH G., wife of George M. Nov. 25, 1827, aged 26.
- KEYZER, HANNAH, wife of Elizer. Jan. 20, 1723-4, aged 76.
- KIMBALL, TURNER, son of Peter. Sept. 4, 1801, aged 17.
- KING, WILLIAM. Dec. 15, 1718, aged 22.
- “ KATHERINE, wife of William. Dec. 17, 1718, aged 22.
- KNOWLTON, HANNAH, wife of Nathaniel. Sept. 28, 1787, aged 22.
- LAMBERT, Capt. JOSEPH (suddenly). Aug. 17, 1790, aged 59.
- LANE, NANCY, wife of Nicholas. Feb. 16, 1800, aged 48 y., 10 m.
- LANG, HANNAH, wife of Jeffry. Oct. 3, 1748, aged 41.
- “ NATHANIEL, son of Edward and Rachel. Oct. 6, 1774, aged 4 m.

- LAWRENCE, POLLY, dau. of Capt. Abel and Abigail. Oct. 14, 1785, aged 3.
- “ MARY, dau. of “ “ “ “ Oct. 29, 1796, aged 8.
- “ HENRY, son “ “ “ “ Aug. 13, 1798, aged 8 y., 8 m.
- “ MOSES W., son of Schuyler and Lucy. Oct. 7, 1826, aged 19.
- LEECH, SAMUEL. Oct. 20, 1846, aged 77.
- LEFAVOUR, ROBERT. Apr. 15, 1795, aged 44.
- “ POLLY, dau. of Robert and Elizabeth. Oct. 1, 1793, aged 20.
- “ BETSY, wife of Amos and Elizabeth. May 20, 1795, aged 5 y., 9 m., 12 d.
- LEMON, JANE, 2d child of Wm. and Mary. Nov. 26, 1802, aged 2 y., 10 m.
- LINDALL, TIMOTHY (son of James). Jan. 6, 1698, aged 56 y., 7 m. (Born Duxbury, Mass., June, 1641; md., last of Feb., 1672, Mary, dau. of Nath'l Veren.)
- “ MARY, wid. of Timothy. Jan. 7, 1731-2, aged 83.
- “ BETHIA, dau. of Timothy and Bethia, born Nov. 17, 1717, d. Nov. 23, 1717.
- “ A dau. of Timothy and Bethia, born June 23, 1720, lived a few hours.
- “ CALEB, merchant (son of Timo. and Mary). Nov. 13, 1751, aged 67.
- “ SARAH, wife of Caleb. June 27, 1754, aged 60.
- “ JAMES, Esq. (son of Timo. and Mary). May 10, 1753, aged 77.
- “ —, a son of James, Esq., and Mary, b. and d. Apr. 25, 1709.
- “ VEREN, “ “ “ “ “ “ b. May 14, 1711, d. Apr. 29, 1712.
- “ RACHEL, dau. of “ “ “ “ b. Aug. 9, 1714, d. Sept. 6, 1714.
- “ JAMES, merch't (son of James, Esq., and Mary.) Aug. 19, 1754, aged 44.
- “ MARY (dau. of James, Esq., and 1st wife, Eliz'th). Jan. 22, 1776, aged 70.
- LITTLE, Dr. MOSES. Oct. 13, 1811, aged 45.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Dr. Moses and dau. of George Williams, Esq. May 29, 1808, aged 34.
- LOVERING, LYDIA HERRICK, wife of Daniel S. May 28, 1873, aged 84 y., 3 m., 7 d.
- LOW, EMILY H., dau. of Elijah and Hannah. Mar. 19, 1840, aged 16 m.
- LUSCOMB, WILLIAM, Jr. Feb. 8, 1820, aged 46.
- “ MEHITABLE, relict of William, Jr. July 25, 1825, aged 52.

- LUSCOMB, HENRY, born April 23, 1781, d. Aug. 18, 1837, aged 56.
 " CAROLINE, dau. of Henry and Polly. Oct. 1, 1833, aged 4 m.
 " SARAH ELLEN, dau. of Henry and Polly. May 7, 1835, aged 6 y.
- LYNDE, BENJAMIN (son of Simon and Hannah of Boston). Jan. 28, 1744, aged 79.
 " MARY (wid. of Benj.). July 12, 1753, aged 74.
 " WILLIAM, merchant (son of Benj. and Mary). May 10, 1752, aged 37.
 " HON. BENJAMIN " " " " " born Oct. 5, 1700, d. Oct. 3, 1781.
- MACINTIRE, SAMUEL. Feb. 6, 1811, aged 54.
 " ELIZABETH, wid. of Samuel. Oct. 15, 1815, aged 62.
 " HANNAH, relict of Samuel, b. June 12, 1780, d. Jan. 14, 1862, aged 81.
- MCPHERSON, CHRISTIAN, b. Oct. 5, 1791, d. Sept. 13, 1793, aged 1 y., 11 m.
- MANNING, THOMAS, only child of Thos. and Anstis. Apr. 1, 1798, aged 20.
- MANSFIELD, JONATHAN. Mar. 9, 1791, aged 74.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Jonathan. June 20, 1785, aged 55.
 " MATTHEW. Oct. 29, 1800, aged 73.
 " HANNAH (wife of Matthew). Feb. 11, 1799, aged 68.
 " JOSEPH, born Apr. 17, 1743, d. Feb. 16, 1820, aged 76 y., 10 m.
 " HANNAH, wife of Joseph. Sept. 3, 1789, aged 45.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Joseph and Hannah. Dec. 16, 1788, aged 17 y.
 " LYDIA W., " " " " " Sept. 13, 1794, aged 19 y.
 " JOSEPH, son " " " " " Jan. 9, 1798, aged 20 y.
- MARSHEAD, Madam SARAH. Dec. 25, 1750, aged 67.
- MARSTON, JOHN, Sr. Dec. 19, 1681, aged 66.
 " MARY, wife of John. May 25, 1686, aged 43.
 " MEHITABLE, wife of William. Dec. 20, 1784, aged 25 y., 10 m.
- MASON, THOMAS, tomb.
- MASURY, MARY, wife of William. May 17, 1748, aged 26.
- MATHER, Mr. NATHANIEL. "Dec'd Oct. ye 17, 1688."
 "An aged person
 that had seen
 but nineteen winters
 in the world."
- MILLET, JONATHAN. June 4, 1795, aged 60.

- MILLET, SARAH, wife of Jonathan. Jan. 29, 1811, aged 76.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of John, b. May 29, 1773, d. Aug. 18, 1798, aged 24 y., 3 m.
 " Capt. NATHAN (son of Jona. and Sarah). Sept. 23, 1804, aged 32.
 " REBECCA, wife of Capt. Nathan. Nov. 3, 1798, aged 28.
 " WILLIAM. Aug. 14, 1836, aged 55.
 " SALLY, wife of William. Feb. 23, 1830, aged 45.
- MOLLOY, MARY. June 6, 1832, aged 84.
- MORE, Capt. RICHARD (no date; died about 1696. He was 78 years old, 1690, when he gave his deposition in Court; born 1612). Aged 84.
 " CHRISTIAN, (first) wife of Richard. Mar. 18, 1676, aged 60.
 " JANE, (second) " " " Oct. 8, 1686, aged 55.
 " CALEB (son of Richard, Sr.). Jan. 4, 1678-9, aged 34.
 " SAMUEL, son of Richard (Jr.) and Sarah. Nov. 24, 1673, aged 9 days. (On stone of Barbara, dau. of Samuel and Susanna Dutch.)
- MOSES, MARY, dau. of Joseph and Hannah. Aug. 2, 1838, aged 58 y., 9 m.
- MOULD, EDWARD, Chyrurgian. Nov. 9, 1688, aged 58.
 " WILLMET, wife of Edward. July —, 1684, aged about 58.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of Thomas and Mary. Feb. 9, 1680, aged 1 y., 9 m.
 " THOMAS, son " " " " Aug. 1, 1681, aged 1 y., 4 m.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. " " " " Aug. 20, 1684, aged 1 y., 4 m.
- MUDGE, NANCY, wife of Capt. Joseph, of Lynn. Jan. 9, 1801, aged 22.
- MUGFORD, MARY, wife of Capt. William. May 29, 1804, aged 41.
 " GEORGE PEELE, son of Capt. William and Mary. Sept. 2, 1801, aged 2 y., 6 m.
 " EBEN PEELE, son of Capt. William and Mary. Aug. 13, 1802, aged 1.
- NEALE, JUDATH, dau. of Joseph and Judath. Feb. 25, 1697-8, aged 15.
- NEWHALL, EZRA. Apr. 7, 1798, aged 66.
- NOURSE, JOHN (footstone).
 " ABIGAIL, widow of Benjamin. Mar. 1, 1814, aged 70.
- NUTTING, JOHN (born Cambridge, Jan. 7, 1694), d. May 20, 1790, aged 96 y.
 " RUTH, wife of John. Nov. 22, 1736, aged 37.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of John. June 10, 1785, aged 71.
 " JOHN, son of John and Ruth. June 20, 1720, aged 4.

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
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No. 2.

MEMOIR

OF

BENJAMIN FREDERICK BROWNE,

[READ MONDAY, FEB. 15, 1875.]

BENJAMIN FREDERICK BROWNE was born July 14, 1793, in a house standing on the spot now known as No. 15 Winter street. He was carried to meeting at the East Church on the same day, and baptized by Dr. Bentley. He was a descendant in the seventh generation of John Browne, who joined the First Church in Salem in 1637, and was ordained a ruling elder of the church, August 29, 1660. The line of descent was through James, and Hannah Bartholomew; James, and Elizabeth (Pickering) Nichols; William, and Mary Frost; William, and Mercy White; Benjamin, and Elizabeth Andrew.

On the side of his mother, Elizabeth Andrew, he was a descendant, in the seventh generation, from Rev. Francis Higginson, the first minister of the First Church, in Salem. Two of his ancestors, Rev. John Higginson, pastor of the First Church, and John Browne, ruling

elder, were ordained at the same time, Aug. 29, 1660.¹ His education began in the school of Madame Babbidge, in Essex street, in 1797. Among the most vivid recollections of that time was the memory of the cuffs, kickings and chasings he endured from the Federalist boys, because, his father being a Republican, he wore no cockade in his hat. His first hat must have been an object of tender regard, for he bought it with five shillings earned by picking up scraps of old iron and pieces of junk, and selling them at the Hingham boat, which came to Salem several times a year with a cargo of boxes and pails. He was a pupil of Mr. John Southwick, and joined in the frequent fights with Master Lang's scholars, at the time when the almshouse stood on the common, and the common itself was a dreary place called the town swamp, and frequented by horses, cattle, ducks, geese, hens and pigs. The streets were unpaved and unlighted. There were no police, disorderly persons thronged the streets, and the boys of different sections of the town frequently fought pitched battles with brickbats and frozen snowballs.

August 3, 1807, he entered the shop of E. S. Lang, apothecary, and son of Master Lang. There, after the custom of the times, he served an apprenticeship of five years. He finished his apprenticeship and lost his occupation in 1812, when the war with England had destroyed the commerce of his native city. Being young, very small in stature and in feeble health, he seemed to be deprived of business at home and a share in the warlike pursuits which were engrossing the minds of his townsmen. But his experience as apothecary's clerk enabled him to obtain a position as surgeon's assistant on board the private armed ship Alfred, in which he sailed in Sep-

¹ See Hist. Coll., Vols. v and vii, for genealogies of the Brown and Higginson families.

tember, 1812, on a four months' cruise. Two English brigs were captured, having valuable cargoes of cotton, sugar and dye stuffs. The vessels and cargoes were confiscated, and the prisoners put on board a Portuguese schooner with bread and beef enough to last until they arrived in New York. In the third engagement a large armed merchantman was engaged, but as the captain doubted their ability to complete the capture, they sailed away and left her, much to the disgust of the crew. Three days after, the general dissatisfaction culminated, when they fairly ran away from a large vessel, for fear it might be a man-of-war.

Benjamin was now nineteen years old, and, being neither fond of the sea nor eager for war, was at his wit's end in regard to the means of subsistence, when the owners of the privateering schooner "Frolic" offered him a place as captain's clerk. To this was added the duties of purser and sergeant of marines. They set sail with a motley crew, "hatless, shoeless, shirtless, graceless and unwashed," in a shapeless craft so singularly unfit for her work that, after the first "white squall," the sailors went aft in a body and promised to pay back their bounty money if the captain would only put them ashore again.

The vessel was remodelled, and again Benjamin, with a heavy heart and light pockets, went on board. The first capture was an American vessel sailing under a British license. Then, falling in with a fleet of English vessels in ballast, bound for Pictou and Merimachi for lumber, they captured ten or a dozen of them, and, after taking out the crews and the few articles of value, burned them. After a profitless voyage they refitted at Portsmouth, N. H., and were there when a large portion of the town was burned. They set sail on Christmas day, 1813, and after some exciting but profitless adventures, were chased

below the tropical line by the English man-of-war, Heron. After a desperate attempt to escape, the captain mounted the rigging and announced their surrender. Benjamin was now nearly twenty-one years old, and as he stood a prisoner of war upon the deck of the Heron, his worldly possessions consisted of the checked shirt and duck trousers in which he stood. With such resources for comfort he entered upon a captivity of fifteen months.

The prisoners were taken to Barbadoes and confined in jail for a week, when the officers were admitted to parole. They were sent to England in August of the same year, in the seventy-four gun ship Benbow. From Plymouth they marched sixteen miles over the desolate hills to Dartmoor. Breaking a thirty hours' fast with bread, water and pickled fish, the prisoners, in their wet and muddy clothes, lay down to sleep on the stone floor, and so forgot their miseries.

Each man received a hammock, bed, blanket, pillow, and a bunch of rope-yarns to sling his hammock with, a wooden spoon, a tin pot, and to every six men a three gallon bucket. The prisons were dark, damp and gloomy, built of stone, with no furniture but rows of posts from which to sling their hammocks in tiers two or three deep. The British government furnished clothing, a coarse, yellow woollen jacket and pantaloons, with the king's broad arrow and the letters T. O. stamped on the back, a coarse woollen cap and woollen list shoes with wooden soles.

The situation of the prison was unhealthy, and during the year about one in thirteen of the four thousand died, while those who were considered well suffered continually from toothache, neuralgia and like ailments.

The prisoners had a market every day from eleven to two o'clock, and had liberty to buy whatever their scanty

funds would permit. The British government allowed each man per day half a pound of beef, a pound and a half of bread, some turnips or onions and one-third of an ounce of salt. On Wednesdays and Fridays the bill of fare was one pound of herrings or codfish and one pound of potatoes with the bread. In addition to this the American government allowed each man two-pence half penny a day, paid in monthly instalments. In various ways about eighteen thousand dollars a month were in circulation among the six thousand prisoners, or about three dollars apiece. In such a community this amount of money allowed them to practise upon a small scale all the commercial virtues and rascalities of the larger world outside. To some the pittance was made less valuable by inefficiency and unthrift, while others by industry, ingenuity and usury were able to take the cream of prison life. Young Browne by good fortune found a friend in one of those jolly, good-tempered spendthrifts who was always at his wit's end for money, but was always on good terms with those who had it. "The little captain" brought to their mess fabulous amounts of good cheer, beefsteak, saltfish, onions, potatoes, white bread and brandy. The brandy he kept, but the provisions he dealt out with bountiful hands. Impressed by the opportunities for gain, the two set up a shop for the sale of rum, butter, tobacco, coffee, tea, potatoes, etc. Trade prospered. The stock was sold at remunerative prices. But when the Tavistock grocer called for a settlement, the "little captain," like many another jolly fellow, had lost the run of the accounts, and, as he was cashier and treasurer, the burden of bankruptcy and subsequent payment fell upon Browne.

By the usual devices of prisoners, the dreary months of imprisonment were whiled away or endured at least,

until worn by suffering, exasperated by petty oppressions and thoroughly convinced that their keepers were cold-blooded murderers, the prisoners became mutinous. The battle of New Orleans had been won. Peace had been declared, and men who thought they ought to be free were little inclined to endure the brutal treatment to which they had been subjected. Instead of attempting to conciliate them, Captain Shortland, the commanding officer, ordered out seven or eight hundred soldiers, who kept up a murderous fire upon them for more than ten minutes. Then the dead and wounded were gathered up and life went on as before for another month. On the first of May, 1815, Browne was released from prison, a poor, feeble, emaciated youth, weighing just ninety-four pounds on the scales at Plymouth. In all the time of his imprisonment no tidings of him had reached home. Arriving in New York, he took sloop to Providence and stage-coach thence to Salem, arriving at sunrise in his native city, from which he was never long absent afterwards.

The foregoing account has been condensed, and by that process the interest has been taken out, from notes written in leisure hours by Mr. Browne, and published through the agency of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Dr. Browne (as we shall now call him by virtue of apothecaries' brevet) showed to him the narrative he had written for his own amusement, and Mr. Hawthorne, then a resident of Salem, was so much interested in it that he procured its publication in the "Democratic Review," in successive numbers, during the year 1846.

Dr. Browne gladly returned to the pursuits of peace, and during the ensuing fifty-eight years was known and honored as one of our most genial, honorable and trusty citizens.

He went into business as an apothecary with William

Stearns, Nov., 1816, in the corner store of the Union street building. Jan. 1, 1823, he set up a drug store on the corner of Essex and Washington streets, in the brick building belonging to John Daland, now demolished to make way for the Eastern railroad. He moved thence, in 1828, to the shop on the west side of Court, now Washington street, opposite the city hall.

In April, 1833, he removed to a store standing on the spot now occupied by the brick building No. 226 Essex street, opposite the First Church. That store was burned March 27, 1862. Jan. 1st, 1850, he took Charles H. Price, a former clerk, into a partnership which lasted until Jan. 1st, 1860, when he finally retired from business.

Dr. Browne was married Jan. 23, 1825, to Miss Sally Bott, daughter of John Bott and Lydia Henfield.

He always took great interest in the public organizations of his native city. He was for nearly fifty years connected with the Independent Congregational Church in Barton Square. As one of the marshals he assisted at the installation of Rev. Henry Colman, the first minister, and helped in the making and distribution of the punch which flowed freely on that occasion. He was master of the Essex Lodge of Free Masons from 1824 to 1827; commander of the cadets from 1825 to 1828; representative to the general court in 1831; state senator in 1843; postmaster of Salem from 1845 to 1849, and several times candidate for the office of mayor. He belonged to the democratic party for many years, and all of his public political life was spent in the service of that organization. But before the war of the rebellion he had grown into sympathy with the Republican party with which he quietly coöperated during the remainder of his life. In the legislature he showed skill as a debater, especially in the

use of dry humor and an effective wit, manifested in caricatures of his opponents, which gave his logic edge and force.

The later years of his life, being blessed by a fortune adequate to his wants, were spent in comfort and leisurely quiet. He never lost his habits of regular attendance at his place of business until disabled by his last illness. He retained his desk, and, sitting in his comfortable arm-chair he watched, with genial interest, the passing of the busy crowds, received the greetings of his numerous friends, and kept himself in close and cheerful communication with the world about him. He was not left behind in his old age forgotten and forgetful, but made himself the special friend and patron of worthy young men, knowing the names, occupations and merits of all who came regularly under his notice, and often giving unobtrusive and valuable assistance with counsel, money or credit. He also indulged in literary and historical pursuits which showed that had his early life been devoted to them as his later years were, he would have become much more than an ordinary historian, and possibly a poet with claims to distinction. "The Papers of an Old Dartmoor Prisoner" had such peculiar merits, not merely from the interesting subject matter but also for the singular skill in narration and vivacity of style that it seemed as if Nathaniel Hawthorne, their gifted editor, must have added much from his own genius. But a careful comparison of the original manuscript with the printed copy shows that the narrative owes nothing whatever to the accomplishments of the editor except some slight use of the pruning knife.

In the fire, which burned his store in 1862, he lost notes containing the work of many years, in which he had put on record the contents of his wonderful memory of

the men and events which had passed under his notice during eighty years of remarkably shrewd attention. Had it not been for this misfortune these "Collections" would have been enriched by many contributions and this sketch would have been unnecessary.

Dr. Browne was stricken with paralysis on the morning of Sept. 6, 1873. His mental powers were for a considerable time unimpaired, and he watched the progress of his disease with philosophic calmness and the cheerfulness of a strong religious faith; until, after repeated shocks, his powers gave way, and he died, Nov. 23, 1873, in the eighty-first year of his age.

THE NAME OF PERKINS AS FOUND ON THE ESSEX COUNTY RECORDS.¹

PROBATE.

ABRAHAM, in account with estate of Wm. Whitridge, 1669. Petitions to be adm'r of estate of Wm. Wambell, 1685. Sold land to Robert Lord, sen'r, previous to 1683. Appr. of est. of Tho. Newman etc., 1690. In acc't with est. of Sam'l Searle in 1691. Guardian of children in Rowley, 1691.

ABRAHAM, Jr., of Hampton, was slain by the Indians June 13, 1677. His widow, Elizth, was app't adm'r, with her father, Tho. Sleeper, for surety, Oct. 9, 1677. His father, Abraham Perkins, was living Apr. 1679, when the deceas'd's widow had m. Alexander Denum and at that time the three following ch., viz., Merrie, Mary and Elizabeth, were under age (see probate files).

DAVID, in acc't with est. of Thomas Tickton in 1677; est. of Wm. Batchelor, of Salem, 1684; est. of John Batchelor, 1696; Richard Kimball, 1676.

DAVID, sen'r, witness to will of Capt. John Dixie, of Beverly, 1685.

ELIZABETH, mentioned as daughter of Francis Brown, of Newbury, in 1691; iv: 326.

JACOB, wit. to will of Joseph Metcalf in 1665; do. Wm. Hodgkins, 1694; was about 23 years of age in 1685, when he testified in regard to will of John Roper. iv: 145.

JACOB, sen'r, of Ipswich, adm'n granted to his sons Jacob and Matthew Perkins, Feb. 5, 1699-1700. (Bonds and Inventory on file) vii: 7. Jacob and John, witnesses to will of Metcalf, 1665.

¹ The above contribution from the early records of Essex County is made by Augustus T. Perkins, Esq., of Boston, not with the belief that it is by any means perfect, or that *all* has been gathered from the sources from which these facts were taken, and they thereby exhausted. More has been collected which will, we trust, in time appear, but this matter is now given to the interested public that it may be thus rendered secure from loss by fire and the corroding and sleepless fingers of time.

The Records of the Probate Office, of the Registry of Deeds and, above all, the ancient, and as yet unarranged, files of the Court Records, contain a mine of genealogical fact, the outcroppings only of which we now see.

We trust the time is very near when these perishable and now crumbling records shall be secured from further decay, and rendered easy of consultation.—G. A. P.

JOHN, sen'r, of Ipswich (sometimes John Perkins the elder) made his will 8, 1 mo., 1654, proved 26 [7], 1654, the same time the inventory of his estate was presented to court; am't of inventory £250, s., 0d. Legatees, wife Judith, eldest son John, who then had sons John and Abraham, son Thomas, who at that time had a son John, daughter Elizabeth Sarjent, daughter Mary Bradbury and grandchild Thomas Bradbury, daughter Lydia Bennitt, son Jacob, who was to have the real estate after the death of the widow, as the covenant formerly made with her (see file).

JOHN, jr. Inv. of his est. taken by Wm. Goodhue and John Dane [Ipswich names] 25, 1 mo., 1659, and presented to court Mar. 28, 1659. Am't £73-10-1 (see file).

JOHN, of Topsfield. Inv. of his est. taken June 12, and presented to court next 30, 4 mo., 1668. Amt. £48, 15s., 0d., by Deborah Perkins, his widow (Judicial ct. files).

JOHN, in acc't with est. of Wm. Whitridge presented 1669.

LUKE, in acc't with est. of Rob. Macklaffin 1691. (Jud. ct. file).

MATTHEW, an app'r of est. of Peter Berry of Ips'h in 1693; Sam'l Taylor, 1695, and Meshech Farloe of Ipswich, 1696; iii: 131. v: 37, 12.

SAMUEL, seems to have married one of the two daughters of Twiford and Mary West of Ipswich, previous to 1683, whose name was Hannah; iv: 23, 419.

———. In acc't with estate of John Wood, 1685.

SAMUEL, of Ipswich, cordwiner, died previous to Nov. 4, 1700, when his widow Hannah Perkins was app'd adm'r, who presented the inventory May 19, 1701; am't £110. vii: 21, 96.

TOBIJAH was a witness to an agreement of the heirs of Mr. Wm. Perkins, of 1682 (Jud. Ct. file). He married Sarah, dau. of John Denison, sen'r, of Ipswich, previous to 1683, when a daughter of his heirs (no name given), was a legatee in the will of his grandfather, Denison. iv: 29.

THOMAS, witness to will of wid. Maria Williams, of Salem, dated 1, 1 mo., 1654 (Jud. Ct. file). Elizabeth, his wife, wit. to will of widow Alice Ward of Ipswich, 27 (1) 1655 (J. C. file); one of the app's of the est. of Mr. Wm. Perkins of Topsfield in 1682 (J. C. file).

WILLIAM, Mr., of Topsfield, deceased previous to June 15, 1682, when the inventory of his estate was presented to court; am't £103-1-10, less debts, £35-8-8, one of the app'rs being a Tho. Perkins, sen'r. Adm'rs were Eliz'th, his widow, and son John Perkins. A petition and agreement presented to court June 27, 1682, who represent themselves "his surviving children both by nature and marriage," and are on record in the following position:—

Tobijah Perkins
John Perkins
Timothy Perkins

Oliver Purchis
& Mary Purchis
John Bradstreet
Sarah Bradstreet.
John Baker.
Catherine Baker.
John Ramsdel^{his}
_{mark}
Elizabeth Ramsdel^{her}
_{mark}
Thomas Fiske &
Rebekah Fiske his
wife

(Pro. Rec'd ii : 11.)

WILLIAM, sen'r, of Topsfield, died Oct. 31, 1695, adm'n granted t Eliz'th, his widow, and Wm. and John, his sons, with Tobijah Perkin for one of the sureties (original on file); am't of Inventory £302, 10s 0d; one item, a silver seall £00-03-00. In division of the estate, Jan 6, 1695-6, the following signed an agreement: son William, son John Daughter Eliz'th Perkins, Daughter Mary Smith (who in another plac wife of Abra. Smith), Daughters Dorothy and Timothy Perkins (who made their mark), Nathan and Rebecca Perkins, two minor children whose mother, Eliz'th, with Tobijah Perkins for a surety, was app' guardian for them, Jan. 6, 1695-6. v : 54.

WILLIAM, jr., of Topsfield, deceased previous to Feb. 6, 1698-9, a which time Eliz'th Perkins, his mother, was app'd adm'r. vi : 63.

DEEDS.

Three sets of records at first included all N. of Merrimack river:— Old Norfolk, 5 vols.; Ipswich, 5 vols.; Salem, which is continued to the present time.

MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND DEATHS RETURNED TO NORFOLK COURT, COMPILED INTO FAMILIES.—HAMPTON.

ABRAHAM and Mary had:—

Jonathan, b. 30, 9 mo., 1650.

David, b. 28, 12 mo., 1653.

Abigail, b. 12, 2 mo., 1655.

Timothy, b. 29, 4 mo, 1657.

Sarah, b. 26, 5 mo., 1659.

Humphrey, b. 17, 3 mo., 1661.

ABRAHAM, jr., married Eliz'th Sleeper, 27, 6 mo., 1668, and their daughter Mercy, b. 3, 5 mo., 1671.

ISAAC and Susanna had:—

Benjamin, b. 12, 12 mo., 1649.

Susanna, b. 21, 6 mo., 1652.

Hannah, b. 24, 2 mo., 1656.

Mary, b. 23, 5 mo., 1658.

Joseph, b. 9, 2 mo., 1661.

Daniel, a son of Isaac, died 1, 6 mo., 1662.

ISAAC PERKINS, jr., drowned 10, 7 mo., 1661.

JACOB and Mary had:—Isaac, b. 18, 10 mo., 1671.

BENJAMIN Perkins, died ye 23d, 9th mo., 1670, probably son of Isaac.

MARY PERKINS m. Giles Fifield, 17, 4, 1652.

REBECCA PERKINS m. Jno. Hussie, 21, 7, 1659.

OLD NORFOLK DEEDS.

ABRAHAM, sen'r, of Hampton sold to Henry Green "one halfe of ye water mill at Hampton aforesaid" in 1651 [no wife of Abraham mentioned]. i: 17.

— Green assigned to Abra. Perkins a share in ye cove comon same time. i: 18. Testimony of Abraham in regard to Green's assignment to swaine in 1667. ii: 104. Bought of Isaac Cole of Exeter, millwright, 4 acres of land in Hampton bounded by Anthony Taylor, Hazzen Levitt, 1671. ii: 248.

ABRAHAM, Jr., carpenter, bought of John Godfrey of Hampton half an acre of swamp next to his other land 1671. ii: 227. Bought of Jona. Smith of H., brickmaker, 6 acres in ye North Playne it being the easterly end of the 12 acres laid out by H. to Henry Sayward, June 5, 1667. ii: 227. He received of his father Abra. sen'r, of Hampton, yeoman, that part of his father's plough land where Abra., Jr's, house then (1674) stood; also fresh meadow and salt meadow, etc. iii: 59. He "was slayn by the Indians upon ye 13th of June, 1677, and an inventory of the estate was taken." iii: 28.

ISAAC, of Hampton, Planter, bought of Timothy Dalton, teacher of the church in H., a farm in H. next to Salisbury line, with 70 acres of meadow and marsh, bounded by John Brown and John Wheelwrite, etc., 18, 4 mo., 1652. i: 40.

Bought 7 acres of upland lying beyonde ye falls river and near his house 16, 4 mo., 1652. i: 85. Sold to Thomas Ward of Hampton, weaver, 19 acres beyond mill brook in II. (no wife of Isaac mentioned) ii: 347. Isaac (continued) exchanged a piece of land with Isaac Green, giving to G. a piece two rods wide for a lane on south side of P's land, Mar. 31, 1675. iii: 26. Gave to his son Caleb Perkins 4 acres of upland situated by C's house and 6 acres of salt marsh, 1678. iii: 103. Sold to Benj. Brown and John Brown, jr., sons of John Brown, sen'r of H., a right of a way to go by Caleb Perkins' farm to their farm, 1679. iii: 237.

JACOB, on his marriage with Susannah, the daughter of Thomas Philbrick, received of his father Isaac Perkins, and father Philbrick land Mar. 19, 1668-9; ack'd 14, 7 m., 1671. ii: 223.

He sold 6 acres of marsh in the above gift of his father Isaac to John Smith of H., which was acknowledged 24, 12 mo., 1674, and he was then "Jacob Perkins" (late of Hampton) now of Holmeshole on the Island of Martyr's Vineyard in "New England" (no wife mentioned) iii: 20. He "of Hampton" bought the six acres of marsh back from s'd Smith May 8, 1679. iii: 120.

WILLIAM, Mr., called himself about 39 years of age, Mar. 2, 1677-8 at the time he testified a meadow next to his own meadow that he had seen Robert Smart mow for 16 years together, etc., sworn to before Rich'd Martyr, com'r. iii: 106.

IPSWICH DEEDS.

ABRAHAM OF ROWLEY bought of Geo. Hadley of same town 140 acres of upland, seven acres of said land bounded "by the great River called the Merrimack River." Others who owned next to the various pieces were Geo. Hadley, Benj. Kimball, Rob. and John Hazelton and John Griffin, 20, 4 mo., 1665. ii: 245. He with wife Hannah sold 20 acres of the above purchase of G. H. to Augustus Stedman of Newbury, June 26, 1666. iii: 35.

ABRAHAM OF HAMPTON, in 1639, had for an apprentice boy Benj., son of Humphrey Wise of Ipswich. i: 2. Owned land next to Edmund Colcord, situated in Hampton in 1645. i: 8. Witness to a deed from Wm. Eaton of H. to Wm. White of Haverhill in 1650. i: 53.

ABRAHAM OF IPSWICH, bought of Daniel Hovey $\frac{1}{2}$ acre south side of the river. iii: 227. Bought of Sam'l Cogswell of Ips. 10 acres salt marsh at Chebaque in Ips., 1674. iii: 319. Took Freeman's Oath at Ips., 1677. iv: 166. Witness to deed of land owned by Anthony Crosby, 1678. iv: 201. Gave with John Perkins their deposition in regard to land of Borman, 1666. iv: 284. Bought of Robert Collins of Haverhill $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres, 1679. iv: 304. With wife Hannah sold to Anthony Potter of Ips. $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of thatch bank, 1679. iv: 485. Sold to Rob. Lord, sen'r, the house and barn, etc., that he had lately bo't of Collins, situated in Ips. 1683. iv: 503. He with wife Hannah sold to Benj. Marshall of Ips. 10 acres south side of Jebacco River, it being a part of that farm which was leased of Ips. for 1,000 years, dated Sept., 1680, ack'd 1686. v: 226. Abra. sen'r and wife Hannah, ordinary keeper, sold to Joseph Fuller, 6 acres at Plumb Island, in Ips., 1691. v: 385. An Abraham aged about 50 years, in 1691, testified in regard to the beach south side of Little Neck in Ips., of which he says he had been acquainted 41 years or more. v: 503. See (Abra.)

ALICE sold land previous to 1655. i: 223.

ELIJAH of Topsfield took oath of Freeman in 1677. iv: 166-7.

ISAAC of Ipswich took Freeman's oath, 1677. iv: 166-7. Sold to his brother John Gammis all that my part which is a third of the house wherein my father Whitman now dwells, but father Whitman to live in it during the time of his natural life; ack'd by him and wife Hannah Perkins, 1678. v: 178. He with wife Hannah sold to Samuel Story of same town, 1680; ack'd 1683. v: 329.

JACOB, of Ipswich bought of Robert Paine, sen'r, of Ips. 6 acres Grape Island, 1667. iii: 178. Jacob, sen'r, bought of Wm. Hubbard of Ips. No. 7 Marsh lot in Plumb Island and by Grape Island, 1668. ii: 179. Bought of his father John, sen'r, and his wife Eliz'th the house last built situated on the south side of Jabaque River, near the falls with 100 acres of land bounded on the north by the highway, on the east by land of Abraham Perkins, on the south of Dark swamp and on the west by Jabaque; 20 acres of meadow; 4 acres marsh adjoining on Abra. Perkins farm, 1670; ack'd 1672. iii: 246. Wit. to a deed Bridges to Whipple 1660, owned next to John Page, 1660, and appr. of steers taken up in 1672. i: 248, 252. Resigns up to his father, John Perkins, sen., two deeds dated 1670 in 1678. iv: 186.

JACOB, Jr., of Ipswich, took Freeman's oath, 1677. iv: 166.

JOHN, of Ipswich, yeoman, bought of Wm. Whittred of same town, carpenter, a farm with house, etc., situated on the south side of Chebecko River and salt marsh by Hog Island River, 1661. ii: 47. Sold to Thomas Perkins of same town his house and house lot in Ips. bounded by the river towards the south, with a highway upon the north; also 3 acres in Manning's Neck; also 6 acres meadow at Labour in Vaine, 1665. iii: 11. Way over the last parcel altered, see Salem series, x: 186. Bought of Wm. Hubbard, of Ips., clerk, the dwelling house lately owned by Mr. John Paine of Boston, with 8 acres of land bounded by Great st., southwest by Scott's lane, etc., 1668. iii: 126. Sold with wife Eliz'th's consent to Thomas Perring, of same place, 4½ acres marsh land at Plumb Island, 1667, ack'd 1669, iii: 135. John, sen'r, yeoman sold to his son Jacob Perkins ½ his farm called the Island, south side the river, that is to say half of sagamore Hill excepting 6 acres of marsh by castle Hill Creek together with half the House, etc., 1670; ack'd 1672. iii: 245. Gave to son Jacob south side of Jabaque River (see under Jacob). Trustee for Thos. Bishop estate, 1670. iii: 282. Gave with consent of wife Eliz'th all the sagamore Hill land situated south of Ipswich River, 1674. iii: 337. Bought of Daniel Epps 100 acres which was a part of the land he (Epps) had bought of his father-in-law, Sam'l Symonds, Esq., joining on Wenham line J. Gilbert's farm, great swamp on the brook running out of Pleasant pond and below Beaver dam, etc, 1678. iv: 233. Gave his deposition concerning Borman's marsh, 1666. iv:

284. Sold to his son Samuel and wife, Hannah (or gave to them) upland south side Ips. River, with a dwelling house thereon, etc. 1674, and ack'd 1679. iv: 285. Bought of Wm. Whitridge of Ips all his farm in Chebacco — 200 acres and all the meadow to it, with house, etc., situated south side of Chebacco River, bounded by Common, Edward Bragg and Wm. Storey, etc., Dec., 7, 1660. iv: 470. John (Q. Master John) for 6,000 bricks sold John Day 50 rods of land, 1683. iv: 530. Q. M. John and wife Elizabeth ack'd that they had sold to his son Abra. Perkins all his marsh in that town of Ipswich — 15 acres north of Jacob Perkins, west by Sagamore Creek, etc., 1683-4. v: 3. Acknowledged the deed to his son Isaac of y^t farm he now lives on in Ips. at Chebacco as it lies bounded with goodman Bragg on the North and goodman Story on the N. East, etc. (see page above, Whitridge land) 1684. v: 19. Gave to his son Luke (the father calling himself "John Perkins of Ips., ordinary keeper") in several pieces 11 acres of pasture land, 12 acres of upland and marsh (6 of it marsh) 15 acres of marsh joining to Jacob Perkins on south side and one piece of marsh of about 1 acre, etc., provided Luke maintain the father's wife Elizth and son Sam^l during their natural lives, etc., 1683, and in a codicil Q. Master John provided "that Sam^l Perkins be not disturbed in ye possession of y^t w^h he hath given to him and hath built upon," Apr. 1684. v: 21. Gave to son Nathan^l Perkins half the farm in Chebacco that he bought of Willi Whittred the other part of s^d farm having been given to son Isaac; he this time, Apr., 1684, calls himself yeoman with w. Elizabeth. v: 21.

JOHN (sen'r, Q. M., Innkeeper, etc., of Ips., continued). He in 1685-6, on acc't of Luke's ill treatment, etc., takes the land before given from him, and various deeds, etc., etc., are recorded in Vol. x, as at pages 72, 73, 226. Sold to Mr. Jona. Wade one acre of his land at Chebacco next to Wade's saw mill, 1685. v: 88. Testified in court (no age given) in regard to the treaty between widow Cheney and Rob. Cross, sen'r, when C's son Steven Cross was a suitor to Elizth, dau. of the widow; testimony given, 1672. v: 128. Sold a small piece of to Sam^l Moses, 1684. v: 176. Sold to Philip Fowler of Ips. about $\frac{3}{4}$ acre in great common field on the north of Ipswich river, witnessed by a Nath^l Perkins, 1682, ack'd 1684. v: 172. He had a right to dry fish on a beach as early as 47 years previous to 1695, according to the deposition of John Clark, Salem, series x: 161. A John Perkins prized a horse taken up at large by a Thomas Perkins, 1679. i: 257. A John Perkins "the younger" owned land next to Rich^d Scofield, Ipswich, 1641 and 1643. i: 6, 22.

JOHN (continued). Had land granted to him by the town of Ipswich which was afterwards owned by Nicholas Marble, and Mar-

ble sold it to Robert Cross in 1654, and he owned Sagamore Hill, which was next to some that Simon Stone sold to Tho. Wells in 1654. i: 150 and ii: 18. John of Topsfield (son of Mr. Wm. Perkins of Topsfield, dec'd) then (1685) sold to his bro. Timothy Perkins of same town all right he had in a lot of Real estate they (John and Tim.) purchased in Co. of their father Wm. and their bro. Tobijah, July 2, 1681, viz: 20 acres near the Meeting house in Topsfield, and 8 acres of meadow and deed of consianm't from Tobijah May 25, 1683, comprising house, etc., with 7 acres of land bounded easterly by Wm. Avery, and on the side of which stood a grist mill, Apr. 2, 1685. v: 93. John of Topsfield took Freeman's oath, 1677, and John, Jr., of Ipswich do., do. iv: 166-7.

LUKE, of Ipswich, at one time had a deed of his father John but afterward lost it (see under John) and v: 274. He sold to John Gould of Topsfield $\frac{1}{2}$ acre with house, ware house, etc., 1684. v: 68. Was an appr. of a horse taken up in Ipswich, 1676. i: 255. Took Freeman's oath in Ips., 1677. iv: 166-7. (Other deeds, see Salem series.)

NATHANIEL took the oath of Freeman at Ipswich in 1677. iv: 166-7.

SAMUEL took the Freeman's oath at Ips. in 1677. iv: 167-7. Made provision for by his father, John Perkins, of Ipswich in 1684. v: 21.

THOMAS, of Topsfield, bought of Richard Swaine of Hampton and wife Jane a farm of about 200 acres of upland, bounded by land of John Wild and John Redington towards the north and northeast, with land of Robert Andrews towards the northwest, Anthony Cornell towards N. W., Zacheus Gould towards the west and bounded by Browning, Towneses and Bradstreet; also 20 acres of meadow bounded by the river towards the southeast, with one acre of Bad meadow joining to 20 acres; also 6 acres of meadow once owned by Wm. Dixy of Salem, commonly called Webster's meadow, together with house, etc., 6, 6 mo., 1660. i, 245.

He with wife Phebe Perkins sold to Rob't Pearce of Ipswich, all that they had of their father Zacheus Gould by deed of gift, it being a full $\frac{1}{4}$ of 600 acres in the village land of Rowley [now Boxford?] bounded with other land of Z. Gould on the southeast and south, Andover line on the west and north, and Fishing brook towards the N. and N. East, Sept. 24, 1662. ii: 123. Sold to Lt. Francis Peabody of Topsfield, 30 acres in the farthest division, lots bounded on the east by Ips. river, south by Endicot's land, etc. No wife of P. mentioned; ack'd Apr., 1675. iii: 360.

THOMAS, of Topsfield (continued) sold to Abra. Redington of Rowley Village a parcel of meadow on the west end of crooked pond in Rowley Village, surrounded by land that was Zacheus the father of John Gould (no name of P. mentioned) Apr. 1, 1678. iv: 176. Bought of Zacheus Gould of T. a parcel of land which laid partly in

T. and partly in R. village, and another piece by crooked pond, Mar. 8, 1663-4, and acknowledged by Gould, Mar. 30, 1668. iv: 268. Bought of Jacob Barney $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of meadow and upland in T. that B. had of Sam'l Corning, sen'r, bounded by Tho. Browning, the river and by Perkins' land, Dec., 1672, ack'd 1675. iv: 269. Bought of John Robinson 20 acres south side of Ips. river, bounded by Francis P. Tho. Baker, Farmer Nichols, ack'd 11, 9 mo., 1674. iv: 270. Bought of Jacob Barry, Wm. Dodge, sen'r and al., some of Bad meadow and some by Ips. river, 1677. iv: 270. Bought of John Wild, sen'r, of T., 20 acres bounded by Tho. Dorman, Wm. Smith and Farmer Porter's land, ack'd 1675. iv: 270; also he bought of John Rayment, Edmund Thomas of T., a Planter (continued). He with wife Phebe sold to Joseph Reddington of Ipswich, that marsh that he had bought of his brother John Perkins, situated near Labor-in-vain Land by Ipswich River northerly, and Nov. 1, 1679, they quit claimed it to Annis, widow of s'd Joseph Reddington. iv: 296. They sold Thomas Baker of 20 acres, viz: the 9th lot in the hither division of Topsfield, bounded by Tho. Borman, Farmer Porter, Wm. Smith, etc., Dec. 19, 1681. iv: 428. Thomas Perkins, Dea., paid a fine, £250, the court had sentenced his son Zacheus Perkins in 1681; also delivered the goods to Tho. Maule. iv: 430. He called himself husbandman with wife Phebe sold to Daniel Clarke 30 acres in Topsfield, and other small pices Jan. 3, 1672. iv: 462. Received a quit claim from his partners in some lands, etc., acted Oct., 1682. iv: 467. His land joined that of Wm. Goodhue in 1656, ii: 230; of Wm. Hubbard, sen'r, in 1658, i: 246 and Rich. Swain in 1660, i: 242. His daughter Phebe and Joseph, a son of Wm. and Joannah Towne of Topsfield, contracted to be married previous to 1663. ii: 157 (see Salem series).

THOMAS, Jr., took oath of Freeman in Topsfield in 1677. iv: 166-7.

TIMOTHY took oath of Freeman in Topsfield, 1677. iv: 166-7. With bro. John bought of Wm., their father, and Wm.'s wife Eliz'th Perkins, 20 acres of land near the meeting-house in Topsfield, where they all of them resided; also 8 acres of meadow in T., bounded by John Reddington, by Wild, Baker, etc., July 2, 1681. iv: 432. A mortgage assigned to him and bro. John from his bro. Tobijah, Jan. 3, 1683. iv: 78. He, the son of Wm. of Topsfield, bought of Barzillah Barker and wife, Anna Barker, of Rowley, 10 acres of meadow and upland, bounded east with land of John Reddington, south by Mr. Perkins and west with a highway leading from Topsfield to Ipswich on the north, with a brook of water y't comes from the mill, 1684. v: 44. He took a horse in 1680 which was prized by Zachariah and Timothy Perkins; also took up another one in 1681. i: 257-8.

TOBIJAH, of Topsfield, bought of Isaac Cummings and wife Mary of same town 44 acres, which was all the land of C. situated upon the

south side of the brook called Howlett's Brook, and bounded on the west by Lt. Fr. Peabody, south by Daniel Borman, east by land that Wm. Howlet's house was built upon, with privilege for him to cart through Commings farm from this land to Winthropps Hill, July 9, 1674. iii: 316. Took oath of Freeman in Topsfield, 1677. iv: 166-7. Sold to Isaac Cumings of that town about 20 acres of land in T. lot No. 16, "furtherest division" and next to "farmer Nequallis land," and it was on south side of Ips. river, Feb., and acknowledged Apr., 1678. iv: 151. Bought of Daniel Borman of T. 40 acres at the N. W. end of B's farm in Topsfield, and bounded by that land that P. bought of Isaac Cummings, Oct. 12, 1677, and ack'd June 22, 1681. iv: 406. Bought of Nath'l Adams and wife Mercy of Ipswich, 16 acres of meadow in Ipswich, bounded southward by the common called Paines Hills (as one goeth up to Topsfield) westward with the land of Edw'd Nealand, etc., 1683. v: 46. He prized horse taken up by John Hovey in 1675 and by Thomas Howlet of Ips., 1677. i: 254, 256.

WILLIAM, Mr., of Topsfield, and wife, Mrs. Eliz'th Perkins, sold to Tho. Millet, of Gloster, the house that he had in Gloster of Mr. Brewer and al., 13, 1 mo., 1657. ii: 17. He mortgaged to Thomas Clark, late of Plimouth, but now of Boston, merchant, all that his house and seven acres of land in Topsfield, on the northerly side of which stood a grist mill, etc., Jan. 20, 1671, "Provided allways that if the just and true sum of twenty pounds in lawfull money of England be well and truely payed at one entire payment unto the said Thomas Clarke or his assignes in the cittye of London within six weeks space after the arrivall of the good ship called the Blessing of Boston above said whereof is Master William Greenough in the river of Thames according to the true intent and meaning of three bills of exchange charged by the above named Wm. Perkins upon his mother, Mrs. Jane Perkins, widow, dwelling at the three cocks upon Ludgate Hill near to the West End of St. Paul's Church in London, which three bills doe beare date with these presents that then this deed is voyd and of none effect and every clause therein mentioned" acknowledged Jan. 20, 1671. (This was discharged by Clarke, Feb. 21, 1676.) iv: 202. The above mortgage was assigned to Tobijah Perkins, his son, by Clark, Feb. 21, 1676, and ack'd by him June 8, 1683, and he assigned it to his brothers John and Timothy Perkins, May 20, 1682, iv: 70. He mortgaged to Richard Woods 20 acres in Topsfield near the meeting house, Oct. 26, 1678, which was discharged by Fr. Woodde. July 2, 1681. iv: 201. He, Wm. sen'r and wife, Eliz'th, sold to the sons John and Timothy Perkins, of T., 20 acres near the meeting house and 8 acres in T., bounded by John Reddington, Wild and Baker, etc., July 2, 1681. iv: 432. Bought of Wm. Acre of Rowley, 32 acres in T. called Busly Hill by common land on the S. W. John

Wild formerly owned it, etc.; also 8 acres of meadow which was next into a place called Snookes hole, etc., 1684. v: 37. Bought of John French 2 acres bounded with F. on the N. and P. on the south, Jan. 8, 1672; also 1 acre, 20 poles, next to P's other land, May 19, 1685. v: 289, 290. He sen'r and yeoman of Tops. bought of John Wild of T., a carpenter, 4 acres in T. bounded by lands of said W. and P., etc., 1686. v: 291.

WILLIAM (continued) bought of Sarah, the widow of Thomas Gilbert, then of Charlestown, 10 acres of meadow, with a slip of upland situated in Topsfield, the same that G. had of Tho. Howlet, bounded by Howlet, Simon Bradstreet and John French, 1677. v: 292. He was an app'r of the estate of Walter Tibbot of Gloster in 1651. i: 117. Took up a horse going at large in 1674. i: 253, and Mr. Wm. sen'r took oath of Freeman in Topsfield in 1677. iv: 166-7.

ZACKERIAH, took Freeman's oath, Topsfield. iv: 166-7. Was fined by the court and his father, Dea. Thomas Perkins, paid the £250, and delivered the goods to Thomas Maul, 1681. iv: 430. He owned land in Topsfield next to some owned by Wainwright in 1686. See Salem Series, vii: 81.

SALEM SERIES.

ABRAHAM, of Ipswich, with wife Hannah, sold to Sam'l Corning, Jr., and Nath'l Stone of Beverly, 10 acres of meadow in Chebacco, that was let to John Cogswell, dec'd, for 1000 years, ack'd iv: 94. Bought of Sam'l Chapman and wife Ruth about an acre with fruit trees upon it in 1687, bounded by s'd Perkins' and Chapman's lands and the highway, vii: 153, viii: 101. He bought of Job Bishop and Stephen Cross, 6 acres, Plumb Island, 1689, viii: 127. Three deeds passed from one to the other between him and Luke on acc't of Luke's trouble with his father, 1688. viii: 64, 132.

CALEB owned land next to Eben. Perkins, 1693. x: 45.

DAVID, of Beverly, a blacksmith, whose wife's name was Elizabeth, bought of Wm. Cleaves one acre of upland bounded by John Stone, Mark Haskell, 1677. iv: 171. Sold to Robert Roundy 1 acre bounded by John Stone and Mark Haskell, etc., with a house, 1680. v: 80. Bought of Tho. Haines of Salem, Malster, 7 acres in Beverly, bounded westerly by John Benitt, northerly by Mr. John Hale and John Sampson, etc., and 8 acres bounded by John Lambert, etc., formerly belonged to Robert Harris, with house, etc., and Haines also quitclaimed at same time, 1680. v: 81, and see vi: 125. He bought of John Sampson an orchard of half an acre, which was bounded by Mr. Hale and the cow lane easterly and s. and w. by land that was formerly Rich'd Haines and now owned by David Perkins, and it was 8 rods below the great rock. v: 92. He bought of Tho. Pickton of B. a triangular piece of meadow in Wenham of 2 acres, bounded westerly by a meadow

called Bunchat's, southerly with the swamp, etc., 1677. vi: 54. Bought of Rob. Roundy of B. one acre bounded by Stone, Haskall, etc., 1685. vii: 54, and sold this piece again to Jacob Griggs of Gloucester, cooper, Dec. 31, 1685. vii: 57. Sold to Mr. Elliot of B., 2 acres, 20 rods in B. in 1688. ix: 77.

EBENEZER, of Hampton, sold to John Stevens, of Salisbury, half his house and farm in Hampton on the westerly side of the way to Salisbury (the other half then sold to J. Green) bounded on the north by land that had been owned by his bro. Jacob Perkins, also 10 acres salt marsh bounded on the south by land of Joseph Perkins and Caleb Perkins, ack'd by him, wife Mary and by his mother Susanna Perkins, July, 1693. x: 45.

EDMUND PERKINS, with William Welsteed and Isaac Addington, was witness to a mortgage from John Sparke and wife Mary, of Ipswich, to John Wainwrite, of same town, of land with bakehouse, etc., situated in Ipswich, May 2, 1688, and acknowledged in Boston before Samuel Shrimpton, one of the counsel. viii: 119.

ELISHA owned land in Topsfield next to some that Thomas of Enfield sold to John Robinson in 1692. ix: 55.

JACOB of Ipswich, aged about 61 years of age gave to son Mathew, as said son was to be married to a daughter of Lt. Burnam, a house, with $\frac{3}{4}$ acre of land in Ipswich "within ye gate that the highway leads to Jeffrey's Neck, and two acres of planting land in ye field called Manning's neck bounded by son Jacob and by the other land of his father, also half of two division lots at Plumb Island, with other land to make up $\frac{1}{4}$ of the giver's land at his decease, and Mathew's widow to have the use of it as long as she shall be his widow, etc., witnessed by Abraham and Jacob, Jr. (no wife of Jacob, sen'r, mentioned) Mar. 23, 1685, ack'd Sept. 9, 1687. vii: 148. He when about 61 years of age, Mar. 23, 1685-6, and ack'd Sept. 10, 1687, gives to his son Jacob Perkins tertius, in consideration of his marriage to a daughter of John Sparkes, $\frac{3}{4}$ of an acre out of his homestead for this son to set his hous, 2 acres in Manning's neck next to Mathew's land, $\frac{1}{2}$ of two lots at Plumb Island, etc. viii: 52. He, Jacob, Sarg't and sen'r, of Ips., as he had grown old and deceped, and not able to manage his farm, gives the other part of his farm to sons Jacob and Mathew, provided they maintain his wife as long as she lived (an agreement having previous been made at their marriage) he having previously given his other children their portions, viz.: John, Elizabeth, Judith, Mary, Joseph, Jabez and Hannah, acknowledged by him Mar. 20, 1693-4. ix: 272. Jacob and his brother Abra. Perkins owned land in Chebacco, next to land of Daniel Epps, of Ips., in 1685. vii: 16.

JACOB, of Hampton, sold to John French, of Salisbury, house with 24 acres on the country way that goes towards Salisbury, bounded by land that was formerly owned by his father, Isaac Perkins, of Hamp-

ton, and then in possession of the grantor's brother, Eben'r Perkins, and right of cow common, that his father bought of Tim. Dalton (see Norfolk deeds above). He and his wife, Mary Perkins, acknowledged it, July 6, 1693. x: 44.

JOHN, of Wenham, in Co. with Daniel Kellam and John Gilbert of Ips., yeoman, bought of D. Epps two or three hundred acres of the land that was granted to Sam'l Symonds, of Ips., bounded southerly on Wenham line and Perkins' land, and easterly on land of K. and Gilbert, Aug., 1693. 119. John of Topsfield, farmer, bought of James Russill, Esq., of Charlestown, 500 acres, together with 28 acres of meadow in Lynn, with house, etc., which land had formerly belonged to three generations of the "Holiocock" family, viz.: Elizer,¹ Elizer,² and Edward³, and the meadow to the Bancrofts, Apr. 21, 1694. x: 189. He had a right to dry fish on a beach in Ips. x: 161.

JOSEPH owned next to Eben'r Perkins in 1693. x: 45.

LUKE sold an half acre of land, with a warehouse, etc., in Ipswich, 1689. viii: 133 (see Abraham).

MATHEW received a deed of gift of a part of the residue of his father Jacob's estate, 1694. ix: 272. He receiving the first gift at his m. to a dau. of Lt. Burnam, dated 1685 (see Jacob, vii: 148).

THOMAS, of Topsfield, exchanged with John Robinson of same town and let Robinson have 6 acres of upland and swamp in T. bounded by said Perkins and Robinson other lands, John How, etc., Oct. 30, 1674. iv: 59. Owned land next to John Gould, in 1670, 1676, 1667, Daniel Clarke in 1679, and next to Bishop in 1684. iii: 101 and 172, v: 33, vi: 24, 60, 115 and 135, viii: 164. Dea. Thomas owned next to J. How, 1682. vi: 75.

THOMAS PERKINS of Enfield, in co. of Hampshire, sold to John Robinson of Topsfield, 20 acres in the 4th division of Topsfield, bounded by John Bradstreet, common lands, Elisha Perkins, etc., and this land was received by will from his grandfather, Thomas Perkins, no wife of his mentioned in this deed, Oct., 1692. ix: 58.

TOBIJAH exchanged for ten acres with Michael Dunwell and let Dunwell have 10 acres in the division south side of Ipswich river, which had been owned by Lt. Peabody, etc., Sept. 14, 1674, ack'd Apr. 1, 1674. x: 158.

RETURN OF MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

MARRIAGES IN TOPSFIELD.

John Perkins married Deborah Browning, Nov. 28, 1666.

Thomas m. Sarah Wallis, June 6, 1683.

Timothy m. Edna Hazen, of Rowley, Aug. 2, 1686.

Luke m. Martha Conant, May 31, 1688.

Mary m. Abra. Smith, Apr. 25, 1694.

BIRTHS IN TOPSFIELD.

Mr. William (no wife mentioned) had

John, b. Apr. 2, 1655. Timothy, b. Aug. 11, 1658.
Sarah, b. Mar. 2, 1656. Rebecka, b. May 4, 1662.

Thomas (no wife mentioned) had

Judith, b. Jan. 28, 1658. Timothy, b. June 6, 1661.

John (no wife mentioned) had

Thomas, b. Nov. 4, 1667.

Tobijah and Sarah had

Priscilah, b. Apr. 21, 1688. Mary, b. Jan. 19, 1690-1.

William and (Elizabeth, mentioned from Apr., 1683) had

Elizabeth, b. June 21, 1670. Dorothy, b. Apr. 30, 1678.
Mary, b. Apr. 4, 1672. Nathan, b. Apr. 24, 1683.
John, b. Feb. 20, 1675. Rebecka, b. Sept. 4, 1685.

Elisha and Catherine or Katherine (from 1690).

Thomas, b. Oct. 15, 1681. John, b. Aug. 2, 1685.
Phebe, b. Aug. 10, 1690. Katherine, b. Feb. 3, 1688.
Elisha, b. May 27, 1683.

Thomas and Sarah had

Sarah, b. Jan. 20, 1684.

Timothy and Edna had

Timothy, b. Sept. 21, 1687.

DEATHS IN TOPSFIELD.

William Perkins, May 21, 1682.
Hannah, wife of Timothy, Nov. 14, 1690.
John, d. Mar. 5, 169-.
Dea. Thomas d. Mar. 7, 1686.

MARRIAGES IN IPSWICH.

Abraham Perkins married Hannah Beamsley, Oct. 16, 1661.
Elizabeth m. Thomas Borman, Jan. 1, 1667.
Jacob m. Sarah Wainwright, 1667.
Martha m. John Lampson, Dec. 17, 1668.
Mary, m. Thomas Well, Jan. 10, 1669.
Judith, m. Nathaniel Brown, Dec. 16, 1673.
Luke, m. Elizabeth Jago, Apr. 26, 1677.
Samuel, m. Hannah West, 1677.
Jacob, m. Eliz'th Sparks, Dec. 25, 1684.

BIRTHS IN IPSWICH.

Jacob (no wife mentioned) had

Mary, b. May 14, 1658. Matthew, b. June 23, 1665.
Jacob, b. —, 1662.

Abraham (no wife mentioned until Aug., 1676) had

Hannah, b. Mar. 7, 16[62?].
Abraham, b. Aug. 5, 1665.
John, b. Feb. 25, 1667. { Mother Hannah and recorded at request
John, b. Aug. 23, 1676. { of Mrs. Hannah Perkins.
Abraham, b. Dec. 22, 1685 (mother Hannah.

Matthew and Esther had

Matthew, b. Apr. 14, 1687.

Jacob, Jr. (no wife mentioned) had .

John, b. Jan. 31, 1668; died Apr. 6, 1669.

Philip, a daughter, b. — 20 [1669?].

Phillip, a daughter, b. Nov. 28, 1670.

Francis, b. Dec. 18, 1672.

Beamsly, b. Apr. 7, 1673.

Wesley, b. Mar. 13, 1674.

Sarah, b. May 18, 1677.

Isaac (no name of mother given) had

John, b. July 1, 1670. Jacob, b. Nov. 9, 1673.

Abraham, b. Sept. 15, 1671. Elizabeth, b. May 29 [1680?].

Hannah, b. Jan. 31, 1673. Elizabeth, b. May 29, 1681.

Isaac, b. May 23, 1676. Mary, b. Mar. 27, 1687.

Sarg't Jacob, no wife (mentioned) had

Joseph, b. June 21, 1674. Jarvis, b. May 15, 1677.

Samuel and (Hanna [West?], June 1685) had

Samuel, b. Nov. 26, 1679.

Eben'r, b. Feb. 3, 1681.

Elizabeth, b. June 23, 1685 (mother Hanna.)

Nathaniel and Judith had

Jacob, b. Feb. 15, 1685.

Isaac of Chebacco had

Mary, b. Mar. 27, 1687.

DEATHS IN IPSWICH.

Elizabeth, wife of Q. M. John, Sept. 27, 1684.

——, wife of Sarg't Jacob, Feb. 12, 1685.

Q. M. John died Dec. 14, 1686.

SALEM.

Luke and Martha Conant m. May 31, 1688.

NEWBURY.

Elisha and Catherine had

John, b. Aug. 2, 1685.

William and Elizabeth had

Rebecka, b. Sept. 4, 1685.

RECORDS OF JUDICIAL COURT.

ABRAHAM Perkins sued Theo. Atkinson in 1678 and obtained £12-4-10. Sued John Cutt, Jr., and obtained £142 in 16—. Licenced to still and sell by ye quart, 1663-4 and again in 1668. Sued Christopher Miller and got the case in 1667; was sued by Mr. Wm. Hubbard but got the case, 1674. Attorney for his father, Q. M. John vs. his bro. Luke, 1686. Sued Daniel Hovey, sen'r of Ipswich, for tresspass. He was one of the Tryal Jury, 1674 and 1684. Sworn Freeman, 1685.

DAVID on the jury Nov. 25, 1684.

JACOB, of Ipswich, made Freeman, Mar. 16, 1660. On the jury of Tryal, 1655; with Thomas and John gave deposition 1647 in case John Tuttle vs. Rob. Elwell and al. Jury of tryal again 1657, 1662, 1665, 1671 and grand jury in 1659.

Serg't JACOB on jury of Tryal 1673, and Grand Jury 1675, 1681, 1691-2.

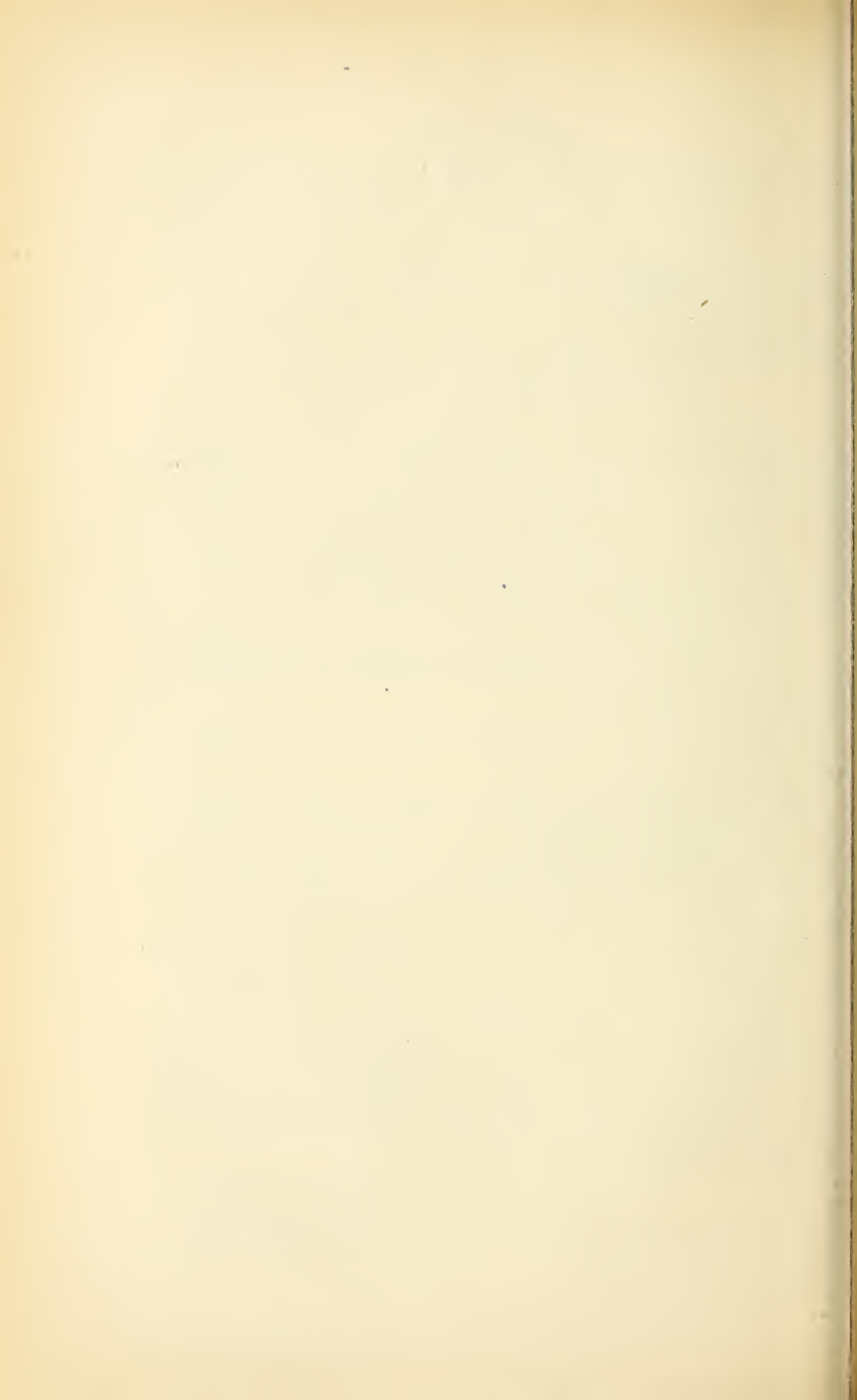
JOHN sued Tho. Newan, 1673. He "dying intestate adm'r granted to Deborah, his widow. Inv. £48-15s. Their only child was Thomas, under 21, probably young 1668.

JOHN, Jr., of Ipswich, adm'n granted to Lydia, his wife. Inv. £73-10s-1d. Only child was a daughter and newly born, Mar., 1659. Jury for Tryal, 1657.

JOHN, licensed to sell strong water, 1662 and 1668 to 1682. Jury for Tryal 1657 and 1662.

JOHN, sen'r, being above 60 years of age freed from ordinary training, 1650. Grand Jury 1648 and 1652.

Quartermaster JOHN licensed to sell liquor 1668-1682. Fined for suffering gaming in his house, 1672; for suffering Rich'd Bosford in his house unseasonable hours, 1678, and for misdemeanor, 1681. Sued Usual Wardwell and Tho. Newman, 1672. Sued John Burnnam for mowing and carrying off hay in 1683.



INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHARTER STREET BURIAL-
GROUND, SALEM, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., JUNE, 1874.

Continued from page 80.

- ORNE, BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth. Sept. 7, 1736, aged
9 m., 8 d.
" Capt. JOSIAH. June, 1789, aged 44.
" ALICE, wife of Capt. Josiah. Mar. 16, 1776, aged 29.
" WILLIAM, tomb, 1797.
- OSGOOD, Dea. PETER. Sept. 24, 1753, aged 90.
" MARTHA, widow of Peter. Sept. 10, 1760, aged 91.
" HANNAH, widow of Nathaniel. Mar. 4, 1774, aged 84.
- PACKER, HEPHZIBAH, wife of Thomas. Jan. 22, 1684, aged 25 y., 5 m.
" SUSANNA, dau. of Thomas and Hephzibah. Oct. 21, 1683,
aged 1 y., 10 m.
- PAGE, SAMUEL. June 24, 1785, aged 35.
" LOIS, wife of Samuel. June 6, 1779, aged 26.
" ELIZABETH, dau. of Samuel and Lois. Jan. 5, 1799, aged 23.
" SARAH, wife of John. Oct. 6, 1791, aged 39.
- PALFRAY, WARWICK. Oct. 10, 1797, aged 81.
" BENJAMIN WARD, son of Warwick. Dec. 11, 1793, aged 26.
- PARKMAN, DELIVERANCE, merchant. Nov. 15, 1715, aged 64 y., 3 m.,
12 d.
" MEHITABLE, 2d wife of Deliverance. Dec. 17, 1684, aged
about 26.
" MARGARET, wife of " Mar. 25, 1689, aged
24.
" SUSANNA (wid. and 4th wife of Deliverance). Feb. 19,
1727-8, aged 85.
" DELIVERANCE (son of Deliverance and 3d wife, Margaret),
Mar. 19, 1688, aged 3.

- PARKMAN, SAMUEL, son of Deliverance and Margaret. Sept. 20, 1688, aged 15 m.
- PATTERSON, CAPT. WM. Sept. 6, 1793, aged 47.
- PEELE, ROGER, born London, Eng., Jan. 26, 1676, died Salem, 1728, aged 52. Also his wife, Margaret Bartol, born in Marblehead.
- “ JONATHAN. Jan. 1, 1782, aged 80.
- “ Mrs. SARAH (wife of Jona.). Dec. 10, 1736, aged 31.
- { “ ROBERT. Apr. 29, 1773, aged 60.
- { “ MARY, wife of Robert. May 4, 1771, aged 58.
- “ ROBERT (son of Robert and Mary). June 12, 1792, aged 54.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Robert, Jr. Aug. 6, 1770, aged 27.
- “ EUNICE, “ “ “ “ June 20, 1780, aged 47.
- “ JOSIAH B., son “ “ “ “ June 20, 1784, aged 19.
- “ WILLIAM, born Dec. 27, 1738, d. Mar. 4, 1817, aged 78.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Robert and Elizabeth. July 20, 1801, aged 2 y., 2 m., 20 d.
- { “ ROBERT, born Apr. 19, 1767, died Mar. 21, 1842, aged 74.
- { “ BETSY SMITH, 1st wife of Robert, b. Aug. 21, 1768, d. Dec. 18, 1828, aged 60.
- { “ SARAH BROWN, 2d wife of Robert, b. Oct. 14, 1770, d. Jan. 20, 1854, aged 83.
- PEEAS, DANIEL. Nov. 18, 1774, aged 20.
- PEIRCE, NATHAN, tomb. 1801.
- “ ASA. May 1, 1827, aged 66.
- “ ANNA (wid. of Asa). Mar. 29, 1842, aged 78.
- PERKINS, PEGGY, wife of Tarrant. Sept. 24, 1795, aged 18.
- PHELPS, RACHEL, wife of Jona., b. Phil., Jan. 12, 1741, d. Sept. 5, 1776.
- PHILLIPS, CHRISTOPHER. July 24, 1699, aged 77.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Henry. Aug. 12, 1798, aged 51.
- PHIPPEN, SAMUEL. Feb. 1, 1717-18, aged 68.
- “ RACHEL, wife of Samuel. Feb. 1, 1710-11, aged 52.
- “ MARY, wife of Thomas. Mar. 19, 1722-3, aged 49.
- “ JOSEPH. May 11, 1783, aged 24.
- “ WILLIAM. May 28, 1796, aged 44.
- “ LOIS, wife of William. Mar. 11, 1794, aged 40.
- “ SAMUEL. Feb. 22, 1797, aged 53.
- “ SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Mary. Oct. 2, 1804, aged 19.
- “ DAVID. Jan. 14, 1849, aged 73.
- PICKMAN, TOPPAN and BARTON, tomb.
- “ Capt. BENJ., Sr. (son of Benj. and Eliz'th). Apr. 26, 1719, aged 46.
- “ ABIGAIL (wid. of Capt. Benj.). Mar. 24, 1737-8, aged 56.
- “ CALEB (son of Capt. Benj. and Abigail) struck by lightning. June 4, 1737, aged 22.

PICKMAN, BENJAMIN (born Bristol, Eng., 1645), d. Dec. 31, 1708, aged 63.

“ ELIZABETH (wid. of Benj.). Dec. 19, 1727, aged 77.

“ Capt. JOSHUA, mariner (son of Benj. and Eliz'th). Jan. 24, 1750, aged 69.

“ ABIGAIL, wife of Joshua, and dau. of Nehemiah and Abigail Willoughby: Aug. 24, 1710, aged 30.

PITMAN, MARY, wife of Capt. John. May 31, 1802, aged 42.

“ THOMAS SIMMONS, son of Capt. John and Mary. Jan. 17, 1792, aged 3 m.

PRATT, JOHN. Mar. 12, 1729-30, aged 65.

“ Mrs. MARGARET (wid. of John). Mar. 22, 1759, aged 87.

“ ELIAS, son of John and Margaret. Nov. 17, 1706, aged 4.

“ Mrs. MAVERICK. Jan. 23, 1763, aged 49.

“ Mrs. HANNAH. Feb. 9, 1765, aged 58.

“ Mrs. LYDIA (footstone).

PRESCOTT, Mrs. MARY. Sept. 1, 1825, aged 59.

PROCTOR, ELIZABETH, wife of Thorndike. Dec. 15, 1834, aged 65.

PULLING, EDWARD, attorney-at-law. Dec. 1, 1799, aged 44.

“ LOIS, widow of Edward. Nov. 4, 1818, aged 53.

PUTNAM, Dr. EBENEZER. Aug. 12, 1788, aged 70.

RAMSDALL, HULDAH, wife of Capt. William. June 8, 1801, aged 35.

“ ALLEN, son of Wm. and Huldah. July 6, 1800, aged 1 y., 4 m.

“ WILLIAM, “ “ “ “ May 14, 1801, aged 9.

“ GEORGE, “ “ “ “ “ Oct. 23, 1802, aged 2.

RAND, MARY, widow. Sept. 3, 1819, aged 84.

RANTOUL, MARY, wid. of Capt. Robert. July 17, 1816, aged 61.

“ WILLIAM, son of Mary. July 7, 1816, aged 22.

REED, ELIZABETH HOLYOKE, dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth. July 22, 1793, aged 2 y., 2 wks.

“ MARY, wife of Daniel, Jr. Sept. 29, 1796, aged 20 y., 6 m.

“ PAUL, of Boothbay. Jan. 21, 1799, aged 64.

“ HENRY, son of Benj. and Seaby. Oct. 11, 1810, aged 1 y., 11 d.

RICHARDSON, JOSHUA. Feb. 26, 1774, aged 28.

“ NATHANIEL. Jan. 25, 1796, aged 54. His death was caused by the pressure of a building he was assisting to remove.

“ BETSY, dau. of Nath'l and Eunice, b. Dec. 24, 1788, d. Dec. 5, 1789.

ROBINSON, Mrs. HANNAH. Oct. 12, 1828, aged 80.

ROGERS, JOHN. Nov. 30, 1715, aged 68.

“ ELIZABETH, wife of John. Feb. 11, 1713-14, aged 68 y., 5 m.

- ROPES, GEORGE (son of Joseph and Elizabeth). Oct. 30, 1755, aged 28 y., 13 d.
- “ GEORGE, son of George and Mary. Mar. 28, 1756, aged 6 m., 13 d.
- “ RUTH (dau. of David and Ruth). July 25, 1797, aged 28.
- “ DANIEL (son of Joseph and Eliz' th). Oct. 8, 1821, aged 84.
- “ PRISCILLA, wife of Daniel. Sept. 22, 1808, aged 69.
- ROSE, ANNA, wid. of Gideon. Jan. 17, 1796, aged 61.
- “ BRACKLEY, son of Brackley and Rachel. Apr. 18, 1796, aged 9 m.
- “ ELIZA, dau. “ “ “ “ Sept. 19, 1801, aged 19 m.
- ROSS, MRS. HANNAH. Oct. 31, 1812, aged 63.
- RUCK, ———, dau. ——— (Sam'l jr., and Bethia?). ———e 26, 1798, -5th y.
- RUSSELL, Capt. EDWARD, b. Weymouth, Eng., 1739, d. Jan. 14, 1815, aged 75.
- “ ABIGAIL, wife of Capt. Edward. June 15, 1790, aged 54.
- RYNE, WILLIAM. Oct. 5, 1826, aged 22.
- SAMPSON, JOSEPH. Dec. 6, 1793, aged 38.
- “ EUNICE, wife of Joseph. Jan. 20, 1789, aged 35.
- SANDERS, JOHN. June 9, 1694, aged 53.
- “ HANNAH, wid. of John. Mar. 18, 1706-7, aged 65.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Hannah. June 26, 1708, aged 30 y.
- SAUL, SARAH, dau. of Thos. and Sarah. Jan. 30, 1816, aged 2 y., 6 m., 6 d.
- “ JOSEPH. Aug. 13, 1825, aged 74.
- “ MARY, wife of Joseph. Feb. 28, 1845, aged 83.
- SAWYER, HANNAH, relict of John. Oct. 9, 1810, aged 59.
- SCOLLAY, ROBERT, son of John and Elizabeth. Mar. 7, 1732-3, aged 10 m., 21 d.
- SELDON, Capt. ROBERT. Sept. 4, 1797, aged 37.
- “ Capt. RICHARD. Jan. 29, 1801, aged 48.
- SHATTOCK, SAMUEL. June 6, 1689, aged 69.
- “ HANNAH, wife of Samuel, Sr. Sept. 14, 1701, aged 77.
- “ RETIRE (son of Sam'l and Grace, b. Mar. 28, 1664) d. Sept. 9, 1691, aged 27.
- “ SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Sarah. Dec. 14, 1695, aged 17.
- SIMMONS, ELIZABETH, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Sept. 5, 1804, aged 64.
- SIMES (SIMS), RICHARD, son of Richard and Hannah. Oct. 7, 1720, aged 6.
- SIMS, HANNAH (footstone, near Mrs. Hannah Lang).

- SIMS, SARAH, wife of Stephen (flat). July 8, 1767, aged 37.
- SKINNER, Miss BETSY. July 7, 1845, aged 54.
- SLEUMAN, FRANKLIN, son of Andrew and Susan. Oct. 18, 1825, aged 1 y., 3 m., 8 d.
- SMITH, PATIENCE, wife of John and dau. of Sam'l and Hannah Shattuck, Apr. 1, 1690, aged 23.
- “ THOMAS, son of Edward. Apr. 11, 1771, aged 4 y., 3 m.
- “ STEPHEN. Apr. 3, 1815, aged 19.
- { SMOTHERS, PETER. Mar. 1, 1821, aged 60.
- { “ HANNAH, wife of Peter. Mar. 11, 1844, aged 85.
- STETSON, EMELINE, dau. of Prince and Hephzibah S. July 27, 1817, aged 2 y., 1 m.
- STOCKER, MARY, wife of James. Oct. 22, 1799, aged 26.
- STONE, SARAH, wife of Robert, Sr. Aug. 22, 1708, aged 76.
- “ ROBERT, junear. June 16, 1688, aged about 26.
- “ HANNAH, wife of Robert (jr.). Apr. 17, 1691, aged 29.
- “ Capt. BENJAMIN (son of Robert, Sr., and Sarah). Nov. 30, 1703, aged 37.
- “ ROBERT (son of Robert, jr.). May 20, 1764, aged 76.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Robert. July 14, 1763, aged 75.
- STOREY, SALLY, dau. of Capt. Alex'r and Sally. June 17, 1782, aged 2 y., 8 m.
- “ ELNOR, dau. of “ “ “ “ Sept. 13, 1794, aged 2.
- “ ALEXANDER, son “ “ “ “ Dec. 31, 1795, aged 1 y., 3 m.
- SUMNER, SARAH T., wife of Harrison G. Feb. 22, 1839, aged 26.
- SWASEY, DAVID. Aug. 26, 1807, aged 24.
- SWEETSER, POLLY, dau. of Sam'l and Betsy. Oct. 5, 1800, aged 22.
- SWINERTON, Dr. JOHN. Jan. 6, 1690, aged 57.
- “ HANNAH, wid. of Dr. John. Dec. 23, 1713, aged 71.
- “ Mrs. MERCY. Nov. 3, 1727, aged 43.
- SYMONDS, HANNAH, wife of Thomas, Jr. Mar. 1, 1736-7, aged 23.
- “ Miss ELIZABETH. Oct. 13, 1814, aged 86.
- “ SARAH, widow, and eldest child of late Dea. Lewis Hunt (widow of Benj. Symonds). Oct. 29, 1832, aged 60.
- “ ELIZABETH MASURY, grandchild of Lewis Hunt. July 22, 1837, aged 30.
- TAYLOR, JONA. AUGUSTUS, son of Jona. and Margaret. Sept. 12, 1823, aged 2 y., 9 m.
- TEAGUE, SARAH, wife of John. Aug. 14, 1767, aged 32.
- THOMPSON, LUCY CATHERINE, dau. of Wm. and Dorothy. Oct. 22, 1826, aged 22 m.
- THORNTON, CHARLOTTE, dau. of John and Charlotte. Jan. 21, 1833, aged 3.

- TOPPAN, BARTON AND PICKMAN, tomb.
- TRASK, LOUISA M., wife of Daniel S. Sept. 12, 1837, aged 31.
- TUCKER, JOHN HERBERT, son of Capt. John and Sally. Nov. 26, 1795
aged 3 m., 9 d.
- “ MARTHA, wid. of Capt. Andrew. Nov. 14, 1850, aged 73.
- TUFTS, IVORY. May 15, 1818, aged 41.
- “ BETSEY, wife of Ivory. Mar. 14, 1808, aged 32.
- “ IVORY, son of “ Oct. 14, 1819, aged 20.
- TURNER, JOHN. Oct. 9, 1680, aged 36.
- “ ISAAC. Aug. 17, 1754, aged 62.
- “ JOHN (next stone to Isaac). Dec. 24, 1754, aged 35.
- VANS, EUNICE, wife of William. Aug. 25, 1790, aged 60.
- VERIN, HILLIARD. Dec. 20, 1683, aged 63.
- VERY, ABIGAIL, wife of Samuel. Sept. 20, 1792, aged 32.
- “ Capt. JAMES. Dec. 24, 1814, aged 50.
- “ POLLY, wife of Capt. James. Mar. 5, 1804, aged 40.
- “ ABIGAIL, 2d wife of Capt. James. May 2, 1838, aged 67.
- VINCENT, JOSEPH, born Kittery, Me., Mar. 6, 1735, d. Nov. 6, 1832,
aged 97.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Joseph. Sept. 23, 1795, aged 63.
- “ LYDIA, wife of Joseph and dau. of Zacariah and Mary
Nowell, born Newburyport, Sept. 10, 1748, d. Jan. 8,
1830.
- “ ELIZABETH. Oct. 24, 1842, aged 41.
- “ MATHEW, b. Dec. 12, 1764, d. May 24, 1821, aged 56.
- “ SARAH, wife of Matthew. Jan. 9, 1811, aged 40.
- WAINWRIGHT, FRANCIS (stone flat). May 19, 1699, aged 76.
- WAKEFIELD, SUSANNA (dau. of Sam'l and Eliz'th). Feb. 7, 1682, aged
12 d.
- “ JOHN, son of Sam'l and Elizabeth. Mar. 23, 1712, aged 19
y., 6 m.
- WARD, JOHN. Oct. 7, 1732, aged 79.
- “ Dea. MILES. Aug. 13, 1761, aged 92.
- “ SARAH, wife of Miles, Sr. Nov. 20, 1728, aged 58.
- “ SARAH, dau. of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth. Aug. 10, 1729,
aged 9 m., 20 d.
- “ ABIGAIL, dau. of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth. May 22, 1731,
aged 5 w.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth. Apr. 11, 1737,
aged 7.
- “ EBEN'R, son of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth, b. and d. Apr. 13,
1737, aged 8 hours.

- WARD, ANNE, dau. of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth. May 2, 1737, aged 1.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Miles, jr. Apr. 13, 1737, aged 27.
 " NATHANIEL, A. M., late Librarian of Harv. Coll. Oct. 12, 1768, aged 23.
 " JOSHUA, Esq. Dec. 2, 1779, aged 80.
 " RUTH, wid. of Joshua, Esq. June 3, 1787, aged 73.
 " DEBORAH, wife of Benj. (Sr.). Apr. 6, 1736, aged 35.
 " BENJAMIN (son of Benj. and Deborah). Aug. 11, 1806, aged 82 y.
 " MARY, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 30, 1796, aged 73.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of (Dea.) Benj. Oct. 17, 1797, aged 59.
 (He was a son of Eben'r, d. June 11, 1812, aged 73.)
 " MARY, 2d wife of Dea Benjamin. Dec. 29, 1810, aged 61.
 " EBEN'R (son of Miles). Mar. 3, 1791, aged 80.
 " RACHEL, wife of Eben'r. Jan. 7, 1789, aged 71.
 " SAMUEL, Esq., July 31, 1812, aged 73.
 " PRISCILLA, wife of Samuel, Esq. June 2, 1822, aged 72.
 " JOHN DODGE, son of Steph. and Abigail, and grandson of Sam'l Ward, b. June 6, 1818, d. Jan. 16, 1822.
 " HANNAH, dau. of John. Dec. 30, 1795, aged 18.
- WATSON, ABRAHAM. July 6, 1790, aged 78.
 " ELIZABETH, wid of Abraham. Oct. 11, 1797, aged 85.
- WEBB, PETER. Feb. 12, 1717, aged 59.
 " RUTH, wife of Michael. June 24, 1790, aged 22.
 " Miss PRISCILLA. Mar. 8, 1856, aged 80.
- WELCOME, ELIZABETH. Oct. 20, 1793, aged 20.
- WHITE, HENRY, son of Capt. Henry and Phebe. Sept. 16, 1778, aged 14.
 " JOHN (jr.). Oct. 26, 1792, aged 70.
 " ABIGAIL, wife of John, Jr. Aug. 2, 1776, aged 50.
- WHITFORD, REBECCA, dau. of Sam'l and Rebecca. Apr. 14, 1744, aged 6 y.
- WHITTEMORE, ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Oct. 23, 1799, aged 52.
- WIGINGS, JOSEPH. Nov. 4, 1821, aged 77.
 " MARY, wife of Joseph. Aug. 11, 1821, aged 67.
 " RICHARD, son of Jos. and Jane, b. Apr. 4, 1784, d. Sept. 16, 1816.
- WILLARD, Dea. JOSIAH (son of Dea. Simon). Apr. 7, 1731, near 49.
 " JANE, wife of Dea. Josiah. Apr. 25, 1726, aged 44.
 " MARTHA, wife of Dea. Simon. Oct. 14, 1721, aged 72.
- WILLIAMS, Capt. GEORGE, b. Salem, Feb. 10, 1731, O. S., d. June 12, 1797.
 " HANNAH, wife of George. Oct. 30, 1756, aged 26.
 " Capt. SAMUEL. Oct. 11, 1801, aged 68.

- WILLIAMS, SARAH, wid. of Capt. Samuel. Jan. 14, 1814, aged 75.
" Capt. HENRY. Aug. 17, 1814, aged 70.
" ABIGAIL, wid. of Capt. Henry. May 4, 1822, aged 72.
WILLOUGHBY, NEHEMIAH. Nov. 6, 1702, aged 55.
" ABIGAIL, wife of Nehemiah. Sept. 3, 1702, aged 52.
WILSON, WM. EDWARD, son of Wm. P. and Mary W. July 4, 1839,
aged 3 y., 34 d.
WIND, JOHN. Oct. 7, 1732, aged 79.
WINN, MARCIA, wife of Capt. Joseph. Oct. 2, 1805, aged 40.
WOODBRIDGE, DUDLEY. Oct. 21, 1799, aged 66.
" DUDLEY, son of Dudley and Dorcas. Aug. 11, 1771, aged 7.
WRIGHT, MARY. July 27, 1819, aged 67.
WYATT, Capt. WILLIAM. Dec. 9, 1796, aged 71.
" SARAH (wife of Wm.) Nov. 18, 1796, aged 70.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY
RAISED FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
TOWN OF BOSTON IN 1776.¹

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

Head Quarters Boston June 8th 1777.

As the time Expired on the 7th Ins.^t for which those men who Inlisted out of last Regiment had furlows and where Indulged to work In the Laboratory, the Adjutant is to see that their Acc.^{ts} are made up and presented to the Col.^o for payment.

Ordered that the Commission'd Officers, Non Commission'd & Matrosses now in Town Appear at the Laboratory to morrow at 10 o Clock A. M.——That one third of the non Commission'd Officers & Matrosses be Drawn out to do Duty at the Laboratory every Day, begining at the Hour of 9 o Clock A. M. and 2 o Clock P. M.

¹The present record commences with the re-enlistment of the men, June 8th, 1776, and continues to Nov., 1778, and was officered, viz.:

Thomas Crafts, Col.

Paul Revere, Lt. Col.

Thomas Melville, Maj.

Increase Newhall, Adj.

William Russell, Serg. Maj.

The record is the hand writing of Serg. Maj. Russell, who was afterward appointed Adj. during the Rhode Island campaign.

See 100th Anniversary of the Destruction of the Tea in Boston Harbor. Es. Inst. Hist. Coll., vol. xii, No. 3.—J. K.

That the Commiss.^d Officers make out an immediate Return of what Men are Inlisted, & what Number they have in Boston.——That Roll Call be at the Laboratory at 8 o Clock in the Morning & 7 o Clock in the evening.

That there be two Subalterns appointed as officers of the Day, one first Lieut.^t and one Second Lieutenant.

Officers of the Day to Morrow Lieu^t White & Lieu^t Audeburt.

By Order of Col.^o Crafts.

Increase Newhall Adjutant.

Head Quarters Boston June 13.th 1777.

Ordered

That their be a Laboratory Guard Rais'd, to Consist of one Serg^t one Corporal and Nine Matrosses.

Centinals One at the Laboratory
D.^o at the Magazine
D.^o at the Granary

They are to be at the Laboratory at 4 o clock to receive their Arms and Accoutriments.

By Order of Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston June 14.th 1777.

Ordered.

That their be a Regimental Court Marshal held at the Laboratory on Tuesday 17 Instant at 9 o clock A. M. for the Tryal of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them to Consist of the following Officers.

Cap^t Jon.^a W. Edes President.

Cap.^t Jon.^a Stoddard } Members { Cap^t Lieu^t Ingersol
Lieu^t Jno. Hinkley } { L.^t Coolidge

Cap.^t Winthrop Gray Judge Advocate.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y.

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial held at the Laboratory for the Tryal of Lieu.^t John Lambert, by Order Col.^o Crafts 17th June 1777.

Cap.^t Jon.^a W. Edes President.

Cap.^t Jon.^a Stoddard } members { Cap.^t L.^t Ingersol
L.^t Jno. Hinkley } { Lieu.^t Coolidge

Cap.^t Winthrop Gray Judge Advocate.

Prisoners Crime, for Strikeing & Shamefully abusing Serj.^t John Page.

The Court are of Oppinion the said L.^t John Lambert be Dismissed, as the Complainant did not appear to Support the Charge.

Jon.^a W. Edes President.

I approve of the Oppinion of the Court.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

The Court is dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston June 18.th 1777.

Ordered

That three Matrosses be added to the Quarter Guard & that a Centinal be planted at the Colonel's Door.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Orders for the Centinal at the Colonel's.

He is not to hail any person passing the Streete except they have Fire Arms, nor to Stop any Person going into the House till after it appears to be shut up in the Evening.

Head Quarters June 20.th 1777.

Orderd.

That if any Non Commissioned Officer, Fifer, Drummer, or Matross, shall Dispose of his or their Blanket, shall be severely punished by a Regimental Court Martial, and the Cap.^t of each Companey, is ordered to Inspect their Comp.^{ys} Arms, Blankets, and Accoutriments,

every Wednesd.^y, and if any Blankets are Missing to Confine the Delinquent, and stop as much out of his or their pay, as will procure a New Blanket.

The Commissioned Officers are to be very punctual, and particular as to this part of duty as the Col.^o is Determined not to put up with any Neglect.

The Commissioned Officers of Each Company are to see that all the men off duty Exercise the Cannon for two Hours in the Afternoon, three times a Week on Monday, Wednesday and Fryday.

The Serjeants of Each Company are to Exercise the Men with small Arms on the same Days for one hour, to begin at Six o Clock in the Morn.^g.

By Order Col.^o Crafts

Increase Newhall Adju.^t

Head Quarters Boston June 22.^d 1777.

Order'd.

That the Hour for Roll Call be alter'd to Nine o Clock in the Morning.

That two Serjeants, 2 Corporals, 3 Bom.^{drs}, 4 Gunners, and 3 Matrosses be draughted Daly for duty at the Laboratory, who are to Continue their from Nine o Clock till 12 o Clock A. M. and from 2 o Clock till Roll call at 7 o Clock P. M.

That the Non Commission'd Officers, Drums Fifes, and Matrosses, attend punctually at Roll Call. the Col.^o being Determin'd to punish any that Neglect it.

That the Serjeants be very particular that their Morning Reports are strictly Just and True.

The Adjutant is ordered not to receive any Morning Reports from the Serjeants without they are sign'd by one of the Commission'd Officers.

The Adjutant will send an Orderly Serjeant to the

Col.^o at the Morn.^s Roll Call drest Clean and Neat, if he has Uniform, to be Powder'd.

That the Commission'd Officers of Each Company make out a Return of the Age, Names, Stature, Complection and former places of abode, of the men in their respective Companey, as soon as may be, and report them to the Major; who is to make a Return of them to the Colonel.

And the Commissioned Officers are ordered to keep a description Role, and any that are Inlisted here after, as soon as they have pass'd muster are to be recorded therein.

That if any Officer or Matross is absent from any Guard without leave first obtain'd from the Commanding Officer of the Guard he is to be immediately Confined.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y.

Head Quarters Boston 27th June 1777.

Order'd

That Cap^t Edes, Cap.^t L.^t Ingersoll, L.^t White, L.^t Revere and Grant four Serj.^{ts}, 48 men with as many Drums and Fifes as Can be procured hold themselves in Readiness to be Embodied at a Moment's Warning & March to One of the Ferry's in this Town to receive a Number of Hession Prisoners who are soon Expected to Arrive here, they are to be Dress'd Clean and Powder'd, and as many as Possible in Regimentals, they are to be Turn'd out every Day to learn the Manual Exercise and Movements.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y.

Leiu^t Hinkley.

July 27th, 1777.

Sir.

You are ordered to hold your detachment in readiness

to Embarque for Castle Island on Saturday 28th Instant. ——— You will see that the Barracks are Clean and every thing in the best Order. You will be relieved by a Comp.^y from Col.^o Jackson's Reg.^t on Saturday 28th Instant, as soon as may be in the Morning. ——— You will have your men in true sperit of Decipline.

I have ordered L.^t Lambert to send one flat bottom boat to Dorchester point for you to transport your men to Castle Island. ——— When you deliver the Keys of the Magazine to Col.^o Jackson, you will use the following Expression.

Sir. By Virtue of orders from Col.^o Crafts, I deliver to you the Command of the Forts at Dorchester point and Hights, and present you with the Keys of the Magazine. ——— Quarter Master will let Lieu.^t Hinkley have his Choice of the Barracks upon the Hill at the Castle Island. ——— I shall send an Officer of my Reg.^t to take Col.^o Jackson's Receipt for the Ordinance and Military stores. ——— You are not to be relieved till he has receiv'd the said Receipt.

By Order Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts.

Lieu^t Lambert.

27th July 1777.

Sir.

You are order'd to hold your self in readiness to Embarque for Nodles Island with your Detachment and their take the Command, you are to be relieved by Lieu^t Hinkley from Dorchester Hights on Saturday 28th Instant.

You are directed to apply to Col.^o Burbeck for one flat Bottom boat which you are to send over to Dorchester point for Lieu.^t Hinkley to transport his Men to Castle Island. ——— You are to have your Barracks all Clean'd, and your Men paraded so as to be relieved in

proper Military manner.—You are to Deliver up the Castle to Lieu.^t Hinkley, in words following.

Sir. By Virtue of Orders from Col.^o Crafts, I deliver to You the Command of the Castle and I present you with the Keys of the Magazine.

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 1.st 1777.

Order'd.

That all Commission'd, Non Commis'd Officers and Matrosses uppon hearing an alarm beat round the town, shall immediately repair to the parade with their Arms & Accoutriments and not leave it till Discharg'd by the Command.^s Officer.

By Order Col.^o P. Revere.

Head Quarters Boston July 1.st 1777.

Order'd

That Cap.^t Balch, Cap.^t Lieu.^t Minzies, Lieu.^t M^cClure, Armstrong, & Metcalf, Cap.^t Gray, Scolly, Audeburt, and Prince, hold themselves in Readiness to March into Congress Street on friday at 12 o Clock, That they Prepare two four Pound Brass Cannon with thirteen Rounds of Powder.

That Lieutenant Bell, Moors & Hart, hold themselves in Readiness to go to the Castle with Thirteen Rounds of Powder and every other Utensail for Quick firing.

The Major will Report all Commission'd Officers who do not attend Exercising.

The Adjutant is Ordered to Confine every Serjeant, Corporal, Bombardier, Gunner, & Matross, who does not appear at Exercising, when Warn'd without they give a Sufficient Excuse.

By Order of Col.^o Paul Revere.

Head Quarters Boston 2^d July, 1777.

Order'd.

Signals for the Castle.

That when they shall Discover three Couolors hoisted at one time at Nantasket and one or more Guns fixed, they are immediately, to hoist the same Signals and fire three Guns, with their Muzzels pointed to the Town, their Centinals are to keep a Strict look out for all Signals from Nantasket, that they may be immediately answe'd, If they Hoist a Flagg, Pendant or Jack, the Castle is 'do the same.

Paul Revere L.^t Col.^o Artill.^r.

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d. 1777.

As it is of the last importance that Centries should be alert in their Duty, & watchfull on their Posts, and as most of the misfortunes we have met with in the war having ben in Great measure owing to the Neglect and inattention of Centinals and as Complaint has been made to me that several Centries of the Reg.^t under my Command have been found sleeping in their Boxes and often sitting down, it is therefore absolutely Necessary they should be taught their Duty in the strictest Rule of Disapline as much as if their was the fullest Expectation of an immediate Attack, I hereby declare that I will not in future pardon any Centinal that is found Sleeping on his Post, and Order every Commiss.^d and Non Commiss.^d Officer to Confine any Centinal they may find Sleeping, or setting talking or Whistling on his Post, and as Tho.^s Cleverly has been Confin'd for Sleeping on his Post, and is this Day releived, I have pardon'd him in Consideration of its being the first time, with a Determination not to Pass over any Breach of the above Orders in future.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Artill.^r

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d 1777.

The General Court of this State having thought proper to give Orders that the Anniversary of the Declaration of Independency should be Celebrated in this Town to Morrow by the firing of Canon &c.

Ordered.

That Cap.^t Balch, Cap.^t L.^t Menzeis L.^t M^cClure, Armstrong & Metcalf, three Serj.^{ts} two Corporals and Thirty Six men with (two Pieces of Brass 4 P.^r Cannon) hold themselves in Readiness to March into Congress Street to fire a Grand Salute of 13 Rounds.

That all the Commiss.^d non Commission'd Officers and Matrosses be dress'd Clean and in their uniform and Powder'd to Morrow.

That all the Drums and Fifes appear Dress'd clean and Powder'd.

That Cap.^t L.^t Ingersol and Lieut. Adeburt, with one Serjeant, one Corporal & 10 Matrosses March to Fort Hill and fire a Grand Salute of 13 Rounds.

By Order Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d 1777.

Orders.

For the Centinal at Workhouse Gate planted over the Hessians: you are not to permit any Person to go into s.^d Yard, or any of said Hessians to Come out without M.^r Robert Pierpoint Esq.^r Commiss.^y of Prisoners being present, or his Order in Writing.

N. B. The Overseers of the Poor is to pass in and out.

P.^r Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Order'd.

That Cap.^t Stoddard with his Detachment hold them-

selves in readiness to Embarque on Monday 7th Instant for Castle Island to join L.^t Hinkley from thence Embarque for Dorchester on Tuesday Morning at 6 o Clock A. M. to March from thence by Land to Boston, so as to be in the Common by 12 o Clock with Arms and Accoutriments Compleat.

You will see that the Barracks Occupied by your men are swept out Clean.——You will have the Boat you receiv'd safely deliver'd to me at Boston all other matters I leave to your prudence and Care.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Ordered.

That Lieu.^t Hinkley with the Detachment under his Command hold themselves in readiness to Embarque for Dorchester point on Tuesday the 8th Instant at 6 o Clock A. M. to March from thence by land to Boston, so as to be in the Common by 12 o Clock with Arms and Accoutriments Compleat.

You will see that the Barracks occupied by your Men are swept out Clean and left in good Order.

You will make me a Return of what Ordnance stores have been expended since you Commanded at the Castle Island.——You will have the Boat you Received safely Deliver'd to me at Boston, the prospective Glass to my Brother or Cap.^t Bell.——All other matters I leave to your prudence and Discretion.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Order'd.

That Lieu.^t Lambert with the Detachment under his Command hold themselves in Readiness to Embarque for

Boston on Tuesday Morning, the 8.th Instant by 9 o Clock A. M. to be in the Common in Boston by 11 o Clock with Arms and Accoutriments Compleat.—You will see that the Barracks occupied by your Men are swept Clean.—You will make me a Return of what Ordnance Stores have been Expended since you Commanded their, and also by Serjeant Chamberlain.—You will have the Boat you Received for Castle Island, & that which Serj.^t Chamberlain Received for Nodles Island, safely Deliver to me at Boston, all other matters I leave to your prudence and Discretion.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 6.th 1777.

Order'd.

That Lieu.^t Marston with one Serj.^t one Corporal one Bombardier, and four Gunn.^{rs} five Matrosses, hold themselves in Readiness to Embarque to morrow Morning for Hull.

That Lieu.^t Prince with one Serj.^t one Corp.^l one Bombardier and five Matrosses hold themselves in Readiness to Embarque to morrow Morning for Castle Island.

That Serjeant Phillips with one Corporal, one Bombardier, four Gunners and five Matrosses hold themselves in Readiness to Embarque to Morrow Morning for Nodles Island.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 9.th 1777.

Lieu.^t Prince

You are ordered not to suffer any Deck'd Vessel to go to Sea, without sending their pass to the Castle to be lodg'd with you, You are to hale all Vessels passing or Repassing.—You will appoint a Capable person for y^e purpose.

Should a Flagg of Truce appear you are by no means to let her Come up, she is to be stop'd and you are to send Immediate Account to me.

You will be carefull to Distinguish between fishing and other small boats, who usually go up and Down without let or Molestation.

You are to draw your Provision of Mr. Salsbury.

You will make out an Exact Return of all Ordnance & Stores and make a return to me as soon as possible.

———You will be very attentive to all Signals at Hull, agreeable to the Orders you receiv'd.———You will see that proper respect is paid to the Committee of Fortification.———You will do every thing in your power to Cultivate peace and harmony on the Island.———You will turn your Men out Early in the Morning, and keep them regular to roll call.

You will Exercise the Cannon at least once a Day and the small Arms twice a Week.———All other matters I leave to your Discretion.

Signed T. Crafts Col.^o Artill. 7.

Head Quarters Boston July 11.th 1777.

Order'd.

That a Gen.^l Court Martial be held at the Laboratory to morrow the 12th Instant at 9 o Clock A. M. for the Tryal of Job Weeden of Cap.^t Balche's Comp.^y to Consist of the following

Cap. ^t Balch	} Tho. ^s Melvill Esq. President Members	} Cap. ^t Edes Cap. ^t Gill Cap. ^t Bradle Cap. ^t Scolley Cap. ^t L. ^t Meinzeis Cap. ^t L. ^t Warner
Cap. ^t Gray		
Cap. ^t Marett		
Cap. ^t Phillips		
Cap. ^t Lincoln		
Cap. ^t L. ^t Martin		

Judge Advocate Leiu.^t White

By Order Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts.

July 12.th 1777.

Proceedings of a Gen.^l Court Martial held at the Laboratory in the Reg.^t of Artill.^y Commanded by Col.^o Crafts, by order of the Col.^o for the Tryal of Job Weeden Serj.^t in Cap.^t Balches Comp.^y in s.^d Regiment.

President Maj.^r Tho.^s Melvill.

Cap. ^t Balch	} Members	Cap. ^t Edes
Cap. ^t Gray		Cap. ^t Gill
Cap. ^t Marett		Cap. ^t Phillips
Cap. ^t Bradlee		Cap. ^t Lincoln
Cap. ^t L. ^t Scolly		Cap. ^t L. ^t Meinziez
Cap. ^t L. ^t Warner		Cap. ^t L. ^t Martin

Judge Advo.^t Leiu^t White

Prisoners Crime Desertion.

Pleas not Guilty.

Col.^o Revere's evidence, Did not appear to him that he went away Designedly, that from what M.^r Sternes said he was forc'd away.

M.^r Greenleaf, Constable, says he was very unwilling to go away was afraid of being taken up as a Deserter, does not appear to him he had any Intention of Desertion, and that M.^r Stearns said he should go with him and stay the time out, or lay in Goal.

M.^r Greenleaf further says that it appears to him that Weeden went with as much reluctance as Ames went to the Gallows.

Kenedy, Deposeth that he was unwilling to go, but M.^r Stearns told him he should go, wether he would or not, that he Claimed a Pen and Ink and would sett up all Night to Write to y^e Col.^o and would write Every Opportunity.

Signed & Attested Benj.^a White, Judge Advocate.

The Court having duly Considered the Evidence are

of Oppinion that the Prisoner is not Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge, and that his leaving the Camp was Contrary to his Inclination, and intirely owing to his fear of a goal in which he was threatned by Stearns he should take up his Residence, If he did not go immediately with him to Worcester, and that said Stearns is answerable for the Consequences.

Sign'd Tho.^s Melvill, president.

The Col.^o approves of y^e above Determination of the Court & orders y^e Prisoner to be Discharg'd.

Head Quarters Boston July 12.th 1777.

Having been Informed by Authority that their is to be a Meeting of the Inhabitants of this Town this Day at Cops Hill on business which Immediately Concerns their own Internal police.

Therefore Order'd That no Commission'd, Staff, or non Commission'd Officer, Drum, Fife, or Matross appear on s^d. Hill, or Join in any parade, that may be made by the Inhabitants from any part of the Town. As it would be highly Improper for the Military to Join with or interfere in this matter which I apprehend is totally out of the line of their Duty.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 13.th 1777.

Ordered.

That the Centinal be taken off from Doct.^r Byles's to morrow Morning, That the Laboratory Guard be reduced to 15 exclusive of one Commission'd Officer one Serjeant and one Corporal.

As it is of the last importance that every preperation should be made to repell and Defeat the Enemy should

they attempt to Invade this state. Therefore, Order'd, that all the subalterns of Duty the non-Commissioned Officers and matrosses attend at the Laboratory from Roll Call in the Morning till 12 o'Clock, and from 3 o'Clock till Roll Call in the Afternoon to Compleat the Cannon with the Necessary Apparatus of Cartridges, &c.

That the Court Martial held Yesterday be Dissolved.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 19.th 1777.

Order'd.

That on an Alarm Col.^o Revere Immediately proceed to Castle Island with the following Comp.^{ys} Cap.^t Edes, Cap.^t Marett & Cap.^t Phillips.——Major Melvill with the Cap.^{ts} Gray and Todd for Gov.^{rs} Island.——Cap.^t Balch for Dorchester Hights Cap.^t Bradlee for Nodles Island——Cap.^t Gill & Lincoln for fort Hill, to be Disposed of as occasion may Require.

Head Quarters Boston July 27.th 1777.

Guards as Usual.

A Number of Persons being now sick with the small pox at the Provincial Hospital at West Boston in this town, it being Dangerous to Continue in the Barracks now occupied by the Reg.^t

Order'd that all the Non Commissioned Officers and Matrosses encamp in the Common in Tents On Monday Morning 28.th Instant, and that no one Lodge out of Camp without permission of their Captain.

T. Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Head Quarters Boston July 27.th 1777.

Order'd.

That their be a General Court Martial held at the

Laboratory to Morrow Morning 9 o'clock for the Trial of such prisoner or prisoners as may be brought before them, to Consist of the following Officers.

Major Tho.^s Melvill President.

Cap. ^t Edes	Members	Cap. ^t Gill
Cap. ^t Marett		Cap. ^t Todd
Cap. ^t Cushing		Cap. ^t Phillips
Cap. ^t L. ^t Ingersol		Cap. ^t L. ^t Scolby
Cap. ^t L. ^t Navro		Cap. ^t L. ^t Warner
L. ^t Revere		L. ^t Grant

Judge Advocate Cap.^t Gray

By Order T. Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Proceedings of a Gen.^l Court Martial held in the Reg.^t of Artill.^y Comm.^d by Col.^o Thomas Crafts by Order of the Col.^o for the Trial of John Gowen, Matross in Cap.^t Phillips's Comp.^y in s.^d Reg.^t Boston July 28.th 1777.

President, Major Tho.^s Melvill.

Cap. ^t Edes	Members	Cap. ^t Gill
Cap. ^t Marett		Cap. ^t Todd
Cap. ^t Cushing		Cap. ^t Phillips
Cap. ^t L. ^t Ingersol		Cap. ^t L. ^t Scolly
Cap. ^t L. ^t Nazro		Cap. ^t L. ^t Warner
Lieut. ^t Revere		Lieu. ^t Grant

Judge Advocate Cap.^t Gray.

Prisoner's Crime Sleeping on his Post.

Pleads Guilty.

The Court after duly considering the Natur of y^e Crime, and y^e Prisoners Defence thereon are of Oppinion, that he is Guilty of a Breach of y^e 24th Article of War, & do sentence him to Receive Thirty-Nine Lashes on his Naked Back with a Catt-of-Nine tales; the Court Considering the Prisoner's Youth and inexperience do recommend him to y^e Mercy of y^e Colonel.

Tho.^s Melvill, president.

I approve of y^e Sentence and order it to be put in Execution to Morrow Morning immediately after Roll Call, and Order that the Court be Dissolved.

Tho.^s Crafts Col.^o Art.^y

Head Quarters Boston July 29.th 1777.

In consideration of the Age & unexperience of the Prisoner John Gowen, and y^e Recommendation of y^e Court, the Col.^o pardons him with a fixt determination, as this has been the Second time he has been Under Guard not to Pardon him again.

Head Quarters Boston July 31.st 1777.

Orders for Hull.

Sir; should you make any discovery of y^e Enemy in y^e Night, You will give y^e Alarm by firing one Cannon, then 3 Rocketts successively, Waiting ten Minutes; then Report y^e firing as above, (keeping reapeating) till you are Answered from y^e Castle.

You will send up a Return of the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores immediately, and a List of Men's Names, who went down with you, belonging to y^e Militia.

Orders for y^e Castle.

Should you hear a Cannon fired in the Night, and see Rocketts fired at Hull, You are immediately to Fire one Cannon towards y^e Town, and then three Rocketts successively, then wait ten Minutes and repeat as above till you are Answ.^d from Fort Hill, Boston.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 1.st 1777.

Order'd.

That Cap.^t Phillips with his Company hold themselves in readiness to Embarque for Castle Island at 3 o Clock this afternoon.

That Cap.^t Edes and Marett hold themselves in readiness to Embarque for Castle Island at a Moments Warning.

By Order of T. Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 1.st 1777.

Ordered.

That Cap.^t Cushing immediately upon rec.^t hereof Transport from Hull the Eighteen Pounder with its traveling Carridge to some part of y^e Main at Brantree.—— Also that he Mount the Twenty four Pounder upon a Traviling Carridge now at Hull and transport it to y^e same place as soon as may be.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts, Esq.

Head Boston Aug.^t 1.st 1777.

Order'd.

That one Second Lieutenant from each company, with all the Non Commissioned Officers and Matrosses Lodge in y^e Tents this Night, that none presume to be out of Camp after 9 oClock.

By Order T. Crafts, Esq.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 3.^d 1777.

Order'd

That a Regimental Court Martial be held at y^e Laboratory to Morrow at 10 oClock for y^e Tryal of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them.

Cap.^t Todd, President.

Cap. ^t Lieu. ^t Meinzie	Members	Lieu. ^t White
Lieu. ^t Bell		Lieu. ^t Moor

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t Audeburt.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts, Esq.^r

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial held in the
Regiment of Artill.^y Commanded by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts,
by Order the Col.^o

Boston Aug.^t 4.th 1777.

President Cap.^t Todd.

Cap. ^t Lieu. ^t Meinziez	Members	Lieu. ^t Bell
Lieu. ^t White		Lieu. ^t Moores

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t Audeburt.

Prisoners Names.

Edmond Morse, Emanuel Thomas.

Crimes.

Corporal Edmond Morse for leaving Guard, pleads
Guilty.

Emanuel Thomas for fighting and indangering the lives
of his fellow Soldiers

Pleads not Guilty.

The Court after having duly Considered the Crimes and
Evidences for and against the Prisoner are of Oppinion
that Edmond Morse be reduced to the Ranks for One
Month therein to Do Duty as a Matross.

And as no Evidence has Appeared against Emanuel
Thomas, the Court are of Oppinion that he be Dismissed.

Will^m Todd President.

I approve of the Sentence of the Court on Corp.^l
Edmond Morse, and Order it to be put in Execution
immediately.

As the Evidence from Hull were Not sumonsd the
prisoner Emanuel Tho.^s May be Discharg'd from being
under Guard till further Orders.

By Order of T. Crafts Col.^o Art.^y

Ordered

That the Court be Dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 3.^d 1777.

Orders for the Centinel at the Workhouse gate planted over the Hessians.

You are not to permitt any person to go into said yard, or any of said Hessians to come out without Mr. Robert Pierpont, Esq.^r Commissary of prisoners, being present, or his order in writing.

N. B. The Overseers of the poor are to go in and out.

Per Order Col.^o Thos. Crafts.

[To be continued.]

GLEANINGS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE
COUNTY OF ESSEX.¹

No. 3.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

AN agreement between John Brown for himself & Nicholas & John Bulhack, of Jarsey, Merch^{ts}. with William Stevens of Gloster in N. E. Shipwright, to build one *New Ship*:

“68 foot long by y^e keele, & 23 foot broad from outside to outside, & 9 & $\frac{1}{2}$ feet in hold under y^e beame, with two decks, forecastle, quarter deck and round house, y^e deck from y^e mainmast to y^e forecastle, to be 5 foot high, with a fale at the forecastle 15 inches, and at y^e mainmast to y^e quarter deck of 6 inches; the great Cabbin to be 6 foot high, & the said Stevens is to find timber & plank tyunnels, pitch & tarr & ocum, & to finish y^e hull & launch said vessel by y^e last of July 1662, & the s^d Mr. Brown & Company is to find all Ironworks, carvedwork & joiners in time soe y^t y^e work be not hindered.”

In consideration whereof y^e said Brown for himself & Company agrees to pay the s^d Stevens the just sum of 3£ 5s for every tunne of y^e s^d ship's burthen in such kind & manner as followeth. That is to say £50 in hand in

¹The annexed contract for the building of a ship, during the earliest period of our Colonial settlement, may be of interest at the present time, as tending to illustrate the style, and proportions of the naval architecture of that early period.

good goods, at Mr. Brown's, Mr. Corwin's, or Mr. Price's of Salem, or other ways to content, & 150 £ in good Muscavadus Sugar at 2 pence by the pound, at Bardadus, & 100 £ in good New English money, & 2000 wt. of halfe white and half black ocum at 18s. p. c. & 1500 wt. rossin at 14s. p. c. & 700 wt. of iron in bolts and spikes at 5d. pr. lb. of such several sizes, according to direction given, & 50 £ of new roape at 3 £ p. 100, in such sizes as p. advice given, and y^e rest to be p^d in goods as y^e s^d Mr. Brown doe sell at wholesale price, & for y^e true performance of y^e premises y^e s^d John Browne & William Stevens doe bynde themselves & their assigns joyntly & severally, each to other in 200 pounds bond, in witness whereof the parties above mentioned sett there hands & seales to three covenants all of this date y^e one being accomplished y^e other two are voyde.

Signed, sealed & delivered this 6th day of June in the yeare of our Lord 1661.

In presence of
 Hillyard Veren
 John Gedney

J. Browne
 William Stevens"

THE following affidavits made "*in perpetuum*" have handed down to us through our County Records two important historical facts, viz. :

1st. Relating to the "Old Planters" who had located in Naumkeag prior to the arrival of Endicott.

2d. Relating to the falsity of the "Mason Claim," so called; which created much uneasiness in the minds of some of our early settlers in relation to their land titles; which Claim proved to have no foundation in fact, and was finally declared worthless at the beginning of the 17th century.

"HUMPHREY WOODBURY of Beverly, in New England, aged about 72 years testifieth, that when I lived in Somersetshire in England, that I remember that my father, John Woodbury, since deceased, did about 56 years ago remove to New E. and I there travelled with him as far as Dorchester, and I understood that my s^d father came to N. E. by order of a company called Dorchester company, among whom Mr. White (Rev.) of Dorchester, in England, was an active instrument; and that my father & the Co. with him brought cattle & other things with him to Cape Ann for plantation work & there built an house & kept their cattle & sett up fishing & afterwards, removed to a neck of land since called Salem.

After about 3 years absence my s^d father returned to England & made us acquainted with what settlement they had made in N. E. & that he was sent back by some that intended to settle a plantation about 3 leagues west of Cape Ann. To further this designe after about $\frac{1}{2}$ a year's stay in England my father returned to N. E. and brought me with him. We arrived at the place now called Salem in or about the month of June, 1628, where we found several persons that said they were servants to y^e Dorchester Co., and had built another house for them at Salem besides that at Cape Ann; the latter part of that summer 1628, John Endicott, Esq. came over Governor; declaring his power from a company of patentees in or about London, & that they had bought the houses, boates & servants wich belonged to y^e Dorchester Co. & that y^e s^d Endicott had power to receive y^m wich accordingly he did take possession of; when we settled the Indians never then molested us, in our improvements, or sitting downe either in Salem or Beverly sides of the ferry, but shewed themselves very glad of our company & came & planted by us & often times came to us for shelter, saying they

were afraid of their enemy Indians up in the country, & we did shelter them when they fled to us, & we had their free leave to build & plant where we have taken up lands. The same year or the next after we came to Salem we cut hay for the cattle we brought over on y^e side of the ferry now called Beverly, & have kept our possession there ever since by cutting hay or thatch or timber & boards, and by laying lots for tillage & then by peoples planting, & sometime after building & planting here, where I with others have lived about 40 yeares, in all of this time of my living in N. E. I never heard that Mr. Mason tooke possession here, disturbed estate upon, or laid any claim to this place of ours, save the discourses of a claim within a yeare or two.

The testimony within written was taken under oath this 16th of Feb., 1680.

Before us,

William Browne,

Bartholemew Gedney,

Assistants."

(B. 5, p. 498.)

"RICHARD BRACKENBURY of Beverly, in y^e County of Essex in New England, aged 80 yeares, testifieth that he came to N. E. with John Endicott Esq. late Gov. of New England, Deceased, & that we came ashore at a place now called Salem, the 6th of Sept. 1628, 52 yeares ago; at Salem wee found living old Goodman Norman, & his sonn, William Allen, & Walter Knight, & others; these owned that they come over upon the account of a company of England, called by us by the name of Dorchester Company, or Dorchester marchants. They had sundry houses built at Salem, as alsoe John Woodbury, Mr.

Conant, Peter Palfray, John Balch & others, they declared they had an house built at Cape Ann for y^e Dorchester Co. ; & I having waited upon Mr. Endicott when he attended the "Co of Massts." pattentees, when they kept their Court in Cornwell Street in London. I having understood that this Co. in London, having bought out y^e right of the Dorchester Marchants in N. E. & that Mr. Endicott had power to take possession of their right in N. E. which Mr. Endicott did, & in particular of an house built at Cape Ann, which Walter Knight & the rest said they built for Dorchester men, and soe I was sent with them to Cape Ann to pull downe y^e s^d house for Mr. Endicott's use, thee which wee did ; & the same yeare wee came over acording to my best remembrance, it was that wee took possession on the north side of Salem ferry, commonly called Cape Ann side, by cutting thatch for our houses, & soon after laid out lotts for our tillage land on y^e Cape Ann side, & I myselfe have lived there now for about 40 years, & I with sundry others have been subduing the wildnerness & improving the fields & commons there as a part of Salem while wee belonged to it & since as inhabitants of Beverly for these 50 years, & never y^t I heard of being disturbed in our possessions either by the Indians or others save in our late unhappy war with the heathen, neither have I heard by myselfe, or any other inhabitants with us, for the space of these fifty years y^t Mr. Mason, or any, by, from, or under him, did take any possession or lay any claime to any lands heare, save now in this last claime within this yeare or two.

Richard Brackenbury made oath to y^e truth of y^e above writen, this 20th day of January, 1680, before me,

Bartholemew Gedney, Assist.
in the Colony of Massachusetts."

(B. 5, p. 497.)

"WILLIAM DIXEY of Beverly in New England aged about 73 years, testifieth that I arrived at Cape Ann in June, 1629, where wee found the signs of plantation work & saw wee English people, soe wee sailed to this place now called Salem, where wee found Mr. John Endicott, Governor & sundry inhabitants besides some of whome said they had been servants to Dorchester Co. & had built at Cape Ann sundry years before wee came over; when wee came to dwell here, the Indians bid us welcome & shewed themselves very glad that wee came to dwell among them, & I understood that they kindly entertained the English that came here before wee came, & the Indians & the English had a field in comon fenced in together, & the Indians fled to shelter themselves under the English oft times saying they were afraid of their enemy Indians in the country; in particular I remember sometime after wee arrived the Agawam Indians complained to Mr. Endicott that they were afraid of other Indians called as I take it Tarrateens; Hugh Browne was sent with others in a boat to Agawam for the Indians reliefe & at other times we gave our neighbour Indians protection from their enemy Indians.

Taken upon oath this 16 day of Feb., 1680.

William Browne,

Bartholemew Gedney,

Assistants."

"Essex ss.

Anno Regni Regis Georgii Tertii
Magnæ Britanniaë, Franciaë et Hiberniaë Decimo Quarto.

At his Majesty's Court of General Sessions of the Peace begun & held at Salem within & for the County of Essex on the second Tuesday of July, being the twelfth day of the same month, Annoque Domini, 1774.

ORDERED, by this Court, & the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, now sitting in Salem, that the following Address be presented to his Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Capt. General & Governor, &c., over his Majestie's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Viz^t.

'To His Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majestie's Province of the Massachusetts Bay and Vice Admiral of the same, Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of His Majestie's Forces in North America.

May it please your Excellency.

We, his Majestie's Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace, and of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for the County of Essex, being convened for the Public Discharge of the duties of our Respective Departments, embrace the first opportunity unitedly to testify our Loyalty to the King, by paying our most dutiful Respects to His Representative. His Majesty has been pleased to committ the Government of this Province to your Excellency at a time of General Distress when the Storms of Faction, and the Boilings of Party Rage require the efforts of the ablest Pilot to save its sinking Constitution. We congratulate your Excellency, and the Province upon this appointment, and upon your safe arrival at the seat of Government.

As Common Fame has already highly prepossessed our Minds in favor of your Excellency's Benignity, Candor Moderation & Ability permit us Sir to hope under your wise and Impartial Administration for the restoration of the Province to that state of Domestic Peace, and Harmony which has been for some years past interrupted by Feuds and Discord, to a happy Reunion, both in Interest and Inclination with the Parent Kingdom; to the free

Enjoyment and Exercise of its Rights and Privileges; and to the Favorable regards of our Gracious Sovereign.

We assure your Excellency that we will Endeavour both collectively, and as Individuals, honored with his Majesty's Commission to encourage and promote that good order and observance of the Laws which with but few Exceptions, has hitherto been maintain'd throughtout this Country: and We take this Opportunity to bear our Testimony against lawless Riots which render the Enjoyment of Property, and even Life itself precarious; against all such unwarrantable and compulsive measures for the Security of our privileges, as have a Tendency to destroy that sense of moral Obligation upon which the well being of Society depends, and are subversive of those Rights and Liberties of Englishmen for the Preservation of which their Abettors profess they are contending.

Accept Sir, of our Sincere Wishes that your Administration, more especially the Endeavours which we doubt not you will exert to Reinstate this Province in its Pristine Tranquility may be crowned with that Success which shall entitle you to the united applauses of a grateful and happy people to yet higher Tokens of Royal Favor and Confidence, and to the final approbation of the Judge of all.—And that William Browne, Andrew Oliver, Peter Frye, Samuel Curwen & Daniel Farnham Esq^{rs}. be a Committe to present the same.”

PAPERS RELATING TO THE REV. SAMUEL SKELTON.

COMMUNICATED BY W. P. UPHAM.

THE following are exact copies of original papers on file in the Record Office of the Superior Court in the Court House at Boston. Mr. Skelton, minister of the church at Salem, died Aug. 2, 1634, having been settled here under an agreement with the Company in London, by which he and his family were to be provided for. These papers relate to the adjustment of the accounts, and appear to be the result of an investigation made before a Jury, as the first paper is endorsed :

"The accounts : betwene : mr Debete "(deputy governor)" Mr. Dudle & mrs Bagerle : wth ou^r Jurie verdict."

The Coppie of the Ministers Agreem.^t wth the Companie & Francis Bright of [Roiley] in Essex Clark haue this present 2th Febr: 1628 agreed wth the Comp.^a of Adventurers for new England in America to bee ready wth my wyf 2 children & one maid servant by the begining of march next to take our passage to their plantation at or neare Massachusetts Bay in New England as aforesaid wheare I doe promise god sparing mee Life & health to serve the said Company in the work of the ministry by my true & faithfull endeauours for the space of Three years for & in consideration wherof these seuerall particulars are this day agreed vpon by the s^d company and by me accepted Namely :

1. That twenty pounds shalbe [forth]with paid me by the Companies Treasurer towards Chardges of fitting my selfe wth apparell, & other necessaries for y^e voiadge.

2. That ten pounds more shalbe paid me by him towards p viding of [book]es which said books vpon my death, or removall from the Chardg now i[n]tended] to bee transferred vpon mee, are to be and remaine to such minister as shall succeed in my place for the said Company, & before my departure out of England I am to deliuer a p ticuler of the said bookes.

3. That twenty pounds yearly shalbee paid mee for three yeares to begin from the tyme of my first Arivall in New England & so to bee accounted and paid at the end of each yeare.

4. That dureing the said tyme the Company shall p vide for mee and my family aforementioned necessaries of dyet housing fierwood, & shalbee at the Chardge of the transportacion of vs into New England, and at the end of the said three yeares if I shal not like to Continew longer there; to be at Charges of transporting vs back for England.

5. That in convenient tyme a house shalbe built, & certaine Lands alloted their vnto, w^{ch} during my stay in the Country, & continewing in the ministerie shalbe for my vse, and after my death or Removall the same to be for succeeding ministers.

6. That at the expiracion of the said three yeares one hundred Acers of Land shalbe assigned vnto me for mee, & my heirs for euer.

7. That in case I shal depart this life in that Country the said Company shall take care for my widow dureing her widowhood and abroad [in thá]t Country and plantation, the like for my children whilst they remain [up]on the said plantation.

8. That the milk of twoe kine shalbee appointed mee towards the Chardg of dyet for mee and my family as aforesaid and half their increase dureing the said three years to be likewise mine, but the said twoe kine & the other half of the increase to returne to the Company att the end of the said three years.

9. That I shall haue liberty to Carry bedding linnen brasse yron pewter of my owne for my necessary vse dureing the said tyme.

10. That if I Continew seaven years vpon the said plantation that then one hundred acrs of Land more shalbe allotted to mee for me & my heirs for ever.

The 8 of Aprill 1629.

M^r ffancis Higgeson and M^r Samuuell Skelton Intended ministers for this plantacon, and it being thought meete to consider of their intertainem^t, who expressing their willingnes, together also with M^r ffancis Bright being now present, to doe their true endeavor in their places of the ministerie, as well in preaching, Catechizinge as also in teaching or causing to bee taught the Companys servants and their children as also the Salvages & their Children wherby to their uttermost to further the maine end of this Plantation being by the assistance of Almighty God the Conversion of the Saluages; The ppositions & agreem^{ts}. concluded on with M^r ffancis Bright the second of February last were recipocallie accepted of by M^r ffancis Higgeson and M^r Samuel Skelton who are in euery respect to haue the like conditions as M^r Bright hath, only wheaeas M^r Higgeson hath eight children it is intended that 10.[£] more yearly shalbee allowed him towards their chardges; And it is agreed that the increase to be improved of all their grounds during the

first three yeares, shalbe att the Companys disposinge, who are to find their dyet dureing that tyme; and 10^l more to M^r Higgeson towards his present fitting him & his for the voyage :

ffrancis Higgeson,
Samuell Skelton.

This is a true Cobby of the agreem^t made betweene M^r Higeson, M^r Skelton, and the Company as it was Copped out of the booke by the secretary of o^r Company verbatim M^r Bright his agreem.^t is on the other syde whereby you may p^oceave what agreem.^t was made, & further though it was not mentioned in the agreem.^t but forgotten M^r Higgeson was p^omisid a man seruant to take care & look to his things & to catch him fish & fowle & p^ovide other things needfull and also 2 maid seruants to look to his family.

MR. SKELTONS ACCOMPT WTH THE COMPANIE.

[This heading is in the hand-writing of Gov. Endicott.]

MR. SKELTON IS D.^{OR} VIZ.

	lb	s	d	
℥ 14 yards of dutch Serge Rec ^d att	2	05	9	} lb s p 20—11— 7
It. 17 yards of ffustian att	1	07	0	
It. 11 yards of w ^t English iean	0	13	9	
It. 12 yards of Red p ^o petuana	1	16	0	
It. 12 yards of Greene say	1	13	0	
It. 12 yards of yellow say	1	13	0	
It. 12 elns of blew linnen	0	14	0	
It. 14 elns of course holland	1	17	4	
It. 20 elns of course Lo[ck]erum	1	05	10	
It. 23½ yds of stript Linsey woolsy	1	09	4	
It. 7 yds of buckerum	0	05	3	
It. one peece of Noridg serdg	2	05	0	
It. 20 elns of Lockerum	1	05	10	
It. 15 yards of w ^t flannell	0	15	00	
It. 20 elns of Course Canvas	1	04	[0]	
It. one pound of whalbone	0	[01	—6]	

Item ψ so much pd ψ Mr Renell prt of Mr Pearce } his bill, the some of	lb s p 08=00= 0
---	--------------------

	lb	s	d		
Item ψ 9 ^{lb} of Iron att 3 ^d is	0	02	3	}	
It. ψ one syth	0	03	0		
It. ψ one fishing line	0	03	0		
It. ψ 30 pound ocum	0	07	6		
It. ψ 2000 Nails 6 ^d ψ C	0	10	0		
It. ψ 660 Nails 10 ^d ψ C	0	05	5		
It. ψ 1 reame of paper	0	10	0	}	
Item borrowed of C. P Endicot of y ^e Comp ^s .					
7 yds of bays att 2 ^s 6 ^d ψ yrd is		00	17	06	
halfe a elne of flustian att		00	00	10	
It. 2 yards & half of yellow Carsey 3 ^s 4 ^d		00	08	4	
				03=07=10	
Suma to ^{lis}		31	19	5	
Itc 2 gall of Metheglen 8 ^s			0	08	0

RECD OF MR WINTHROP GOVERN.^r

[These five words are in Endicot's handwriting.]

Ite 3 yrds of Cambrick		
6 yrds & a h. of Loomework	It. one Lether Jack	0—01—06
2 drinking hornes	It. two Tubbs	}
8 pr of shoes for men	It. one wooden hand boule	
6 pr gray stockings for men	Ite vinegar	
6 pr of stockings for women	It. 3 peuter botls quarts	
6 prof stockings for children	It. one pinte peuter botle	
10 yrds of Carsey	It. one hatt	00—10—0
Thred		
2000 of pinnes		33—03—03
6 Alls		
one webb of blew gartering		
2 knots of Tape		

A COPPIE OF AN ACCOMPTE OF MONIES MR. SKELTON IS CREDITOR,
VIZ.:

An ^o 1629			
Inprimis ψ so much we ^{ch} should haue beene paid him } in England towards fitting him for y ^e voyadg }	lb	s	d
Item for charges att Tiltbury, Cowes, & Plimoth, being } wind bound }	20	00	0
Item ψ Twenty ψ Annum for 3 years is y ^e some of	2	10	0
	60	00	0

	lb	s	d		
Item for on bushell of wheat flower	00	15	0	}	
It. for one bushell of oat meale	00	10	0		
It. for one holland & 2 ordinary cheese	00	10	0		
It. for xx ^{lb} of powder suger att	01	03	9		
It. for one Loaf Cont. 7 ^{lb} at 1 ^s 6 ^d	00	10	6		
It. for one sugar Loaf Cont. 5 ^{lb} at 1 ^s 7 ^d ½ ^{lb}	00	07	11		
It. 6 ^{lb} of pepper	00	12	00		
It. Nutmeggs 4 ozs.	00	01	8		
It. one oz. of clovs, & one oz. of mace	00	02	0		
Ite. iiii ^{lb} of starch	00	01	3		
Ite. xii ^{lb} of Rice	00	06	0		
Ite. vi ^{lb} of vntryed suett	00	03	0		
Ite. one gall of aquavites	00	03	8		
Ite. for one fitch of Bacon	00	14	0		
Ite. Castle soape ix ^{lb} att 8 ^d ½ ^{lb}	00	06	0		
Ite. frute viz. Reasons Corrans & pruens	00	14	0		
Ite. Safron ii oz.	00	05	0		
Ite. five qu. of stronge water	00	08	0		
Ite. Almonds iiii ^{lb} att 1 ^s 2 ^d	00	02	4		
Ite. xv ^{lb} of tryed suett at 8 ^d ½ ^{lb}	00	10	0		
Ite. one gall. of Sallert oyle	00	06	0		
Ite. vi ^{lb} of Candls	00	03	0		
Ite. v geese & ix ducks	00	08	0		
An ^o 1630					09—03— 1
Ite. xii ^{lb} of Butter att	00	08	0		}
Ite. vi potts of Butter cont. viii ^{lb} ½ ^{pott}	01	08	0		
Ite. ii Cheeses about x ^{lb} a ps.	00	11	8		
Ite. half a firkin of butter of Mr. Gibbs	00	17	6		
Ite. one third part of a barrell of w ^t biskett	00	10	0		
Ite. one pott of hony vii ^{lb} wait att	00	07	10		
Ite. one pott of butter att	00	03	00		
Ite. x ^{lb} of Corrans att	00	05	00		
Ite. Bacon	00	10	00		
Ite. one dozen of Candls	00	08	00		
Ite. ii cheeses at vi ^d ½ ^{lb}	00	11	3		
Ite. iii cheeses att vii ^d ½ ^{lb}	00	17	9		
Ite. one porkett	01	05	0		
Ite. xii ^{lb} of tryed suett	00	08	0		
Ite. vi geese & xii ducks	00	14	0		
Ite. vi po. of powder suger about 20 ^d	00	10	0		
Ite. v po. of powder suger 18 ^d	00	07	6		
Ite. x ^{lb} of loaf suger	01	00	0		
Ite. cloves & mace	00	01	0		
Ite. ii oz. of Nutmegs i ^s & Sinamon 4 ^d	00	02	4		
				11—05—10	

Ite. workmen's wadges for Cutting & bringing home wood against winter about	} lb s d
	} 03—00—00
Suma to ^{lis}	105—18—11

MR. SKELTON IS CREDITOR, VIZ.

Item [℥] so much Mr Pearce for provisions of meale, pease, canvas [C]arsey & elce wth 3 ^{lb} 5 ^s 9 ^d [] after 25 ^{lb} [℥] cent & freight I say p ^d the some of	} 12—15— 1
Ite. for 3 quarts of aquavites	00—03— 9
Ite. for x ^{lb} of rice att 5 ^d	00—04— 2
Ite. 10 ^{lb} of Butter att	0—06— 8
Ite. 4 cheeses att	1—03— 4
Ite. 10 peeces of pork	0—11— 8
Ite. more 20 ^{lb} of Butter	0—10—00
Ite. more 4 bushells Virginia Corne	2—00— 0
Ite. soape 7 ^{lb} & vineger 4 gall. 8 ^s & 1 g. 2 ^s	0—17— 0
Ite. 2 pecks of w ^t salte att	0—03— 0
Sum is	18—14— 8
And on the other syde the total some of	105—18—11
Suma to ^{lis}	124—13— 7

Now de Increase

The first year next after the receipte of the 2 heifers, both the calves miscaried, one about a quarter ould dyed, the other neare upon a yeare ould Lost by the woolvs.

The second yeare there was a heiffer calfe and a bull calfe wch heiffer is now in my hands and the Bull calfe Mr Skelton sould att one year and three quarters ould for eight pounds.

The Therd yeare was 2 bull Calves which the beginning of the winter weare both eaten with the woolvs.

Now since the Three foresaid yeares, the next yeare after was Twoe bull calves, and an heiffer Calfe, the springe before Mr. Skeltons death.

And This yeare since was Three bull Calves Twoe whereof are dead, the one when it was about Twenty & twoe weeks ould, the other since winter did begin. Now for the keeping of the Catle wch should haue bene att the Companyes Chardge hath wholly Lyen vpon vs.

The above papers are in the handwriting of Ralph Fogg, who was in 1636 the town clerk and also the clerk of the Quarter Court; the last part shows that they were written during the winter of 1634-5. Whether the examination of the accounts was made at Salem and reported to the Court at Boston, or whether it was made before the Court of Assistants at Boston does not appear. The only reference to the subject on the Colony Records is the following:—At a Court of Assistants, June 5, 1638, "It was ordered, wth. the consent of Mrs. Beggarly, that the increase of Mr. Skeltons cattle should bee divided according to Mr. Skeltons will, & that the goods & household stuffe wch. belongs to the 3 eldest child'n should bee divided by some of the church of Salem, & comitted to the church of Salem."

Hugh Peter writes to Winthrop from Salem, Aug. 8 [1638] "let me haue a word from you about Mrs. Beggarly's, or rather Mr. Skelton's house which is now falling to the ground if some thing bee not done." As Mrs. Beggarly thus seems to have represented the estate of Mr. Skelton it has been supposed that she was his widow; but this would seem to be an error, for in Winthrop's *Journal*, Vol. 2, p. 344, is mentioned a hearing by the Court of Assistants, June 2, 1636, of "the cause between Richard Beggarly and his wife, who had been here six years, and he in England." She sought to obtain a divorce, but the decision of the court was deferred. "We ordered he should remain separate from her till she might send into England for further proof, and appointed him twenty shillings from her to set him to work, etc." Apparently she took the name, afterwards, of "Mrs. Daniel." There is no mention of Mrs. Beggarly on our town records, while a Mrs. (or M.^{ris}) Daniel has a grant of land in 1637, and appears to have been in possession, then, of

part, at least, of Mr. Skelton's estate.¹ She probably soon after removed to Providence and married John Greene. "Mrs. Daniel" had a grant of land there in 1637 (see Rhode Island Colony Records, Vol. 1, p. 15, and the note thereto "Alice Daniell, afterwards the wife of John Greene"). Winthrop in his Journal (Vol. 1, p. 283) refers to Green thus "(who hath married the wife of one Beggarly whose husband is living, and no divorce)." On the record of the Quarter Court at Salem, March 27, 1638, is the following, "Mrs. Daniell, pl., ag.^t Richard Beckly, deft., in [an action] of debt, Jury finds for pl. twenty shillings damages & iiii^s costs." The sum recovered and the name of the defendant suggest a connection between this action and the petition for divorce above mentioned. In the list of those among whom the marsh lands in Salem were divided, and in which the number before the name indicates the number of persons in the family, is entered "1 M.^{ris} Daniell ——" The blank where the amount of her allotment should have been stated is perhaps explained by her removal to Providence.

In an account of Mr. Skelton's house, "Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.," Vol. 8, pp. 255-6, it is stated that a "cottage right" was allowed for Mrs. Daniel's house, which stood next to that of Mr. Skelton and on his land. The name is entered on the Commoners Record "Mr. Daniel," but this was probably an error for *Mrs.* Daniel, as there is no mention of any Mr. Daniel here at so early a date.

The following extracts from the records of deeds for the County of Essex furnish some information as to the

¹(See Salem town records grant of land to Lawrence Leach, Feb. 20, 1637. Leach's land was on the east side of Porter's River, Mr. Skelton's farm (now Danversport) being on the west side. Leach's grant is described as "over against Mrs. Daniells farme.")

family of Mr. Skelton not hitherto noticed. Felt states only that he "left children, Samuel and three daughters." The names of the daughters and their marriages appear from the following data. In 1649 a caveat is recorded of the sale of "Skelton's Neck" by Samuel Skelton, son of Rev. Samuel Skelton, to John Porter, "reserving three score acres of the said neck of land lying furthest west."—Book 1, Leaf 8. This is confirmed by a subsequent deed in 1663, "the said John Porter having purchased the right and interest of the three daughters of the said Samuel Skelton, Senr., in y^e said farm."—Book 2, Leaf 71. Accordingly we find recorded a deed of twenty acres of land which by its bounds appears to be part of "Skelton's Neck," from Robert Sanford of Boston and Elizabeth his wife to John Porter, in 1652,—Book 2, Leaf 25; and also a deed, in 1655, to John Porter, of the remaining forty acres from John Marsh of Salem and Susanna his wife and Nathaniel Felton of Salem and Mary his wife.—Book 2, Leaf 33.

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EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS WRITTEN AT THE TIME
OF THE OCCUPATION OF BOSTON BY
THE BRITISH, 1775-6.¹

COMMUNICATED BY WM. P. UPHAM.

THE evacuation of Boston by the British forces under Sir William Howe on the seventeenth of March, 1776, released the inhabitants of that town from the terrors, anxieties, and privations, of a siege the most memorable in the history of our country. On the seventeenth of March, 1876, a full century is completed during which the State of Massachusetts, within its present limits, has been free from foreign occupation or invasion. It becomes us, who have so long enjoyed the blessings of peace and prosperity, to consider at such a time the terrible sufferings which the patriots of that day were called upon to endure, and the sacrifices which they so willingly and heroically made for the cause of Liberty.

The shutting up the port of Boston by the Boston Port

¹Read at a Meeting of the Essex Institute, March 6, 1876.

Bill, June 1, 1774, produced the greatest suffering and distress, and aroused the intensest indignation throughout the whole country. Absolute submission to all the ministerial demands was the only method by which this suffering could be peaceably averted, but as such submission was impossible, it was felt that the evils of war were imminent, and the people of Boston and the surrounding towns prepared themselves for the emergency with a resolute spirit, accompanied by gloomy forebodings, apparent in the correspondence and journals of the time.

In the language of the Convention at Concord, Aug. 30, 1774, "these late Acts, if quietly submitted to, will annihilate the last vestiges of liberty in this Province." "Our fathers left a fair inheritance to us, purchased by a waste of blood and treasure; this we are resolved to transmit equally fair to our children after us; no danger shall affright, no difficulties intimidate us; and if in support of our rights we are called to encounter even death, we are yet undaunted, sensible that he can never die too soon, who lays down his life in support of the laws and liberties of his country."²

On the nineteenth of April, 1775, all intercourse between the people of Boston and the country was cut off by order of Gen. Gage, but on the twenty-second an agreement was made that the inhabitants might, upon surrendering their arms, "leave the town with their families and effects, and those who remained might depend upon the protection of the governor." Gage, however, fearing that if all the patriots left the town the besieging forces would burn it, violated this agreement, and at first obstructed such removals, and finally denied passes, or so framed them that families would have to be separated and

² See American Archives, Fourth Series, Vol. I, pp. 751-2; also Frothingham's Siege of Boston, p. 12.

property left behind.³ Even when removals were allowed the closest scrutiny was used to prevent any kind of provision or merchandize being carried away. All letters were opened and read, and upon the slightest pretext persons who were in any way obnoxious, or from whom it was hoped information might be extorted, were seized and imprisoned in jails or dungeons, where they received the most unfeeling and barbarous usage.

The general history of that most interesting period of the Revolution has been fully written by Frothingham and others, and antiquarian research has added much to our knowledge concerning its principal characters and events; but whoever desires to appreciate most truly the spirit which actuated the people and the constant anxieties and trials they suffered, will still find much to interest him in private or business letters, in journals and other unpublished documents.

In a large collection of family papers, in the possession of the writer, are many letters written at that time to Oliver Wendell. He was residing Jan. 1, 1775, on the corner of School street in Boston, opposite the King's Chapel. About the first of April of that year, being an invalid and for many years disabled by lameness, he went with his family to visit his brother-in-law Jonathan Jackson, in Newburyport, and soon after removed to Kingston, N. H., where he remained till after the evacuation of Boston. In an account of him in the first volume of the N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register, page 186, it is stated that he was "in the consultation of the early patriots of the American Revolution and contributed to the acquisition and maintenance of the liberty and independence of the Commonwealth and country." He was

³ See Lossing, Field Book of the Am. Rev., Vol. I, p. 535.

for some time one of the Selectmen of Boston, often a member of the Senate and of the Council under the Constitution, and was for many years Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk. President Quincy says of him, "In all the relations of life, as a man, citizen, and magistrate, Judge Wendell was distinguished for uncommon urbanity of manners, and unimpeached integrity of conduct. During the course of a long life he had been successively called to fill many high and responsible offices. The punctuality and precision with which he fulfilled all the duties connected with them were highly exemplary." (See the account above referred to.) He was born March 5, 1733 [N. S.], and was the son of Jacob Wendell, a distinguished merchant of Boston in Provincial times. His mother was Sarah Oliver, great-granddaughter of Gov. Simon Bradstreet. Oliver Wendell married Mary, daughter of Edward and Dorothy (Quincy) Jackson, and sister of Jonathan Jackson above named.

The two following letters to Oliver Wendell were written by John Scollay and John Pitts, his associates on the Board of Selectmen.

Boston, May 16th, 1775.

Dear Sir :

Your Sympathizing heart I know must be deeply affected for the distresses of this Poor devoted Town but no representation can figure to you our real situation it is too painfull to attempt to discribe it, therefore must drop it. The Selectmen have for some time past had a great deal to do, but what gives us Satisfaction amidst our great pains & Labour is that our doings are Satisfactory to all parties. The affair of delivering up the Arms & of the Inhabitants removal has given us great trouble & we are but weak handed. There is none of us left but Deacon Newell, Col.^o Marshall, M.^r Austin & myself. We are determind not to Leave the town but to con-

tinue in our Station. Indeed if we were so disposed the Governor I don't think would be willing we should; he professes great Confidence in the Selectmen. I have *Sub Rosa* heard by the second hand that it would be very pleasing to him were you to Come to town. I have heard Several times lately that that was your Intention, if you have any thought of such a thing I apprehend you may make such terms for your Safety & Comfort as may be agreeable to you. Please to favour me with a Line. I am with great regard

S.^r your most H^{ble} Serv.^t

John Scollay

(Endorsed by O. W.)

Boston May 16, 1775 John Scollay Esq.^r Letter.

Watertown July 13th 1775.

Dear Sir:

Agreeable to your desire I now acquaint you that in consequence of the Congress making an addition to their resolve respecting the poor of y^e town of Boston, M.^r Greenleaf who is near can certify who are such poor better than You & I, as from y^e nature of his office he must know them personally, so that I apprehend we shall be sufficient without putting you to y^e trouble of attending for that purpose. But if your health would have admitted of it your Company wo^d have been very agreeable & we sho^d have expected assistance & advice in the unhappy state of our oppressed & now bleeding Country.

Our Friends are all well here & those of our Brethren, the Selectmen, in Boston. They have a few days past communicated to Congress the desire of that perfidious & inhuman Gage that y^e poor of the town of Boston may be received into the Country.

He had no particular return I understand but in general that we were ready to receive such of the inhabitants who sho^d come out, & that if he was desirous of being releaved of the poor they hoped he would comply with his agreement with the town that all who inclined, after performing what was stipulated, w.^{ch} they religiously did,

might come out. . It is said this desire to take y^e poor is in consequence of his being short of provisions w.^{ch} hope is the case. I have nothing worthy of notice to communicate to you except that our Army are in good health & fine spirits; the late conflict at Charlestown I doubt not will have more happy effects than at first view could be expected. For our men had become almost impetuous, & there was reason to fear some unexpected stroke when least expected by our men might make very unhappy impressions, whereas now they have had a check sufficient to make them cautious only & not to abate of that noble fervor w.^{ch} has generally prevail'd. So that at present we have a good prospect, more especially as I find General Washington has received advice from Boston that has occasioned him to counter-order his desire of raising more troops w.^{ch} a few days past he thought there was necessity of. This I mention in confidence. We have information w.^{ch} believe to be true that the Rebels⁴ in Boston are sickly & distressed for want of provisions. What with this & the severe dressing they had at Bunkers hill perhaps they will be more careful in future how they attack us.

I have insensibly fill'd up more paper than I at first intended being very busy at y^e office & not time for recollection w.^{ch} must be an excuse for all incorrectness.

May the happy time come speedily when we may return to our native town in the enjoyment of peace & happiness; but if we must fight it out first I see no reason to despond. I expect to share the fate of my Country & shall endeavour to possess a state of mind for whatever may be y^e event

I am affectionately &c.

John Pitts.

(Endorsed by O. W.)

Watertown July

M.^r John Pitts Letter.

In a letter to Mrs. Wendell from her cousin Hannah

⁴ The British forces.

Lincoln,⁵ June 9, 1775, are the following references to the troubles of the time :

The pleasure I received to-day in finding your brother⁶ at Papa's on my return from meeting is more safely conceived than expressed; therefore I shall only say that I was very glad & proceed to let you know that I could feel at the relation of your flight almost as much as if I had been with you, for we here have experienced so many alarms as to make us know how to sympathize with such of our Bretheren as are under similar circumstances. Your Brother has just said this is but the dawning of sorrows—if he is not mistaken (tho' I sincerely wish he may be) what calamities have we yet to dread? What can Great Britain do more to distress us? Can they have sharper [quivers] to goad us with than what we have already felt? How, without permission from above can they proceed to afflict us more? * * * * *

What a revolution in a few months! I dare not think of what has been; then how shall I endure more? I want to write all that has happened since the 19th of April in our little Circle, but time won't allow; therefore I shall only remind you of the advice given by our favorite Young, not to abandon fortitude; it must be our support let our trials be ever so severe.

Mrs. Margaret Phillips, wife of William Phillips and mother of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston, writes to her brother Oliver Wendell, from Watertown, June 21, 1775, four days after the battle of Bunker Hill, a letter which shows the energy characteristic of the women of the time.

Dear Brother,

We have been in great trouble for this week past. On Friday last M.^r Apleton & wife with his

⁵ Hannah Lincoln was the daughter of Josiah Quincy, brother of Dorothy (Quincy) Jackson the mother of Mrs. Wendell.

⁶ Jonathan Jackson.

Brother brought up Doc.^t Appleton⁷ to tarry till the beginning of this week when M.^r Appleton was to return & carry him to Andover. He accordingly returned a Wednesday but the doctor is so low that he cannot be removed. On Saturday we had an alarm & on Saboth morning Sister Wendell⁸ tho't it best to go further off, but I could not think of leaving Doc.^t Appleton & Sister Hunt. The children beg'd hard to go away. I at length consented to go with sister Wendell to Weston,⁹ where I left her with Sarah & the children at Baldwin's & returned home at night alone; but on Monday (as Sister Wendell intended to go further to the Westward & the children were at a Tavern) I thought best to bring them back. We are in constant fear of some alarm. I have had a very kind invitation from Springfield both from Coll. Worthington & M.^{rs} Dwight, another from Coll. Porter to Hadley. Sister Wendell has returned but intends to go westward. I am greatly Perplexed haveing Doc.^t Appleton so low & Sister Hunt to take care of in addition to Seven that I must take care of which is more than I am able to do. * * * *

During a journey to the South in the previous fall and winter Jonathan Jackson wrote many letters to Oliver Wendell, from which I take the following extracts. He writes from Bowdoin's Ferry, Virginia, Dec. 15, 1774, that he had been a fortnight in reaching that place from Philadelphia, 300 miles.

"Pomp is in good health & behaves very well & my horses as yet hold out pretty well, tho' hay is not to be met with here. They have had none for 150 miles back & I expect not to meet with any again, till the Spring, when I have got back into Maryland; the Western shore their feed is Corn-Blades & Oats. As for Politicks, or rather what is going on in your northern World, I have

⁷ This was the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D. D., for sixty-six years minister of the First Church at Cambridge. He was born at Ipswich, Dec. 9, 1693.

⁸ Catherine (Brattle) Wendell, wife of John Mico Wendell, a brother of Oliver.

⁹ About six miles west of Watertown.

not heard any thing for a long while : every Body in this country is solicitous to know in what situation you are, & whether like to hold out ; thro'out this shore of Maryland & Virginia, they appear very hearty in the Cause. * * * * I have been very genteelly treated from place to place by the Gent.ⁿ on this Shore, who handed me from one to t'other generally by letter. The gentleman who keeps this Ferry is a kinsman of Mr. Bowdoin's of Boston & served his time with Sam^l Hughes (the hard & sharp) he fondly enquired after your M.^r Appleton & the two Amorys his quondam Associates. * * * I lodge at a public ho. on his Plantation which he set up to accomodate strangers."

Charlestown¹⁰ 24.th Jan^y 1775.

My dear Friend

I have the pleasure to date from this place which I reached two days ago. * * * * my horses are mere skeletons. I long to hear in what situation you all are, from many flying Reports, I fear something of the violent kind has or is nearly taking place with you. May God preserve you all in Peace. My cowardly heart sometimes tells me I am better away ; but I often wish eagerly to be among you, that I may know & see the worst. It would give me great pleasure if all the Tory Gentry with you had passed the Extent of Country I have this Winter, to have seen how staunch & fixed all kinds of People are to the American Cause. Even Custom House officers this way don't hesitate to scan the Minister's measures & condemn him. If you once draw the sword in good earnest (w.^{ch} Heaven avert) may you not stop till you have compleated a Disbandry of all the Soldiers, to people the Country ; & I would advise re-shiping all the Officers in one Bottom to their native Country, upon their Paroles of honour never to return here again upon a like Errand. * * * *

I am with great Regard your affectionate Brother

J. Jackson.

¹⁰Charleston, S. C.

In a letter to Mrs. Wendell of the same date he says he fears matters are gathering to a crisis at Boston, and asks her to make Newbury her "refuge."

His son Edward Jackson writes at his father's request from

Newburyport, April [16th ?] 1775.

Sunday Evening.

Dear Uncle :

I write you at my Father's desire, as he is so much taken up with public affairs that he can't find time to do that nor scarcely anything else. He says that he will send you furniture for two rooms p.^r first opportunity. My mama & children are going to Exeter to-morrow, they would have gone to-day had it been fair weather. I had not time to tell you anything you went off so soon after I got here a Friday. I came out of Boston a Wednesday morning with hopes to get a passage to Salem in the Stage, but it did not go neither cou'd I get a horse in the Town; however I got to Salem with walking part of the way. I left Mrs. Phillips well that morning; her Children were at Cambridge; she was in as good spirits as cou'd be expected, as was Lydia also. I did not bring any of my Aunt's things, I was in such a hurry lest the stage should go. My reason for staying at Salem so long was because M.^r Appleton wanted the horse & chaise. This Town have chose a Committee of two to meet the Committee from Salem and other Sea Ports, to determine what is best to be done concerning them in this critical Situation. We have no late Intelligence from the army. Marshfield is certainly burnt as we see it from our house, but by which party is uncertain. We are all very well and in good Spirits and wish you may be so. We all join in love & good wishes to you, my Aunt & two Cousins. [I] remain Sir, your dutifull Nephew

Edw.^d Jackson.

Do, Sir, desire my Aunt to send home a riding Hood my Father brought to her as it belongs to Eunice.

Mr. Jackson writes from

Exeter, Tuesday Morn.^s 6 o'clock.

D.^r Sir :

I got here safe last night with my little Flock & if it was the next most necessary thing would come to you to-day, to confer upon placing you all together or near each other, but I am hurrying home to dispatch a Team I suppose is gone along and the most necessary things I chose to have immediately gone, as we may reasonably expect an armed Ship with Requisitions severe eno' to say no more of 'em. Marbleh'd had them made to 'em on Saturday, & it is reported have submitted. Salem expects the same Demand every moment & they are moving w'th all precipitation, & we have no Reason to expect less. As to the Armys they neither of 'em have any Idea of giving way that I can find, but I believe no capital Movement is soon to be looked for. Mrs. Emery is confined to her Chamber. They asked for you & expected you, & if you cannot find a comfortable Retirement, I would have you put along here & take up for a few days at Folsoms ; but by the Return of the Bearer, if I can get one to you to-day, do write Hannah your situation & whether she may be comfortable along side you with her two children, Maid & black Girl & Boy & her nurse soon. With my tender love to my Sister & your little Folks & with a recommendation to you both to keep your spirits good, I am D.^r Sir,

Your affectionate Fr.^d & Bro.^r

J. Jackson.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell at _____

(Endorsed) Jon.^a Jackson & his Son Ned's Letter, 1775.

Thursday Morn.^s Apr. 27.th 1775.

Dear Sir :

I fear you think I've quite forgot you but my more urgent Necessitys have hitherto kept me *other* ways. Hannah sent over her Boy last night to let me know where you were and how. I have sent one load of Goods

over to Exeter & shall send another Tomorrow & follow it myself so as to be there at night if possible. Hannah seems inclined to stay at Exeter, at least till she is well again. In the Confusion of moving, our Things got so mixed, that without making the Rendezvous of them at Exeter, it will be impossible almost to sort them for her & you. I wish on Saturday morn.^g, if the Weather is good, you would be early at Exeter, leaving Polly with the Children & we will engage one Team with the most necessary things to get to you by (Saturday) night, & I will ride over with you to Kingston—this is upon supposition you are situated to your mind or can be, *there*. Our apprehensions are so lulled, we begin to think this place secure, & *a fortiori* Exeter, but I propose neither of them to you unless your mind is fully composed; indeed 'till public affairs have taken a more certain Turn, we know not what may happen. I inclose you a Letter from Brimmer with the happy news that our Friends in Boston are like to be liberated. I send you the last Paper, with their last most cruel but artfull Act, & you'll find they are framing another for some of the Southern Governments. The Reinforcement from England is hourly expected, but we can get no certainty of their numbers. Cap.^t Callahan's Papers all went to Boston. Cap.^t Lyde arrived yesterday at Cape Anne. His papers have gone to our Congress. Our Cousin, J. Quincy, was a passenger with Lyde & the report is, died two hours after he got ashore with a Consumption; if so, he is gone from trouble eno', I think. Our Congress have determined upon an army of 30 thous.^d Men, for the four Govern.^{mts}, of which we raise 13 or 14 thous.^d The Inlisting Orders are issued; they talk of a paper Currency to support the Expence, the worst manœuvre I've yet heard of—Heaven avert it. Nance can best tell you how and when she got here. I hurry her to you, Polly can guess why. My tenderest love to her, your little ones & yourself.

Excuse me further,

your affectionate Friend & Bro.^r

J. Jackson.

Give my Compliments to M.^r Noyes (& his lady, tho' unknown to her). Mrs. Bromfield is in your Neighborhood at Kensington, & so is old Mrs. Lowell. Mr. Bromfield set out yesterday for Boston to take care of his mother &c, & John Tracy for his Mistress. Dispatch Ned as soon as possible. What you want, *write* by him for.

(Endorsed by O. W.) J. J.'s Letter.

The following letter is from Simon Tufts, son of Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford (see N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. 9, p. 117).

Boston May 1775.

Sir :

I have made several Attempts last Month to forward a Letter to you but miscarried; hope this will arrive hereby to acquaint you that amidst the Confusion distress & difficulty of the times, I have remained here till yet. As to your Part of the Store, I have kept it Shut and my own great part of the Time since the last Quarter for want of any kind of use or employ, owing to the above Reasons. As most of my Friends & acquaintance are gone & going out of Town I expect to be one of the Number; if so shall leave the Keys of your part of the Store and those of M.^{rs} Wendell's either with M.^r Jacob Wendell or at your House. Otherwise if I stay will do as much as is in my Power in the Care of your Property within my Sphere. This accompanys a Letter from my Friend M.^r Henry Prentiss per Cap.^t Hammond, tho' suppose you have rec.^d later.

If I could have had any Advice from you, would have let your part of the Store if any application had been made, but now there is not the least probability. May the Supreme Disposer of all Events & director of all Men & things appear for the Relief of this unhappy & distress'd Capital and relieve us from our present Confusions & Disorders & avert those Evils we fear impending on us. I am with due Respect, Sir,

Your very obedient & oblidg'd Friend & Humb. Serv.^t

S. Tufts.

P. S. The Letter referred to is the first M.^r Prentiss wrote after his arrival at y^e W. Indies and as his arriv'd at Newburyport, it may not be sent. Cap.^t Freeman had took out the Letter for M^{rs} Ruthy.

(Endorsed) M.^r Simon Tufts Letter May 1775.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell at Newburyport.

Mr. Wendell was concerned with Nathaniel Appleton, and also with Henry Prentiss, in mercantile business. They were fortunate in securing the services of a friend and neighbor of Mr. Wendell, James Lovell, of Boston, to take care of their property, which was now in great danger of injury and depredation. There are a number of letters from these correspondents relating to their business affairs and the protection and removal of goods, furniture, etc., extracts from which are here given.

Nathaniel Appleton was at the time living in Salem with his brother John. They were sons of Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, already mentioned. Nathaniel was a member of the first Committee of Correspondence and a zealous patriot during the Revolutionary struggle. He was a distinguished opponent of the slave trade.¹¹ John Appleton was a successful merchant in Salem. In his store the celebrated Count Rumford (Benjamin Thompson) was an apprentice from 1766 to 1769.¹²

Henry Prentiss was the son of Rev. Joshua Prentiss of Holliston, who married for his second wife Margaret, the daughter of Rev. Dr. Appleton, and the sister of the above named Nathaniel. He was a captain in the Revolutionary Army, and had been before a sea captain.¹³

James Lovell was for some years master of the South Grammar School in Boston. His residence during the

¹¹ See Appleton Memorial, p. 31.

¹² See Ellis' Life of Count Rumford, p. 16.

¹³ See The Prentiss Family, p. 110.

Revolution was on the estate where the Parker House now stands, and his family witnessed, on the housetop, the burning of Charlestown during the battle of Bunker Hill. He was imprisoned in the Boston jail, Gen. Howe having discovered a prohibited correspondence proving his adherence to the Revolutionary cause. During his imprisonment his devoted wife was daily accustomed to convey his food to the prison door.¹⁴ He was carried to Halifax on the evacuation, but was exchanged in 1776. He was afterwards a member of the Continental Congress, Collector, and, for a long time, Naval Officer.

The following are the letters referred to, arranged in the order of their dates.

Salem, Jan. 10th, 1775.

Mr. Wendell

Hope you got home safe and found all well. I have this day sent by Mr. Henderson's Sleds seven casks pressed Head q.^t 446 Gall.^s and also 6 casks by Young's Sleds 324 Gall.^s the particular Guages have forwarded to Nicolls. I have sold Mr. Rob.^t Jinkins of Boston 10 Boxes Candles, to be deliver.^d tomorrow morning. Cap.^t Bruce has spoken to me for 20 more i. e. 40 in all to be delivered begin.^g next week, hope you will be able to send me a quantity down this week—do enjoin Nicols in packing the boxes that he fill up the Crevaces with paper to keep them from moving as much as possible. I have got some boards in my Pasture barn, if you want for boxes you may take 'em, the chief of 'em are 1½ inch boards or planks, perhaps they may be sawed to advantage these scarce times. Presume our children are at Boston by this time, hope Thomy will not be troublesome. I wrote Nath. a letter this morning, if he has not got it let him apply to Cap.^t Hood. I Rec.^d an order this day from Mr. Russell to ship the Oil to Plymouth. Don't forget to send down the Candles; in hast, all well, y.^r friend N. A.

¹⁴ Loring, in the Hundred Boston Orators (See Drake's Old Landmarks of Boston, p. 65) (also see N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 19, p. 257 (note)).

P. S. do inquire of Mr. Hewes whether he does sell for 2-6 as I have had it affirmed by Mr. Jinkins, and consult with him what is best to be done as to price.

P. S. you need not mention Jinkins name, but you.^u do as you please.

P. S. please to tell Nat. to go and see Jinny Hewes and know how she does and whether Mrs. Hovey purposes to continue in Town.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell
Merch.^t

In Boston

Near the Kings Chapel.

(Endorsed) Salem Jan. 10.th 1775

Nath.^l Appleton's Letter.

Fryday Morn.^s Mch. 30, 1775.

Sir

I Rec.^d yours last evening. I should rather sell the Oil than ship it, am sorry you did not strike immediately with Mr. Lloyd for Oil from Salem, as I am now fearful that it will be too late as *Laha* is most ready to sail, hope you will git an order immediately (if not allready) to ship as much as you can, as to the Lond.^o vessel it is uncertain whether she will take any more freight but shall do my best—as to times being dark I don't know that it is yet so dark as to stop our business, let us proceed on regular and leave the event. Y.^{rs} in hast,

N. A.

P. S. best body Oil is sold here £40 L. Mo. You'll perceive in Alp.^{bt} mem.^o that Mr. Russell owes ab.^t £65. I believe if you could git an ord.^r on Mr. Curwin the Deputy Impost master, he would pay it. Cap.^t Laha sails next Tuesday and if advised tomorrow, he will reserve freight room for 2 or 3 Tons, he says Mr. Lloyd told him he believed he should ship some Oil by him.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell, Merch.^t
In Boston.

(Endorsed) Salem, March 30.th 1775.

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem, March 30.th 1775.

S.^r

I wrote you yesterday about Laha bound to Halifax. I understand that he will sail in a few days, was in hopes to hear.^d something from you before now, respecting this Oil for Halifax & shipping our Oil to London. Cap.^t Brown for London is nearly full. I have bou.^t 5 or 6 Ton head but don't know how to pay for it unless I draw on Heyley & Hopkins, or receive some from Newburyport. We have just heard of a number of soldiers marching out of Boston this morning, but don't learn upon what design. All well, in hast. Y.^r Friend & Serv.^t

N. Appleton.

I have not had a line from you since you left Salem.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell, Merch.^t

In Boston.

(Endorsed) Salem, March 30.th 1775.

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem, Apr. 10.th Monday Morn.^s

S.^r

Having so good an opp.^o of writing by Deacon Boynton, I improve it to let you know I wrote you particularly last Saturday by the young man that lives with Mr. Benj.ⁿ Andrews, to which I hope to receive a reply this forenoon, I want your opinion of Drawing and whether as much as we can. I understand severall are moving, let me know what you purpose to do, and all other particulars that occur to your mind. I am exceeding anxious about the Congress. I heartily pray you may be directed to that which God will bless for the deliverance of America from her present troubles, & tho' at present there is an impenetrable darkness that involves us, yet I have strong faith that light will yet arise. I have allways seem.^d to think it would come from some unexpected quarter; let us trust and pray & do our duty & leave the event. Y.^r Friend,

N. A.

(Endorsed) Mr. Nath.^l Appleton's Letter.

Salem 15.th April, 1775.S.^r

Hope you had a good journey & are better in health. Yesterday arrived Cap.^t Collings from Lond.ⁿ brings some interesting news, inclosed is some of the particulars taken off by Mr. Hall who had the papers but a short time. The Charm seems to be broke, how far we shall be able to comply with the requisitions can't say, but hope something will arise out of it that will restore peace; by present appearances our Port is to remain shut, but I can't think our friends in England will be easy 'till they git the Port open. I believe we shall have no fighting this season. I have rec.^d a letter from Harrisons, they had not sold the Oil 13.th Jan.^y Bro. Haven delivered that Letter to Mr. Wentworth which offer'd him credit & Mr. Wentworth has wrote us since & sent for 50 Boxes. I shall draw on G. Hayley for £200 sterl.^s fav.^d [A. T.] & Rogers; shall git £200 L. M.^o insured on Oil in Brown, hope to hear from you soon. I have wrote incoherent as I am in great haste. Mrs. Dockwood the bearer just going away and I preparing [] last night that [] day — Mr. J. — [] we are all pre [].

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell

at Mr. Jon. Jackson's
In Newburyport.(Endorsed) Salem, April 15.th 1775

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem May 1.st 1775.Dear S.^r:

I wrote you yesterday, but in so much hast I don't recollect what I wrote. Lidia, your young woman, came to us last night, & Mingo who informs me that the Works are stoped as Mrs. Phillips had the old horse the day after the battle to send ab.^t her children and could not git in again. Nicol's is working up the refined stuf. I should be glad of your advice where it will be best to place our candles & movable stock. As to Cap.^t Erving,

he nor anybody else will take the charge & risque of any comodity in town. I am think.^s that your house will be as safe as anywheres to put the Candles in, and put the loos cakes into somebody's cellar so as to divide our property. I wrote Mr. Russell of Charlestown some days ago, desiring him to buy the Oil & made him out a Bill of parcells, he sent me word he will do all he can to have it secured as Oil for the public. Mingo will give you more particulars of the Town than I can; the Selectmen have constantly the Ear of the General & it seems he puts his greatest confidence in them. I believe he puts all the blocks in the way he can to prevent the Inhabitants coming out as he supposes them to be his greatest security—shall expect a line from you [as soon] as possible, we are all pretty well.

Y.^r Friend & Servant

—often think— [] Nath.^l Appleton.
 ——— oves []

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell at Newburyport.

James Lovell writes from

Boston May 3.^d

My d.^r Friend :

* * * * *

I wish my Friend you was at Cambridge.

Y.^r Spirits would be exhilarated and y.^r Health consequently mended. I know not where you are, but upon your special Direction I will write to you once or twice a Day.

Give my best Respects to Mrs. W—— and my Love to y.^r d.^r Children. Mrs. Lovell has suffered extremely in the Head, fears a fixed Disorder there, but is I hope only suffering thus thro Weakness. My Family is yet w.th me. 4 Children are prepared to go away, and M.^{rs} Lovell w.th the rest will follow when able, if I *so* judge proper. I am not yet *ripe* to determine. I shall tarry if 10 Seiges take place. I have determined it to be a Duty which I owe the Cause & the Friends of it, and am

perfectly fearless of the Consequences. An ill Turn, of a most violent Diarhea, from being too long in a damp place, has confirm'd Doct.^r Gardners advice to me not to go into the Trenches, where my whole Soul lodges nightly. How then can I be more actively serviceable to the Friends who think with me, than by keeping disagreeable post among a Set of Villains who would willingly destroy what those Friends leave behind them.

Once more, about y.^r Health. Newbury is not a place for you. The people there are in Fears like Boston Folks. Come to Cambridge and recruit y.^r Spirits. Think as little as you can about any other Thing but the future happy Days of America, which are fast coming up the great wheel. 3 times 30 Days will make a Sampson of you, if you will only patch yourself up for the present. Will Britain see that we count Seaports and all the Merchandize they contain of no Value in Comparison of our Rights; that we fly to the Country with them and dare her to invade them there; and will she madly persist in the present Humour? What is America to her more than the habitable Moon if Commerce ceases? 3 times 30 days will inform us of her Recovery. Why should Boston be the Seat of Government? Why not the great Menadnock? We act as if Commerce and not Acres was our Foundation. Cheer up my D.^r Sir you shall be Member for one of those Towns where your Oaks stand unmolested by the covetous haughty yet base and spendthrift Parliament of Britain. The Villains in this Town hang their Heads like Bullrushes while the honest Beggar walks erect.

You must be sure of y.^r Bearer if you write any Thing that must be under Seal whether private or public in its nature.

Adieu for the present

J. L.

(Direction) To M^r Oliver Wendell

at

with Dispatch

(Endorsed) James Lovells Letter.

May 5.thD.^r Sir :

I have wrote to you lately in a circumstantial Manner, but such Impediments rise from one Hour to another to prevent a free Egress, that I am doubtful whether that Letter has yet left Town ; Balch had it ; he goes for England with M.^r *Sollicitor*, oh ! and M.^r Amory & wife, and many others male & female the middle of next week. Brother Harry Hill takes Charge of this ; therefore upon a Certainty of its reaching you, I charge you, by your own Worth, that you visit Salem & Cambridge. The first, to converse with Brother Appleton ; upon which you will feel yourself so greatly mended as to carry you to Cambridge for full Recovery. I feel happier on Saloop and water Gruel, with the present glorious publick Prospect, than I ever did full of roast Beef & Wine, while there remained a Chance of the Establishment of Tyranny on the horrid ministerial Plan, which has brought us to this Crisis. Pray Doctor,¹⁵ come nearer ; come where no Fear is.

4 o'Clock P. M.

Balch has passed the Lines. He said, when he had once accomplish'd That, he would cry out "I made my Prayer to thee from the Depths of Hell ; thou hast heard & delivered me." There has been the most scandalous dishonourable, Shilly Shally Conduct towards the Citizens that can be conceiv'd of ; the General is truly *worthy* of his Post & Errand.

I had the Club last Evening ; it cost *you* but one Bottle of Madeira, as they seem'd determin'd to finish off Doct.^r *Jos's* Raspberry. Noses counted against me, but they were stuck upon drooping Heads & I will leave it to Balch if you meet him, whether I did not stop all their Mouths as fully by Argument, as by Beef & Cheese.

I have omitted all Mention hitherto of what has been near the Nib of my Pen often. I cannot refrain longer. I wish you may view it as I do.

'Tis glorious to dye for one's Country. Our Friend

¹⁵ A familiar name applied to him in College.

Quincy died by *thinking* for it, as much as any one has lately died by *fighting* for it. And thro' the Merits of the Mediator he is doubtless happy in his Exit. The *guilty* living are the only Objects of Pity; I sincerely hope & believe the Number of such is exceedingly small, in Comparison of the mighty Legions of the *frail*.

Do let me speedily hear from you; and besides a minuteness concerning y^r own affairs, let me know the State of y^r Brothers Family. Direct to my Friend Joseph Trumbull Esq.^r Commissary General at Cambridge, and give him a Line about Secresy of Conveyance. I write & hear freely & Safely tho' I know of a Deal of Negligence in the Matter of Letters.

Make a thousand Enquiries, I will do my best to answer them, tho' it will go against my Grain to do a Thing which may make you less likely to come to Head Quarters, by satisfying y.^r Curiosity in part, where you are.

Adieu my Friend for the present, for I will not tell you what it is only fit you should receive from the *Mouth* of y^r Brethren at Cambridge.

J. L.

(Endorsed by Oliver Wendell) M.^r Lovell's Letter.

Salem, May 8.th 1775.

Mr. Wendell:

S.^r: I rec.^d yours p.^r Mr. Prentiss. Note what you say of So. Battery, but I think it safer to have our effects dispersed; we shall be obliged to have a quantity of Oil there & all our Works. Mr. Cooms did not give his note hand. Mr. Will.^m Coombs is charged in the Books Feb.^y 7.th 1775, £ 32. 16. 7. Mr. Jn.^o Cooms gave a receipt for the Candles on acc.^t of his brother, which he may think was a note of hand. I have given credit for £ 24. 8. I understand some Tories or Officers have attempted to take possession of your House, but Master James Lovell has prevented, & as I hear, lodges there himself. I don't know why Voax is not there. I find it grows extreme difficult to get out of town.

Mr. Walley writes me he has been trying a week with all his diligence & can't effect it. We had the same alarm at Salem that you had, many expecting them every moment, but I gave no credit to so unlikely a story, and felt very calm. How long it will remain is uncertain, but I much doubt whether they will make any further attempt. No troops yet from England; a few have arrived from Halifax; a number of N. Yorkers have recanted, even Rivington has acknowledged that he has been hired to falsify and counteract all our measures and begs the favour of the public. N. York rises high. L.^d North told Mr. Quincy that he had no great faith in the Measures, but he must pursue 'em and try the event. He told him Hutchinson had missed it in his politicks. I must just drop a tear with you over Bro. Quincy, a short, but I hope a usefull life; he told Cap.^t Lyde he longed to hear there had been a Battle. Manduit writes Hallowell an intercepted Letter, Mch. 3.^d, I saw, that he hoped "ere this reaches you some of your Leaders will have felt the power of Parliament &c." from whence it is strongly suspected they had a design upon A——s & H——k. Connecticut Govern.^t have voted 6000 men upon the same footing as our men. Our men iulist very fast, hope you New Hampshire men will act your part well. Manduit says Mr. Hutchinson strove hard to git an exclusive privilege for the friends of Govern.^t but could not. Mr. Triscott of Dorchester has been at Salem & bro.^t Sharper with him in hopes to see you here, but finding you so far of, determined to return, but Mr. Triscott said he should be glad to have the black Children taken from him as he expected to remove farther back and they would be cumbrance to him in git^s into a family, therefore thought it would be best for Sharper to go back and find a place for himself and children, but then he wanted a credit from me to enable him to git such a place, supposing you would like it, I gave him a pass and requested that some person would take them in & keep them on as cheep a lay as they can including Sharper's work 'till further orders, & engaged in your behalf that all necessary charges should be paid. If you disapprove of this give me early notice

& I can write Mr. Triscott and prevent the operation of it. This day we have a large emission of Recantations from Marblehead Viz.^t King Hooper and all his family, Messrs. Marston, White, Foul, Gallison, Lewis, Bowen, &c., &c., lament.^s their errors. engag.^s their lives & fortunes in the service of their injured Country. This I take to be voluntary. There is not now a resident Addressor in Marblehead, hope Salem will follow their example. You have doubtless seen the resolve of Congress that Gen. Gage has disqualified himself to be Governor of this Province & therefore no obedience is due unto him, but to be avoided as an Enemy to the Colony, this I take to be the *Revolution of 1775*. God of his infinite mercies grant that those who steer the Ship of State may have wisdom to conduct her safe to the Haven of peace & the best civil Government. Am sorry you are settled so far from us. What think you of ship.^s our remaining Oil to Lond.^o by Cap.^t Coffin. Poet Joseph Green & Lady, Messrs. Jun.^o Amory & wife, Jos. Green Jun. & wife, Jos. Barrell & wife & Neighbor Balch &c., &c., have taken passage in Calahan for London; many to Halifax, Nantucket, Kenebeck River, all parts of Connecticut, &c., &c. It is like the dispersion of the Jews. Our love to you all.

N. A.

Charlestown May 9.th 1775.

S.^r,

I got here last Sabbath day, since which I've wrote twice to Master Lovell. In answer to my first he writes me that he choseth to have me to assist him in Removing your furniture & that he would Apply to the Generall for a pass for me if I would come in to Town, upon which I wrote him that if he could obtain a pass & repass for me that I would come in, in Answer to which he wrote me this Forenoon that the General promis'd that he would send Orders to the Ferry for me to pass & repass with your Goods & I now am waighting for the pass to go into Town. Shall do the best for you in my Power. M.^{rs} Phillips was here this morn.^s She & all here are well; she

wants to see you very much. She has got your Works Horse. She has got a House somewhere in Watertown. All friends this way are well. Inclos'd are letters from Master Lovell which I suppose will give you a particular account of your affairs. I took an Account of your things in Lynn. Harris continues [at the] Island & sells to every one that comes [] being waiting for this Obliges me to conclude. [Please] to give my regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself & Believe me to be your friend & Humb^{le} Serv.^t

H. Prentiss.

N. B. I have Mingo here with me.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

To be left at M.^r Jon.^a Jackson
Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Charlestown May 9, 1775.

H. Prentiss Letter.

D.^r Sir

There is such a severe Scrutiny at the Ferry that what Trunks are in the House must be opened there. On which Acc.^t and the Infirmary of my Health, I have got M.^r Prentiss to consent to come over upon the General's granting Pass & Repass.

His Intimacy in y^r Family will warrant my Opening y^r Pacages to take out any Thing which may have been put up by accident that can be called Merchandize, which you are now to *learn* is not comprehended in the Term *Effects*.

Very little of y.^r Furniture can be sent, I think, under such hourly-increasing Embarrassments.

Y.^r Bedding & Trunks with *useful* Furniture rather than the *best* must be chosen. The best will be grossly abused.

I this Minute have yours of the 4.th I wish you would refer to any of my Letters rec.^d by naming the Date of them.

9.th 11 A. M.

J.^s Lovell.

(Directed) M.^r Oliver Wendell

at Newbury

(Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's Letter.

The following is a copy of his petition for a pass.

To his Excellency }
 General Gage } }

May it please your Excellency to allow One personally a Stranger and of a Mixt Character, like the Generality of the World, to present himself thus to y^r Excellency's Eye, as a grateful Man, and in Consequence, as one firmly attach'd to the Interest of a most benevolent Citizen, Neighbor, & Friend — M.^r Oliver Wendell.

Greatly shocked by a Nervous Disorder M.^r Wendell was trying a Change of Air at Newbury, prior to the late Obstruction of Intercourse with this Town; his Domestics have since fled from apprehended Danger; and his Effects are taken under Watch of y^r Excellency's Petitioner who is also of very infirm Health.

M.^r Henry Prentiss, a Partner in some Degree of Business with M.^r Wendell, having just arriv'd from a foreign Voyage is at present in Charlestown. Your Excellency is therefore most humbly & earnestly intreated to permit said Prentiss to pass into Boston and to repass with the Effects mentioned, Arms, Ammunition and Merchandize excepted; or to grant your Suppliant the Honor of a Moment's Interview that he may confirm the above, and alledge fresh Circumstances in Support of his Prayer.

For such Token of y^r Excellency's Compassion to Himself and Justice to his Suffering Friend, your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, will ever pray.

Mem^{dum}

A small dressing Glass in Trunk No. 1 in a Blanket half way down; and a Pane of Looking Glass in the same Trunk or the Cedar Chest. In the same Trunk are Bed Screws & Winch.

In are

2 P.^t Cans mark.^t at Bottom I $\frac{W}{+}$ S

1 large P.^t Porringer . . . E H

1 Pepper Box		{ E I }
		{ M I }
1 Lamp	4 Stamps	
1 Sug ^r Tongs	no mark	
2 large Spoons	I Symmes	M I
1 do	I Clark	O W
1 do	W C	S+P
1 do	Hurd	{ D Q }
		{ M I }
1 do	T. Edwards	{ E ^I D }
		{ M I }
1 do	I E	E T
4 Tea do		{ D Q }
		{ M I }
3 do		O. W.
1 p ^r Shoe Buckles square open-work.		

My d.^r Friend

I now take up my Pen to write to you more particularly, than in the Morning, on the Article of Embarrassments. Such a Trifle as a little Oatmeal or Starch in a Paper is looked upon as unpassable being ranged under the Head of Provision, which it seems lays at the Arbitrium of the Searcher, who is a refugee from N. York, placed at the Ferry; while good Benj.^a Davis performs the same offices at y^e Lines upon the Neck. Thus you see it will be impossible to send you anything eatable or drinkable, therefore you will be quite particular in Answer to my former Hints.

It seems impossible that Matters can remain long in such a Situation as the present. God knows what will be the next Alarm, but I trust He will direct it in Favor of the oppressed.

Upon a Second Look I find y.^r Letter rec.^d by me was written 2 days before M.^r Prentice left you, perhaps in that Time you rec.^d one of mine. By y.^r recommending

that I sh.^d strow y.^r Garden with Something usefull you think it will not be taken from you. You surely are not in the Thought of paying Rent for it as a Store for the Remnant of y.^r Goods which may be left in it. Most probably Laughton will strive to *let* it to some of the high governmental Men.

I wish you would follow me with a Line daily as Things may happen to occur to you. I will do you all the Service in my Power, and conform strictly to y.^r Directions.

Mrs. Lovell begins to mend; her alarming sweats lessen. 'Tis a miserable little Baby in comparison of her former ones; but that is not to be wonder'd at, considering it as hitherto nurtured by Anxiety.

If I succeed in getting much the greater Part of y.^r Effects away and a tollerable Tory should have the Protection of the Remainder; and if M.^r Balche's & Doctor Gardner's Matters go on well, and 20 more ifs take Place, I cannot say but that my Wife will persuade me to turn Farmer; but it will not be in the Neighbourhood of this Place. One of the ifs is, if I am not in the *black* List, which I have the best Reason to suspect is past Doubt *against* me.

Present my best Regards to M.^{rs} Wendell and tell your young Folks I remember them with Love. I thought Mart. Brimmer would have been able to give me account of you thro' M.^r Jackson; but I am disagreeably convinced of the Contrary. I hope M.^r Jackson is not confined. If he is well he can certainly pick up Carryers at such a Time as This. You must however give us no State Matters; for 'tis but "you are the General's Prisoner," and whip! away to the Man of War; as is the Case of poor John Peck. I carry'd him Breakfast to main Guard yesterday, and again this Morning but he was carry'd off last Evening and put on Board Ship. Inquisitorial this!

your affectionate Neighbor.

May 9.th 4 P. M.

May 10.th P. M.

(Directed) For M.^r Oliver Wendell

at Newburyport.

(Endorsed) James Lovell's Letter.

Charlestown May 12.th 1775.

Dear Sir,

I've been here ever since last Sabath day waiting for a Pass into Town or for your things to come over neither of which I am able to obtain yet. Master Lovell wrote me last Evening that he had y^e Promise of a Pass for me which I believe is all I shall get. The trouble & Difficulty of getting a Pass is much greater than I cou'd possibly Conceive, & cou'd a Pass be obtained I shou'd almost as lives (did the furniture belong to me), leave it in the Town to take the common fate of things there. I must beg you to take a ride this way I think your interest demands it. I would not desire you to come this way if there was the least danger. You may come to Charlestown with the Greatest safety. Coll. Marshall sent over here to know what Stock you had upon the Island, upon which I sent Mingo to the Island to bring an account to me. He tells me M.^r Harris is very uneasy, the people from the Men of War frequently go to the Island to Buy fresh Provision, his own safety obliges him to sell to them, on the other Hand the Committee of Safety have thretned if he sells anything to the Army or Navy, that they will take all the Cattle from the Island, & our folks tell him they shall handle him very ruffly. M.^{rs} Phillips Furniture came over the Day before yesterday, & M.^{rs} Hunt came with them. Our other friends are still confin'd in Town but enjoy good Health. Inclosed is a Letter from Master James Lovell. Please to present my best regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself, & Love to M.^r Ned and Miss Sally. Y.^r friend &c.

H. Prentiss.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

To be left att M.^r Jon.^a Jacksons
Newbury Port.

(Endorsed) Charlestown, May, 1775

H. Prentiss Letter.

Charlestown May 13.th, 1775.

Sir,

I wrote you Yesterday by the Stage & inclos'd a Letter from Master Lovell, which will be left at M.^r Jackson's for you. I've been waiting here ever since Sunday last in expectation of a Pass into Boston. My Patience is quite worn out, but from what Master Lovell wrote me last Evening I expect to have my Pass this morning. I wish you'd come here yourself. I would not desire it if I did not think you might come with safety, but I think there is not the least Danger. If you do not incline to come please to write me where I shall send your furniture when I get it out of Town. Direct your Letters to be left at Woarts Tavern to the care of M.^r Andrew Brimmer who keeps there. Please to give my regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself & believe me to be your friend

H. Prentiss.

(Endorsed) Charlestown May 17, 1775.

H. Prentiss Letter.

 Salem, May 18.th 1775.
D.^r S.^r

Inclosed are sundry Letters rec.^d at sundry times & forwarded by the first opp.^o I have rec.^d a Letter from Mr. Prentiss who has got back again to Charlestown. He informs me that some of your Goods are coming by Water to Marblehead. I am going over to [see] ab.^t them & some of my own. Shall be glad you'd send me word what you.^d have done with your goods. I cannot yet learn how we are like to succeed ab.^t giting out our Candles. There has been a very great fire at Boston last night but don't yet learn the particulars but in generall that it broke out near draw-bridge & consumed many buildings; some say 30, some say 100, oh poor Boston! We are pretty well, but think of removing if we could fix upon a good place. We want to avoid the extremes of a seaport & too great obscurity. We have so many articles of News every hour I don't know which to write

you. Hallifax have burnt the Kings Hay & attempted the Dock yards. Dartm.^o have taken a Cutter & got the sailors and marines prisoners. S.^o Carolina seized ab.^t 1000 small arms with some ammunition. A Dutch ship arrived at New York with military stores for the Colonies, got all safe on shore. Ticonderoga taken with a large train of artillery. 3 or 4 transports arrived at Boston, part of a fleet of 6 Ships with ab.^t 800 troops; 4000 are destined to N. York. D.^r Franklyn arrived at Philadelphia. Several fishermen been taken out of inward & outward bound vessells. Yrs. with great regard to your family.

N. A.¹⁶

Boston May 26.th 1775.

Sir,

I was a thinking to stay in Boston till I had work up all the stuff that is Refin.^d and then to leave the Town, for I can't any ways content myself to stay in Town for their is not anything to do at the works that makes it worth while to open it. I don't take money enough to pay for my board. M.^r Hughes has Left his business in George Erving's hands which is the Reason that no body dos call at the works for Candles. Your Stores at Fort hill Remain as you left them. M.^{rs} Hovey is going out of Town & J[enn]y is going with her. M.^r Mines has been about the Oil and he be glad if M.^r Russell would not want him to take more Oil than is for him Self, for their will be a disadvantagedg attend it. I cant Pay Collo.¹ M[arshall] at present. Mother is gone & your house is emty. I will tell Voax to Move in it directly. I have been to work at M.^r White's off & on some time & have got some more to do. As their is but Little work to do at the works I shall be glad you would Let me know about [shu]ting it up, for the Provision that I get I can not content my Self upon and being discontented withall I find it is too much to withstand. Be kind enough to Let me know what I shall doe with the works. I call.^d

¹⁶(No direction or endorsement.)

at M.^r Constable & he says that he has not any business to do & he can not pay that Rent any ways for he dos not business enough to find him in Provision & he thinks as people are glad to git anybody that will take care of their houses to live in them Rent free he hopes that you will consider him in these times.

John Nicoll.

(Directed) To M.^r Nath.¹ Appleton
Merchant
Salem.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Boston May 16th 1775
John Nicoll to N. Appleton.

My good Friend Wendell

I write much in a Hurry and shall therefore be short. Mad^m Alford has sent for the Key of her Trunk. She is at Reading. M.^r Prentice must have deliver'd it to you, if it was not left by him at the Widow Stevens's in Charlestown; about which Enquiry shall be made before this is sent to you.¹⁷

M.^r Nichols has left the Key of the Works with me. I am ready for all y^r orders within my Capacity.

I have placed every Thing remain.^g of y^r Furniture snugly away in Chests, Boxes & Trunks in my own dry boarded Cellar; if there is a possibility of sending you any Thing useful, name it, and I can easily lay my Hand upon some small Package which contains it.

Yrs. Affectionately

J.^s L——ll.

June 6.th

Brother Appleton

By seing M.^r Nichols you will know the exact state of y^r matters, and you are already assured of my services. Is Jn.^o safe with you?

¹⁷ In the margin it is stated that the key was "not to be found at Mrs. Stevens's."

The above letter from James Lovell was directed to "Mess.^{rs} Nath.^l Appleton & Co. at Salem." Mr. Appleton re-directed it to "M.^t Oliver Wendell to the care of M.^r Jonathan Jackson, merch.^t in Newburyport."

Saturday Noon.

My d.^r Neighbour

Just after I wrote you last Doct.^r Morris Phisician of the Army an Elderly Gentleman took the House, and was so complaisantly pressing to come in that I work.^d all night from yesterday Noon, and admitted him at 10 this morning. He wishes to have the Furniture committed to his Care, nay is willing to pay for it, and makes the strongest Promises of the extremest Care. I think what I have left is better there than carry'd to Jeffries's, my House or the Store. I think *giving* the use a much greater Security against Abuse than letting. I therefore told Him that I would leave as p.^r Mem^{duum} for the *present*, for which he is greatly thankful, but that I should attend y^r *Order* respecting all or any Part. As to that "He shall be very thankful for present use, as it will give Opp^o to provide if y.^r Commands make it necessary."

"Your Desk & Case shall have the same Care as if the Papers were his own or I may remove it at my pleasure, if free access is too troublesome to me."

Monday.

Voulks was out a-Fishing & I intirely forgot Jacob so that my own School Runners perform'd the whole; and I assure you without breaking 6^d value of any sort. I had the House swept from Garret to Cellar removing every Thing new & old but the following.

In the *front room*.

Wax Work & chimney Glass each with Branches, a Look.^g Glass, a marble slab, a Card Table, a Japan Tea Table, a mahog.^y stand, Desk & Case, 10 Chairs, 2 China Vases, a Japan Plate Tripod, a leadⁿ Cooler, 2 Family Pictures, a Lamp Tea Kettle.

Look.^s Glass, 1 Pine table, 1 p.^r H.^d Irons. In the Closet an old Cabinet & 5 mingos & a Bed pan. a View of the Colledges.

1st upper Chamb.^r

1 Couch, 1 armed, 1 Fuddling, 1 low leather, & 1 flag Chair, 1 Pine Table, map of new Yk, Chest of acc.^t Books lock.^t & an old Trunk of Books in the Closet.

2^d Chamber.

1 Bedstead & Bed & old green Coverlid.

3^d Chamb.^r

Pallet Bedstead & 2 Cots, 1 Bed & bedstead, 4 red leather Chairs alike, 1 Pine Table, 32 metzintins, 4 painted on Glass, 1 Sampler & 2 views.

Cellar Stairs, a Candle Box.

Cellar.

A Cloath's Horse, a Bread Trough, 5 Greese Pots, pickling Tubs, a few Casks & a Beer Barrel, wash.^s Tubs.

In the Shed.

1 Fish Kettle, 1 Dining Leaf.

In the Wood House.

1 Cloaths Horse; 1 Window Ladder, 1 Washing Bench, iron bound Water Cask & 3 other Vessels for Water.

I have given the Gentleman an Inventory. He promises 10 fold Recompence for Damage, appears mightily pleased with appearances and the Landlord, prays for you to come in upon the present Tenant quitting.

He is a very grave Gentleman w.th a very small Family.

You will see that I consulted a mixture of use & ornament tho' the former in very small proportion. If either you or y^r Lady chose to have me remove any particular Thing or all, I will do it instantly. Especially give me Direction ab.^t the Desk & Book Case whether you would have me trust any of the Papers there or move all out of the Desk and leave the Book Case or take the whole

Home & send my own Desk to fill the Place. I must do that or send D.^r Gardner's for want of good Room, either of which I can do and will sooner than you shall have the least Uneasiness ab.^t the Papers remaining or being mixt by moving, or I can remove the Book Case as it is and leave y.^r Desk standing if the Papers of the Desk may be moved more easily than the others. You know I can take a Draw at a Time and lay them in the same mann^r into D.^r Gardner's.

I am now ready for the Commands of young master & miss as you will see by my next Invoice. I have pack'd every Thing of China Glass in small assorted Packages which are then to be put into lock't Chests in my Cellar.

I can give you a Specimen

Box No. 1 cont.^s several different Boxes Ned, Sally & Mama.

2 Pamphlets.

3 Apothecary's Shop chiefly.

Trunk 1 Variety of Light Things the Draw being full of Books.

2 China & Glass the Draw fill.^d w.th light Things.

No. 4 *Indian* Box Cake Pans & illumination molds, both reserved for our coming Days of *American Jubilee*.

No. 5 5 Burnt china Punch Bowls

1 Sugar Pot & 5 Coffee Cups

3 blue & white Tea Pots

1 burnt & 4 blue & white breakfast Bowls

6 bl. & wh. Patties 1 burnt Saucer

&c. &c.

I rejoice at hearing by Appleton that you are better. Do let me know Something ab.^t Prentice & Gardner, how have they sojourned?

I think to put a Brass Shovel & Tongs in the Front & Iron d.^o in the middle Parlor.

N. B. 80 Boxes of S. C. to Butler's Row Counting Room.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell or Mess.^{rs} Appleton & Co. at Salem. To Care of Joseph Trumbull, Esq.

(Endorsed) Boston, James Lovell. Received June 26.th

The following fragment of a letter in Lovell's handwriting appears to have been written at about the date of the above letter :

I shall follow y.^r Direction in all Things when I can get it, and [use] conscientious Discretion till I have the Pleasure of hearing from you.

And now, D.^r S.^r, as to the most important Point. Be confident in the Deity, throw of an anxiety which is evidently undermining y.^r Health. This Country, nay this very Town will soon rise to Glory and Peace from its present Condition; therefore take the best Care of y.^r Health, that you may yet again as heretofore be a great public Ornament and private Blessing.

God Almighty defend & cherish you & all yours; to whom pray name me & my wishes.

The following letter has no date :

It is my great Misfortune in my Desires to Serve you that I cannot frequently have y.^r Directions. Tho.^s Voax is in Possession of the House in G——s Lane; but the natural Consequences of the indiscrete Disposal of the Key took place before his Entrance. It seems some Man of War's men broke in last Saturday Evening, and went directly up into the Garret Chamber forcing off the Bolt of it, and then broke open *the only one place of which M.^r Dove had not the Key*, without entering any of the lower Chambers. They turn'd Things up side down, and forced the Lock of a Box of Papers; whether they stole any Thing much or little I cannot judge. I think it is probable all the muster did not end in Breakage alone. Had I been one Moment later the Lady Tenant the sober Friend of M.^r D. would have been gone clear off. I arrived just in Time to receive her sacred assurances of Innocence. I acknowledge I should have thought her so if she had not let slip that neither M.^r D. nor she knew what was in the Room because he had not the Key. If you recollect the Number & sort of Glasses or China and will mention it I shall be able to see whether the Room

has not been thinned. I shall repair the Lock of the Box and put up the Papers in an orderly Way so as to give you some future acc.^t of them.

It has been utterly impossible to make the desired Removal of Stock. And, as to the Note of Hand to be discharged, the Proprietor of it is desirous of having 80 Boxes or as many more as will pay the whole at 2^s 6. M.^r Hewes let son George have a large Quantity at that Rate, who will keep up the Market at 2^s 8 I suppose. Having try'd in vain to get a Letter down to you to know whether you would consent, I consider with myself the Risque of the whole, and the corroding Nature of Interest, and the Length of Time which would naturally be taken up in retailing the Quantity already fabricated, among the few Customers which I should obtain in the Face of so industrious a Merchant, and therefore have said I will deliver what are now on Hand at 2^s 6. I think to have more made as long as Custom can be found, which G. E. says is not to be had. Most on Hand were at 2^s 7 according to Directions left as to 3's 4's & 5's so that I hope y^r Approbation in the fall of a Penny. I hope for 2^d on every Box I may sell hereafter, as I know that is the determined Price of the expecting monopolizer. As to the past 2 only of 9 were Fives & therefore at 2^s 8.

Whatever is not expeditiously done to serve you, you are charitably to put on the Page of Fate rather than Indolence. Oil will not Sell. I have had it cooper'd & will watch it constantly. The Day Book sh.^d not have been carry'd away. Smith the Lighter wants to settle with the Select Men.

I have never had a Line from My dear Neighbour to disapprove my Conduct in Regard to Doc.^t Morris. I hope he thinks as well therefore of the Proceeding as I continue to do.

The Bearer will see D. G——r and will be instructed by you in the History of the little matters sent long since to y^r care.

Need I say I wish you & yours every Blessing?

James Lovell.

No mention was ever made to me by N——s about the Chance of a Market hinted at by y^r worthy Partner.

(Endorsed) Boston J. Lovell. Letter to N. Appleton.

Some of Mr. Lovell's letters were intercepted and the information obtained from them proving his bitter hostility to the royal side rendered him particularly obnoxious. He was imprisoned with John Leach, teacher of a navigation school, and Peter Edes, printer, June 29, 1775. Leach and Edes kept journals which give an authentic and vivid account of the brutal treatment which they and their fellow prisoners received. They seem to have found nothing so hard to bear as the incessant "swearing and blasphemy" of the British officers and soldiers evidently intended for their annoyance. Leach's Journal is printed in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. XIX, p. 255. Another letter, written by Lovell while imprisoned, Dec. 9, 1775, will be found below.

The following letter was written by Mr. Appleton :

Andover, June 21, 1775.

Brother Pilgrim

This informs you that (mother Rowlandson like) I have made a second remove, have got a very commodious House, considering the times, about 2 miles from the grand country road—if you come to see me, take your directions of Mr. French, or if you write direct to his care. I have been hoeing my Potatoes & Beans to-day. You^d say bro.^r Nat is in good spirits, but be assured extremely anxious for our public affairs. I went to Cambridge last fryday. Father remains poorly, but we removed him to y.^r good Sister Phillips's that afternoon. Next day as wife & I were returning home thro' Cambridge met the Express going to Congress informing the regulars had Landed at Charlestown, we tacked about, went thro' Woburn to Salem & was constantly presented with the melancholy appearance of the fire at

Charlestown. I must drop a tear over Bro. Warren. I could have wished he had never accepted the Military Character, not but that he was very capable, but being so capable in [other] Departments makes his loss greatly felt. These are dark circumstances, but not discouraging. I think we are right, tho' ill-deserving. The number slain on our part much less than first supposed, not exceeding 60 or 70, while that of the enemy much larger. Oh, may our Good God yet preserve us & direct us in the present most important crisis. Hope you & Lady & enjoy health. Hope bro.^r Jimmy will do something for us. Nicolls conduct has been odd at least. Late at night, Candle going out. Y.^r Friend.

Send word where the Chelsea head matter is, it ought to be removed.

P. S. an old letter from J[immy] just come to hand.

P. S. Father is coming to live with us, his Effects removed today.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell

to the care of M.^r Jonathan Jackson, Merch.^t

In Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Andover June 21.st 1775.

Chelsea 26 June 1775.

M.^r Wendell

Sir, The people in Chelsea have been & are now moving their Effects away further back into the Country and it is the Opinion of all that we are in Danger of another visit from the Regulars. I do wish if it is agreeable to your Judgment that you would give me Orders to Cary your Cattle further back for I am afraid that unless they are Remov'd you will loose them. I delivered two Cows according to your order. I have gott some people to go on the Island & how the Corn & potatose & Garden to the halves & I do design, God willing, to mow what I can. The Cow that was Sent up last Summer to M. Williams is Calved & the Calf is dead the Cow being hurt as I suppose. I should be Exceeding glad to be directed by you at this difficult time that I may

know how to proceed for I should be Exceeding Sorry to see any further loss to you.

I am Sir your hum.^{ble} Serv.^t W.^m Harris.

P. S. I have brought one Cow & Calf up to M.^r Uphams. I have sold one calf to M.^r Stowers, also sold 126 of wool at 8^s 3.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell in Kingstown.

To the Care of M.^r Appleton at Salem.

(Endorsed) Chelsea 26 June 1775 W.^m Harris Letter.

The following list is in the handwriting of Henry Prentiss :

Account of things at M.^r Timothy Uphams²⁰ in Lynn.

2 Feather Beds & Bolsters & 2 Pillows.

Nancy's D.^o

3 Ruggs & 2 p.^r Blanketts.

1 Trunk of Linnen that M.^{rs} Wendell sent to Island.

Bundle of Plate that M.^{rs} Wendell pack.^d up & sent to Island.

1 Trunk with y^e Island Linnen.

1 Silver Porringer & Spooone.

At M.^r Joshua Cheevers.

Box of Books.

Bag of Papers in M.^r Harris Ches[t].

Andover June 28.th 1775.

Dear S.^r

I have wrote you once (I think severall times) since I saw you last, but have rec.^d none from you. We are settled in a commodious House tho' 2½ miles from the meeting house on the Road to Dunstable. We see many of our Friends tho' we dont live very nigh any. My Father is at your Sister Phillips's. I went down last Sabbath in hopes to bring him up to my House but found

²⁰ Timothy Upham of Saugus, weaver, was a brother of Jabez Upham of Brookfield, physician, who was the grandfather of the late Charles W. Upham of Salem (see N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, Vol. xxiii, p. 37).

him so weak that he could not bear removing, we fear he will leave us soon. I purpose to go tomorrow to Watertown. I have rec.^d a Letter from bro.^r Jimmy which [I] inclose you. I believe he will be of great service to us, I pity him, hope to reward him. Nicolls conducted very oddly. He left the key of my House with *Dove* who let in a woman of the army, who let in Men of Warr's men who have broke into my lock'd Chamber as you see by J. L.'s Letter. Nicolls can't find the last Mem.^o book (not the red one) in which all latter matters are enter.^d He thought he brought it away in his pocket but can't find it. He came out with a young woman to whom (as John says) he pays his addresses; to this acc.^d I would charitably ascribe his late conduct. You have never informed me exactly where our Head matter is that was carry.^d to Chelsea. I want to remove. Do let me know where your sheep's wool is, & how much you have & what the price. I have some expectations of giting you a market. We are all pritty well, hope you & Family are so, but shall be glad to hear it.

Y.^r Friend, N. Appleton.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell to the Care of
Mess.^s Jackson, Tracey & Tracey Merch.^{ts}
In Newburyport.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Andover 28.th June 1775,
N. Appleton's Letter.

(Also endorsed) Monday noon Received & p.^r first
opp.^o to be forwarded by your aff.^{te} J. Jackson.

Andover July 13.^h 1775.

S.^r

Having a good conveyance I improve it to write you. I presume you.^{ll} be at Concord notwithstanding M.^r Al[onz^o] Hill's timidity. I think it will be a slight upon the Congress not to have a considerable attendance, besides it will be a good opp.^o of seeing a number of Friends. If you sett out very early Monday Morning you can git to my house to an early dinner & then we can proceed to Watertown or Concord that afternoon. It is

said Gen.¹ Washington has laid some messages before our Congress from Gen.¹ Gage but what I can't learn. It is said Cap.^t Darby is arrived & that the Parliament are summon.^d, to meet immediately, how true I can't say. We are all pretty well, messenger just going, our best regards to yourself & good Lady &c.

Y.^r Friend & Servant, N. A.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

In Kingston.

(Endorsed) July 13.th 1775 N. Appleton.

Andover Aug.^t 16.th 1775.

S.^r

Having opp.^o to send to Newbury, improve it to let you know we are well. I hear^d from Father yesterday. He continués to grow better. Mrs. Phillips family well. Do write me where you are & what about for I can't learn. Hope you possess.^d yourself of molasses from Toppam &c. Query how stands our contract with Messrs. Tracey, about Rum. We were to take Rum in April. Are we benefited by the rise of it? If not our debt ought to be on interest. I hear there is a plan at Court for redeeming our friends out of Boston.

Y.^s N. Appleton.

(Endorsed) Aug. 16.th 1775 N. Appleton's Letter.

Andover Aug. 28 1775.

S.^r

I was at Watertown last Saturday. Mrs. Phillips is desirous of seeing you ab.^t your Bro.^r Hunt who is at her House very unwell with his Daughters & Servant. She is at a loss how to accomodate them, wants to consult you. I have not heard from you for some time. I Rec.^d a Letter last Saturday from Master Lovell who is still confined, but in good spirits. He writes me he has sold 80 boxes & better than two tons Oil, paid Mr. Erving²¹

²¹ George Erving, a loyalist merchant of Boston? (see Drake's Dict. of Am. Biography, p. 309).

£280 & has more to pay him. The Works have been broken open once or twice but no great damage as he can learn. They took old Bills, Tubs, &c. &c. for fuel. Tho' Voaks also writes me a long Letter. He has the key and says he visits the Works every day & promises to take the best care he can, but proposes that we should appoint some person to manage our affairs while M.^r Lovell is confined. I was in hopes you had wrote to M.^r Brimmer when at Chelsea. I understand he is still in Boston. I think he would be a very proper person, it is said that it is necessary to give a Power of Attorney to some person. I shall be glad if you will come down this way that we may consult what is proper to be done. Mr. Lovell intimates that he expects to be out soon, tryumphant over his Enemies & then hopes to serve us more effectual than before, not spending his time idly schooling the children of a pack of Villians as he calls them. Gen.^l Robinson has taken Possession of my House but can't learn whether he proposes to pay any Rent. Deacon Boynton not yet out. It is very sickly in Town, it is said more die weekly of the Inhabitants than when all the Inhabitants were there. M.^r Scollay has lost his eldest son.

Father was very clever last Saturday P. M. We are all pretty well, hope you and family are, hope to see you soon. Y^r friend.

N. Appleton.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

In Kingston

Newhampshire.

to be left at M.^r Jn.^o Appleton's

In Haverhill

(Endorsed) Andover 28th Aug. 1775 N. A.'s Letter.

Andover Sept. 28 1775.

S.^r

I was at Newbury a few days after you & understood you did something with my Cocoa, but I could not learn what. I wish you'd write a line to Nicolls & direct him where it is, & order him to receive the Chocolat & put it up into Boxes to wait for my orders. A few days since

I rec.^d out of Boston a Letter from Messrs. Dupuis & Co. acknowledging the receipt of our Oil and that they had sold it at £38 p.^r ton. They expect to send acc.^t Sales next Vessel. They enter a little upon the Times, but excuse themselves from enlarging on that subject, as they expect their Letter will be opened. I have not rec.^d a letter from Deacon Boynton since I saw you, but in one he writes his wife, he desires her to inform me he is busy at the Works & will write me soon. There were no boats passed all last week & I do not understand that any have this week. I don't hear any late news. I was at Watertown last Wed. Thurs. & fryday, Mrs. Phillips & family well. Father continues very comfortable. Write me word when you expect to move & where. We are all pretty well. In hast

Y^r Friend & Servant, N. A.

P. S. When you come next, bring your acc.^t with the Comp.^a

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell at Kingston, New hampshire.

(Endorsed) Andover Sept. 8.th 1775 N. A.'s Letter.

Andover Nov.^r 1st 1775.

S.^r

I Rec.^d son Nat's Letter dictated by you, & note the Contents. I have not yet wrote to the Deacon not know.^g exactly what to write; considering the impractability of giting money out of Boston I approve of what you wrote, for it was with that view that I proposed a suspension hoping to git some out & afterwards to pay them. My two last Letters to Boston with the orders upon several persons & all the particulars I could think of relating to the Works still remain at Winisimet ferry, therefore I have thought of going down as soon as I can & tak.^g up those Letters &c., & from them collect such particulars as I may think necessary to write. I shall observe your caution of secrecy. I should be glad to know what you wrote the Deacon about disposing of & distributing our Effects. I would have him remove everything from the

works as fast as he manufactures, that we may have as little as possible in the works, if he has any money left after pay.^r those Gentl.ⁿ I would have him keep it in Gold & sell of as fast as possible, especially the Oil. Your hhd. of sugar came up to my House safe with the hhd. of press.^d stuff & the Ton of Oil. I apprehend from the late allarms on the sea coast that you will hardly move from your old quarters, tho' I think Newbury the safest seaport. Mrs. Appleton was, thro' Divine goodness, safely deliver.^d of a son last fryday Evening. She had a pretty comfortable time & very seasonable assistance. She has been about as well as usual ever since, tho' much troubled with the headake. The Boy I named, last sabath, George Washington. I have long thought of George as a good name to call, & there being none of that name in our family is a circumstance I always chuse, & the addition of Washington as a memorial of the times in which he was born. Hope to have a line from you soon with all the particulars you think of, relating to our affairs in Boston or Elsewhere. I have given you credit for the Bond. With respects to your good Lady & Children

I remain

Y.^r friend & servant N. A.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. at Kingston.

(Endorsed) Andover Nov. 1st 1775 N. A. Letter.

Andover, Decemb.^r 6.th 1775.

Dear S.^r

It is so long since I saw, or hear^d direct from you that I most forgit you. It is certain I don't know where you live, however no news is good news therefore presume & hope you are all well. I Rec.^d a Letter some time ago from Amory & Rogers, offering 1^s 8^d for our Candles, but I had no oppo. to answer 'till last Thursday. I wrote into Boston by a Flagg. I wrote the Deacon we could not by any means accept Messrs. Amory's offer (I think it was a very mean offer). Just after I had wrote

into the Deacon I Rec.^d a line from him dated Nov. 20.th He acknowledges the receipt of yours, he writes as follows: "I am still in your business endeavoring to do all in my power to save your Interest, it is with the utmost difficulty I have paid Cap.^t Erving & Mr. T. Boylston. I must let Messrs. Amory & C.^o this day have 40 boxes Candles to prevent further trouble. I should have by this time got through your business, but have been obliged to do some business for some other persons, which I have not time [to] be particular." He then mentions some of his own affairs, & concludes "the times is vastly altered & altering, which makes it extremely difficult to do business." He incloses me a letter from George Hayley inclosing an acc.^t sales of oil per Robson & acc.^t Currant. He sold the best £35 & ab.^t 1½ Tons black at £30, with amazing charges, which reduces our Oil to ab.^t £285 old p.^r Ton, it was charged £300. Messrs. Dupuis & C.^o rec.^d their oil 2 month after Hayley [and?] sold it two months before him at £38 p.^r Ton. He paid the ballance to Ju.^o Amory £86. 7. 6. but he has rec.^d nothing from Bilboa as we order.^d Lynch & Marony. I give you joy at the great Prizes lately taken, let me hear from you or see you soon.

P. S. What can you understand by the Deacon being obliged to let Amory have 40 boxes to save trouble. I hear Tallow Candles are 18^s p.^r lb. I can't learn how ours are sold.

Do inquire of M.^r Ellis Gray where his brother Edw. is that we may apply to him if we incline for his Debt ab.^t £100 Ster.^{lg}

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell, Esq. In Newburyport.
favor.^d by M.^r Searl.

(Endorsed) Andover Dec. 6, 1775 N. Appleton's Letter.

My worthy Friend

The Goodness of y^r own Mind will prevent you from reaching, by the Power of Imagination, the Height of the infamous Conduct which appears from Day to Day in this Town. But, as you may happen to

light upon some of the Scape Goats from Point Shirley, you may be brought nearer to the Mark than otherwise you cou'd arrive.

During all my Confinem.^t your Bureau has been in my Mind, and lately, in particular, has given me great Uneasiness; for Doct.^r M——s was warned out, that the House might be made a Barrack. At length, however, that is over; and the Owner being of Age, has become Boarder to slim Jn.^o Hunt, who is forced out of Sherburn's and has got into y^r former Tenem.^t, by which Saltonstall keeps both sides from the Light Horse, having also dropped £15 st.^s to the Doct.^r who was offered another House for Nothing not so handy to his Charge. The Doct.^r promises as honorably as at first respecting y^r Furniture, about which I became uneasy; because the officer who got suddenly into Neighbour Holbrook's, (upon a Stormy Day without the Key so as to prevent my poor worried Polly from taking away several valuables) being since forced to Master Carter's House, to leave the other for a Barrack, has taken away every single Article; saying that "the Gen.^l knows no such Thing as Houses & Furniture left under Charge of any Body but *himself*;" and had given his Orders accordingly.

My Situation is such that the Villians may force me away in some of their Freaks without a Minute's Warning. I therefore sent to Doct.^r Jef—s, who has altered his intention of going to London, and I desired him to take Charge of what is in y^r Bureaux, and what is pack't up in my Cellar, and the House Furniture when D.^r M——s quits; But his House will not receive his Father's Goods which he is obliged to move now after having filled himself up with other People's. All I can do is to take the Papers & every other Article from the Bureaux, and box them so as to put them under D.^r J——s Charge; and get M.^r Saltonstall & your Relation to take a full & friendly Care of what is under the Roof of their House, when the present Tenant of the west Part leaves it, and also of what is in my Cellar, more than Polly will transport as her own, if we leave Boston.

I was packing y^r Papers from the Bureau *Draws* last

Night by myself, after my 4 brother Jail Birds were in bed. Your little amiable Partner, as well as yourself, may be assured that the greatest Delicacy will attend this Measure as I have not thought myself entitled to overlook those Papers upon the *Packages* of which either of you had made any note signifying the Contents, except one, which I burnt being only a few Touches wrote in *troublesome Times*.

Whatever I light of in the *Slope* or *Case* regarding Pence or Land, I shall see conveyed to you with what Little I have of my own that is worth saving; as you may be wanting them to look into Titles in the Country in some of y^r Rides for Health. Perhaps you may give some small Hints of Direction thro' Deacon Boynton for me by a round about Description; for no Line can get to my Hand, or, my Friends *never* make the Tryal.

I grudge not my past Sufferings to that private Friendship which was the Cause of them. Nay, I glory in them; as my Treatment is a most evident Proof of the *just* Jealousy of the many who fled from Apprehensions of a similar Fate. The Wantonness of the Exertions of military Power against me and my most innocent Family should excite all who are out of the Reach of it to prefer Death rather than to come under it. The Savages of our Western Borders are Children of Nature, unworthy to hold a Candle to these scientific Barbarians from Oxford, Cambridge, and the middle Temple, who lead the servile Tribes of Sixpenny Murderers.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Boston Dec. 9, 1775 J. Lovells
Letter about my affairs.

Andover Dec. 25 1775.

Dear S.^r

I Rec.^d a Letter last Saturday from Deacon Boynton dated Dec. 9.th He does not acknowledge the receipt of my two last that I sent in by Roxbury lines, the one was dated Dec. 1.st the other 13.th He wrote me I learn by a woman who fearing she should be searched destroyed the Letter; in this last he incloses an order on Cap.^t Geo.

Williams for £60 L. M.^o which I shall present as soon as possible. He also incloses M.^r Jn.^o Gray's acc.^t with you & desires orders to pay it. I inclose it to you for your examination and orders upon it. The Deacon writes no particulars except that he is at the works. I Rec.^d a Letter from M.^r Hodgdon the Taylor dated latter end Sept.^r: he says he has been at our Works & they go on swimmingly under the care of the good Deacon. Cap.^t Procter tells me he hear.^d sperm Candles were 3^s L. M.^c Tallow 2^s 8. I wonder the former don't have a higher price. The Deacon does not say anything ab.^t Amory.^s I have wrote him to day to go by Cap.^t Procter who goes to Point Shirley tomorrow. Another cargo of Inhabitants is expected soon. I hear nothing new since the paper, except that two vessels are arrived at Casco bay from West Indies with molasses & Cotton &c., hope its true. We are all in good health. With compliments to Mrs. Wendell & family I conclude at present Y.^r Friend & Servant

N. A.

P. S. Coll.^o Abbot, brother to Sam.^l died last fryday night.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. at Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Andover Dec. 25, 1775. N. Appleton's Letter, p.^r [S.] Dashwood.

Andover Feb.^y 24.th 1776.

M.^r Wendell,

S.^r: M.^r John Van Emburgh, a gentleman from New Jerseys with whom I had some acquaintance ab.^t four years ago, is now with us. He with some others had a vessel, taken by the enemy, bound from Lisbon to the Jerseys & afterward retaken by one of our Privateers. He came to claim his Interest, & has asked my advice what attorney to apply to in case of need. I have recommended M.^r Lowell of Newburyport. This is to ask the favour of you to introduce him to that Gentleman; this may perhaps be a perticular favour to a stranger, & a well

wisher to our Cause, which are circumstances I know that always recommend to your notice. With esteem I am S.^r

Y.^r Friend & Servant

Nath.^l Appleton.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. In Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Feb.^y 24.th 1776. Nath.^l Appleton.

Andover 26.th Feb.^y 1776.

S.^r

I Rec.^d yours from Watertown, note the contents, & your caution, but why you should attribute How^s treatment of the Deacon to poor little Geo. I can't conceive, as we are all Rebels in their construction, & I can't imagine that one is worse than another, especialy of two *Congressions*, neither in arms; you say they hate me. Who? Surely amidst the 10,000 of Israel, little N. A. in Andover woods can't be of importance enough to be enquired after; can you conceive that Grig, Will.^m or Dan (for I know of nobody else) could inform the Gen.^l that I was one peg higher than you, therefore for my sake no more work shall be carried on. No Sir! we are both, nay all out of Boston, are Rebels, that have not by some means, conveyed a different sentiment. However I am no way displeas'd at your caution, anything consistent with truth and the public good, so that we can but git our Interest. I have received a letter from Lynch, Killikelly & Morony of Bilboa with an acc.^t Sales of our Candles & having remitted the Net proceeds to Mes.^s Hayley & Hopkins agreeable to order. I don't understand the Spanish currancy therefore can't tell the price they sold for, nor the whole amount, but I imagine it to be £51. 16. 11.^d Sterl.^s, if so it will save the first cost. I suppose M.^r Amory will of course take up this money also, upon the strength of the bill we gave him. If I have a safe conveyance shall send their letter to you for explanation. Last Saturday one M.^r Van Emburgh of New Jersey.^s with whom I had some acquaintance ab.^t 4 years ago, came to see me. He is this way to claim a Vessell that was taken by a man of war & afterwards

retaken by a Privateer out of Beverley. He asked my advice what attorney to apply to in case of need. I recommended M.^r Lowell & have wrote a line to you to be so kind as to introduce him, it is uncertain when he will present it. We are all well, hope your Family are, want to know how you succeeded with M.^d Fry; hope you will be able to remove nearer to us. I shall depend upon a hhd. Rum & Molasses. Please to write first opp.^o

Y.^r friend & Servant

N. A.

Pray don't forgit to purchase from the Prize,

}	1 Bll. Beef
	1 firkin Butter
	a few tongues
	a cheese

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq.

In Newburyport.

To the Care of Mr. Jon.^a Jackson.

(Endorsed) Andover, Feb.^y 26.th 1776.

N. Appleton's Letter.

All of Mr. Appleton's letters written at that time and now in the possession of the writer have been given above in full. There are three other letters written a few years afterwards which are interesting as showing the changed condition of business. He was still connected with Mr. Wendell, but, instead of commercial transactions, agriculture now claimed their attention.

April 19, 1779.

[S.^r]

We have a p.^s of Diaper at M.^r Sam Phillips's [in] Andover, which we want to have brought down, if you can bring it shall be glad. I propose you should carry some chestnutts to plant at Reading in a good spot in the Garden. You may carry some to M.^r Phillips & French &c. I am for trying some Rye, flax, Oats, & Barley to

see which suits our place best. Do see how the young Apple trees are & have the old ones trimmed. Perhaps you'll think it best not fully to determine with Nutting about the wall till I see you again, after knowing his whole proposals. Remember that we have potatoes enough sowed. Wish you a pleasant journey & am

Y.^r friend &c.

N. Appleton.

(Directed) O. Wendell Esq.

(Endorsed) N. A. Letter 19th April 1779.

Boston, Sept. 26, 1780.

S.^r

M.^r Parker has been with me, and it now becomes necessary that we determine what to do with the Cyder on the Farm. I suppose we shall have 10 Bll.^s at least, therefore if you will contrive to git 5 Bll.^s up, I will git 5 & have them brought down together either to the ferry orround by Roxbury. Parker is to send word how cheap he can git a Teem for either case.

Let me hear from you soon.

Y.^{rs}

O. Wendell, Esq.

N. Appleton.

(Endorsed) N. A. about Cyder at Reading 1780.

²²M.^r Burnham has been with me about buying the Shoemakers Shop on reading Farm. He says you are willing to sell, so am I provided we can git a proper price, but it seems as if Parker ought to have some notice, or Brown who works in it, least they should say, they would have given as much as we sold for or more, either for the building itself or for a Rent. I am of opinion it will be as well to be out of the way. Burnham says it cost 40 Doll.^s when built, at 75 is 3000 Doll.^s but as everything is so much higher I should think it

²² No date but probably about 1780.

worth 5000 Doll.^s If the above difficulties are removed in your mind I shall be willing to sell at that price, & shall leave it with you.

Y.^{rs} N. A.

(Directed) Oliver Wendell Esq.

Present.

(Endorsed) N. Appleton's Letter ab.^t selling Shop.

The family letters of Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, whose practice in Salem covered a period of nearly eighty years, contain interesting allusions to the events of the Revolution. Dr. Holyoke was born Aug. 1, 1728, old style, at Marblehead. He commenced the practice of medicine at Salem in June, 1749, and died here March 31, 1829. An excellent memoir of this eminent physician, written by Dr. Peirson, was published by the Essex South Medical Society in 1829. Another memoir by Rev. John Brazer, accompanying an "Ethical Essay" written by Dr. Holyoke, was published in the following year.

Dr. Holyoke was residing in Salem, in 1775, in the house now the furniture warehouse of Mr. Israel Fellows, No. 205 Essex street. He sent his wife and family to Nantucket, whither many other Salem people repaired for security and refuge. It was thought that that island would be treated as a sort of neutral ground. Mrs. Holyoke went to Nantucket April 27, 1775, and returned to Salem July 22d. A number of letters passed between them meanwhile, and these have been preserved by the family, who have kindly allowed me the use of extracts from them.

Mrs. Holyoke writes from Nantucket, April 29.th, that "there is no provision to be bought here, neither salt nor fresh. There is not a tree upon the whole island, except

two or three round some of the doors. The town looks much like Marblehead, and the same kind of stairs with bannisters to get into the houses." "The people are very kind, particularly the Friends."

May 2d. "Friend Hussey of Lynn & his wife have been here to see me. She is one of the prettiest faces I have seen. I live with their nephew"

May 20th. "I accidentally met with Peter Glover of Salem this afternoon in a shop; we were very glad to see each other. He kindly offered to carry a letter for me. The brig has not yet arrived but is daily expected."

May 22d. "A Brig from Salem arrived last night. I was much disappointed at not having a letter, but was glad to hear by Mr. Pyncheon's letter that things were no worse at Salem." "Friend Hussey and his wife of Lynn have called upon me several times and the women who have been at my father's²³ and grandfather's²⁴ at Boston. I live now with a nephew of theirs and am going to live with a daughter of one of them. The house I am going to is the only one on the Island that has Electrical Points."

June 1st, 1775. "We were alarmed last week with the arrival of a Company of Provincials, as they didn't let their business be known at first, but it soon appeared they came for flour & whale boats, of which they carried off a large number & 750 Barrels of flour, some arms, &c." "I hear Salem is quite alive. I wish we were all there in peace & safety." "I shouldn't chuse to be in Boston now, as it is supposed the whale boats are designed for that place. We hear 10,000 troops are at Boston, a new governor & three new Generals; but we have sometimes such surprising news, that now we hardly believe anything we do hear. I went yesterday with 2 Mrs. Folgers &c. in a Calash alias Horse Cart (which sort of riding is in taste here)."

June 2d. "I have heard this afternoon that Mr. Whetmore goes tomorrow or next day." "Drank tea yesterday at old Friend Husseys with Friend Vassal." "We hear

²³ Capt. Nathaniel Viall.

²⁴ Jonathan Simpson.

there has been another skirmish. I think our people succeed in all their undertakings, if our accounts are true; it grieves me to hear of so much bloodshed." "The people I live with are exceeding kind; we live very well. They have a handsome clock, points to the house, a fine walk on the top which commands the prospect of the whole Island."

June 3rd. "Received a line by Capt. Folger this morning, but as it was of the 15th of last month it afforded nothing new. We were all terribly disappointed, as we depended on this vessel for supplies." "Dr. Guilson has the chief practice and is in high esteem. I hope to return soon, or I don't know but we shall starve or beg. This world is chequered, & I believe we are now in one of the black checks, & if the game is as long as chess, we may never get into a white one." "Mrs. Fitch has just called to tell me her husband will sail this afternoon for Salem."

June 5th. She writes that she dined with Mrs. Fitch in company with Capt. Folger, Mr. Brattle, Capt. Calef, lady & two daughters. "Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Orne, & Mrs. Goodale were so rejoiced at seeing their husbands, that Mrs. Pyncheon & Sally talk of coming to live with me, as we can sympathize with each other."

"As to the place it is hilly & sandy, no rocks no more than there is in Carolina, nor trees except a few in gardens. As to the number of inhabitants I can't learn exactly, some guess 8000, some not so many. The houses are almost as compact as in Salem, they are all wood, shingled instead of Clapboard, the foundations brick instead of stone. I believe the chief produce of the Island is corn; there is one cornfield of six miles long." "Great meeting will be here this month, & Sheep shearing, high Frolicks, both, but I believe not this season." "Mr. Nutting wonders we came away, says we should have been safe at home, I told him we were more afraid of a man of war, than any thing else & were subject to constant alarms."

June 14th. "The Governor's Proclamation has just arrived here, they say, offering pardon to all, but Mr.

Hancock & Adams, on their laying down their arms. I hear you were under arms at the time of the alarm."

June 21st. "We hear there has been a terrible battle & that Charlestown is destroyed, how my heart aches for the poor sufferers. I pray Salem may be spared, as well as every other place." "We have just had an account that Mr. Porter the lawyer was shot going to Quebeck with a letter.

June 26th. "I went last Thursday in a Calash to a part of the Island called Shimmer where a number of Indians live. We carried our provision with us. They treated us with roasted Paqwaws (a sort of clam). It is as pleasant there as at our fort—there is one wigwam left, which was a great curiosity to me." "Mrs. Caty Pynchon has received a letter from Mr. Whetmore at Cambridge; he says the Country is in dreadful confusion, & he thinks the Sea Ports stand a bad chance."

July 10th. "I spent this afternoon at Mr. Jn.^o Coffins with Mr. Vassal's family & Mr. James Bowdin & Lady, who are here upon a visit from Middleborough. He speaks so much like our old friend Judge Ropes that I hadn't him out of my mind this afternoon."

Dr. Holyoke writes to his wife from Salem:—

May 1st, 1775. "There is no news of any consequence saving that the people are coming out of Boston. I hear Mr. Wm. Davis and family are bound to Halifax, where your Uncle Simpson's family is already. Dr. Prince sailed for the same place yesterday noon." "A vessel from Boston, last evening, brought about sixty of the inhabitants into our harbour, some of whom are bound to Connecticut and Halifax, and I believe some will tarry here." "We hear to-day that the General has again put a stop to inhabitants going out, on account, as is supposed, of the New York news."

May 7. "Mrs. Higginson sailed yesterday for Halifax, with her brother, Mr. Robie." "Miss Polly Glover received a line to desire her to return to Boston as soon as she could. She will go up to-morrow with Billy Davis, in a sloop of his father's, which sails to-morrow from

Marblehead." "We remain as quiet at Salem as ever; the appearance of business in the streets but very little. Just now indeed a number of families coming in from Boston occasions a little bustle."

May 19. "A terrible fire broke out in Boston the night before last (we saw y^e light very plainly at Salem), which destroyed a great number of warehouses, 1100 barrels of flour, and a large quantity of English goods. It seems as if that poor town was devoted to destruction."

June 3d. "Mr. Davis and his wife and family, and one negro boy (for his other four negroes ran away), came and dined with us and have put up here for the present; but he gives one piece of intelligence which makes me anxious about you, which is that a Capt. Richard Coffin, of Nantucket, whom he saw at Boston just before he left it, told him there were three hundred men of our provincial soldiers, under ye command of one Capt. Davis, were gone to Nantucket to prevent the King's troops or ships from getting any supplies from that island." Boston "is in a most deplorable distressed situation, they are continually alarmed & I fancy soon expect an attack & 'tis said here to-day that the Gov. will not let any more persons come out of the town."

June 6th. "Mrs. Hitty Higginson is arrived safe at Halifax."

June 7th. "Mr. Davis & Billy are gone to Mrs. Gibbs's at Newton upon a visit & to see the camp at headquarters (as ye fashionable phrase is) at Cambridge." "The town watch and the military watch, which is kept every night at the fort, &c., make us more than commonly still."

June 10th. "You desire to know how your friends are disposed of. Mr. Mascarene and family remain as they were, as also Mrs. Sargent. Mrs. Crowninshield, who went down eastward, is returned home again. Mrs. Johnston is here yet, but talks of going to Rowley. Mr. Cabot and Family still abide here, as does also Mrs. Lowell. Mr. Jno. Appleton's family are at Haverhill, Mr. N. Appleton's are here yet, but going, I believe, to Andover." "The English goods begin to fail here already. Our men are listing very fast here, between three

or four hundred are gone from this town: the sailors and fishermen, as they have no other employment or support, go to ye army, and we are told there is a whole regiment of fishermen gone from Marblehead—good riddance!”

June 12th. “You enquire about the alarm; it was nothing that need have terrified anybody, but our people seem determined to be afraid of everything; it was all over in an hour.” “Peggy writes for paper, but it is not in my power to send any, as I have none by me, not a sheet, and there is not a single quire to be bought in the town of Salem, though Williams expects some soon from Milton, which, such as it is, must answer.”

“Salem, Friday afternoon, June 16, 1775.

As to the Military Operations here, I am not in the secret, so can give you no news of that sort, tho’ the general voice is that there will soon be an Engagement, and perhaps it may happen before this reaches you. It is said our People intend to take possession of Dorchester Hill, tonight, and whenever they do, it is also said they will be attacked by the Regulars. I pray God to prevent bloodshed, but I fear there will be a good deal. * * * I have some thoughts of sending off to Boxford a load of necessary furniture proper for housekeeping, but am a little at a loss about it. M.^r Davis has engaged M.^r Hooper’s house in Danvers; which he thinks far enough out of ye way and I don’t know but he is right enough, but it is a situation I should not admire upon several accounts.

Saturday, P. M. I have just rec.^d a letter from your uncle at Halifax; he tells me his situation is very disagreeable and that he shall not continue long where he is, if he can get away, which there is very little prospect of as there are no vessels there but from Salem & Marblehead. Provisions very scarce & dear, no mutton, beef at half Pisterene per pound, Pork & Veal at 6^s 8 O. Ten.^r Butter 10.^s He was very much surprised to think you were gone to Nantucket, or anywhere from Salem; but if you were obliged to remove he thinks Nantucket the best place you could go to; and he heartily wishes he was there &c. * * * I suppose before you receive this you will have heard of the resolves of the two Congresses

about supplying Nantucket & we must get leave of the Committee of Safety at Cambridge for every article we intend to put on board for you—this will render the difficulty of supplying you much greater than it has been—however I should hope that you will not be obliged to tarry longer than August; and if necessity obliges you to decamp sooner you can at any time leave the Island without any difficulty.

Sunday, P. M. Well, my dear, I am heartily glad you are not here just at this time; you would, I know, be most terribly alarmed. We had an appearance yesterday of a most prodigious smoke, which I found was exactly in the direction of Charlestown and as we knew our men were entrenching on Bunker Hill there, we supposed the Town was on fire, and so in fact it proved, for in the evening (that is last evening) we were told the Regulars had landed at Charlestown under cover of the smoke from ye buildings they had set fire to, and forced the Entrenchments on the Hill and had beat our men off with loss, & this morning our intelligence was that 400 of our men were killed & the Regulars had pursued our men as far as Winter Hill; (tho' we just now learn that the Regulars still keep possession of Bunkers Hill, & that our men are entrenched upon Winter Hill) & that there is a probability of further action soon, and that our loss amounts only to about 150 killed. Among the missing is Dr. Warren who it is said commanded a Regiment; Col.^o Bridge of Billerica is said to be among ye slain, and Col. G[ardne]r of Cambridge had one of his thighs shot off. The commotion here was so considerable, though none of our men went to ye Battle (as the northwest part of the Province and not the sea coast were called upon the occasion) that we had but one meeting house open in ye morning,—and this afternoon while some were at meeting and others talking over ye action of yesterday, we were alarmed with an appearance of smoke at Marblehead, which broke up ye meeting, & the people with their engines & buckets went over to extinguish the fire, and I among the rest, tho' I should have been glad to have been excused on account of the prodigious heat of the weather,

but as I thought that under Providence I owed the preservation of my House to the assistance from Marblehead, when we were in the utmost hazzard, I could not dispense with going; but we were stopped when about half way there, with an account that ye smoke arose from a field of grass on fire, and that no building was hurt, so I returned home, and am now set down to rest and cool myself, and to give you this account. * * * Tuesday noon, June 20, 1775. The destruction of Charlestown by fire (for it is all burnt down) has struck our People at Salem with such a panic, that those who before thought our Town perfectly safe, now are all for removing off;— but I cannot be apprehensive of any danger we are peculiarly in. * * * As almost every one is moving away, particularly Cap.^t Williams, Derby, Gardner, Ashton, our neighbour Gardner & Dodge, &c., &c., I have it in contemplation to send off some necessaries for house keeping, if we should be driven away, but as to expensive furniture, such as looking glasses, chests of drawers, &c., the risk is so great in removing them that I think unless we are in greater jeopardy than I think we are yet, I shall let them abide.

Wednes.^y Morn.^s Dr. Warren is since known to be killed. Col. Bridge escaped with the skin of his teeth, & Maj.^r McClarra is killed in ye action.”

July 4th. “Our last accounts from Boston of the loss sustained by the Regulars, is much larger than at first apprehended. It is now said to stand thus: 700 private men killed or died of their wounds, 92 Officers, 3 if not 5 were field Officers, Col. Abercrombie, Col. Williams & Maj. Pitcairn and some say Maj. Duncan, & 104 Sergeants & 90 Corporals; a most terrible destruction for an action said to have continued but forty minutes.”

July 6th. “I wrote you very largely by Cap.^t Benj. Johnson of Lynn, who is for Nantucket by land. M.^r Whetmore tells me he believes eſther Miss Catey or Miss Sally Pyncheon will come home soon, they would be good company for you on the passage. You enquire about the Pickman family, they are all here & well, but the town is very empty.”

July 17th. "Mrs. Curwen, who went to Dunstable for an asylum, could not stand it but about 10 days or a fortnight & was as glad when she got home as a Galley Slave when released from his chains, & she is determined nothing shall start her again till she hears one Gun, at least, fired against the Town."

APPENDIX.

The following letters written by James Lovell, while he was a member of the Continental Congress, to Samuel Holten, also a member of the same Congress, are appended here as having a special interest in connection with Lovell's letters printed in the foregoing article. They exhibit the same vivacity of style and fervent patriotism so conspicuous in the earlier letters, and also present us with a graphic description of some of the most serious and perplexing questions and difficulties of that anxious period of the Revolution. Samuel Holten, though by profession a physician, was always in public life. He was for many years Judge of Probate for the county of Essex, and for thirty years a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The letters are in the possession of Mrs. Mary C. Putnam, widow of the late Philemon Putnam of Danvers, who was a grandson of Judge Holten.

Sep.^r 5.th 1780.

Dear Sir

I was yesterday much obliged by your favor of Aug. 21.st which relieved me from a great deal of anxiety that I had been thrown into by my children under date of the 17.th Mrs. Lovell has indeed been very ill; perhaps she will not again be able to go thro' with the Care of so large a Family without me. My children catch at the Hope that you will contrive to get me Home. I wish for such a thing much, unless you can give me such

Grounds from the Settlement of your account as to lead me to conclude that I am not ruining myself past Remedy by staying here. I am willing to involve myself as far as my Quota.

We have recalled the Com.^{tee} from Camp, have aimed to do Justice to the officers without giving in to Whims. Their Widows and Children are to have the 7 years half pay; and the Clause which stopped the Pension upon an officer being elected to a civil office is repealed.

3 millions Tax against the last of Dec.^r is called for and Justice is to be done to all who have supplied the public.

We must have money at all adventures. Nothing Else is wanting to raise us again into Reputation, and prevent stupid plans of creating absolute Dictators to get supplies without paying for them.

I write at the Post office having been forced to borrow a sheet of Paper from a Stranger in the neighborhood of it, such is its poverty.

Your obliged and affectionate humble Servant,

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Mr. Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from Mr. Lovell Sep.^r 5.th 1780.

N. B. rec.^d Sept.^r 21.st ans.^d 28.th

Sep.^r 10.th 1780.

Dear Sir

I send you by Cap.^t Barry an Index to the Journals of 1778. We have not yet the particulars of the Defeat of our army from Gen.^l Gates but we have an account from Gen.^l Nash to the Delegates of North Carolina much more favorable than we had reason to look for after the first Letter on the Subject. Mankind are so much governed in Judgment by Events that I fear Gen.^l Gates will lose much Reputation. He thought he should have as much Influence with the militia in that Quarter as in another and therefore made several attempts [to rally] there till he was drawn far from the Spot where the action began; and had a right to conclude on the

ceasing of the fire that the small Remains of his army was cut intirely off or dissipated. Being also among very disaffected people he would have been momentarily exposed to be betrayed as he was without even a guard of Horse. He thought it his Business to endeavor to get from the general assembly at Hillsborough Something of a new Army.

Had he stayed luckily with the small Body of Continentals he would only have been blamed for not exerting himself to rally the militia, a trifling Slur to what he now meets with.

I am persuaded there is a good Body of Men together by this time. I only fear about magazines & arms. We have recommended Provision to be made there for 15,000 as it is to be hoped that something may be done at the southward if *nothing* should be done in this Quarter.

Indeed, my dear Sir, with a View of public affairs and my own domestic, just at this period, I cannot cordially pronounce "all for the best" tho' I have had Experience enough to be far from Despondency. It was very unlucky that the money of our State should be seen in *Sodom* till the Quota of Pennsylvania had been offered to the people of that execrable City.

And now, to our Family Matters. Mr. Pickering's Employment destroys our plan of being with his wife. He had made some purchases for us, but we have so little prospect of finding a place in which to use the Furniture that I think we must dispose of it. It is small in Quantity and will even make a profit. He expected to be able to furnish us with money but is disappointed, and I am beat out from drawing on the State to the amount of my Wants by only a Sight of the nominal Sum. I have succeeded to Jerry Sheldon but I charge nobody with Quotas. Exchange is here 73 & 75, surely you are more reformed at Danvers and Boston.

Affectionately y.^r humble Serv.^t

J. L.

(Endorsed) Letter from Mr. Lovell Sep.^r 10.th 1780.

Ans.^d Sep.^r 21.st

Sep.^r 12.th 1780.

Dear Sir

We have been obliged to draw on the Treasurer for a great *nominal* Sum in favor of Col. Pickering 79,296 old dollars 16,935 of w.^{ch} are to pay him for those articles of Bedding which he procured for us when we had a plan for living decently with him instead of most disreputably where we are. The Bill ought to be paid in the old Emissions if your new is, as it ought to be, as good as silver. Because we have only rec.^d, at 72 for 1, 1101 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars, but the Treasurer will pay, at 40 for 1, 1982 $\frac{2}{5}$ which will give a profit 881 $\frac{1}{5}$ Col. P took all the articles to himself except the 3 Beds & Bedding which I hope will sell to profit or at least not to a loss.

I think you told me you paid 400 Board from the 12.th of June. I am charged from May 15.th 400—from the 3.^d of April to that time only 320. In addition to the news Paper you will find a Paper tucked into the Letter for M.^r Gerry that contains favorable Intelligence. *Sump-ter* has had two good Strokes upon Parties of the enemy since his Surprise. I will really, my dear Sir, write to you, one of these days which are to make up the year 1780, with a good Pen unmuddy Ink and not in a Hurry.

Your Friend and most humb. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten.

Hazard tells me of the Buckles.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Sep.^r 12.th 1780.Oct. 3.^d 1780.

Dear Sir

I thank you for your Remembrance of Sep.^r 21.st I hope your absence of four weeks was for the purpose of *enjoying* Health, not to *seek* it. Oh Doctor, I feel at this moment, Let me say it without wilful offence to any Class of Men!—I feel, Doctor, like a forlorn old cold sour Batchelor. Tartar Emetic warmed me a little but Sal *Sennet* has made me blue to the Fingers Ends. A pretty

Figure of a Gentleman I am indeed to go to Congress in raw northeast drizzly weather to contrive how to raise feed cloath & pay an Army without one dollar in the Treasury! Very genial Employment to be sure it will be to listen to all the minute Detail of the Circumstances of a black-died treason! By the Bye Doctor, you are so good a Soul that "Altho' you have been a *little perplexed* about his accounts, you could not have thought that the *honorable Gentleman* would have done *just so* as he has done."

You see I am not too sick to divert myself by taking you off in *your own Style*: for I am sure you have not been brought to say any Thing more *uncomplimentary* of Major General Benedict Arnold. Oh, dear Doctor, this Laugh of mine has its attendant Sigh. To what alas! are we exposed in this best of earthly Struggles! When will our Country be at Rest & her Liberty secured?!!!

I have I think already done myself the pleasure of sending you the Journals you mention. I renew the numbers which you may give into the Secretary's office for common Use if you find your own compleated since your Date of Request.

Your Friend & h. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Compliments to Mr. Avery. I thank him for returning the Index. I will not omit water Carriage for the Journals of 1778 for him tho' he has not yet acknowledged those sent by Cap.^t Burke for 1777. He told me once he had not got them but I suppose he afterwards had them. Burke went in a little Boat to Providence Rh. Island.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell 1780.

Philad.^a Oct.^r 17, 1780.

Dear Sir

Yesterday I had the Pleasure of receiving your kind Letter of Sep. 23.^d I wish indeed that I could give an account from this or other Potent States as favorable as what you tell of M.^r Appleton. I cannot come near it. I am sorry that Sheldon has been so unfortunate in

his Health when he has made so good a Change of Climate. The poor Fellow must be quite off the Exercise of his Talent for Commerce. I expected he would have shined in the trading Line.

M.^r Partridge was so kind as to send me a scale of Depreciation. I imagine it will not be so acceptable as our continental one, but I leave that Subject to another who is more touched with it than I.

I expect in a short Time to see a printed account of your Elections on the new Constitution. There is one degree above "high Spirits;" when a "gouty" man can show such, it may be expected that upon laying aside his Flannel he will be in a "tip top" Flow. Under a weeping Cold I must close, with assuring you of my Esteem and Affection as a Friend at your Service.

James Lovell.

Gen.^l Ward delivered me the inclosed & not being able to write particularly to you presents his Regards.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^e M.^r Lovell

Oct. 1780.

Oct.^r 30.th 1780.

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 19 is a pleasing Testimony before my Eyes that you were then well. And I thank you for the kind memorandum in regard to the Health of Mrs. Lovell.

If I at any time send you a surplus Journal you can deliver it to M.^r Avery. I now forward July & Sep.^r I suspect you will find one of the former in the Secretary's office with your name. It is not however a matter of Importance equal to the Search. Gen.^l Green & Baron Steuben are going to the Southward. The Enemy have landed in Virginia and I presume mean to take Post at Portsmouth according to what was long ago mentioned in Campbel's Letter which has been printed, but the *Kentuck's mad* Folks have not been alarmed by that notification. Gov.^r Jefferson *writes* with a proper Spirit and

Nelson *acts* with the same. But the latter is not able to prevent the invaders from securing such Passes as suit their Views. I fear we call for too many men to have a proper Army. I think myself Soldier enough to do the Business of this Continent with 25,000 well armed well clothed and well fed Effectives, much better than with double the number deficient in those three points. I hope Mass. will rival all the other States in Vigor for the next Campaign. I am persuaded you do not comprehend how much depends upon her. You did not carry home contemptible Ideas enough of the negro States or of this great Braggadocio.

My Eyes are better than when I last wrote but alas I have lost my Spectacles and have had 3 laborious writing Days without them to which were added Evenings and Nights therefore now to Bed.

Affectionately yours

James Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from Mr. Lovell Oct. 1780.

Dec.^r 5 1780.

Dear Sir

Your favor of Nov. 16.th with a Gazette reached me yesterday. You suffered so much in your mind & Body when here that I will not send you any of the ill pictures which with various Signatures come daily on to our Table. I hope you will find much Satisfaction in the short Letter from Gen.^l Gates. Wemyss was a very valuable officer to the Enemy.

You may amuse yourself also as one of the medical Class by reading the Epistle of Rush to Shippen in which you will find the Writer has *relieved* himself a little upon me. Shenstone's Benevolence made him *wish* that he could *afford* to have his Pockets picked frequently. I feel a portion of his Spirit operating upon me at this Time; When I see poor Rush swelled near unto Bursting, I cannot doubt but that he finds some Relief by throwing about his Slaver and Froth, therefore when it falls upon

my Cloaths I slight the Injury because he finds so much Ease in his terrible Case.

I have said to some of you my Friends last Week that Mr. Adams had in a masterly & Independent stile defended the Resolves of March 18 against the opinions of Count de Vergennes.

He showed that the *true value* of our Paper was its *current Rate*. That the *public Faith* which is said to be broken is a *mutual Contract* between the public and the Individuals who compose it, that either may break it, the Public by not paying the promisory Note when it has had an equivalent or the Individual by not giving that Equivalent when he takes the Note. That Government will wrong the Public by paying off Notes, current at 40 for 1, by 40 hard for 40 paper as much as if they paid 40 hard for 1 paper when the Emission was current at par.

He says no Distinction can be made between Frenchmen & other Foreigners or between any Foreigner and native Citizens. That all Foreigners become temporary Citizens. That they made such Profits as to be able to lose 3 Ships in 5, and this he proves by the prices of purchases and Sales. That they run no more Risk of Sea & Enemy than the Natives did in Trade.

That France is as much benefitted by trading with us as we are by trading with her. That the merchants of England had much more due to them when Mass. called in a Currency at $7\frac{1}{2}$ and that the King ever partial to his own Subjects in England against those in America would not have confirmed the Law of Mass: if both he & his Council had not thought it just in Regard to the British as well as wise in the Americans. That France will doubtless form the same Judgment upon the present measures when she is as fully informed. That he (M.^r A.) cannot attempt to persuade Congress to alter a Resolve the Wisdom and Justice of which has the fullest Approbation of his own Judgment and his most cordial Wishes for its Success; That as a plain and candid answer to a Question, he must say he thinks *such Proceedings* the *only* Way to gain & preserve Credit abroad because they discover Wisdom Justice & also Vigor in the American Governments.

I have injured his long Letter by these Extracts, but I give you and other friends *some* Satisfaction.

Y.^r affectionate

J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell, Dec.^r 5.th 1780.

Dec.^r 19, 1780.

I was unable on the last postday to thank you for y.^r favor of Nov.^r 23.^d—then, thro' want of time—now, I am scarcely able thro' much Indisposition of Body to notice largely all the Points to which you expect my attention. As to Bermuda you seem to have conversed more with merchants who own Privateers than with Politicians who know the great Portion of our friends in Bermuda above our Enemies a Portion which ought not to *be driven* into the mode of fitting out Cruisers who would be as troublesome to us as they were to the french formerly. As to the Duck in the Agents hands orders have been given. As to the Resolve of Nov.^r 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ respecting our Delegation, Circumstances at this moment make Remarks very requisite.

I have been ill 4 days tho' I have had a pen in my hand all the Time in my Chamber. Gen.^l Ward is quite unwell, he has attended Congress & the B.^d of War while he ought to have been in his Bed Room. M.^r Adams is not out, I fear he is also unwell. It was to make up a Delegation that I have risqued myself this very vile day. Questions on European important Concerns are agitating; and single Voices serve several States, as always heretofore. I do not mention this because I am averse to the Rule of our State that 2 should be the least to give her Vote here especially when she directed 5 or 4 to attend "*upon the Duties of the Delegation.*" Nay if she does not enjoin *that* upon more than 3. But when she makes 3 necessary "*to give the Voice of the State*" she puts a great hardship upon 3 when only 3 are *attending the Duties of their Delegation* and runs a treble Risque beyond several States of losing her Vote here daily. Mass. has been at

extraordinary Expense beyond many states in furnishing heads and hands to perform Congress Drudgery, and her members have more of the Work of standing Boards & Committees than most others, because their Residence has been more usually permanent; This has exposed her to lose a Vote when she has made *numbers* necessary to give it. One of her Delegates may often render tenfold Service on the Board or Com.^{tee} of which he is a member by serving an entire day on it than by being in Congress merely as a *make-vote*. You well know these things by your past Sufferings, and M.^r Gerry has felt them at the Peril of his Life. Whatever may have been the Intention of a remarkable Variety in the Course of 4 years respecting the *Voice* of Mass: here, I do believe that in the present Case the Words do not speak the Intentions of the Movers of the Resolve. I am so persuaded of that, as to determine not to present the latter Vote to Congress with the proceedings of Oct. 4, more especially if one of us here shall be unwell;—till I hear more from you. I am almost determined not to write any more to you for either my Letters must be quite insignificant or I must tell Tales to the Enemy. 10 or 11 of those I wrote Nov.^r 20 & 21 are gone into N. Yk. Among them those to M.^r Gerry (inclosing one I think from M.^r J. Adams), Doct.^r Holten Docter Whitwell Mrs. Adams (inclosing one certainly from her Husband) Gov.^r Hancock M.^r S. Gridley with my Rhode Island & Family Letters. I am told two mails from hence are laying at Fish-kill. There are some immense Genii in the Post office Department but I am told they say the Faults of Congress marr their Plans.

Y.^r Friend and h. serv.^t

James Lovell.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten

Philad.^a

Boston.

Ja.^s Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Dec.^r 1780.

rec.^d the 4.th Jan.^y answer.^d 11.th

Jan.^{ry} 2.^d 1781.

Sir

Some days ago I got Sight of one of my Letters to M.^r Gerry published by Jemmy Rivington, but tho' I wrote to you on the same Nov.^r 20.th I do not find thro' the same Chanel what was the nature of the Scrawl. I have, at some time, told you that I should aim to persuade my Colleagues to keep back the last Rule laid down by the Assembly for the Government of the Delegates of Mass: in Congress because from the very wording of the Resolve as well as from your Letter of a Date which I cannot now recollect, I am convinced that the intent was to *oblige not more than 3* to attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*. I have so far prevailed as to get the Gentlemen to wait for some Explanation, but we have agreed to be *all together* punctual in attending to give our Voice, that we may not become culpable if such was the real intent of the Resolve; but this very day proves what I before wrote, that I could be much more usefully employed in my Chamber than here in Congress, a packet boat being under absolute order for Sailing to France.

The Paper of Dunlap is not a *news* Paper Today.

Yours affectionately

J. L.

hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Jan.^y 2.^d 1781.

16 Jan.^{ry} 1781.

Dear Sir

We had yesterday no Post from the eastern Side of Hudson's River. I inclose a paper for M.^r Jay which you will be pleased to send to the Navy Board. I am mortified by knowing from M.^r Laurens that the Letters "given to him by M.^r Lovell and the Admiralty are in the Enemy's Hands."

J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Jan.^y 1781.

Jan. 23.^d 1781.

Dear Sir

You will have found, on seeing M.^r Gerry that I endeavor to economize. I told him that "M.^r Dana had a Commission" for Russia, and I referred him to my "Scrawl to you" for other Points. Maryland confederates, Virginia *seems* to give away *Something* for the good of the Union and recommends to others to do the like. I will aim to get the Act long enough to find Time to copy it, if M.^r Otis does not leave this City today. The Com.^{tee} of April 10.th, 80 on Depreciation for the Staff was filled up Jan.^y 5.th 81 and the Instructions to the Delegates of Mass: were referred. Money is exceedingly scarce here yet Exchange is from 100 to 115 old for Silver. Loaf Sugar 2^s 6 or 36 dollars p.^r lb. I pay 200 for Stockings and the same for Shoes. Compulsion is urged as a congressional measure by Jersey & Pensylv.^a but I think we are become too wise. Things appear to M.^r J. Adams Oct: 24 to indicate a malignant Continuance of War on the Part of Britain.

I should have mentioned that Maryland has limited the Time beyond which she will not receive the old money. I wish I could purchase up all your new. It will most assuredly be high in Credit soon, tho' it seemed a little while ago as if the other States meant not to act in concert upon the Plan of the 18 of March.

We are determined it shall have its Chance of Success; *We*, mighty Men, totally dependent upon 13 Legislatures different in Views, for Support in our smallest Endeavors to carry on the War. Indeed, my dear Sir, we are in a Condition as to payment of our Debts that is most tormenting. All our Creditors *must* loan to us, and I suppose most of them would willingly do it if they saw their interest certain against the due Day. I wish you w.^d tell me upon what Resolve it is that our Court have acted in Regard to advances to Allen the Indian Agent. I can only find Jan.^y 8 and May 13 1777 which my Colleagues say is not what they have supposed to be at all. I will continue my Search. M.^r Gerry had a memorand.^m of the secret Resolves of all the years. We have some *cold*

Weather at last, but it is more *wholesome* than the past wet warm Season. I hope you have Health. I wish you that & every Happiness.

Affectionately J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten Esq.

fav.^d by Mr. Otis

Boston.

(Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's letter Jan.^y 23.^d 1781

[Rec.^d] Feb.^y 28 Ans. March 1.

Feb. 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

I have received your Favor of January 18.th and have delivered the one inclosed to Doctor Duffield.

The Speech of the King of Engl.^d to his Parliament, and the narrative of Brigadier Morgan's Success shall be inclosed for your Information at the latter you must rejoice with Fear. It was *in itself* the most compleat action of this War, but I do not foresee adequate *Consequences*. Our Army there is no match for Cornwallis, and if he pushes suddenly he will ruin Gen.^l Green, who from dire necessity has been obliged to conduct himself by Detachments one of which being ruined the whole will probably be involved in the Fortune; But if he had the 6000 he wants he could not feed them *together*. As to the King of England's Speech it may be construed for War or Peace; for, the only Thing that can be gathered from it is that he thinks he has got a Parliament absolutely devoted to his Will. It is that which gives him *more than ordinary* Satisfaction.

Our Prospects as to Money do not brighten, you may be assured that 115 were yesterday given for 1 and this at a Time when every Body complains of the Want of old Bills. I think much of this Harm arises from the Tender Acts of this State. It is supposed that the next publication of Exchange will be at 100. This is the Story propagated as the foundation of demanding upwards of 100 for 1. But, why should I say any Thing on this

Head you well know the People here and their vile Practices.

I am affectionately Yours J. L.

(Directed) Honorable Samuel Holten Esq.^r

Expr. M.^r Brown

Boston.

(Endorsed) Hon.^l M.^r Lovell's letter, Feb.^y 8, 1781.

March 23, 1781.

Dear Sir

I am to acknowledge your kind attentions of Feb. 10 and March 1.st I hoped to be able to give you a better account of Cornwallis than you have of Arnold: But we must wait some Days longer before we can judge whether he will fail in his Retreat. As to Arnold He is yet too safe. I shall have opportunity of writing again next Thursday and will forward any Intélligence that may happen to arrive before that Time. I wish you had been a little more diffuse as to the Calculation of Interest at y.^r Treasury Office. I do not well comprehend your Hint in your Postscript. I will give you on the next page the Result of that Appointment of a Com.^{tee} of which you was one April 10. It is only giving *Good Words* to some of the Staff.

You will find that we got very happily through a Resolve respecting Allen's Department at the Eastward. The Resolve has been transmitted.

Y.^r Friend and affectionate humb. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten.

The Resolve was reconsidered and recommitted. I therefore tear it off.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Honble M.^r Lovell,

March 23, 1781.

March 27.th 1781.

Dear Sir

I yesterday received your Favor of the 15.th, as I did also some Letters from M.^r Carmichael through M.^r

Gerry's Care ; But still I have none from M.^r Jay, which is very mysterious.

I am rejoiced to find the Spirit of our State so high in the common Cause notwithstanding all its particular Burthens.

You will know the Conduct of the french Fleet off the Capes of Virginia before this reaches you ; but you are now also to hear that Green has lost a Battle. The french were under an absolute necessity of fighting, they would otherwise have sacrificed a little Glory to the main purpose of their sailing from Newport. They behaved most gallantly. We have only to lament their and our Disappointment by a Fog first and afterwards by a Want of Swiftness in 5 of their Ships which obliged the 3 fast Sailers to tarry for them and risque the Battle. You will have your wish as to Bermuda. All saving Clauses of former Resolves respecting that Island, and respecting Settlers and the Importers of Arms &c. will be repealed unless so far as that the Repeal sh.^d not condemn Vessels now in port or *Bermudians* with *Salt only* arriving before the 1.st of May. You will not publish my Communications unless I send the Acts of Congress. I hope you will see that the unparalleled Distress of Congress in Money Matters leaves no Remedy but calling upon such States as are *able* to furnish enough for our Necessities without affecting the true Quota which individual States ought to pay upon the confederal Principles.

I wish you Happiness being sincerely and with Esteem

Your Friend and humb. Serv.^t J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Honble. M.^r Lovell

March 27.th 1781.

Apr. 24, 1781.

Dear Sir

I am to thank you for your Favor of the 12.th and can only make Return at this Time by inclosing Gazettes which I hope you will show to M.^r Gerry before you send them to the Navy Board as usual to be forwarded. He will in return let you know how little we know from

Europe. Some very particular Engagements public & private prevent my enlarging further than to add affectionate and respectful assurances of being

Yours J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Apr.^l 24.th 1781.

April 17, 1781.

Dear Sir

I have this day rec.^d your Favor of March 29.th and am as barren of news as you were at that date. The Post is become useless for Politicians to a very great Degree but I cannot refrain from giving you a Return made to Gen.^l Washington on the 1.st of April and by him forwarded to Congress.

Recruits, April 1, 1781.

	<i>joined</i>	<i>unfit</i>	<i>retained</i>	<i>none.</i>
N. H.				
Mass.	59	5	54	
R. I.	125	—	125	
C.	270	35	235	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	454	40	414	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	

after the Return.

N. Yk.	67		67	
--------	----	--	----	--

Cornwallis has retreated quite out of Green's Reach. The Time of the Virg.^a militia being expired our army is weak. There were the greatest marks of Distress left by the British. Their Dead were buried by our People. You were in Congress at an *easy happy* Period of Business tho' you did not know it, nor did I then guess it.

Yours affectionately J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten
 Philad.^a Boston
 Ja.^s Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^l Mr. Lovell, Ap.^l 17.th 1781.

[Rec.^d] May 6, 16. Ans.^d y.^e 7.th May.

May 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

I yesterday rec.^d y.^r favor of April 26.th I am glad to hear from you that the Massa : Troops are coming on in large numbers. Indeed Doctor the States in most Credit in Compliance with the Requisitions of Congress are very very backward and the affairs of the Continent are consequently in a most alarming Situation. I scratched a Letter and would not trust it to the Post. Perhaps I shall send it by M.^r Payne who goes tomorrow.

I inclose a Paper which will show something of the Shock of the old Continental Currency.

If the Weather is fair Tomorrow I think I shall be able to get up to the State House.

Your Friend & h. S.^t .

James Lovell.

Hon. Mr. Holten.

May 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 26. of April reached me yesterday. Your Troops are coming on "in large numbers." The General informs you that Tents &c. will be much wanted; and the Court will make their "usual Exertions." Indeed Doctor I am persuaded that in a comparative View Massachusetts will appear to have been among the most vigorous States; but we are at this moment in the most disgraceful and hazardous Situation from the Backwardness of every individual State. Foreign Troops are to garison West Point because foreign Troops *can* feed themselves, and *are* paid. Our Quar.^r Mast.^r gen.^l has been obliged to sell some of his provision to enable himself to *transport* the rest to a Skeliton of an Army in Want of the very Pounds of meat or Flour which he has been forced to part with. If you know of a Compliance with one Requisition of Congress, *in Time & Quantity*, do let me have it that I may show it to the Delegates of the 12 States who cannot produce a single Instance.

We are in an Uproar here about the Money. Sailors

with Clubs parade the Streets instead of working for Paper. The Beer houses demand hard for a Pot of Drink; and all this because the Council have published that the difference between Silver and old Continental was 174, the latter having been sold 180 & 200 for one several Days. Did Massachusetts sink its Quota by the 1st of April? Some States had not then begun to sink a Shilling.

You say M.^r Partridge and M.^r Osgood are coming on: I ask with what money in their Pockets? That of our State is not counted money here. The old continental is dying by Yards not Inches. And if my Friends purchase Gold with their State money, They become Speculators, say all the Villains who have created the Necessity. Are you not aware of the Perdition that awaits my Family while the Paper System goes on. I take a Thousand Dollars here whether in old or 5 & $\frac{7}{8}$ State I draw for 1000 or 25 State. I lose the Interest on the 25 as I have twice or thrice done on 250 and I pay above 1500 for patching my Coat, &c.

May 9.th 1781.

My dear Sir

I had begun to write to you, to go by Post yesterday, but fell upon a Topic not fit to be trusted in that way, and therefore covered you a news Paper under a few Words of Intelligence. I had a private Occasion to write afterwards to M.^r Gerry somewhat largely about money, and therefore do not add any Thing to the inclosed Scrawl, persuaded that he will converse with you respecting my Letter and the Position of your Delegates here. But I must not refrain from adding that their private Embarrassments are but a small Clue towards explaining their public. Congress without their money Presses, depending on the punctual Supplies of the States are, at this critical Period of the Campaign, as a Set of Clockmakers from whom an Orrery or Microcosm is expected tho' their Hands are evidently struck with the dead Palsy.

I shall trouble you not again with any private Concerns.

If I can hobble up Street I will endeavor to make the Backwardness of the Printer of the Journals less & less a Disadvantage by giving you often manuscript Heads of what you ought to know.

Affect.^{ly} & with Esteem

Hon. Mr. Holten.

Y.^{rs} J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten Esq.

Philad.^a

Boston.

Jas. Lovell.

(Endorsed) Three Letters from Mr. Lovell ye 8 & 9 of May 1781. Ans.^d May 24.th

May 22.^d

D. Sir

I am to thank you for your Favor of the 7.th The Militia at the Southward have behaved very ill at Times and most gallantly also in Turn; and Gov.^r Jefferson says they have had their Triumph in seing picked british Regulars run like Sheep before very inferior Numbers of our Men.

I have already mentioned to M.^r Adams his Namesakes Plan of a Loan in Holland and our Receipt of a most cordial Letter from the King of France upon the Representation of our Finances last November. We have not yet the Detail of his friendly Intentions. They are communicated in Cyphers.

I think Cornwallis will certainly join Phillips but I hope G.^l Green will succeed at Campden.

Y.^r Friend & humble Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten

Philad.^a

A Counsellor of Massachusetts

Ja.^s Lovell.

Boston.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^l M.^r Lovell, May 22.^d 1781.

rec.^d June 20.th Ans.^d—21.

May 29, 81.

D.^r Sir

I have y.^r Favor of the 17.th doubly and trebly agreeable as it proved your own Health Mr. Gerry's and his success. I had really fixed him to a sick Bed.

You will be anxious about our Intelligence from Europe. We have much but I am too greatly overcome by the Heat, to sweat over the Consideration of what I ought to communicate to be consistent with an Obligation to Secresy imposed at this Time with a propriety not always connected with that Injunction in our continental Assembly. However, I may tell you that your own Printers have given you quite enough to show you that the Wheel of Time will not afford you another such six months as the Coming. Political Glory or Infamy of a lasting Kind is most assuredly depending on them, more especially on the two first of them, in which there must be an almost universal Change of Manners. Every Requisition already made must be fully complied with, and even more must be in forwardness. Let not the former Calls of *once for all* make us callous on this Occasion. The Execrations of Posterity will fall more justly perhaps on the Inattention & Negligence of the States distant from the immediate Carnage of the War than upon the Despondency and Cowardwice of those in which it centers should we finally be disgraced by a Combination of all those Circumstances.

Y.^r Anxious Fr.^d

J. L.

Oh this stagnated Air of Philad.^a I cannot write to M.^r Adams am happy to hear he is well at home.

(Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's letter May 29.th 1781.

Among the papers of Dr. Holyoke is the following bill against the Colony for professional services. It was written by him on very coarse brown wrapping paper, and is without any signature. It would appear by his

books of account, which are in the possession of the Institute, that the bill, of which this was probably a duplicate, was not paid except the last five items.

The Colony of the M. Bay to E. A. Holyoke D.^r

To Surgery, to sundry medicines administer.^d & attendance on sundry Persons, as follows Viz.^t

1775	Nath. ¹ Cleaves of Beverley wounded in Lexington Battle.		
Apr. ¹ 20. th to May 24. th	To amputating his finger, sutures &c. 8_ } To 5 Dressings D. ^o 4_ }		12_
Apr. 20. th	A Regular Soldier (a Prisoner) wounded in Lexington Battle. To Dressing his Leg & Jour. to Danvers 3_		3
.. 20. th	Dennis Wallis, wounded in Lexington Battle. To Dressing his Thigh & a Journey 3_		3
May 23. ^d to 30. th	Tho. ^s Manning of Col. ^o Mansfield's Reg. ^t (Pleuritic) To phlebot. ^v 2_8 To 10 Visits 13_4 } To sundry med. ^s 6_2 at 6 several times }		1_ 2_ 2
June 15. th to 24. th	Edw. ^d 25 Rogers of Col. ^o Little's Reg. ^t (Pleuritic) To phlebot. ^v 2_8 To 9 Journeys & Visits to Danvers 18_ } To med. ^s at 7 several times 3_10 }		1_ 4_ 6
June 22. ^d to July 16. th	Cap. ⁿ Eben. ^r Winship of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuritic) To phlebot. ^v 2_8 To 19 visits 25_4 } To med. ^s at 14 several times 11_ }		1_19_
June 23. ^d	Pike of Col. ^o Little's Reg. ^t Pleuritic. To phlebot. 1_4 To 2 Journeys 4_ } To med. ^s 4_ }		5_ 8
July 2 ^d 4 th	Eben. ^r Kenney of Mansfield's. Cholic. To 2 Visits & Journeys 4_ } To med. ^s at twice 1_10 }		5_10
July 1.	Jn. ^o Rice of Col. ^o Mansfield's. Pleuritic. To visit 1_4 To med. ^s 1_		2_ 4
Aug. 17	Thomas Willtams of Col. ^o Mansfield's To visit 1_4 Med. ^s 8		
Sept. 10. th To 13. th	Math[ews] Jackson of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuritic) To 4 visits 5_4 } To med. ^s at 3 times 1_10 }		7_ 2

²⁵ Edmund of Newburyport in Dr. Holyoke's ledger.

1775	Bro. ^t forward		
	John Preston of Col. Mansfield's (Rheumatic)		
Oct. 13 th	To 8 visits 10_8	}	15_10
To 30	To med. ^s at 7 times 5_2		
	Isaac Taylor of Col. Mansfield's		
Oct. 14	To 2 visits 2_8	}	4 10
To 16	To med. ^s at 3 times 2_2		
	David Newhall of Col. ^o Mansfield's		
May 26	To 2 visits 2_8	}	3_4
29	To med. ^s _8		
Sep. ^r 7	To Dressing his scalded feet 4 times & cerates 5_4	}	4_12_ 8
Oct. 10	To Amputating his Arm 40_26		
To Nov. 20	To 30 Dressings 40_ & med. ^s 4_ £4_4		
	Wa[tts] of (Dysentery)		
Nov. 9	To 6 visits 8_	}	13_
	To med. ^s at 5 several times 5_		
	Burrows		
Nov. 16	To visit 1_ 4 To med. ^s 1_		2_ 4
	Jn. ^o Marble soldier on board Cap. ⁿ Adams		
Dec. 17	To phlebot. 1_4 To med. ^s _8	}	3_ 4
18	visit 1_4		
	Ralph Taylor a captive (carpent. ^r of y. ^o store ship) []		
Dec. 28	To 8 visits 10_8	} per order of	13_10
to Jan. ^r 4	To med. ^s at 6 several times 3_2		
1776	Jn. ^o Sinclair (captive) of y. ^o ordnanc stor Brig. ^o []		
Jan. ^r 3	To phlebot. 1_4	}	3_ 4
4	To visit 1_4 med. ^s _8		
	Joshua Bickford soldier in Col. ^o Mansfield's (Fever)		
Aug. 29	To phlebot. ^r 2_8 To 11 visits 14_8	}	1_ 2_
to Sep. ^r 15	To med. ^s at 8 several times 4_8		
	Pickworth of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuropneumonia)		
Aug. 17	To plebot 1_4 To 6 visits 8_	}	12_ 6
22	To med. ^s at 6 times 3_2		
			<u>£15_10_ 4</u>
	(Endorsed) Acc ^o ag. ^t Colony of Massachusetts Bay.		

The following minutes, made at the time, refer to some of the events of the revolution.

Dr. Holyoke has these entries in his almanac :

1774, August 10, Delegates from Boston set out for Philadelphia.
 " " 13, The 59.th Regiment landed at Salem.

²⁶ Lost in defending a Privateer of a Ship of War.

- 1774, Sept. 10, The 59.th Regiment marched from Salem for Boston.
 1775, June 17, Battle at Charlestown. Charlestown burned.
 " " 19, Great numbers removed from this town.
 1776, July 13, Declaration of Independence published.

Dr. Holyoke's wife writes to her uncle, Jonathan Simpson :

1780, Feb. 27, We are put to the greatest difficulty to provide for our family, even the common necessaries of Provision & Clothing. Wood has been frequently sold at one hundred pounds L. M. per cord & the lowest £60 & other things in the same proportion, so that it is almost impossible to live. * * * We are obliged to wear now what we should have been ashamed to have given away.

In the diary of John Mascarene, then the Collector at the Port of Salem, are the following entries :

1775, April 19, Hostilities begun between the King's Troops & our people.

1775, April 28, Capt. John Derby sailed for London with an account of the battle on the 19.th

1775, June 17, A fight in Charlestown & the town burned by the the King's troops.

1775, June 18, A melancholy sabbath. No public worship. The country in confusion.

1775, July 18, Boston town meeting at Concord. Capt. Derby arrived from England.

1775, Oct. 12, Gen.^l Lee came to town, viewed the Companies.

In a memorandum-book of preachers and texts Jonathan Gardner of Salem occasionally refers to public affairs.

1775, April 23, No meeting on account of the grate surprise the people were in, and fearing that Ships of War should come in to Salem and Distroy the town. It was allso expected a seasure of Provisions so that there was from three to four hundred teams in for Provisions & Goods, which made grate Confusion.

1775, June 18, No meeting by Reason of a battle at Charlestown last night by the Regular troops and the Provincials, wherein fifteen hundred of the former was slain & wounded, only about one hundred of the latter, which was a Miracle.

1776, March 18, This day the Regular troops Imbarked from Boston hall.^d down to Nantasket & part saild 25 & the remainder saild 27 day.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

OCTOBER, 1876.

No. 4.

ORDERLY BOOK OF THE REGIMENT OF ARTILLERY
RAISED FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE
TOWN OF BOSTON IN 1776.¹

[Continued from Vol. XIII, page 134, Part 2.]

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 5.th 1777.

Ordred

That a Reg.^{tl} Court Martial Be held to Morrow at the Labouratory at 10 oClock for the Tryall of Isaac Pilsberry in Cap.^t Grays Company.

Cap.^t Amos Lincoln President.

Leint. White Judge Advocate

By Orders of T. Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Proceedings of a regimental Court Martial held at the Laboratory in the Reg.^t of Artill. Command.^d by Col^o Tho.^s Crafts.

By Order of the Col.^o for the Tryal of Isaac Pilsberry, Matross in Cap.^t Grays Comp.^y in said Reg.^t Boston Aug.^t 8.th 1777.

Cap. Amos Lincoln, President.

Leiu.^t White Judge Advocate.

¹The most of this number is recorded in the handwriting of Adj. Newhall.

Prisoners Crime, Drunk on Guard and Not able to Do his Duty.

Pleas Guilty.

The Court after Impartially Judging the Nature of the Offence are still of Oppinion and Do sentence the prisoner to Receive Ten Lashes on his Naked Back with a Cat O Nine Tails.

Amos Lincoln, Presid.^t

The Col.^o Disaprove the sentance of the Court Martial & Pardons the Prisoner.

P.^r Order Col.^o Crafts

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 8th 1777.

Ordred.

That Leiu.^t Marston with the Detachment that went first down to Hull with him return to Boston the first Convenient Opportunity.

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 10th 1777.

Order'd

That Eighteen Non Commission'd Officers, Serjeants, Corporals, Bombardiers, Gunners, & four Matrosses, be draughted every day to do duty at the Laboratory to work the same hours as the last Orders.

That all the Non Commission'd Officers and Matrosses of Duty Punctually and Strictly follow the late Orders for Exercising the Cannon and small Arms.

The Major and Adjutant will see that these Orders are Strictly Executed both by Commission'd, Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses.

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 12.th 1777.

Order'd

That their be an addition of three to the Guard and that one Centinel be placed at or Near the Marque as Centinel in the Camp.

That the Serjeants be very attentive in seeing that the

Straw in the Streets in Camp are swept every Morning and that all sorts of Dirt, Rags &c., are removed from within the Park.

That one Sec.^d Lieu.^t mount Guard every Day, and Report not only the Occurances of the Guard & Reg.^t, but the State of the Park and Camp.

By Order of Col.^o T. Crafts:

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 15.th 1777.

Order'd.

That a General Court Martial be held at the Laboratory to Morrow at 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them.

Col.^o Revere, President.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 16.th 1777.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the State Reg.^t of Artill.^y Com.^d by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts for the Tryal of John Griffith Serg.^t in Cap.^t Marrett's Comp.^y and Nath.¹ Trowles, Gun.^r in s.^d Comp.^y by Order of y^e Col.^o

Lieu.^t Col.^o Revere, President.

Prisoners Crimes.

John Griffith Neglect of Duty. Nath.¹ Fowles, Gun.^r leaving his Detachment at Castle Island without Liberty of the Commanding Officer.

Both Pleads Guilty.

The Court after Mature Deliberation are of oppinion that John Griffith be reprimanded at the Head of y^e Reg.^t by y^e Adjutant at such time and Place as the Col.^o shall appoint.

That Nath.¹ Fowles be Reduced to the Ranks.

Sign'd Paul Revere President.

The Col. approves of the Sentence of the Court and Orders it to be Executed at Roll Call this Evening, and that Cap.^t Marrett send Fowles to his Station at the Castle.

Order'd that the Court be Disolv'd.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 17.th 1777.

It is with great Uneasiness and Regret the Col.^o finds himself under the Disagreeable Necessity in this Publick Manner to say he finds so little regard has been paid to his Orders of y^e 22^d June he not having yet receiv'd one Return of a Size Roll, or a Description Roll.

It gives him Pain to find so many Officers Deficient in Attending Roll Call and Exercising notwithstanding his positive Orders for that Purpose of July y^e 1.st and since renewed by Orders of Aug.^t 10.th

Altho' he has only mentioned Officers he finds the Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses have almost lost every Idea of Military Subordination and Discipline, and that many of them Totaly Neglect their Duty and make the miserable Plea of Forgetfulness there Excuse.

As Court and Cashing for Commiss.^d Officers as well as severe Punishments for Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses is Extremely Disagreeable to him the Necessity of the Military Laws being put in Execution appears to him absolutely Necessary, he has, therefore, come to a Determination they shall be executed without favour or affection in future both on Officers and Men.

He is sorry to hear that some Officers have taken upon themselves to Judge of the Propriety, or impropriety of Orders, by Voluntarily having entred the Army they give up their Right of Private Judgment, and are to look on themselves as Machines, to obey Orders implicitly.

He is by no means pleas'd with the Advantage that has been taken of his Lenity, in granting leave to the Cap.^{ts} to suffer some of their Men to lay out of Camp as he finds it is so general that there is perhaps not more than one in a Tent and Expects this great Evil will be remedied Immediately.

As every Cap.^t is or ought to be Furnished with the Regulations of the Army as order'd by this State.
Order'd.

That they be read at the Head of each Comp.^y the last Tuesday in the Morning in every Mouth in future, and the standing (orders which are ready to be Deliver'd) on Tuesday, every Fortnight.

That each Cap.^t make an immediate return of the Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matros.^s what Blanketts, Cloathing are wanting, and the necessary Equipments for their Arms.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 19.th 1777.

Order'd.

That Edmond Morse be restored as Corporel in Cap.^t Bradle's Company who was lately reduced to the Ranks by a Court Martial, as his Good behaviour since has Merited a restoration.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 19.th 1777.

Order'd

That a Regimental Court Martial be held to morrow Morning 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

Cap.^t Phillips President.

Paul Revere, L.^t Col.^o

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 20.th 1777.

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial held in the State Reg.^t of Artill.^y Commanded by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

By Order L.^t Col.^o Revere.

Cap.^t Turner Phillips, President.

Prisoners Names—Samuel Peabody Matross in Cap.^t Lincoln's Comp.^y Ephraim Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt, all of Cap.^t Balches Comp.^y

Prisoners Crimes.

Sam.^{ll} Peabody being absent from Roll Call and not appearing for Guard when warned. Ephraim Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt, Destroying the Barracks.

Samuel Peabody Pleads Guilty. Ephraim Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt not Guilty.

Sam.^{ll} Peabody says he was mistaken in the time of Day, Thought it was but Eight oClock when it was Nine.

Ephraim Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt Pleads not Guilty.

Tho.^s Pelham being duly sworn says he saw Ephraim Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt carrying away the Pieces out of the Barrack Yard.

Jere.^h Blanchard Sworn Says he saw Eph.^m and Zenus carry away the pieces to their House.

Ephraim Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt say in their Defense that they had no wood, and that Gowen told them to go and get some at the Barrack.

The Court having Duly considered the Evidence, are of Opinion that Sam.^h Peabody, Ephraim Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt are Guilty of the Crimes alledged against them, but that W.^m Norcutt is not Guilty, and do Sentence that Sam.^h Peabody, Ephraim Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt be employed in Diging a Vault and Cleaning the Camp and Park, exclusive of their other Duty, and that W. Norcutt be released from his Confinement.

Turner Phillips, President.

The Col.^o Approves of the Sentence of the Court and Orders the Adjutant to see it executed.

They are to begin to Dig this Afternoon.

The Court is Dissolvd.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 21.st 1777.

Ordered.

That a General Court Martial be held to morrow at 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

Major Melvill President.

Lieu.^t White Judge Advocate.

Paul Revere Lieu.^t Col.^o

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 22.^d 1777.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the Reg.^t of Artill.^y Comma.^d by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts, by Order Col.^o Revere.

President Major Tho.^s Melvill.

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t White.

Prisoners Names : John Gowen, John Grigory.

John Gowen for Destroying the Barracks. Pleads Guilty.

John Grigory for being in Liquor making a Disturbance in the Streets and refusing to go to his Quarters, abusing and striking Serj.^t Reidel. Pleads not Guilty.

John Grigory Dammaging the Guard House. Pleads Guilty.

John Grigory Deserting from under Guard, and entering on Board the Washington Privateer, Threatning to kill the First Man who should come to take him. Pleads not Guilty.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Gowen are of oppinion he is Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge and Sentance him to be Muled Twenty-Four Shillings out of his wages.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Disobeying the Serj.^{ts} Orders are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Charge, and do Sentance him to Receive ten Lashes on his Naked Back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Striking the Serj.^t are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Crime and do Sentance him to receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

The Court after maturely considering the evidence for and against John Grigory of deserting from under Guard are of Oppinion it is no Crime.

The Court after maturely considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Entring on Board the Washington Privateer are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Charge and do Sentance him to Receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked Back with a Cat of Nine Tails. And also for Threatning with his Knife Drawn to be the Death of the first of the Guard who should come to take him and actually wounding one, and otherwise being very abusive, sentence him to receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked Back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

Tho.^s Melvill President.

The Col.^o approves of the Sentance of the Court, both of Grigory and Gowing, and Orders that Gowing be

releas'd, and that Grigory Receive his Punishment on Monday Morning one Hour before Roll Call and that the whole of the Reg.^t now in Town be paraded for that purpose.

The Court is Dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 24.th 1777.

Guards as Usual.

Order'd

That exercising be Omitted tomorrow morning. That Roll Call in the After Noon be at half after Six oClock.
By Order Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 24.th 1777.

An Address to the Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses.

The Col.^o is extremely sorry, & it gives him pain to think, he is at last Obliged to Consent to the Corporal Punishment of one in his Regiment. He had flattered himself altho' he had pardoned so many, that his last declaration, not to pardon in future, would have deter'd the Men from presuming on his lenity.

Punishments are extremely erksom & disagreeable to him; but he is Obliged to say he finds they are Absolutely Necessary. The enormous crimes of the present Offender are so Great that he could not pass it over in Justice to the State, the Reg.^t, or himself. He cannot but please himself, the men will look on this punishment as strictly Just & Right, that their Conduct will be such in future as that he will never have the hard & selfdenying task of either Judging on, or approving of such another punishment.

Altho Gregory's crimes are so great the Col.^o thinks proper to take off all but fifty Stripes.²

² Gregory was sentenced to receive 118 lashes; by the above order they are reduced to 50.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 27.th 1777.

Order'd

That Lieu.^t Col.^o Revere, Major Melvill, Capt.^t Edes, Cap.^t Gray, Todd, Phillips, Bradle, Cap.^t Lieu.^t Ingersol, Scollay, Bussey, Meinzie & Warner, First Lieu.^{ts} Revere, Grant, Marston, McClure & Bell, Second Lieu.^{ts} Hudebert, Metcalf, Meinzie & Ingersol, Quarter Master, Sergeant, five Drums & five fifes, one Hundred & twenty, Sergants, Corporels, Bombardiers, Gunners & Matrosses, the whole to hold themselves in Readiness to March at a Moment's Warning with six days provisions.³

The Commissioned Officers & Men are to Carry no other Cloaths than their Regimentals, two pair Stockings & two Shirts.

The whole of the Above Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses to appear tomorrow Morning at Roll Call completely equip'd for Marching. Their provisions will be Drawn for them which they are to Carry, except what they now have by them, which they are to Cook to Night.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 28.th 1777.

The Legislature of this State haveing Appointed this day 28.th Aug.^t as a Day of Humiliation and Prayer :

Order'd

That the Commission'd Officers, Matrosses, &c. Appear at the park dressed in their Uniform Clean & Powder'd precisely at half after one oClock P. M. and from thence March to the late Rev.^d M.^r How's Meeting House to hear a Sermon preached to them by the Rev.^d M.^r Thatcher.

After worship is over the whole of the Detachment Under Marching Orders will form at the Meeting-house Door & March from thence in Regular Order to the Common, receive their Arms and Baggage & immediately March from thence out of town to their destination.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

³ Sent to Worcester to take charge of the Prisoners captured at Bennington by Gen. Starks. (Note by Major Melvill in 1833. J. K.)

Watertown Aug.^t 29.th 1777.

As Strict Discipline, and Good Order is the life & Soul of a Soldier, the Lieu.^t Colonel expects that there will be the best Order observed on the March, the Commissioned Officers are to see that the men behave well, that they by no Means hurt or destroy any man's property, that they Abuse no person, but in everything behave like men Belonging to the Massachusetts State Train of Artillery. When their is a halt the Serg.^{ts} are to be Accountable for the behaviour of the Men. Should any of the Non Commis'd Officers or Soldiers be so hardy as to act Contrary to the Above directions they may depend upon being punished with the utmost Severity.

By Order Col.^o Revere.

Head Quarters Worcester Sep.^r 2.^d 1777.

Order'd

That there be a Guard Rais'd this evening to consist of one Cap.^t L.^t, one first & one second Lieu.^t, two Serg.^{ts}, four Corp.^{ls}, one Drum & one fife and twenty-seven men to mount at the Meeting-house. The whole Detachment will draw four Days provision to Morrow Morning at 7 oClock & cooke it by nine so as to be Ready to March at Eleven.

By order L.^t Col.^o Revere.

[NOTE.⁴ The detachment marched to Worcester and took charge of several hundred prisoners,⁵ Highlanders, Germans, Canadians, &c., and escorted them to Boston. John Marston, 25 May, 1833.]

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^r 7.th 1777.

Order'd

That the Quarter Guard and the party for the Labora-

⁴ (This NOTE was entered by Lt. Marston, living at this date. J. K.)

⁵ These prisoners were taken by Gen. Stark at Bennington, and the trophies of this campaign, now suspended in the Senate Chamber of Mass., placed there by order of the General Court (Ho. Jour., Dec. 4, 1777), were sent by Gen. Stark to the Authorities of Mass.

tory be the same tomorrow as it was before the Detachment March'd for Worcester. That Roll Call in the Afternoon be at six oClock.

That their be a General Court Martial held tomorrow at 10 oClock at the Laboratory for the trial of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them.

Col.^o Revere President.

Judge Advocate L.^t White.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the Reg.^t of Artillery Commanded by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts by Order the Col.^o Boston Sep.^r 6.th 1777.

President L.^t Col.^o Revere.

Judge Advocate L.^t White.

Prisoner's Names.

John Gowin, Thomas Cleverly, Caleb Southward.

Prisoner's Crimes.

John Gowen for Stealing, being Drunk, Deserting a file of men & Abusing Serg.^t Griffith.

Pleads not Guilty.

Tho.^s Cleverly & Caleb Southward for playing Cards on the Sabbath.

Pleads Guilty.

The Court after maturely considering the Evidence for & against John Gowin are of Opinion he is not Guilty, no Evidence appearing for his being Drunk, & that his Deserting the Guard & Abuse of Serg.^t Griffith was while a prisoner & not Punishable by this Court & therefore do acquit him.

The Court are of Oppinion that Cleverly ride the Wooden Horse for a Quarter of an hour with a Musket at each foot & that Southward Clean the Streets of the Camp.

Paul Revere Presid.^t

The Col.^o Approves of the Sentance of the Court on Each Prisoner & orders it to be executed tomorrow Morning after Roll Call.

The Court is Dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^r 16.th 1777.

Order'd

That the Captains who Commanded in the Detachment that went to Worcester see that the Cartridges which were Deliver'd out to the Men under their Command be Return'd to the Commissary of Ordnance tomorrow Morning.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 16.th 1777.

Order'd

That a Corporal & three Matrosses be sent this Morning as a Guard to the Magazine at West Boston.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 21.st 1777.

Order'd

That the Commission'd, Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses in Town & at the out port hold themselves in readiness by Thursday 25th Instant to go on a secret expedition. The time the Reg.^t will be employ'd in s^d service will not exceed 6 weeks. Ordered that the Officers & Men take no more baggage than what will be Absolutely Necessary.

Ordered, That an immediate return be made of the Regiment with the waiters sick, on furlow, & at the Out posts and that the Adjutant have s^d Return ready by to Morrow 3 oClock.

By order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 23.^d 1777.

Order'd

That the tattoo be beat this Evening at 9 oClock to sett of from the Laboratory down the lane & through the Main street & then up Winter Street to the Laboratory again.

Ordered, That every Non Commission'd Officer & Matross sleep in Camp this Night, except those who shall

receive leave in writing from their Captains to the contrary & any one who's taken up in the Streets after Tattoo beating shall be committed to the Main Guard at Fort Hill, or to the common Goal, & the Commission'd Officers will be particularly attentive to the Verbal Orders they have received respecting this Matter.

By order Col.^o T. Crafts.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

In Council Sep.^t 23.^d 1777.

Order'd that the several Captains in Col.^o Craft's Regiment of Artillery in the Service of this State who have receiv'd or shall receive Warrants upon the Treasury of this State for Money for the use of the Men borne on their respective Rolls for wages to the first day of October next be & they are hereby directed not to pay any of their Men who have signed & presented to Col.^o Crafts a certain mutinous writing wherein among other things they have absolutely refused to March according to orders duly & regularly issued, untill the further Order of the Board, such Warrants Notwithstanding.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

Council Chamber Sept.^r 26.th 1777.

Sergeant Mathew James of Capt. Balch's Company,
 Sergeant Henry Sibley of Capt. Gill's Company,
 Sergeant Thaddeus Gale of Capt. Phillip's Company,
 Sergeant Ephraim Durant of Capt. Edes's Company,
 Sergeant Ebenezer White of Capt. Todd's Company,
 Sergeant Benjamin Hodgkins of Capt. Bradle's Company,
 Sergeant John Griffith of Capt. Marrett's Company,
 Sergeant Ephraim Bullard of Capt. Gray's Company,

All of Col.^o Thomas Craft's Regiment of Train tried at a Special Court Martial whereof Lt. Col.^o Revere was President for exciting, beginning, causing & joining in a Mutiny & Sedition in said Regiment, and Sentanced by said Court each of them to be whipped Thirty Nine Stripes on his bare back & that each of them be reduced to the Ranks.

The Council approves of the said sentences & order them to be put in Execution this Day at five oClock Afternoon in presence of the Reg.^t to which they belong in such place as Col.^o Crafts shall direct.

Sign'd Jere. Powell President.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

Council Chamber, Sept.^r 26,th 1777.

Whereas, Mathew James, Henry Sibley, Thaddeus Gale, Ephraim Durant, Ebenezer White, Benjamin Hodgkins, John Griffith, & Ephraim Bullard, all Sergeants in Colonel Crafts' Regiment, & Sentanced Yesterday by a Court Martial to be whipped & reduced to the ranks, & said sentence having been approved by the Council & Order'd to be put in execution & whereas the said Persons have all of them Petitioned this Board praying that a Pardon may be Granted them & they exempted from suffering the said sentence & Col.^o Crafts & Lieut. Col.^o Revere having requested mercy for them, Therefore,

Ordered, That the Pardon be & hereby is granted to the said Mathew James, Henry Sibley, Thaddeus Gale, Ephraim Durant, Ebenezer White, Benjamin Hodgkins, John Griffith & Ephraim Bullard, all sergeants in Col.^o Crafts' Regiment, & Col.^o Crafts is hereby directed to discharge them from their confinement without punishment & they are directed to return to their duty, the sentence of the Court Martial of Yesterday & order of the Council of this day directing the said sentence to be put in execution notwithstanding.

And Col.^o Crafts is also further directed to Order his Captains to pay the Men who were represented to this Board as Guilty of Mutiny & the Order of the Board of the 23.^d instant to the contrary Notwithstanding.

[NOTE. The above mentioned Sergeants & others refused to march out of the State and to go on the expedition to Rhode Island. J. Marston, May, 1833.]⁶

⁶ Note made by J. Marston as of date. J. K.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 26.th 1777.

Order'd

That the whole of the Regiment hold themselves in readiness to March to Morrow at 10 oClock.⁷

That the Non Commissioned Officers & Men have three Day's Provision cook'd.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

There appears to have been no entries made in the Orderly Book during the first Campaign to Rhode Island; but finding a few family letters written by Sergeant Major William Russell, they are introduced as tending to illustrate incidentally the duty devolving upon the command of Col. Crafts. (J. K.)

Tiverton, Oct.^r 2.^d 1777.

My Dear :

These few Lines comes with my Love to you & family, hop'g they will find you & yours as well as they leave me. I have not time to write all I want to for M.^r Hamilton is waiting. We are in good Quarters & about 4 miles from the Enemy. The Militia comes to us fast. Every thing on the Roads is very dear. Rum is 20s. a Quart. Pray write to me by M.^r Hamilton as he is to come back quick. Excuse my shortness. I am my Dear your ever Lov'g Husband till Death.—W.^m Russell.

Hearsay & Griffith Desires to be Rememb.^d to all. My Love to all friends.

Tiverton, Octob.^r 8.th 1777.

My Beloved Wife :

These few lines comes, with my Sincere love to you & family, hoping they will find them as well as they leave me (God's Name be Praised for it). I never had my health better than I now have, & God has cast my lot in a Good family, where the Gentlewoman

⁷This expedition was to be a secret one; its object was not fully understood. It was to consist of several thousand troops from the nearest counties, the State Train of Artillery under Col. Crafts, with the Militia of Mass. under Gen. Hancock, the whole under Gen. Spencer of Connecticut. Its failure was attributed to the inability of concentrating troops promptly and in sufficient force. It was severely criticized in the Boston Gazette of January, 1778.

makes of me as a little child (M.^{rs} Durfey). My dear, I only want your Company and family to make me completely happy in this World, but that can't be obtain'd yet. I trust it wont be long before I shall be at home again. This day M.^{rs} Jemima Wilkinson was at my Quarters, and Spoke with us, & Exorted us to Repent, and turn to the Lord and he would have mercy upon us. It is the same Woman that was at Boston, & I like her much, & I beg of you to seek the Lord while he may be found, and pray for me, that God would cover my head in the day of Battle, which I expect before this day week. My dear, I long to have a letter from you & pray send every opportunity. Pray send me some Sugar, for I can't get any here. I live well, have Apples & Milk for Breakfast & Supper, Good Meat & Sauce for Diinner.

You may send me some writing paper & Sugar by M.^r Hamilton, he is a good friend to me. My Dear Wife, my heart is with you. Pray excuse my shortness. I am & ever shall Remain your lov'g husband till Death us part,
W^m. Russell.

P. S. Remember me to all my friends, duty to my mothers, love to M.^r Pierce & Wife, &c., love to M.^{rs} Farnum, &c.

Hearsay, Griffith, Wilson, &c., are well, desire to be Remember'd. This is the 4.th Lett.^r, Rec.^d only one.

Tiverton Oct.^r 15.th 1777.

My Dear :

I am well, & glad to receive your Letters, it gives me Joy to read your Writing. I should have been glad to have got the Sugar, however, the Boats are ready, for to carry us immediately to Newport, where I hope to get some. My dear Wife, excuse my Reprimand that I sent and Accept my love. I am sorry to find that Sammy has been ill, glad to hear that he & Mame is better. I am in such haste, that I can't enlarge. My dear, excuse my shortness. Your Lov.^g Husband till death,

W.^m Russell.

When you write send to the Laboratory. My duty to my Mothers. Love to my friends. This Night I am a going on the Island.

[To be continued.]

EARLY RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF ROWLEY, MASS.¹

COMMUNICATED BY GEO. B. BLODGETTE, A. M.

[1648]

At a Town Meeting the 20th of the 11th 48.

Thomas Barker, Humfrey Reyner, Mathew Boys, William Acee, Thomas Lever were chosen to order the affaires of the towne this yeare.

Thomas Dickinson was chosen to be constable this yeare.

Mr. Richard Swan, William Law, William Jackson and John Scales were to be overseers of the Hy wayes and Common Gates and fences, and to see to the execution of all such orders as shall be made this yeare.

John Pickard is chosen Marshill for gathering all the fines and forfeitures this yeare.

Ed Carleton, Francis Parrot are chosen to assist the five men in laying the ministry rate this yeare.

Ed Carleton, Capt. Briggam, Thomas Mighell, Francis Parrot, Mathew Boyes, Joseph Jewett were chosen to Judge and determine every mans proportion of land in the midows.

¹ The book from which the following was copied seems to have been the first book used by the early town clerks for recording the doings of town meetings. About 1672 a new book was begun, which is now called "Book No. 1" of the town records, and into it was copied everything in the old book, except the following names of persons who were elected from time to time as officers of the town. The old book was then discarded and suffered to go to ruin. Many of its pages are gone, and in a few years the names will be effaced.

[1649]

5 men chosen for this yeare ensuing,
 Capt. Briggam, Thomas Mighel, Maximilian Jewet,
 Thomas Barker, Thomas Lever.

Thomas Dickinson chosen constable this yeare 1649.

Overseers for the execution of towne orders and hy
 wayes this 1649

Hu Smith,	Samuell Brokelbanke,
John Smith,	John Person.

Brother Joseph Jewett and Deacon Mighell to vew the
 bounding of midows by the 4 of 3rd month.

John Person, John Pickard and Will Boynton are
 chosen to warne towne metings this 7th of february 49.

february 7th 49

Tho. Mighell, Math: Boyes and Joseph Jewett were
 chosen to determyne any difference that may arise be-
 twene any about ther fence and allsoe bounds of midows.

[1650]

January the third 50 at a Towne Meeting the Select
 then chose for this yeare folowing—

Mathew Boyes, John Trumble, Thomas Leaver.

Constable, the same that was.

Overseers, Joh Smith, Edward Hason, Hugh Chaplin,
 Samuell Brocklbank.

Marshall, Will Law.

For warning Town Meeting, Thomas Teny, who is
 allsoe to call towne meetings, William Stickney, William
 Boynton.

Pinder, John Pallmer.

[1651]

December the 19th

Chosen for prudentiall men

Francis Parrot, William Asie, Hugh Smith, William
 Boynton, Samuell Brocklebank.

Overseers, Edward Hasen, William Teny, Hugh Chaplin, John Boynton.

Marshall, William Law.

Constable, John Pickard.

[1652]

Richard Swan, William Hobson, William Stickney, Samuell Brocklebanke, William Tenny, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 20th of December 1652.

[1653]

William Hobson, John Pickard, Thomas Dickinson, William Tenney, John Smith, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 16th of December 1653.

for constable, Thomas Leaver.

for Marshall, Thomas Tenney.

for overseers, James Bayley, John Person, John Barker, Petter Couper.

for ponder, Charles Browne.

for calling towne meetings, Thomas Teney.

for warners, John Trumble, Tobiah Collman, John Tenney.

[1654]

Thomas Dickinson, Ezekiel Northen, John Pickard, William Law, William Tenny, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 12th of December 54.

Those that are chosen to judge defects of them that are fined for not comming to towne meetings, Levetenent Reminton, James Barker, Richard Swan, Thomas Lever, 12th December 54.

Richard Swan & Thomás Tenny are chosen for overseers for the plaine.

for constable, Will Tenny.

for Marshall, John Tod.

for overseers, Hue Smith, John Boynton, Marke Prime, Edward Hasin.

for Pinder, Andrew Headen.

for calling towne meetings, William Asee.

for warning towne meetings, John Trumble, Tobiah Colman, John Tenny.

[1655 no record.]

[1656]

At a legall towne meeting were chosen for towne office as folowing.

For five men, Rich. Swane, Jo. Trumball, Tho. Dickenson, Wiliam Stickney, Wiliam Lawe.

for overseers, William Jackson, Rich. Clark, Jon. Jonson, Tho. Abbot.

for cunstable, Jon Pickard.

for marshall, Jon Pickard.

a clarke to call towne meetings, Tho. Leaver.

to warn towne meetings, Jon Trumbal, William Stickney, Tho. Leaver, William Law.

for a pinder, Tho. Abbot.

to judge of such are delinquent at towne meetings, Levetenant Reminton, James Barker, William Asa and Tho Leaver.

Levetenant Broklebanke and Corperall Northen was chosen to lay out a country hy way betwixt Topsfield and Meremak according to law.

Also Ezekell Northen and John Person was chosen to run the Lyne betwixt Nubery and Rowly.

[1657, 1658, 1659, no record.]

[1660]

Officers for the towne for the year 1660 and 1661.

Will Teny constable & marshall.

for Selectmen,

M.^r Nelson,
John Pickerd,
Will: Stickney,
Ezekill Northend,
Thomas Teny.

For Overseers,

Richard Clark,
William Jackson,
Richard Longhorne,
Edward Hazen.

For the great plaine overseers,

Richard Swan & Will: Teney.

For calling towne meetings, Samuell Platts.

For warneing meettings for our end, Thomas Teney.

For the other end, Joh. Pickerd.

For pounders for our end, James Bally or son John.

Sam. Stickney.

Searlher of leyther, Deacon Jewet & Joh Dresser.

Judges of Delinquents, Ensign Brocklbank,

James Barker.

[1661]

At a generall Towne Meetinge held the 7th 10: 61, were chosen Town Officers for the Towne of Rowley for the remaininge time of 61 and 62.

Imprimis John Todd for Constable & Marshall.

For Selectmen, Richard Swan, Thomas Tenny, Ensigne Brochellbanke, John Dresser, Abell Langly.

Overseers for this yeare, John Burbanke, Richard Clark, Edward Hassen & Richard Holmes.

For Newbury fence, John Johnson, John Lambert.

Overseers for Pentucket side, John Gage and Henery Kingsbury for fences and highways.

Overseers for ye Great plaine, Will Teny and James Bally.

Clarke for calling Town Meeting, Samuell Platts.

For warneing Towne Meeting Joh Drusure at Midl of Towne & ye end & Richard Swan & Tho. Teny for east end.

For Pounders John Spofferd, Joh Grant & Thomas Burhebee.

Searlher of Leather, Deacon Jewitt & John Druser.

Judges of Delinquents, Left. Broklbanke, James Barker, Will Teny, James Bally.

[1662 no record.]

[1663]

At a legall Towne Meeting held the 3th of January, 1663 were chosen Towne officers for the remaineing part of the same yeare and part of the yeare 64.

Imprimis, for constable & marshall, William Law.

For Sollectmen, Richard Swan, Ezekiell Northend, Samuell Brocklebanke, Abell Langley, Jeremiah Elseworth.

Overseers at East end, Richard Hollmes, Samuel Plats.

West end, John Burbanke, Laonard Harri-
riman.

For calling Towne Meetings, William Tenny.

Overseers Nubery fence, John Jonson, Thomas Nelson.

For Pounders, John Spoferd, John Pallmer, Samuell Stickney.

Pinder for west end, William Jackson.

Pounders for the farme, Mr. Nelson and Henery Reyley.

Judges of delinquents for not comeing to Towne meetings, James Bayley, Marke Prime, James Barker, William Stickney.

[1664]

Officers of the towne for the remaineing part of the yeare 64 and 65 chosen at a legall towne meeting 7th of January 1664.

for counstables and towne marshalls, Richard Swan and William Tenny.

For moderator of town meetings, Deacon Jewett.

For selectmen, Thomas Leaver, Samuel Plats, Thomas Nelson, John Brocklebanke, Leaonard Harriman.

Overseers for east-end of the towne, Thomas Tenney, John Pallmer.

for west end, John Burbanke, John Boynton, senior.

Overseers for Nubery fence, John Jonson, John Lambert.

for pounders for east field and farme, Mr. Phillip Nelson, John Spoferd, Samuel Stickney, Andrew Hiden.

for calling towne meetings, William Tenney.

Judges for to fine dellinquents for not comming to towne meeting, Marke Prime, James Bayley, Samuell Brocklebanke, James Barker.

[1665]

January the 9, 1665. For y^e yeare 1665 & 1666.

Thomas Teny & John Palmer ar chosen constables.

Ezekell Northend, James Bally, John Dresser, Lenord Haryman, Thomas Leaver. [Selectmen.]

Overseers at our end, Abell Langley, John Grant.

for y^e other end, John Spoferd & James Dickinson.

for Merymake, Joseph Pike, Lon Gage.

Pinders for our end, Henery Ryley, Samuell Stickney, Andrew Hiden, Anthony Austin.

Judges of Delinquents,

for our end, William Asee, Edward Hazon.

for Bradforth streete end, James Barker,

Jonathan Plats.

[1666]

A generall Towne Meeting January ye ninth 1666.

Thomas Teny & John Palmer, chosen for constables this folowing yeare being 1667.

Ezkell Northen, John Tod, John Person, William Tenny, Richard Clarke, chosen 5 men this year.

John Lamberd, John Johnson, overseers for east end.

James Dickisson, John Spawford, overseers for west end.

James Baley, Hennery Ryley, overseers for Nubery fence.

Thomas Tenny & John Palmer are to be marshals for ye yeare following.

Thomas Wood and Samuel Stickney are chosen for pinders for ye yeare ensuing.

Thomas Tenny is chosen for calling Towne meeting for ye year ensuing.

William Asa & Edward Hasen, James Barker and Jonathan Plats are chosen for judges for ye yeare ensuing. Deacon Jewet and John Dressir, senier, chosen to seale Lether for ye year ensuing.

Benjamin Gage & Joseph Pike are chosen for overseers for ye yeare ensuing.

[1667 no record.]

[1668]

At a leagall Towne meeting held January the eight, 1668.

Ther was chosen by the towne to serve as constables for the yeare ensueing, Ezekiell Northend, Abell Langley. Also they are chosen for Towne Marshalls to gather fines.

For Sselectmen, Samuell Plats, Edward Hasen, Leonard Harriman, Samuell Mighill, Jonathan Plats.

Overseers for the west end of the Towne, James Dickinson, Ezekiell Mighill.

Overseers for the east end of the Towne, James Bayley, John Acie.

Pinder for the north east feildd on the east side of Satchwell Brooke, James Barker, Junior, Gorge White.

For the west side of Satchwell Brooke, Richard Swan.

For Clarke to call Town Meetings, Thomas Leaver.

For Judges to have the case of delinquents not coming to Towne Meetings for the east end of the Towne, James Bayley, William Tenny. For the west end of the Towne, James Barker, Senior, Gorge Kilborne. For Seallers of Leather, Maximillion Jewet, John Dresser, Senior.

[1669]

Officers chosen for the service of the Towne for the remaineing part of the yeare (69 and 70) the 10th of January 1669.

For constables, Jeremiah Elseworth, Richard Hollmes, and Marshalls.

For Selectmen, Ezekiell Northend, Thomas Lever, John Pearson, John Pickard, Leonard Harriman.

Overseers for vuiing fences and hywayes and vuiing chimneys, Thomas Tene, Edward Hasne, James Dickin-son, Samuell Pallmer.

[1670]

At a leagall Towne Meeting held the 17th of January 1670 were chose by the Towne for the yeare ensuing.

Constable, Jeremiah Elsworth.

For Selectmen, Thomas Tenney, Samuell Brocklebanke, John Jonson, John Trumble, John Pallmer.

Overseers for west end of the Towne, John Burbanke, Danniell Wickam.

for the east end, Richard Hollmes, John Acie.

Overseers for Newbery fence, Mr. Nelson, John Grant.

Pounders for the north east side, James Barker, Junior, Thomas Wood and his son John, Joseph Boynton.

Pinders for the west end of the Towne, Timothy Pallmer, John Boynton Junior.

[1671]

At a Leagall Towne Meeting Held the 16th of January, 1671, for the yeare ensueing.

for constable, Jeremiah Elseworth.

Sellectmen, Samuell Brocklebanke, John Pickard, Jonathan Plats, Samuell Plats, John Grant.

Overseers at the west end of the towne, John Burbanke, Daniell Wickam.

At the east end, James Bayley, Thomas Tenney.

Pinders for the northeast field, John Watson, Timothy Pallmer, John Wood. For that part of field toward ox pasture, Joseph Boynton.

THE DEAN FAMILY IN SALEM.

BY EDWARD STANLEY WATERS.

THE following account of the above family by no means claims to be thorough, complete, or exhaustive. A complete history and genealogy of a large family require an amount of time and research only to be bestowed by one having abundant leisure. To clothe the dead names of a genealogy with the facts and incidents in their lives which make them interesting to their descendants, and give them personality, requires a knowledge of their collateral circumstances and events which a lifetime would fail to furnish. Family tradition generally preserves the interesting incidents in an individual's life only in his own immediate line, and in a country where relationship is hardly acknowledged beyond the third remove, an acquaintance with much more than the bare names of distant branches is unusual and almost impossible.

It follows, then, that in an attempt to preserve the names and circumstances of one's family, the compiler will give more prominence to his own immediate line from a more intimate knowledge of it, but were some member of each distinct branch to write its particular history, the result would be a collective record, really true to its name, a *family* history, and which could hardly fail to interest every one belonging to it.

Usually, however, an account of all the branches devolves upon one individual, and as his knowledge has in

great part to be obtained from public records, it must, especially about other lines than his own, be exceedingly meagre.

The accompanying family sketch, slight and fragmentary as it is, has consumed much time and labor in its preparation, but the record being once made, and our knowledge put in a definite and accessible form, it is hoped it may prove a basis for future additions.

THE NAME.

In an article upon the Deane Family in the "Genealogical Register" for Oct., 1849, there is an account of the origin and changes of the name of Dean at once accurate and complete; from it we learn that "the name Den or Dene, which is the ancient way of spelling what is now written Deane, makes its appearance in England soon after the introduction of surnames. It was apparently derived from the Saxon word *den* or *dene*, a valley, which word is not yet quite obsolete, being preserved in the proper names of certain valleys in England, as Taunton Dean, Castle Eden Dean, &c. * * From *Dene* or *Den* at first but different modes of spelling the same word, have arisen two surnames, which at the present time are entirely distinct, viz.: *Deane* and *Denne*. Though the name is of Saxon origin, it is by no means certain that all the families that bear it are so." The particle *de*, the Norman prefix, "at first was generally used in conjunction with the name Dene, but as the Saxon element became more prominent in English society, it was gradually abandoned for the Saxon *at*, and its variations, which finally became the prevailing prefix." Rev. J. B. Deane,*

* Rev. John Bathurst, F.S.A., of London, Eng., an eminent antiquary, who is perhaps better acquainted with the history and genealogy of the various families of Deanes in England than any other person."

F.S.A., furnishes us with the following interesting remarks upon the subject: "The prefix *atte*, *at* or *a'*, is common to many old English names, and was chiefly affected by those who prided themselves upon their Saxon descent. The name Deane is reckoned by Verstegan among the Saxon families, and accordingly the prefix *at* is frequently found in connection with it in the 13th and 14th centuries." After the reign of Henry the Eighth, "generally throughout the kingdom the Norman prefix *de* vanished and the Saxon *at* was absorbed into the family name. A few, however, retained the latter, as A'Court, A'Becket, A'Deane, &c. The letter *a* was introduced into the name in the reign of Elizabeth, and *Dene* became *Deane*." "There are in England at least four distinct families of Deanes, from which all the others are offshoots or branches."

"The name of DEAN (without the final *e*) is generally thought to be derived from the title of the Church dignitary, and possibly in some families this may have been the origin. Lower, in his 'English Surnames,' derives it from both the church dignitary and the valley."

The ancestor of the family in Salem seems to have generally spelled his name *Deane*, though it formed no exception to the general custom of that time, which seems to have been to spell the same name in as many different ways as possible. Afterward the final *e* was more often dropped, especially by Joseph, the son of George, and his descendants. Thomas, his brother, however, retained it. Sometimes, though rarely, it was spelled *Dane*, though oftener the name of *Dane* (borne by an Essex County family of no known relationship to the Salem *Deanes*) was spelled *Dean* or *Deane*. There was also a family here named Dynn,* now extinct. At present (1866), I

*See Appendix.

believe no member of the family spells the name with the final *e*; it has yielded to the tendency of these latter years to lay aside all superfluous vowels. It is still retained, though, by descendants of other early settlers of the same name.

Among the early settlers of this country of the name were Stephen, who arrived at Plymouth in 1621, Rachel (a widow), in 1635, and the brothers John and Walter, who arrived at Boston about 1637, and after a sojourn there of about a year went to Taunton, and who came from Taunton Dean, Somersetshire, Old England. "They were the progenitors of many of those now bearing the names Deane and Dean in the United States."

Rev. John Bathurst Deane inclines to the opinion that John and Walter Deane belonged to the family of "Dene of Denelands," whose coat of arms was A lion * *Or* on a field *Gules* in chief *Argent* three Crescents *Gules*.

"A tradition among their descendants exists that a younger brother of theirs came to this country after them and settled in Connecticut; there was a Thomas Deane in Connecticut 1643, who may possibly have been the brother referred to."

Felt says a "Thomas Dean was living (in Salem) in June, 1691, aged 95" (should it not be 25?), and an Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, was baptized at First Ch., 28 d., 4 mo., 1668. George named one of his sons Thomas, and the name has been found in each generation since. A Thomas Deane, merchant, was of Boston as early as 1664; he returned to England and died there in 1686.

A Thomas Deane also was of Hampton Falls and Salis-

* Capt. Thomas Dean of Salem, who died July, 1802, possessed two silver tankards, on which was engraved, as related by his granddaughter in familiar parlance, "a lion on a silver field."

bury, who d. 1737; he m.^d Deborah, dau. of Rev. John and grdau. of Nath. Clarke; April 28, 1726, Archelaus Adams of Newbury, Innholder, sells his dw. ho. in Salisbury for £100 to Mr. Thomas Dean of Hampton:—one bearing the same name is found at Charlestown, one at Taunton, and one of Concord was made Freeman, May 15, 1672. Thomas of Exeter, who m.^d Eliz. Woodbridge of S.^m was perhaps son of the above and father of Benj. Woodbridge Dean of Exeter.

FIRST GENERATION.

(1) GEORGE DEANE¹ (2), b. ab.^t 1640, was of Salem 1660, prior to which year he married Elizabeth ———, who was the mother of his children and who survived him; his will was offered for probate July 2, 1696. In the records he is sometimes called "cordwinder" and sometimes "mariner;" the latter I am inclined to think was his principal employment, and that he was captain of the sloop of which he was partly owner, and engaged in the West Indian or coastwise trade, in which Salem at that time so largely engaged. The following entry in the County Court Records is evidence upon this point, as the names are those of large merchants of their time. "27, 9, 1677. Edmond Bridges attorney of George Deane, Mr. John Ruck, Mr. Bartholomew Gedney and Mr. John Higginson, plaintiff against John Griffin" in an action of debt.

John Griffin came into Court and acknowledged judgment due to Edmond Bridges attorney of the above parties in the sum of £31, 2s. 3d. to be paid according to the terms mentioned in an instrument drawn between said parties dated 23, 9, 1677. The following is an abstract. Be it known that whereas John Griffin of Bradford hath acknowledged a judgment of Court in the sum of 31£.

2s. 3d. payable to Jn.^o Ruck, Bartholomew Gedney, Jn.^o Higginson & George Deane, & by writing under his hand & seal hath delivered over to execution fifteen acres of his land at Bradford ferry as full satisfaction, &c. By these presents the above named doe declare that upon receipt of fifteen bushels of wheate fifteen of ry & thirty of Indiane corne all marchantable & one thousand and a halfe of marchantable pine boards & what white-oak marchantable staves he can procure, all to be delivered att or before the last of aprill next ensuing the date hereof at some convenient landing place at Bradford unto the said parties &c., & the remainder of the afsd. sum of 31£. 2s. 3d. that shall not be made good in the afsd. specie to be paid in neate fatt cattle delivered at Salem to the said parties &c. at or before the last day of October next &c., being fully performed that then the said parties doe fully release their claim to the said land &c. &c. this twenty-eight day of november 1677.

In presence of
John Pickering,
Edmond Bridges.

John Ruck,
Bartholomew Gedney,
John Higginson,
George Deane.

He perhaps received a grant of land from the town, although I have not as yet met with the record of any:—the first conveyance of any real estate to him being the above mentioned, from John Griffin of Bradford, and that perhaps was redeemed. But in Oct. 14, 1674, he sold to the noted Thomas Maule "Tailor" for £40 sterling the house, and piece of land containing "neere twenty poles as it is now fenced in," bounded West by Richard Croad, North by Thomas Robbins, East by George Deane's land, "the house and land fronting upon the street southerly with the freedom and privilege of an Inlett five foot wide and free egress and regrees between the housing of said Deane and the eastern pt. of the said Thomas Maule's

house now sold him for his convenientys of going in and out to his own land and for importing or exporting such things as the said Maule or his assigns may see good to or from the said land of his." George Deane to have the same rights. His wife Eliz.^h joins him in the sale giving up her right of dower.

In presence of Richard Croade,
Ephraim Marstone.

According to this he owned two houses, and among the claims for common lands in 1713-4 Matthew Estes, to whom Maule's above portion went, and who with Mr. Robert Kitchen afterwards bought the rest, appears for "his house and one half of Deen's right" and Mr. K. "for the house where Deen lived, one old and half new one."

Thomas Maule seems to have got into difficulty in things temporal as well as spiritual, if we may judge from the following records.

The Testimony of George Deane aged about 40 yeares, & his son Thomas Deane about 16, & William Longstaff about 50. That on the 21st day 11.th mo. 1680, they heard Tho. Maule say unto Richard Croade why doth thy wife say my new house stands two foot on thy land; then Richard Croade made this answer to Thomas Maule & said that it was but woeman's talk & he could not help it their talk for saith Richard Croade I sett downe the fences between my neighbor Maule & me & sett it in the same place where it did stand always before & my neighbour Maule & I did agree very lovingly about it till we came to the back of the oven near the streete which went about two feet further than the outside of his new house now stands & what words then passed between me and my neighbour male about the oven were not worth the minding for it was not all that wee then contended about

worth a farthing, soe when I had set down the fence my neighbour Maule and I divided it equally between us & my neighbour Maule paid me for my labour and after this was all done I made Thomas Maule's bill of sale, which runs as now bounded & fenced in, and also I became a witness to the bill of sale, And to the truth hereof we the above-mentioned" &c. have set our hands & seals this 21, 11, 1680.

"This testimony refers to ye bill of sale of George Deane to ye said Maule."

And again, "John Reeves aged about 72 testifyeth y.^t to his knowledge the house of Thomas Maule bought of George Deane doth stand wholly on the townes ground & the fence that fenced the heads of the lots left the said house without it about two foot, and the front of Thomas Maules new house standeth about fourteen feet on the townes ground being set upon a seller that John Kitching had made in ye townes comon.

June 22, 1681, Swore to before me Bartholomew Gedney Ass.^t"

The Robbins testifieth to the same at the same time.

It was perhaps to gratify some ill feeling towards his neighbors that the following accusation was brought :—

27, 4, 1682. Thomas Deane and Charles Phillips being bound over to this Court upon suspicion of their cutting downe severall apletrees of Thomas Maule's they desiring to be tried by a jury. The Court granted it. The (evidences) being read comitted to the Court & are on file,* the jury brought in for their verdict, they find for the defendants not guilty."

Thomas Maule was then "presented for breach of peace striking George Deane's children; the case being heard

*Qu. Are they still in existence?

the Court sees cause to admonish the said male * * * & each to bear their own charges.”

The exact situation of the land sold Thomas Maule I have not been able to ascertain. In an interesting biographical sketch* of him, he is said to have owned several parcels of land, the one upon which he built his house and which was afterwards associated with his name being on the south side of Essex St., and conveyed to him by Joseph Neale, July 7, 1681. The contract for building the house by Joshua Buffum is also given, by which it appears that it was to be finished by the last of the 8.th month, 1679.

As this was two years before the purchase from Joseph Neale, and as the above testimony dated 1680, the year after the house was built, refers to Thos. Maule's "new house" as built upon the land bought of George Deane, and as there is no positive evidence that the one built by Joshua Buffum was the same as that afterward known as Maule's I am inclined to think that such was not the case, but that that was the one about which the above evidence was taken, and which therefore must have stood on the opposite side of Essex St. The Kitchen family owned land on the corner of Essex and Beckford Sts.; there until within a few years stood their mansion-house, afterwards owned by Dr. Stearns, and probably in that neighborhood were situated the premises in question.†

March 18, 1683-4, George Deane bought of Andrew Foster, Jr., of Andover for £12, 10s. a parcell of land lying for 10 acres in the town of Bradford, bound on the west by Ezekiel Mighill, north by ye great river of Merrimack, south-east by land of Richard Kimball, and south by ye country road y^t leads from Bradford to Newbury.

*Essex Institute Collections, Vol. III, p. 238. †See appendix.

The grantor also binds himself in the sum of £14 that his wife "when desired thereto and health and wealth permit shall with convenient speed take some opportunity to appear before a magistrate or Authority thereto authorized & voluntarie & without fee from said George" &c., resign up her right of Dower in said land according to usual custom in law &c. &c.

Before Sam. Hasleton.

Again:—Samuel Hazleton of ye town of Bradford Yeoman for £9 well & truly paid him &c. by George Dean of Salem Shoemaker and Mariner, conveys to him a considerable parcell of meadow being three acres more or less in ye town of Boxford adjoining to the meadow of John Hazleton now in possession of Nathan Webster, and otherwise bounded. This 14.th of December 1687.

Elizabeth Palfrey,
Nathaniel Brown.

Nov. 23, 1686, he buys of John Cole Sen. of ye Town of Linn and Sarah his wife for ye sum of 15£ near half an acre of land in Salem bounded on the South by land of Priscilla Bowres, West by the King's highway, North by a path running along ye North River & East by Joshua Buffum's land.

Hugh Joanes,
Joseph Foster,
Abraham Wilkinson.

The next year he bought the lot next south of the above as appears by the following deed :

"This Indenture made ye 21st of 4 mo. called June in the year of our Lord according to ye English account 1687 being ye third year of the reign of King James the Second over England," &c. "Between George Bowres of ye County of Kent in ye Territories of Pensilvania &

Priscilla his wife on ye one part and George Deane of Salem," &c., &c., on ye other; they sell to him all that their messuage or tenement in Salem with seven rodd square of land being all fenced with one house on ye same being 18 feet long and 15 wide, bounded E. by Joshua Buffum, S. by Stephen Sewall, N. by said George Deane, & west with ye street.

W.^m Bowditch,

W.^m Nicholls,

W.^m Berry.

The King's highway or street here mentioned was probably Dean St., as that got its name from the land in its vicinity owned by the family of the name, but this I have no other data to confirm. Federal St. was not then laid out, but a path or way lay along the bank of the North River.*

However, without doubt in this neighborhood, somewhere between Dean and Bickford Sts., his homestead stood, and after his death his descendants even to the last generation continued to live.

This particular locality extending from what is now Warren St. over to the North River seems to have been especially inhabited by Quakers; at the present day it contains the two meeting houses and the graveyard of that sect in the city, and the estates in the neighborhood were, about one hundred and fifty years ago, very many of them in their possession. A respectable, prosperous, and thoughtful set of people they were, and many of their descendants bearing their honored names, or through female lines, still live upon the same premises. From the fact that George Deane bought an estate in their midst, with Joshua Buffum on one side, and George

* See appendix.

Bowers on another, both of them Friends, the former being one of the leaders of the sect, from the studied plainness of the form of his will, so contrary to the usual long prefaces and formulas of the time, and from other corroborating evidences I am strongly inclined to think that he too was one of those peaceful people.

We find from the Co. C.^t Records that upon the "25, 4, 1667, The wife of Geo. Deane was convicted for not frequenting ye publicke ordinances of God on ye Lord's day." This absence, from the probable character of the parties, could only have arisen from a strong counter religious conviction, and not from any depravity or thoughtless negligence.

The general associations too, and family connections for the next generation or two, partook largely of the Quaker element, and one branch of the family at least has continued in that belief down to our own time. A very interesting page of local history remains yet to be written by some one having access to the records which may exist of the early Quakers, in Salem, Lynn, and adjacent localities, and industrious enough to gather up the traditions of them which yet remain. Perhaps from those we might obtain some information in regard to the subject of these remarks, interesting at least to those who derive their descent from him, and which would throw a little more positive light upon his life and surroundings. I find nothing more in the records concerning him except his Will; this is as follows:

"The Last will & Testament of George Deane of Salem the 23.^d November 1688.

I George Deane being of perfect memory doe make & constitute this to be my last will and testament after my debts & ffuneral Expences defrayed out of my estate. I dispose of the remainder as ffolloweth.

1. I give unto my dearly beloved wife my now dwelling-house and lands with all my household goods and the house and land which Ezekiel Lambert liveth in with barn and fences and all belonging thereunto, provided she pay unto my five children five pounds apiece, which are these as followeth. John my eldest son, Joseph my 4th son and Benjamin my 5th son with my two daughters Elizabeth and Hannah each of them five pounds a piece.

2. The land at Bradford both upland and meadow I leave it to my overseers to defray any just debts as shall appear against my Estate they to make sale thereof for the same purpose but let it be with the advice of my son Thomas Deane.

3. I do give unto my two sons Thomas and George my part of the sloop: Thomas to have two-thirds: and George to have the other third: it is to be understood that but one-half of the sloop is mine which is to be so disposed of. Finally I request and appoint my Trusty friends Mr. Robert Kitchen & Mr. Stephen Sewall to be overseers to see to the performance of this my last will and testament. In Witness to all the premises I set to my hand seal this 23.^d of November 1688.

George Deane.

Signed Sealed in the presence
of us

William Furber * Sen.^r

Thomas Packer †

William Furber Jun.^r"

July 2, 1696, William Furber, Jun.^r appeared and made oath to the above signing &c., &c., and that his Father

*William Furber, Dover, 1643, had Wm., b. 1646, who was of Dover, 1684. Savage.

†Thomas Packer, Portsmouth, 1686, a physician from London, was Col. Judge of Prob. and a counsel in 1719; d. 1728. Ibid. Hepsibah, ye wife of Thomas Packer, d. Jan. 22, 1681, aged 25 years, 5 monthis. Charter St. Graveyard.

William Furber, Sen., dec.^d & Dr. Thomas Packer subscribed with him, &c.

Dec. 18, 1696, Dr. Thomas Packer also made oath to the above signing.

Nov. 16, 1697, Stephen Sewall declined the above trust.

The names of the above witnesses are not those of residents in Salem, and we find that the attestations to the signing of the will were not of the same date, giving reason to suppose that the witnesses were present in Salem at different times. As these parties were all residents of or about Portsmouth it may have been that the testator was at Portsmouth, on a coastwise voyage, and being taken sick, then and there made his will, but recovered from his sickness, and though surviving several years afterwards saw no reason to change the disposition of his property. It is certain that Dr. Packer attended him at some time, as I find in the Probate files, a charge from him for medicines. I fail to find in the records any inventory or further account of administration upon the estate. His widow Elizabeth survived him a few years. Dec. 22, 1698, she sells to her son Joseph, mariner, for the sum of £60 all that her homestead situate in Salem, being a dwelling house and quarter of an acre of land, bound on the West by land of Matthew Eastie,* North & East by Mr. Robert Kitchen, and South on ye main St., being the same given & bequeathed her by her late husband George Deane.

John Hathorne, Jr.
Stephen Ingalls.

She probably continued to live here with her son.

May 8, 1698, she sells unto Thomas Stickney of Bradford, Husbandman, for £21 in money and provisions a

*To whom it probably came from "my neighbour male."

considerable parcell of meadow being three acres in ye Towne of Bradford adjoining to the meadow of John Hazletine sometime in possession of. Nathan Webster; also another parcel of land in Bradford of ten acres, being the same sold to her husband in 1684 by Andrew Foster, Jr. Dec. 2 of the same year "Thomas Deane, eldest son of George Deane," consents unto and confirms the sale.

She died probably Dec., 1704, and administration upon her estate was granted to her eldest son Thomas, Nov. 29, 1705; the delay in administration may have been caused by his absence at sea.

But he himself died before he had time to fulfill the trust, and it was therefore granted to her now "only surviving son Capt. Joseph Dean," July, 1706. He, July 8th of that year exhibited an inventory of her estate; it comprised only "one small dwelling-house & small barne orchard and garden" equal to about one half an acre of land and valued at £40, she having sold the rest of the real estate left her by her husband. This house with one half of the land was sold by her son and administrator Joseph to John Cooke, Jr., Dec. 19, 1706, for £22.

In the Probate Files we find a few items relative to her estate.

"Estate of Eliz.^h Deane debted unto estate of Thomas Deane deceased."

1690.	To Thomas Maule for my father's debt	£ 7. 09. 09.
Dec. 12, 1691.	To cash paid mother Deane	£ 3. 0. 0.
	" mony " Timothy Robinson	" 10. 0. 0.
Jan. 19, 1696.	" " " Coll. ^o Higginson	" 10. 12. 0.
Aug. 25, 1698.	" pd. dr. packer for medicines for father deane	£3. 00. 0.
Dec. 26, 1704.	To funeral charges & the docter	£5. 10. 10.
		Eliz. ^a Dean.

1688 — my son Thomas Deane Dr.

To 16 months hier for my son Joseph on Board the sloop at 20s. per mo. £16 0. 0.

To 50 lbs. Porke att 4d. 16s. 8d.
2 pair of Jersey stockings 7s.

Salem, May 3. 1704.

Mr. Thomas Deane is Dr.

30 Elles Osinburgs at 12d. per £1. 10. 0.

Jos. Dean.

Mch. 24, 1702.

Mother Deane Dr. Cash lent yo^r selfe £3. 10s.

Charges in administering £1. 8s. 0.

Jos. Dean.

Her estate owed "Mr. Thomas Deane deceased" £40. 4s. 12d., and was owed by him £25. 8s. 8d.: free and clear of all charges it amounted to £19. 11s. 8d., which was "to be divided among ye children of ye deceased and ye legal representatives of ye deceased's children, viz. :

Ye three children of Thomas Deane

Ye only son of Jonathan Lambert

Elizabeth dau. of Mr. John Deane

Hannah Deane alias Cook

Capt. Joseph Deane.

SECOND GENERATION.

(1) GEORGE¹ by his wife Elizabeth had children:—

(2) I. ELIZABETH², b. 2d. 11 mo. 1660, d. 22d. 11 mo. 1660.

(3) II. JOHN² (10) b. —, d. before Dec. 2, 1698, m.^d — —.

(4) III. THOMAS² (11), b. ab.^t 1665, d. ab.^t 1706, m.^d 1.st Mary —, * m.^d 2dly, Dec. 9, 1701, Eliza-

*This genealogy was compiled about 1866; circumstances have delayed its publication until now. Returning temporarily to Salem, I find that Mr. Fitz-Gilbert Waters, my kinsman, by industriously following up the one clue to the name of our ancestress, the first wife of Thomas Dean, which I possessed, the inheritance of certain land in the South field hereafter mentioned, has succeeded in determining her name and parentage to his own satisfaction and mine.

She was Mary, dau. of Stephen and Mary (Prince) Daniell, b. ab. 1670. She had an only brother Stephen, and was a grand-daughter of Richard Prince. This marriage may account for her husband's change of home from the upper to the lower part of the town, her family and connections living in the vicinity of Daniel, Essex and Pleasant Sts. Her successor, Elizabeth Beadle, lived on the corner of Pleasant and East Sts. (my own present home); within a stone's throw is the house of a Stephen Daniell, and opposite that built by a Richard Prince.

beth,* dau. of Abraham Drake of Hampton (Marshall of the old Co. of Norfolk), and widow of Thomas Beadle of Salem, b. July 11, 1660, d. after Nov. 14, 1718, as at that date her name appears among those petitioning the First Church to be set off as a separate church (the present East), being dwellers in the easterly part of the town. He was a shipmaster, and also probably engaged in trade in the same manner as his father. He may have lived upon the homestead with his mother, as I find no record or deed of a separate dwelling-house to him.†

“March 30, 1691. Thomas Deane, being aged about 25 testifieth & saith that according to ye best of his knowledge he doth remember yt ye partition fence between ye orchyard land where ye widow ffrancis Croad now dwells and ye garden land belonging to ye now dwelling house of Mathew Eastes where his family now liveth yt ye said fence at ye head of ye orchyard and garden aforesaid when standing was always about two foot distant to ye Westward of a plumb-tree standing upon ye land of Matthew Eastes which plumb-tree is yet standing in the same place as aforesaid and when ye same was standing it was a comone thing for such as gathered plums to goe between ye fence & ye said plumbtree which now stands neere the head of ye said garden land of Matthew Eastes.

Sworne before me Jn.^o Hathorne assist.

Joseph Deane aged abt. 20 testified to ye same.”

* Among those appointed retailers of strong drink in ye Towne are John Higginson, Esq., Sam. Brown, Esq., Dea. Gerrish, Major Jno. Turner, Wm. Hirst, Esq., Capt. Tho. Barton, Mrs. Mary Gedney, Mrs. Eliz. Derby, Mrs. Elizabeth Dean, Sen., Mrs. Elizabeth Dean, Jr., Mrs. Experience Flint, and others.

June 23, 1712.

† Or perhaps upon the estate now bounded in part by Essex, Pleasant, and Forrester Sts., which his wife Elizabeth inherited, at least partially, from her former husband, Thomas Beadle, and which Nov. 12, 1715, she with her sons Benjamin and Thomas Beadle sold for £225 to Benjamin Ives.

He died in the prime of life being about 41 years of age, leaving his brother Joseph now the head of the family, as all his other brothers were dead. These perhaps had been lost at sea, or slain by the Indians, or in some of the expeditions against Canada, by all of which causes Salem lost so many young men in her early times. He died probably in the spring of 1706,* before he had time to administer upon his mother's estate, which trust had been assigned him the preceding November. The administration upon his own estate was granted to his widow Elizabeth, July 13, 1706.

His inventory taken Sept. 1, 1706, by Jos. Wolcott and Simon Willard was presented June 25, 1707. It contained household goods, &c., including 55 oz. of household plate, amounting to £96. 09s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ye sloop Union with her appurtenances appraised by Bowditch, Gardner & Bacon at £40. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of upland in ye Southfield £15. To $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the Sloop Sparrow being old & much out of repair £12. 10. 0.

The account of administration was presented June 26, 1707: after paying sundry credits & disbursements it amounted to £161. 18. 0. which was divided as follows:

To the widow $\frac{1}{3}$ of real & personal = £53. 19s. 4d.

*I am doubtful whether the following refers to him or to Thomas of Boston.

"Thomas Deane's Bill of Lading recorded Sept. 12, 1705.

Shipped by ye Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by me Albert Dinine Merchant of fairfield in and upon ye good Sloop called ye Industry of Boston, whereof is master for this present voyage Thomas Dean & now riding at anchor at Fairfield & by good grace bound for Boston to say one hundred bushels of wheat & are to be delivered in like good order and well Conditioned at ye aforesaid port of Boston ye dangers of ye Seas excepted to Michael Clugston his assignees they paying ye freight at sixpence per bu., in witness whereof ye master of said Sloop hath affirmed to two bills of Lading of this tenor and date ye one of which two bills being accepted ye other to stand void & so God send ye said Sloop to her desired port in Safety Amen dated at fairfield this 15th of March 1695.

Tho. Dean.

Indors'd, Boston Ap. ye 20th 1695. Rec'd ye within contents.

Michael Clugston."

Not. Rec.

To son George a double portion = £53. 19s. 4d.

" " Thomas £26. 19s. 8d.

" dau. Mary £ " " "

(5) IV. GEORGE², b. —, d. before July, 1706.

(6) V. ELIZABETH², b. —, d., as we should gather from the division of the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Deane, before July, 1706, but there is evidence to the contrary. I consider it probable that she was the next child to George, considering the difference of years between Thomas and Joseph;—the order in which the children are named in the will gives us no help upon this point, as it was common to name all the sons first and then all the daughters: m.^d Jonathan Lambert, perhaps a shipmaster of Boston, who died there in 1710; perhaps m.^d 2dly, John Bucanan, and had Thomas:

By Jonathan Lambert, her husband, she had issue:—
I. Jonathan³, b. Mar. 20, 1697, a shipwright of Boston 1718–9, perhaps m.^d Mar. 4, 1717–8, Mary Buchanan. May 15, 1711, Daniel Bacon, Jr., of Salem, shipwright, and George Locker, yeoman, of the same place, with Samuel Swasey of Boston, shipwright, give bond to Isaac Addington for the guardianship of Daniel Bacon's kinsman Jonathan Lambert, a minor upwards of 14, son of Jonathan, a mariner, late of Boston, deceased, in the sum of £600.

Jan. 12, 1718–9, being in his two-and-twentieth year, the said Jonathan releases them from said trust. The inventory of Capt. Jonathan Lambert, mariner, dec.^d, amounting to £713, 12s., including among other things a dwelling-house valued at £160, and £65, 16s. in Mr. Eives's hands in London Dec. 5, 1710, is presented Jan. 30, 1710, at Boston, by Elizabeth his widow and adm.^x, who in another account Oct. 31, 1717, is called "Elizabeth Bucanan late Lambert."

The above evidence, together with the fact that I find no record relating to him in Salem, leads me to suppose that the said Jonathan Lambert was the husband of Elizabeth Dean, and that the Jona. and Benj. Lambert whose births are found in the Boston Records, children "of Jona. and Eliz.^h Lambert," were her children.

There is, however, contradictory evidence to this, in the fact that among the heirs of Mrs. Eliz.^h Deane, dec.^d 1706, her name does not occur, but her son Jonathan Lambert seems to inherit her portion. I know no reason why this should have been were she living, though such may have been the case. II. Benjamin³, b. June 1, 1699, probably d. young.

(7) VI. JOSEPH² (14) b. ab.^t 1671, d. 1709, m.^d Mch. 16, 1696-7, Elizabeth, dau. of Edward and Elizabeth (Hart)* Flint, b. ———, baptized at First Church "at age" July 12, 1702, d. 1731-2. He, like his father and brother, was a shipmaster and merchant. I suppose him to have attended the First Church after 1702, as its records contain the baptisms of his wife and children after that date, though she only may have been a member. In Dec., 1698, as has been said above, he bought of his mother the dwelling house and a quarter of an acre of land, and May 7, 1706, we find that he buys of Capt. Thomas Flintt, Sen., of Salem, alias Salem Village, yeoman, for £30 a piece of land of about 60 poles, being three-quarters of that which "I formerly bought of Elizabeth Spooner late of Salem dec.^d, having sold ye other quarter to Edmond Bridges dec.^d bounded West by a lane y.^t leads from ye Maine S.^t to ye North River, North

* Samuel Hart, 4th mo., 1671. Inventory of est. of Samnel Hart lately deceased at sea, and appraised by Edmund Bridges and Richard Croade. Edward Flint and Jonathan Hart preserved the above inventory and the court granted administration to them 28, 4, '71.

& East by land of Joseph Duglass, South by ye Main S.^t," according to his purchase from Eliz. Spooner in 1672.

John Higginson Tertius, Margaret Sewall, Jun.

The affidavit of John Cooke, blacksmith, aged about 60, and William Reeves, slaughterer, about 60, testifieth that to our certain knowledge Capt. Thomas Flintt did about 30 yeares since purchase about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of Elizabeth Spooner aforesaid widow bounded as above, & that said Thomas Flintt and those deriving from him have quietly possessed it ever since to this day without let or hindrance as ever these deponents heard & being next neighbours thereunto &c. do further testify that the said Thomas Flintt was in lawful possession Oct. 1, 1692, & unto Oct. 1, 1704, & so down to date May 11, 1706.

June 24, 1706, he sells to Robert Kitchen, merchant, for £60 a small piece of land 120 feet long, $47\frac{1}{2}$ wide, bounded E. & N. by land of said Kitchen, W. by do. of Matthew Esty, S. partly by do. of said Easty & partly by the Main S.^t. This was the land which he bought of his mother in 1698. Dec. 19, 1706, he, as administrator upon her estate, sells to John Cooke, Jr. mariner, for £22 a small house with $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre bounded S. & E. by land of ye Buffams, N. by land of me ye conveyer, W. by ye lane or highway, being $\frac{1}{2}$ ye land belonging to me ye vendor.

His dwelling-house was upon the land bought of Thomas Flint, upon the corner of Essex and Deane streets, and it was from his children that that estate passed into the family of its present owners. He died about 1709, at the age of thirty-eight, the last of the brothers; he seems to have prospered in his business, and in marriage to have made a good connection.

Administration was granted to Elizabeth, widow of

Capt. Joseph Deane, Dec. 29, 1709, who gave bond with Joseph Duglass and Benjamin Flint as sureties. The former of these, together with John Higginson, Jr., took an inventory of his estate Jan. 18, 1710-11. It included

His dwelling-house, out-housing, and about 60 poles of land adjoining	£250
Abt. 36 rods of land by John Simpson's	" 15
Money & bills of credit	" 56
In plate	" 15. 12s.
Goods in ye shop	" 57. 14. 10d.
An Indian Woman named Flora	" 30
6 hhd. of salt, 110 gall. of rum 3s. sd. apce.	" 17. 17. 6d.
30 gall. of molasses 20d. apce.	" 2. 10s.
8 lbs. whalebone 10 apce.	6s. 8d.
28 lbs. Braceletts	6s.
60 lbs. Paint	" 1. 5s.

Amount of Inventory £601. 19. 2.

Due from ye estate to Tho. Deane's children } £ 8. 0. 0.
 & Jona. Lambert's son }
 " " " " " a pson. in Suranam abt. £13. 0. 0.

Inventory presented Feb. 15, 1710-1.

June 26, 1712. More added to ye inventory in cash £50. 0. 0.

His widow Elizabeth survived him many years.

July 30, 1713, for 70£ she sold to Thomas Lee of Boston a piece of land in the form of a gusset or triangle, bounded toward ye Northwest partly by ye great street leading into ye Town & partly by land of David Flint, N. E. ptly. by ld. of David Flint & ptly. by another street, S. E. by land of Thomas Flint, & S. W. by land of Robert Orange, being her portion of the estate of her late Father Edward Flint.

Jacob Willard.

Josiah Willard.

The same date she buys of the sd. Thomas Lee and wife Deborah for £65 a piece of land bd. toward the N. W. as above, N. E. by Jacob Willard, S. E. by Thomas Flint, & S. W. by Benj. Gerrish, being Deborah Lee's part of her Father Edward Flint's estate.

Same witnesses.

Aug. 4, 1729, an agreement between Elizabeth Deane, Widow, and her children, provides that whereas her husband Joseph Deane died possessed of a certain dwelling house & land, bd. E. & N. by land of Joshua Hicks, S. & W. by highways, also of another piece of about 40 poles bd. W. & N. by highways, E. by land of John Bullock, & S. of John Cook dec.^d, with two common rights, all of which have been in possession of the said Elizabeth without any settlement thereof; in order to an amicable division they agree that Capt. Sam. King, Mr. Jos. Orne, and Capt. Joseph Andrews be chosen a committee to apprise the estate and adjudge what of the personal estate each child hath had.

2dly, that the said Eliz.^h shall have her thirds in ye homestead wholly and only in common with her son Joseph so long as they agree therein, and in case of disagreement, her thirds shall be set out in said homestead.

3dly, the said Joseph shall have the said homestead and the two common rights, he paying to his sisters the excess of the value of the homestead, and the common rights over his proportion of the whole estate, viz. : two-thirds of one-fifth to each within three years, and the other third after the decease of the said Elizabeth, they to give him a good deed, &c.

4th, John and Mary Ropes to have the above said 40 poles as apportioned by said committee towards their proportion. The parties to abide by this in the sum of £100.

This latter piece of land, then in the occupation of Nath. Archer (who md. Hannah^s Cook), the Ropeses sold to Samuel Cook, Fisherman, Oct. 23, 1746, for £95 O. T., and he with his wife Abial sold the northerly half of it to John Bullock, Jr., Cordwainer, Meh. 31, 1753, for £13, 6s. 8d.

In the Quaker Records I find the names of Elizabeth Dean 17, 7, 1702, and Benj. and Eliz. Flint, as witnesses.

She died 1731-2. Her estate was not regularly administered upon, but her children entered into an agreement that Whereas Elizabeth Dean late of Salem, widow, deceased, died seized of some personal property, consisting of about 50 ounces of silver, two gold rings, &c., &c., whereof administration is not nor intends to be taken by any of her children, who have divided said goods equally, in order to prevent any future dispute this record should be made, &c., and each hereby acknowledges the receipt of his or her share, any debts due her & that part of ye personal estate of their grandmother Flint & uncle Benjamin Flint, late dec.^d, that may be allotted to them are excepted: March 1, 1732.

The said Benj. Flint's estate was administered upon 1732-4, and was of considerable value, but of his real estate valued at £1682, the heirs of his sister Deane were entitled to one-seventh part, this as set off to them consisted of a front lott* in the homestead measuring South on the Main S.^t 72 feet, North on the rear land 75 feet, & was in length about 14 poles, bd. East on the portion numbered, in the division, "4," & West on another lott; also 1½ acres of marsh land on Forest River & three cottage rights.

In the records we find that administration upon the estate of Eliz.^h Dean, widow, was granted to her son Joseph, Dec. 18, 1733, but nothing farther seems to have been done in the matter.

The following is from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston, to whom I am indebted for information relative to members of the later genera-

* In E. sex St., where Mr. William Ives now lives.

tions of his branch of the family. I think it was prepared by his late father or uncle, probably from traditions, as I found no evidence of original authorities, but its first statements are manifestly incorrect.

"Capt. Joseph Dean was b. in Somersetshire, Eng., came to Salem about 1695, was lost at sea 1715, aged 63; m.^d Elizabeth Flint, by whom he had four children; she died 4 m., 1, 1733, aged 74. Now he could not have been born in Somersetshire, because his father had been here many years before *he* was born; it is a mistake too to assume Joseph to have been the original ancestor; his father George was here long before, as we know; Joseph too died before 1715, since adm.ⁿ upon his estate was granted in 1709; neither could he have been 63 years old at the time of his death, as in 1691 we find by his deposition, that he was only 20. His wife too was deceased and her estate divided Mch. 1732-3, and if she was 74 years old, she must have been 12 years older than her husband at time of marriage. The "Flint Genealogy" may decide this, though at present out of my reach.

(8) VII. BENJAMIN², b. ———, d. before July, 1706.

(9) VIII. HANNAH², bap. Oct. 22, 1720, an adult, d. ab.^t Feb., 1745, m.^d June 11, 1701, John, son of John & Mary (Buxton) Cook, b. 20th 6 mo., 1674, d. ab.^t 1721, by whom she had: —

I. John³, b. April, 1702, d. before 1724.

II. Joseph³, b. Apr. 11, 170—, d. 1769-70, m.^d Nov. 14, 1728, Eunice, daughter of Samuel and Exercise (Smith) Pope, b. Aug. 12, 1700, who survived him, by whom he had: 1. Eunice⁴, b. Sept. 6, 1729, m.^d Sept. 29, 1751, George, son of George and Eliz. Bickford, who d. before 1785; 2. Hannah⁴, b. June 19, 1732, m.^d Sept. 20, 1752, Benjamin Daland, and had Joseph⁵, and perhaps others; 3. John⁴, b. July 22, 1735, m.^d Dec. 1,

1762, Susannah Webb; 4. Joseph⁴, bap. Dec. 18, 1737, d. young; 5. Abigail⁴, bap. June 22, 1740; 6. Joseph⁴, bap. Sep. 5, 1742. His will is dated July 18, 1769; in it he mentions wife Eunice, grandson Jos. Daland, two daughters Eunice Bickford, and Hannah Daland. Pres.^d Feb. 6, 1770. His estate was div.^d May 13, 1784; Eunice Morgan, an heir of Eunice Bickford dec.^d, mentioned, & Eben.^r Bickford, adm.^r on^e estate of Hannah Bickford, also.

II $\frac{1}{2}$. George,³ b. May 5, 1710, d. young.

III. Benjamin³, m.^d Dec. 24, 1730, Elizabeth, daughter of John Phippen, by whom he had: 1. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Apr., 1736, m.^d Aug. 28, 1750, W.^m Twiss, Jr.; 2. Benjamin⁴, bap. same day, m.^d Nov. 8, 1764, Sarah Cook; 3. John⁴, bap. Mar. 27, 1737, m.^d Sept. 23, 1760, Margaret Webb; Aug. 5, 1761, he with mother Eliz. and wife Margaret sell land bought of father Benj. to Benj. Punchard; his wife was a great-grand-daughter of Daniel Webb, dec.^d, and apparently a sister of Eliz., wife of Joshua Bickford, and of Mehetable, wife of Richard Nutting, Jan. 16, 1768; a Daniel Cook of Mendon, Worcester County, also mentioned in the same connection as their attorney, 1765; 4. Susannah⁴, bap. Sept. 30, 1739, m.^d ——— Tarrant; in 1784 she was a widow, then buying of her brother John the easterly end of the dwelling-house bought of his father, as in Lib, 121, f. 142.

IV. Samuel³, was living Mar. 8, 1745, md. Oct. 22, 1730, Abigail, daughter of Benj. Henderson; June 29, 1739, he and his wife, with her brother Benj., Glazier, and wife Eunice* sell to David Glover, for £32, the westerly end of a dwelling-house with ten poles of land adjoining,

* She was a Daniel, and md. Dec. 9, 1731.

and bounded N. on a lane, E. on land of Eliz. Henderson, S. on do. formerly Mr. Gedney's, and W. by do. of Capt. Bowditch, being formerly the estate of their father Benj., dec.^d, &c.

Mch. 31, 1753, he sells to John Bullock, Jr., for £13, 6s. 8d. the Northerly half of the forty poles of land bought of John Ropes in 1716. Mch. 4, 1756, to secure a payment of £107 to Isaac Williams, Cordwainer, he conveys to him his moiety or part of the dwelling-house wherein he now resides, formerly his father John Cook's, being the northerly end, with his part of said homestead land, and a strip bought of his brother Joseph, bd. W. on a lane, N. by his brother Joseph's land, E. by land formerly Daniel West's, dec.^d, S. by John Punchard's, then E. by said P.'s, and then S. by the part of his father's homestead belonging to brother Benj. Wife Abial joins in the sale. Jan. 20, 1757, he sold land in the same vicinity bd. W. by Bickford's Lane, to John Bullock, Jr., and to Nath. Archer; and to Edw. Norris, Jr., a common right bought of Daniel West, Dec. 1, 1756.

Again Sept. 14, 1761, he sold part of his homestead to Geo. West, Jr., and Apr. 10, 1765, to Geo. West, "Fisherman," an additional strip. To Sam. Buffum, Glazier, also, Mch. 14, 1771, a piece of land with a house and well.

They had: 1. Abigail⁴, b. 1731, perhaps md. Apr. 28, 1751, George West (see West Family); 2. Samuel⁴; 3. Margaret⁴; these three with their mother were baptized Sept. 18, 1737; 4. Mary⁴, bap. May 7, 1738; 5. John⁴, bap. July 18, 1741.

V. Mary³, m.^d Apr. 24, 1729, Joseph, son of Jona. and Abigail (Henderson) Glover, an uncle of the Gen. John, who is the subject of a memoir in the Collections, Vol. V; his brother David md. Nov. 5, 1730-1 Sarah,

Millet. He was a "fisherman,"* and b. June 27, 1706; d. Dec., 1747. They had: 1. Joseph⁴, bap. June 14, 1730; 2. George⁴, bap. Jan. 5, 1734; 3. Jonathan⁴, bap. Aug. 29, 1736, d. young; 4. Jonathan⁴, bap. Nov. 6, 1737, d. young; 5. Mary⁴, bap. June 17, 1739; 6. Jonathan⁴, bap. Oct. 25, 1741; 7. Samuel⁴, bap. Nov. 13, 1743; 8. Hannah⁴, bap. Oct. 30, 1748.

VI. Elizabeth³, m^d. Nov. 11, 1730-1, Joseph Henderson, "fisherman," by whom she had: 1. Joseph⁴, bap. June 6, 1736; 1½. Elizabeth⁴, bap. June 6, 1736, d. young; 2. Mary⁴, bap. Sept. 18, 1737; 3. Benjamin⁴, bap. Dec. 31, 1738; 4. Sarah⁴, bap. Sept. 14, 1740; 4½. Rachel⁴, bap. May 23, 1742; 5. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Sept. 11, 1743; 6. Abigail⁴, bap. Dec. 15, 1745.

VII. Hannah³, b. Mar., 1714, bap. Apr. 29, 1722, "took on her the obligations of her minor baptism," Mar. 21, 1736, d. May 21, 1767; m^d. Aug. 2, 1733, Nathaniel, † son of Jonathan and Abigail (Williams) Archer, "cooper," b. Apr. 17, 1710, d. June 10, 1772; both buried in Charter St. ground. During the lifetime of his first wife he seems to have lived in the vicinity of Beckford or Dean St., but in his will, he gives to his wife Hannah, who survived him until 1803, his dwelling house, &c., bounded W. by Long Wharf Lane, so called (Union St.), N. on land of his sister Brown, E. on a lane, and S. on land of Jona. Phelps; he mentions a son George long absent, whose part, if he be not living, is to go to his three children. His son Jonathan was made executor. They had: 1. Nath.⁴, bap. Mch. 21, 1736, m^d Mch. 30, 1760, Hannah Chever; 2. Hannah⁴, bap. Sept. 12, 1736; 3. Ste-

* It would be well if some one of our competent local historians would give the readers of the "Collections" a little more definite knowledge of the occupations pursued by those so often called "fisherman" and "shoreman."

† He md. April 3rd, 1768, Widow Hannah Ives, daughter of Gamaliel Hodges.

13, 1731-2, when guardianship of George, aged about twelve, son of John Cook, deceased, was granted to his mother Hannah, and the said John's real estate was divided ("the eldest son being dead") among "Joseph, Samuel, George, Benjamin, Mary, Elizabeth, and Hannah."

Dec. 13, 1731, the said Hannah being about fifteen, chooses her mother Hannah as guardian.

April 29, 1722, her six younger children were baptized at the First Church, and at the same time Joseph, James, Wm. and Margaret, the children of Joseph and Margaret Cook, went through the same ceremony, making ten of the same name.

Jan. 14, 1735, her children convey to her "from love towards our mother," all their rights to a certain strip of land with a barn thereon, being a part of her dower in her late husband's estate, bounded W. on a lane, E. by land of Dr. Toppan, S. & N. by land of Joseph Cook, Jr.; and

Jan. 16, 1735, she sells to her son Joseph, Jun., Fisherman, for £30 this same strip of land containing 15 poles.

Administration upon her estate was granted to her son Joseph, who gave bond with Abijah Estes and John Bickford, Mch. 25, 1745. In the files is a bill from Dr. Bezaleel Toppan for medicine and attendance Sept., Nov., and Dec., 1744, = £1. 8. 6. O. T. A note also for £10 from her to her son Joseph, dated Jan. 16, 1744-5.

Her estate was divided among her five children then living, Apr. 8, 1745.

Dec. 26, 1730, Joseph Cook³ bought of John and Esther Ruck for £360, Province Bills, his dwelling-house and 140 poles of land, bounded by land of Derbe, Ropes, and Bickford and others, which estate he sold June 6, 1784, to Samuel Sibley, in whose tenure it then was, and

he sold it to John Ropes. The front part of this is now Capt. Bertram's residence. (See Ropes Family.)

THIRD GENERATION.

(3) JOHN², by — his wife, had issue:—

(10) I. ELIZABETH³, b. ———, d. ———; was living Nov. 28, 1706, as we find her in the list of heirs to her grandmother's estate.

(4) THOMAS², by wife Mary, had issue:—

(11) I. GEORGE³ (20), b. Aug. 7, 1692, admitted to the First Church Nov. 2, 1718, d. ab.^t 1727, m^d., 1st., June 10, 1713, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Damaris (Buffam) Ruck,* who d. ab.^t Nov., 1718; m.^d, 2^{dly}, Sarah Archer, b. ab.^t 1700, d. Feb. 3, 1771.

June 26, 1707, being upwards of fourteen, he chooses his "honored uncle Joseph Deane to be his guardian," who was also at the same time appointed guardian to Mary about eleven, and Thomas about nine, all children of late Thomas Deane deceased. But his guardianship

* Joshua Buffam, about 70, mentions in his will land bought of Cosen Goose, daughter Damaris Ruck, her husband Thomas, and three children when they come of age, Hannah, John, and Thomas, June 5, 1705. Pres. Nov. 29, 1705.

Said Joshua died 19, 8, 1705.

June 30, 1704, Thomas Ruck, being sick in body, etc., makes his will, giving to two daughters Hannah and Damaris 20 poles each next Jos. Douglass and £50 in all to each. To two sons John and Thomas all ye rest of real estate, etc. Executor to be children's guardian. Father-in-law Joshua Buffam to be sole executor. Pres. July 5, 1704.

Sam. Pope, Eliz. Darby, John Higginson, tertins.

Inv. = Old Spooner's house and barne and seven acres in ye towne, £200.

House and land was formerly John Symson's.

John Pickering, Jos. Douglass. June 27, 1705.

John, of John and Hannah Ruck, b. in Boston, Dec. 4, 1702.

Thomas of Boston to John of Salem, 9, 11, 1651. Reg. of Deeds.

John of Salem to his sons John and Thomas, land in Topsfield = 100 acres, Dec. 8, 1650.

John of Salem, Merchant, to Matthew Woodwell, land adjoining South River; also wife Sarah. Aug. 19, 1653.

John of Salem, to Matthew Woodwell, land adjoining South River; also wife Hannah? 8 mo., 3 d., 1660.

being cut short by his death in 1709, they chose Major Stephen Sewall and Mr. Robert Kitchen, merchants, as their guardians, Feb. 9, 1710-1, whom the Court therefore appointed.

George Deane followed the same occupation as his father and grandfather before him, that of a ship master. He commanded and partially owned a sloop in which he traded with the South and with the West Indies.

He seems to have owned no dwelling-house in Salem, but to have lived in a house owned by Hannah Batter, and sometime in Boston. The only conveyance of real estate to him which I find is as follows:—Thomas Deane, mariner, and Mary Deane, singlewoman, for and in consideration of the good will which they bear to their eldest brother George Deane, mariner, and for £7, 10s. paid to them by him, convey to him all their right, &c., in and to a certain piece of land situated in the South-field, so called, in Salem, containing one and a quarter to one and a half acres, which said land descended to them by ye death of their late father and mother, Thomas and Mary Deane, deceased, bounded west by ye marsh lying on ye mill-pond, east by the road-way, south by land of Samuel Swasey, north by land of Jona. Glover. Nov. 5, 1719.

Stephen Sewall, Edward Thompson.

This land probably came to them by their mother.

Nov. 4, 1723, W.^m Mackie, coaster, & Samuel Elson, mariner, sell to him for £63, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Sloop called the William, of about 40 tons Burthen, with $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the mast, boom & bolesprit, Sailes, Cables, Anchors, rigging, tackle & apparrell and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the boat and all other the appurtenances unto her belonging or in any way appertaining.

Benjamin Sewall, Edward Thompson.

He died about 1727, and administration upon his estate was granted to his widow Sarah Nov. 7th of that year.

His estate was administered upon as follows :

His inventory presented Dec. 7, 1727, was taken by John Brown & Warwick Palfray. Mr. Nath.¹ Osgood being now at sea Capt. Josiah Williard was appointed in his place Apr. 29.th, as an additional appraiser. It contained among other things

2½ acres of upland lying in the South field	£ 45
A bond payable by Miles Ward, Jr.	£ 60
½ of Sloop William now at sea or at Boston (sold to Rich. Buckley, Boston, Aug. 20, 1728)	£ 45
½ Pue in meeting-house	£ 5
Her acc. of admin. presented Apr. 21, 1729.	
Said estate was Cr.	
By real estate	
“ personal estate	£ 45
	£104. 3. 8.
Dr.	
Pay'd James Bowdoin	£ 78. 8. 0.
House rent in Boston	£ 8. 18.
Wm. Gale, Shoemaker, £3. 9. 11. Abijah Goodale for Cyder £3. 9. 0. =	£ 6. 18. 11.
Funerall Charges	£

Mr. Carswell mentioned, that bought part of the cargo. Sarah Dean alias Britton.

In the files we find a few items :

Dec. 20, 1727. Rec.^d of Sarah, adm.^x of George Dean, dec.^d, &c., £6, 15s. for house-rent. Hannah Batter.

May 21, 1728. A receipt fm. Hannah Batter* for £2, 3s. in full for the same.

Jan. 27, 1728-9. Rec.^d of Mrs. Sarah Dean 11s. 2d. on acc. of a Venter to North Carolina. Miles Ward, Jr.

Shipped, &c., &c., by Tho. Lauchlin, &c., now in North Carolina upon the good sloop called the William, whereof is Master, &c., Geo. Deane, now in the Port of Roanoke

*Perhaps wife or widow of Edmund, who lived on the western side of Washington St., just north of Essex.

bound for Boston 45 barrels of pitch on account of the owner and freighters of the sloop Jan & Elizabeth lately Wraekt on Roanoak Barr & are to be delivered to Thos. Steel, Esq., Merchant in Boston—10s. per barrel.

Roanoak, N. C.

July 12, 1726.

George Dean.

Endorsed.

Boston, Aug. 31, 1728. In consid.ⁿ that the within mentioned pitch was shipt in bad ord^r & as Mrs. Dean sayd many of em leakt out & the rem.^r left at Barbados came to small acc.^t I have accepted of £12, 10s. for my interest in the within pitch & bill of lading. The freight if any due in Mrs. Dean's hands.

Thomas Steel.

His widow married Feb. 13, 1728, David Britton,* died Feb. 3, 1771, aged 71, and was buried in Saint Peter's Church-yard, where her grave-stone is now standing in the rear of the Church.

(12) II. MARY³, b. 1695-6, bap. at First Church "at age" Jan. 22, 1715; m.^d April 28, 1719, John, son of Samuel and Mary (Poore) West, bap. at First Church May, 1695, d.

July 10, 1728, Sam.¹ West, Sen., Saddler, conveys to his son John, Saddler, one half of his dwelling-house in

*He had a second wife Hannah, who died Sept. 25, 1782, aged 57. He died about Dec. 22, 1781, aged 80. They both are buried in the churchyard.

"He was the last," says Rev. Mr. Fisher, his rector, "of those worthies, who first united, and formed the Episcopal Church in Salem; a sermon preached in Church."

Administration was granted to Dea. Thomas Bagley Jan. 1, 1787. He was a Captain of one of the local militia companies, and was a large dealer in hats and furs. He lived, and I think had his shop, near the southwestern corner of Essex and Washington Sts., "Britton's Corner."

According to a sale of a common right to Nath. Ropes, May 11, 1771, his heirs appear to have been "Thos. Bayley of Boston, Gent., Jane Pigeon of Newton, Wid., Rachel Shrewsbury of Bn., Wid., Jos. Grafton of Newton, Clerk, Nath. of Newport, & Wm. of Prov., R. I., Gent'n, Francis Phillips of Malden, & Sarah Veiner of Bn., Spinster."

Salem where he now resides, being the easterly end, the whole being bounded, N. on the Main S.^t, E. by land of Mr. John Cabot, S. by do. of heirs of Mr. John Corwin, dec.^d, W. by a road leading to Marblehead; the westerly end of said house he had given to his son Samuel by a previous deed of the same day. This was the house and estate situated upon the corner of Essex and Summer streets.

April 21, 1737, he bought of Joseph Dean, Hatter, for £210, a piece of land at the southerly end of ye easterly side of ye 5th division of the land of Benj. Flint dec.^d, bounded S. on ye street 36 feet, W. on $\frac{1}{2}$ of said division belonging to Thomas Blaney, 8 poles 7 feet, N. on land of said Dean measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ of ye breadth of said division, E. on ye 4.th division 7 p. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. with ye buildings thereon. Benj. Buxton, Henry Bowers, Witnesses.

The above he sold to Wm. Deadman in 1740; it was a part of the land now owned by Mr. Ives, next to the upper corner of Essex and Dean Sts.

April 23, 1737, he with his wife Mary for £700 paid them by Elizabeth & Mary Lindall, Singlewomen, sells to them a house & land bounded S. on ye Main Street 28 f., E. by land of Dr. Toppan 13 p. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, N. by land of one Cook 26 f., W. by do. of Daniel West 14 p. 8 ft. 8 in. This property was next above Dr. Loring's in Essex St.

John West and his wife attended the First Church and all their children were baptized there.

Jan. 3, 1760, "Widow Mary West" was admitted to full communion, and among the names of those desiring to be dismissed, and to form a new church on account of Mr. Dunbar's settlement, Feb. 24, 1772, is that of "Mary West."

They had issue :—

I. Susannah⁴, bap. Aug. 14, 1722.

II. Sarah⁴, bap. Mar. 15, 1724.

III. John⁴, bap. Sept. 25, 1725, m.^d Feb. 6, 1766, Mary West, perhaps dau. of Daniel.

IV. Mary⁴, bap. Mar. 12, 1727.

V. George⁴, bap. Apr. 27, 1729, md. Apr. 28, 1751, Abigail Cook, by whom he had: 1. George⁵, who md. Dec. 16, 1775, Margaret Tink; 2. John⁵, bap. May 22, 1757; 3. John⁵, bap. June 24, 1759; 4. Benjamin⁵, bap. Aug. 5, 1764; 5. Sarah⁵, bap. Aug. 18, 1765; 6. Mehit-able⁵, bap. Aug. 16, 1772.

VI. Sarah⁴, bap. Aug. 8, 1731.

Vide "West Family."

(13) III. THOMAS³ (23) b. abt. May, 1698, d. Aug. 24, 1759, m.^d Oct. 18, 1720, Martha, dau. of James & Rebecca (Bligh) Gillingham, b. Jan. 13, 1699, bap. at 1.st Ch., Jan. 15, 1699, d. Dec. 24, 1729; she lies buried in the Charter Street burying-ground; m.^d 2dly, Nov. 5, 1731, Mary, dau. of John & Jehoidan (Orne) (Harvey) Ward, bap. at First Church, Aug. 18, 1706, d. about 1780, then of the East Parish. Vide "Ward Family." In the deed to his eldest brother George, Nov. 5, 1719, given above, he is called mariner; he became a captain and merchant.

January 7, 1726-7, a little more than five years after his marriage, he bought of Elizabeth Darbey, Widow and Shopkeeper, for £150 a piece of land of about 26 rods with a dwelling-house and sail-maker's shop upon it, bd. N. by land of Stephen Daniels, E. by do. of Warwick Palfray, S. by do. of Joseph Grafton & W. by the lane or highway, reserving to the said Eliz. liberty to remove & take off a workhouse belonging to Warwick Palfray.

Benjamin Ives. Joshua Hicks.

This land was in Daniels St., almost the other extreme of the town from the family homestead, and now occupied by the dwelling-houses of the late Edward Stanley, James Perkins, and Pierce L. Wiggin, to the former and latter of whom it was sold June 7, 1805, by Capt. Joseph Waters, who purchased it of Capt. Dean's heirs, for \$1,090, July 16, 1800. The mansion house which he had occupied was soon after demolished, and the present buildings erected. He attended the East Church and the record of his marriage by Rev. Mr. Jennison, and of the births and death of his children kept by him is in my possession.

He died very suddenly, Aug. 24, 1759; a vague family tradition says of excessive joy at the return of his son George from abroad, who had been given up as lost.

"Aug. 25, 1759," says "Gardner's Journal," *Ins. Coll.*, V. —, p. —, "Died at Salem Capt. Thos. Dean. He came home as well as ever to all appearance and fell down dead without speaking a word.

Aug. 26, Capt. Dean buried. An exceeding large burying, about 400."

Administration upon his estate was granted to his widow Mary, Nov. 10, 1760, who gave bond with Nath. Andrew, Gent., and Benj. Ward, Shoreman, in the sum of £1000. The order for his inventory was issued to Capt. Jos. Hodges and Messrs. Ab.^m Watson and John Ives, Nov. 10, 1760. It comprised among other things the Mansion House & land & out houses, £250. 0. 0., China Plates, blew & white do., glass muggs, beekers, small painted bottels, fowling piece, hanger, cutchuck* box & sack, Quadrant, silver-ware, 2 bibels, old books, gold buttons, silver shoe buckles, knee buckles & neck do., with the usual assortment of household furniture &

* Cart:idge, or cartouche?

other articles. "Some things in the wharehouse," Cash = £103. 9. 3. Bond & 2 notes of hand, Jos. Sarl, Jr.'s note = £8. 6. 0. A floor pew in East Meeting House = £10. 0. 0.

Taken Nov. 5, 1762.

Pres.^d the 15.th Suma = £561. 12. 0.

Account of administration presented Nov. 15, 1762. A 2d account Oct. 21, 1765, when the estate was divided among his widow & children, the eldest son Thomas receiving a double portion.

(7) JOSEPH², by wife Elizabeth had issue:—

(14) I. JOSEPH³, b. Aug. 29, 1698?, d. the following November.

(15) II. ELIZABETH³, b. Oct. 10, 1701, d. July, 1702.

(16) III. DESIRE³, b. Apr. 26, bap. June 13, 1703, d. Nov. 29, 1739, md. Dec. 8, 1720, Thomas, son of John & Eliz.¹ (Purchis?) Blaney, b. 30, 3, 1689, d. 1766; he m. 2dly, prob. 1742, Alice Peaslee? of Haverhill, who d. Jan. 16, 1783.

Thomas Blaney belonged to a Quaker family and I suppose his wife was of that persuasion, though her baptism was at the First Church,—her name has been perpetuated in succeeding generations, almost to the present time. They lived, I think, upon the land bought by him from Benj. Flint, in Oct., 1725, for £72, "a small piece of land whereon stands said Thomas Blaney's new dwelling-house," bd. S. on Main St. $3\frac{1}{2}$ rods, E. & N. by said Flint's, & W. by the Quaker meeting-house; this was on Essex street, just below the present Quaker meeting-house and adjoining ground. They afterwards inherited neighboring land from the said Flint.

He is variously styled "cordwainer" and "shoremán," and was also probably the one referred to in the follow-

ing stray piece of manuscript in the Probate Office, in the private possession of the Registrar.

"An Invoice of goods Ladin on board the sloop Benj." for Newbury, on acc.^t & Risque of Ichabod Plaisted Consigned Mr. Thomas Blanoc mast.^r of said Sloop. Salem, Oct. 11, 1722."

By the inheritance of his wife, and by purchase, he acquired a large amount of real estate in the westerly side of Dean St. extending to the North River bank, upon which he had his fish flakes. Federal Street was cut through it about 1760, and the land was sold in several parcels; after his death, as appears by the advertisements in the papers of that date, by his widow Elsie.

He belonged to a family which had numerous representatives in Salem, Lynn, and Marblehead, and whose descendants are still among us. His father John probably lived upon the borders of Lynn. In the acknowledgment of a deed, Sept. 13, 1766, he is spoken of as "almost blind;" his will is dated July 25 of that year. In it he calls himself "Shoreman," and leaves to his "beloved wife Alice" all his household furniture, and during her life the use and improvement of all his real estate, with liberty to sell it. To his son Thomas 20 £ more than he had already had, to be paid within six years after his wife's decease. To his daughter Abigail White 13£ 6s. 8d. more than she had already had, to be paid within eight years after his wife's decease. To his daughter Allice 20£ to be paid within eight years after his son Robert comes of age. To his son Robert and his heirs his house and land that shall be left after his wife's decease. His wife Allice is made Executrix. In presence of John Nutting, Richard Mayberry, Richard Mayberry, Jr. It was presented Jan. 5, 1767.

His inventory taken Jan. 29, 1767, by David Northey, Jona. Buffum, and Thorndike Procter, Jr., contained

The homestead, comprising a house, barn, & 37 poles of land	£333. 6. 8.
The Fish fence & an acre of land on the N. side of New St.	£145. 0. 0.
Land on S side of New St.	£133. 6. 8.
Brick-hill field = $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres	£ 40. 0. 0.
Two common rights	£ 20. 0. 0.

The whole estate amounted to £736. 1. 10.

"Feb. 2, 1767, Alice Blaney being a Quaker solemnly affirmed to the above."

His wife Alice or Elsie was well-known among her religious connection. She was probably a Peaslee of Haverhill, though I fail to find a record there of her birth or marriage. See "Genealogical Notes."

By wife Desire³ he had issue:—

I. Thomas⁴, who m^d. Mary, daughter of Abijah Estes, who survived him.

II. Abigail⁴, bap. at age Oct. 22, 1749, m.^d June 4, 1745, John, son of John and Rebecca (Flint) White, b. ab.^t 1722, d. Oct. 26, 1792, a sea-captain. They were of Rev. Mr. Leavitt's society, and afterwards of the East Parish.

By wife Alice he had:

III. Alice.

IV. Robert.

(17) IV. MARY³, } twins, b. Sept. 5, bap. 23,
 (18) V. ELIZABETH³, } 1705, d. bef. 1764.
 d. Oct. 6, 1774. She was a member of the First Church, and one of those desiring dismissal on account of Mr. Dunbar's settlement in 1772, and hence one of the original members of Mr. Barnard's, the present North Church.

Mary³, m.^d Dec. 13, 1723, John, son of William and

Sarah (Ingersoll) Ropes, b. Jan. 24, 1694, d. Jan. 21, 1792; "shoreman" and "shipwright."

Besides the part of her uncle Benj. Flint's estate in Essex St., which she received, she was allotted a piece of upland and salt marsh lying by the Forest River, from the same, an acre and a half; this her husband and children sold to John Cochran, husbandman, for £19, s. 6, d. 8. Sept. 14, 1763. "Mary his then wife being since deceased." He lived in Washington St. They had :

I. John⁴, bap. Aug. 8, 1725, d. ab.^t 1782, m.^d ab.^t 1750, Sarah (Titcombe) Stocker, who d. Apr. 16, 1799.

II. Mary⁴, bap. July 21, 1728, d. Dec. 3, 1785, m.^d. June 12, 1750, James Barr, b. in England, Oct. 29, 1721, d. Aug. 5, 1803.

III. William⁴, bap. Feb. 1, 1729, d. young.

Vide "Ropes Family."

Elizabeth³, m.^d Feb. 6, 1729-3, Samuel Field, Shipwright, bap. at the First Church, Dec. 31, 1727, at age, whom she survived.

She sold her share of all the real estate that came to her from her family, and her husband purchased from Sam. Fisk, Clerk, for £130, Oct. 15, 1728, a certain house lot of 36 p., bd. E. on the Townhouse St., S. on land of Mr. Batter & Mrs. Pickman, 15 p., 6 ft. to Mrs. P.'s N. W. cor. across said Fisk's land, N. to Norris' land, then N. partly on Norris', partly on Fisk's to said street.

Also May 5, 1729, from Edmund Batter, Tanner or Yeoman, and wife Hannah, for £27, apiece, part of his homestead, E. on School-house St., S. on said Batter's, W. land lately belonging to brother Daniel, and N. on said Field's, to which he added by purchase from Edm.^d Batter, Oct. 2, 1734, for £23, of a strip 10 feet broad and 64 f., 9 in. long, bd. N. & E. on said Field's, S. on his own, and W. Mrs. Abig. Pickman's land.

Aug. 5, 1767, he bought of W.^m Luscomb and wife Sarah for £6, s. 13, a wall-pew in the front gallery of the Great meeting-house (so called) being No. 12.

Mar. 16, 1733, she joins with her husband in a sale to Benjamin Pickman, for £20, 10s., of 5½ poles of land, bd. W. by Philip Sanders, 36 feet, 7 in., N. by the same 37 f., E. by said Field's land 37 f., and S. by said Pickman's, 39 f.

Her share of her uncle Flint's real estate included the lot next west of her brother Joseph's, with a cottage right known as Robinson's, this her brother bought Apr. 24, 1735.

The house in Washington St. in which she lived at the time of her death, and which was consumed in the great fire of 1774, was according to Col. Pickman built by her husband, and replaced by the present brick mansion, which now stands there (in the occupation of Samuel G. Rea, Esq.), built by her son.

In endeavoring to escape from the house at the time of the fire, she struck her head against some part of it, with such violence as to cause her immediate death.

They had issue:—

I. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Oct. 25, 1730.

II. Samuel⁴, bap. Apr. 30, 1732, d. Nov. 3, 1786, m.^d Nov. 22, 1753, Priscilla Ingalls of Marblehead, by whom he had: 1. Elizabeth⁵, bap. Oct. 13, 1754, d. Oct. 15, 1815, m. Oct. 10, 1778, Samuel McIntyre, the skilful and noted carver and architect, who d. Feb. 6, 1811, aged 54, and with his wife is buried in the Charter St. graveyard; their son's wife Hannah, "Relict of Samuel Field McIntire," b. June 12, 1780, d. Jan. 4, 1862, lies near them; 2. Mary⁵, bap. Aug. 7, 1757, d. Apr. 3, 1789, m.^d June 3, 1781, David, son of Jona. and Elizabeth (West) (Stacey) Ashby, bap. Apr. 17, 1757, d.

Jan., 1822; 3. Priscilla⁵, & 4. Sarah⁵, twins, bap. Sept. 14, 1760, Sarah⁵ d. Sept. 22, 1803, unm.^d; 5. Samuel⁵, bap. Feb. 27, 1763, perhaps the one who md. June 9, 1811, Sally Proctor, and died the same month, being then of Cambridge, Vt. He m.^d May 17, 1779, widow Lydia Holton, and Apr., 1781, widow Sarah Burgess, of Danvers. A Samuel, mariner, died at Chelsea, Nov. 9, 1841, aged 57.

Sept. 7, 1784, he and wife Sarah deed to John Felt, Yeoman of Danvers, a common right, which came to him "by his ancestors" (probably "Robinson's cottage right"), which he sold to said Felt seven years ago, but had given no deed of. Sept. 23, following, the said Field, "Boat-builder," conveys to Ezra Newhall, Esq., for £27, a shop or building on his land fronting School St., adjoining Benj. Coates' heirs' land to keep it there five years for £2 8s. yearly, with the privilege of the well and yard.

Jan. 26, 1786, he conveys to Archelaus Rea for £300 a lot bd. E. on School St., S. on land of Coates' heirs, W. on do. of Benj. Pickman, Esq., and N. on do. of Edw. Norris, with the brick dwelling house thereon, and except a small house in which Thos. Newhall now lives, and that building now improved by Col. Newhall and son as a stable belonging to them and which they have a right to remove.

(19) IV. JOSEPH³ (31), b. 6 mo., 15 d., 1708, bap. May 22, 1709, d. Dec. 24, 1778, m.^d ab.^t 1731-2, Elizabeth, dau. of Jonathan Bowers, of Swansey, Bristol Co., b. 11 mo., 1708, d. 9 mo., 15 d., 1771,* at Boston.

He is called "Hatter" and "Feltmonger," an occupation which seems to have been followed by many of the Quakers of Salem, the Eastyses, Bowerses, and others. By

*"Aug., 1771, aged 60," says the Gazette.

agreement with the other heirs, he became sole owner of his father's homestead, and here he lived until his removal to Boston, where he died. I suppose that the mansion-house which at present stands there was built by him.

Mar. 8, 1735, he sold to his next neighbour, Joshua Hicks, Mercht., for £10, a certain strip, lying in an acute angle, bd. S. W. and N. W. on his land, N. E. on said Hick's, beginning at the St. in the dividing line between them, and thence running N. W. and by W. 55 ft., then turning and running N. E. and by E. 5 ft. to the dividing line, thence in said line to the St. Henry Bowers.

Sarah Gaskill.

His estate he divided in 1767, between his two sons Joseph⁴ and John⁴, as will be seen.

To Edw. Flint of Haverhill and his sister Mary, who married Sam. Wainwright of Ipswich, was assigned Lot No. 4, in the division of their uncle Benj. Flint's estate hereafter mentioned. This was on the upper corner of Essex and Dean Sts., next to No. 5, and immediately adjoining Jos. Dean's quarter of his mother's part; it was 14 poles in length, with a breadth of 50 feet on Essex St., and sold with the building thereon, in 1736, to Jos. Dean; also a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a common right called Barber's. This, together with the back part of his own inherited portion and what he bought of the Fields, he sold to his son Jonathan in 1766.

July 6, 1742, he bought of Benj. Gerrish and wife Abigail (formerly Abigail Holloway, a daughter of Edw. Flint and sister of said Joseph's mother) for £50, "all our part of that swamp land at Claybrooke,"* &c., given by will of said Edw. to his said daughter, &c., in 1711,

*Near the "Deacon's Marsh," I think.

and July 5, of Edw. Flint and Samuel and Mary Wainwright for £10 their portion of the same, two acres, bordering E. on the first purchased part, and on all other parts by the 1st division of common lands, called the great pasture; this he gave to his son Jonathan in 1767. From the same Edw. and wife Lydia he bought for £70, in July, 1744, an acre of land, bd. N. on the Main St., E. by land of Benj. Gerrish, Esq., S. by do. of Nath. Ropes, and N. W. on ye way leading into ye great pasture, now enclosed with fence; this he gave to his son Joseph in 1767.

In 1751 he bought six acres in Swansey of Geo. Bowers; the common rights, except those inherited, were bought as follows: one formerly of Dan. Epes, Esq., from Benj. Prescott, Jr., Merch.^t & wife Rebeccah, Aug. 13, 1743; one formerly of Sam. Swasey, from his widow Ammi, Apr. 18, 1743; one formerly of Sam. Swasey, from his son Joseph, Hatter, of Swansey, Aug. 18, 1744.

He appears to have divided his property before his death, and I find no account of administration in either the Salem or Boston records.

There were three distinct parcels of real estate in which the children of Joseph² and Elizabeth Dean were interested, viz.: that which their father died possessed of, comprising his homestead on the corner of Essex and Dean Sts., their shares of which, with two common rights also, the other heirs, as above said, disposed of to their brother Joseph³, and the land in Dean St. by the North River, which Mary³ and John Ropes received as a part of their portion; then that which their mother received from her father, Edw. Flint's estate, or in exchange of her portion for her sister Lee's in 1713, in his will called "Goldthrite's field," and which seems to have been about the

junction of the present Essex and Warren Sts. ; in 1734 it was described as about " $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre bd. N. on the Main St., E. by ld. of George Needham, S. do. of Nath. Ropes, & W. by do. of Benj. Gerrish." Each child inherited one quarter ; Joseph sold his to the Fields, Mar. 1, 1734, who sold it with their quarter to the Ropeses, Oct. 14th following, who also the same day bought from the Blaneys their part, thus becoming owners of the whole ; this was sold by the heirs of John and Mary Ropes to Wm. Lang in 1792. It may have been further down Essex St. than the above-said. Lastly there was their mother's portion of her uncle Benjamin Flint's estate ; this was a large one, running from Essex St. to the North River, west of Dean St., and perhaps extending to the present Boston St., or including that ; it had perhaps been the homestead of their grandfather Edward Flint. It was divided into seven portions, of which the Deans received No. 5, which had a frontage on Essex St. of 72 feet, beginning on the easterly side at a point 50 feet from the upper corner of Dean St., and a depth of 140 poles ; each of Eliz. Dean's children received a quarter of her part ; Jos. the most easterly, Eliz. Field the next, Mary Ropes the next, and the Blaneys the next, the most westerly ; to them too the Ropeses sold their quarter and to Jos. Dean the Fields sold their quarter, 1734-5 ; he sold afterwards the front lot of his to John West, which with the other half belonging to the Blaneys came into the possession, about 1763, of Dr. Eben Putnam, whose heirs sold it to Jos. Hiller, Esq. ; it is now the home of Mr. William Ives, who a few years ago built a second house upon it.

FOURTH GENERATION.

(11) GEORGE,³ by wife Hannah had issue :—

(20) I. HANNAH⁴, b. ab.^t 1715,* bap. Nov. 2, 1718, d. ab.^t 1790, m.^d Dec. 6, 1733, Isaac, son of John and Elizabeth (Cook) Chapman, b. Aug. 27, 1710, d. before 1757-8, by whom she had :

I. Isaac⁵, bap. Jan. 29, 1736-7, d. ab.^t 1797, at Beverly, m.^d Mar. 18, 1760, Joanna Patch of Beverly, who perhaps d. the same year; md. 2dly, June 10, 1762, Rebecca Harris of Beverly, where he afterwards lived. He is styled "Fisherman," "Gentleman," and "Captain," and had issue : 1. Josiah Foster⁶; 2. Joanna; 3. Hannah; 4. Elizabeth.

II. Benjamin⁵, bap. Apr. 8, 1738-9, d. probably before 1783, md. Nov. 24, 1762, Sarah Buffington, and apparently 2dly, Sarah Henderson. He was a mariner and owned a house adjoining the homestead. He had : 1. Isaac Needham⁶, b. ab.^t 1773, m.^d June 7, 1799, Rebecca Symonds; 2. Rachel⁶, b. ab.^t 1775, md. Levi Maxey, school-master; 3. Benjamin⁶, b. July, 1779, d. Jan. 2, 1853, m.^d Mar. 18, 1805, Mary Leach; a shipmaster.

See Coll., Vol. III, p. 183.

Guardianship of these three children was granted to his widow Sarah, who gave bond with Benj. Needham and Isaac Needham, Nov. 6, 1789.

III. George⁵, bap. July 26, 1741, m.^d Nov. 1, 1762, Lydia, daughter of Edmund Henfield.

IV. Hannah⁵, bap. June 5, 1743, m.^d Dec. 5, 1765, James Symonds, 3d.

* Marblehead, Meh. 31, 1729.

To ye Hon. Judge Appleton.

Sr. I am one of ye Daughters of George Dean Deceased and am now become of age to Chuse my Guardian. This therefore is to let you know I desire Mr. John West may by you be appointed as my Guardian.

I am with respects Sr. Hhanah Den.

V. Elizabeth⁵, bap. July 14, 1745, m.^d June 23, 1765, Richard Lunt of Newbury, by whom she had: 1. Elizabeth⁶, bap. Oct. 4, 1767; 2. Deborah⁶, bap. at the same time; 3. Sarah⁶, bap. Sep. 23, 1770; 4. Richard⁶, bap. Sep. 27, 1772; 5. Joseph⁶, bap. Dec. 4, 1774, at the North Church.

VI. Mary⁵, bap. Dec. 28, 1746, m.^d April 10, 1769, Thomas Symonds.

The homestead of the family was on the upper corner of Essex and Summer Sts., which went by the name of "Chapman's Corner," as the opposite one was called, from the family which owned it, "West's Corner." I suppose the old house which stood there before the present brick dwelling-house was built upon the spot by Mr. Kinsman, and was occupied as a dwelling and umbrella-shop by Ottignon, afterwards, I think, moved away, was one of the Chapman buildings.

John Chapman, "Taylor," the father of Isaac, lived here, and died here Dec., 1744.

In his will, made Dec. 12, proved Dec. 28, he mentions son John, son Isaac, son Sam., daughter Hannah Gillingham, children of son Stephen deceased, children of son Joseph deceased, and beloved wife Elizabeth.

I have no note of the items of it, but the homestead seems to have been divided and left to his son Isaac, son Benj., daughter Hannah and wife.

His son John moved to Boston and was a shipwright there. His son Sam. moved to Marblehead, selling the part of the homestead which came to him at his mother's death to his nephew Isaac⁵. Stephen and Joseph were dead, so that the only two remaining were Isaac and Benj., and here they lived.

There was another Isaac Chapman (sometimes called Chappleman) who perhaps was a brother of John, Sen.

He was a blacksmith, md. Dec. 9, 1714, Mary, daughter of Edw. Britain, and died 1731-2, leaving three children: Mary, b. Nov. 8, 1715, who md. an Atkinson, Michael, and Elizabeth.

Dec. 6, 1737, Isaac, probably before going to sea, makes his loving wife Hannah his attorney, and Feb. 18, 1740, joins in a sale of property of hers to Joshua Hicks, and Sam. Pope, administrators on estate of John Ruck, and Apr. 6, 1742, to Dan. Grant of land adjoining.

Feb. 1, 1717-8, Jos. Cook, blacksmith, and wife Margaret, mortgage to Col. Sam. Browne, Esq., for £45, his dwelling-house with outhousing and 12 poles of land or so, bd. N. on the Main St., S. by land partly of Jona. Bligh, and partly of John Cook, late dec.^d, W. by do. partly of Capt. Tho. Flint and partly the aforesaid John Cook, dec.^d, and Easterly by do. of John Chapman.

The above was probably the property lately inherited by the Hon. Mr. Upham from the Ropeses, by whom it was purchased of the family of Priscilla Abbot, to whom, as appears below, it belonged.

Sept. 15, 1794, Sam. Blythe mortgages to Isaac Williams a dwelling-house and land bd. E. on the street leading from Chapman's Corner to the Hill Burying-place, S. by land of late Isaac Williams, W. by land of Priscilla Abbot, and N. partly by do. of Chapman and partly of the heirs of John Nutting, Esq., dec.^d.

Dec. 1, 1796, Sally Blythe, widow, conveys to Jona. Hodges, a dwelling-house in Summer St., bd. S. by the land (according to a deed from John Higginson to Sarah, wife of Jona. Blythe, 1730) then belonging to Isaac Williams, W. by do. then of John Sterns* (afterwards of Pris. Abbot) N. by do. then of the Cooks and Chapmans,

*John Chapman md., 1st, 1694, Hannah Sterns.

&c., being the manor-house of late husband Sam., dec.^d, and lately sold by me except my right of dower to Capt. Wm. Orne, and by him re-conveyed to me. This land was added to from the Chapmans', as it appears. Of the Chapman house, which stood upon the corner of the street, the widow Elizabeth seem to have owned the southern end, and by will in 1758 to have bequeathed it to her son Sam., who Feb. 7, 1760, then of Marblehead, with wife Hannah sells it to his nephew Isaac of Salem, mariner, for £86, 13 s. It was then bd. S. by land of Hannah Gillingham, and W. by do. of John Nutting.

In 1763, Apr. 9, the said Isaac, then of Beverly, sold it to his brother Benj. for £93, 6 s., 8 d., to which in 1769 he added a piece of land of 2½ p. lying south of it, bought for £8 from his aunt Hannah Gillingham.

Hannah, the widow of Isaac⁵, had the northern part and perhaps by purchase afterwards from Benj.⁵ or his heirs the other part; in 1783, Oct. 2, she and her children George, Hannah and Mary Symonds, and Eliz. Lunt sell out to Sam. Blythe "Painter," for £128; it was then bd. W. by the way* left out for Hannah Gillingham. Other heirs, John Chapman and Sarah Wellman, widow, and heirs of Isaac of Beverly, in 1791, and widow Sarah Chapman and Joseph Henderson, in 1763, join in sale to said Blythe.

In 1738, John Sen., and wife Eliz., and John, Jr., of Boston and wife Hannah sold to Wm. Campbell for £39 a piece south of their other land, bd. W. by land of Young and Davis, E. the highway, S. by do. of Neal.

Witnesses to John in Boston. John Hobbs.

Sam. Adams.

In 1758 the widow Eliz. sold the piece next north of

* In width thirteen feet.

this to her grandson Isaac for 29£ 17s., being 28 p. and bd. S. by the widow Campbell's, and W. by land of Tobias Davis partly, and of Mrs. Lee and Jos. Gardner partly; this was the land sold by Isaac to Wm. West in 1760, the land of Jos. Gardner being now of Eben.^r Putnam.

There are conveyances of Isaac and wife Rebecca in Beverly to Sam. Cassman, Sept. 12, 1766, and to R. Standly, Apr. 1, 1771.

There was also another Isaac, "blacksmith," in Beverly; an Isaac 2d appears as a witness in 1768, but I do not know which it was.

Isaac and wife Priscilla convey to Abner in 1796, and an inventory of the estate of Capt. Isaac was presented by Abner in 1798. See appendix.

Widow Hannah⁴ joined with her sisters in a sale of the land in South-fields, derived from her grandmother Mary Dean, to Timothy Pickering in 1757; administration upon her estate was granted to her son George, who gave bond with Sam. Blythe and Thomas Symonds Nov. 11, 1790.

(21) II. MARY⁴, bap. Nov. 2, 1718, m.^d Apr. 19, 1739, Jonathan, son of Jona. and Jemima (Felt) Ashby, bap. July 21, 1717, d. 1783; she d. 1751, and he m.^d 2dly, Dec. 7, 1752, Eliz., wid. of Wm. Stacey and daughter of Samuel and Mary (Gale) West.

By his wife Mary⁴, he had issue :

I. Mary⁵, bap. Mar. 2, 1740, prob. d. unm.^d

II. Hannah⁵, bap. Nov. 1, 1741, m.^d. Oct. 8, 1769, William Young, b. 1751, d. 1806. Ins. Coll., Vol. III, p. 130.

III. Benjamin⁵, bap. July 17, 1743, probably d. before 1786.

IV. Jonathan⁵, b. 1746, d. Nov. 15, 1797, m.^d. Dec. 1,

1768, Lydia Kimball, and had : 1. Jonathan⁶, bap. Nov. 5, 1769, m.^d Nov. 11, 1792, Sarah Fitch, who d. Sept. 24, 1807, aged 34, and is buried in the Charter St. graveyard, where also the gravestones of others of the family are to be found ; 2. Lydia⁶, bap. Dec. 2, 1770 ; 3. Mary⁶, bap. Mar. 1, 1772 ; 4. Samuel⁶ ; 5. Benjamin⁶, perhaps m.^d Mary Young, Sept. 20, 1807 ; 6. Thomas⁶ ; 7. Lucy⁶, bap. Jan. 7, 1781 ; 8. John⁶, prob. bap. Feb. 22, 1784 ; 9. Elizabeth⁶ ; 10. Hannah⁶, bap. June 1, 1788 ; 11. Hitty⁶, bap. Mar. 14, 1790, d. young.

V. Jemima⁵, Mar. 6, 1751, m.^d. May 2, 1774, Samuel Young, and 2dly, 1780, John Howard. Coll. Vol. IV, p. 85.

By his wife Eliz. he had issue :

VI. David, bap. Apr. 17, 1751, m.^d Mary Field⁵.

VII. Sarah, bap. Oct. 1, 1758, m.^d Apr. 2, 1780, John Orne of Marblehead.

VIII. Eliz.^h, bap. May 3, 1761, d. May 23, 1823, unm.^d ; in her will of May 19, she mentions nephew David Ashby, caulker and graver, and neice Mary, wife of Richard Ames Wrisbridge, and said Mary's daughter, Eliz. Brown, a minor. Mark Pitman, Ex.^r

In 1740 Mary Ashby joined with her sisters in the sale to Joshua Hicks and Samuel Pope, administrators, and in 1742, to Daniel Grant, and her husband, she being dead, in the sale to Timothy Pickering in 1757.

He was a shipwright, as many of his family were, an occupation which was followed for succeeding generations by his own and other neighboring families. The genealogical student cannot fail to be struck with the numerous instances in which certain trades were kept in certain families and transmitted from one generation to another. This is natural and fitting, and doubtless, too, the earlier generations in this country instinctively adhered to the

traditional customs of their fore-fathers in the old country, in some parts of which this custom is in full force.

The homestead of the Ashbys* and a kindred family, the Morongs,* was in Water St., abutting on the Charter St. graveyard. A wharf and buildings on the opposite side of the street also belonged to them.

July 4, 1750, he and his brother George bought from the other heirs the eastern and western ends respectively of their late father's house, N. on the burying-place, etc.

June 1, 1752, George Ashby and wife Hannah convey to brother Jonathan for 20£ $\frac{1}{2}$ of a certain wharf,† with a warehouse or barn, and flatts under and adjoining, the other $\frac{1}{2}$ belonging to said Jonathan, bd. N. on the St., W. by land of heirs of Sam. Brown, Esq., dec.^d, E. by do. of Joshua Hix, and S. extending to the channel.

To this he added on the west by purchase from Sam. Calley and wife Abigail, Oct. 5, 1762.

June 13, 1763, Dan. Mackay, Merch.^t, and wife Esther convey to him for 66£, 13s., a piece of land bd. W. by land of said Ashby, E. by do. of late Timothy Lindall, Esq., formerly James Lindall's, N. the Burying Point, and S. by a Town-way or passage-way; also the warehouse thereon.

Jan. 1, 1777, Martha "Meurong," widow, buys of

* It is hoped that the more perfect account of these families in course of preparation by a descendant may soon find its promised place upon the pages of the "Collections."

† John Howard, guardian to John, Eliz., and Hannah, minor children of Jona. Ashby, deceased, sells to Thos. Chipman $\frac{2}{3}$ of premises bd. W. by land of David Ashby, E. by do. of Timothy Brooks, formerly of Timothy Lindale, deceased, S. by Water St., and N. by the burying-point, with the dwelling house, &c., for \$710.00. June 23, 1835. Thos. Chipman and wife Eliz. re-convey it to John Howard July 5, following.

Said John Howard in said capacity also conveys for \$830.00. to Jeduthan Upton $\frac{2}{3}$ of a wharf and flats, bd. N. on Water St., S. on the South River, E. on premises of Wm. Gray, Jr., W. on do. of David Ashby. June 23, 1805.

July 5, 1805, the other heirs Jona. and wife Sally, Samuel, Benj. and wife Polly, John Howard, Attorney, to Thos. and Lucy E. Ashby of Boston, Spinster, for \$1,370.00 convey the other $\frac{1}{3}$ to said Upton.

W.^m Butman and wife Eliz. $\frac{1}{2}$ of a dwelling-house bd. N. on the burying-point land, E. by land of Ashby, S. by the street and W. by the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of said house, the latter $\frac{1}{2}$ she having bought from Jos. Rollings, Aug. 27, 1774.

Thomas Morong, the father of the said Martha's husband John, m^d. Jemima, the sister of Jona. Ashby.

Jona^s. and David^s, and their sister Eliz.^s in 1797 sold to their brother-in-law John Howard a common right formerly of their father, dec.^d

In 1800 the Ashbys joined the other heirs of Jemima Felt in the sale of their share of the Bonfield farm. See Felt Family.

(22) III. DAMARIS⁴, bap. Nov. 2, 1718; all three sisters were baptized at the same time with their father. She was of Boston Nov. 22, 1739, when she makes her brother-in-law, Jona. Ashby, her attorney, who as such joins her sisters in the sales to Hicks and Pope, and Grant. There, too, by the Rev. Addington Davenport of Trinity Church, she was married, Apr. 26, 1742, to John Brackett. At that church her children were baptized:

I. George^s, Feb. 13, 1743.

II. John^s, June 3, 1744, and in the register of burials I find John Braket, July 15, 1758.

Whether she married again or when she died, I am not aware.

The three sisters derived real estate from their mother Hannah Ruck, and from their father George, which came by his mother.

In regard to the former;* Feb. 13, 1743, the three

* This land in brief was that between Dean and Munroe Streets, at present occupied by the mansion-house of the Wheatland or Rogers family.

A part of John Ruck's land is the site of Mr. Bertram's house, but it extended farther west also.

heirs sell to Joshua Hicks and Sam. Pope, administrators on estate of John Ruck, dec.^d, Blacksmith, for £300, all their right, being $\frac{3}{8}$, in that part of the real estate of their grandfather Thomas, dec.^d, given said John, dec.^d, and Thomas by his will of June 30, 1704, with the twenty poles given to Damaris, dec.^d Feb. 18, 1740.

Whereas the children aforesaid have released to the administrators of John Ruck, dec.^d, for. his heirs the twenty poles given to Damaris, and some doubt arises as to who should have the lot immediately next to Jos. Duglass'; it is therefore agreed, said administrators being impowered by the General Court, that Hannah, Mary and Damaris give said lot to John's heirs, and they take the second lot next. Feb. 18, 1740.

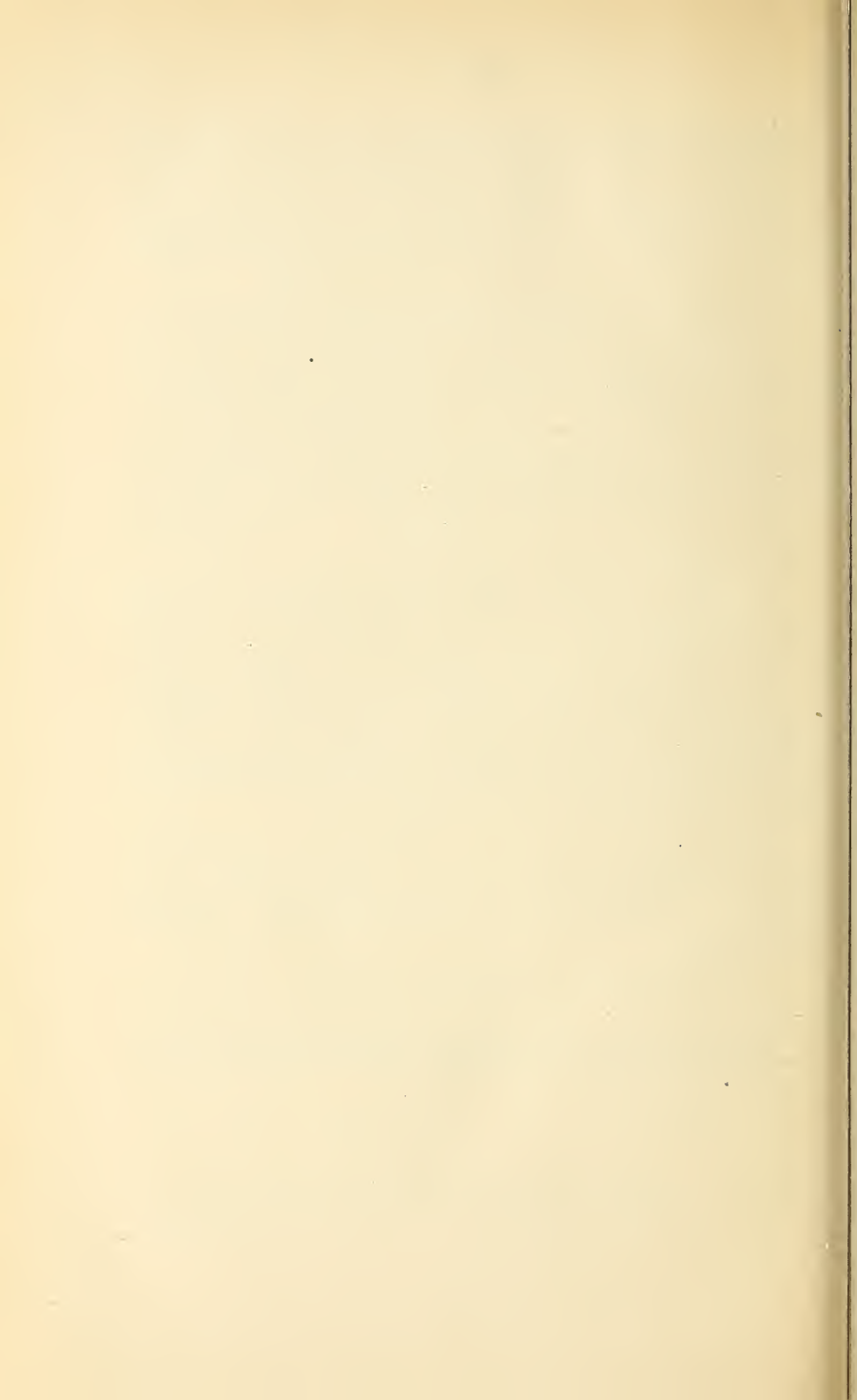
This piece of land, fronting on Essex St. $2\frac{1}{2}$ poles, and running back 8 poles, and bd. E., N., and W. by land of Joshua Hicks, they sold to Daniel Grant, April 6, 1742.

The other land was in South-fields, one and three quarters acres bd. E. on the highway, S. by land of Timothy Pickering, N. by do. of the heirs of Jona. Glover, dec.^d, and W. by the Deacon's Marsh,* and bought by Timothy Pickering for 29 £ 6 s. 8 d. Feb. 9, 1757.

Before I had opportunity to get the two Bracketts to sign this Deed the Husband died. Sometime after, when she came to Salem she executed it as within. Timothy Pickering.

Acknowledged by said Damaris Sept. 25, 1758.

*What was the exact location of the Deacon's Marsh, and what was its eastern boundary in 1690-1700? The Glover land was bought from the heirs of John Cromwell in 1714; it was formerly called "Prince's Lott."



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