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Vol 65

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THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. LXV — 1929

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SALEM, MASS.

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1929

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VOL. LXV — JANUARY, 1929

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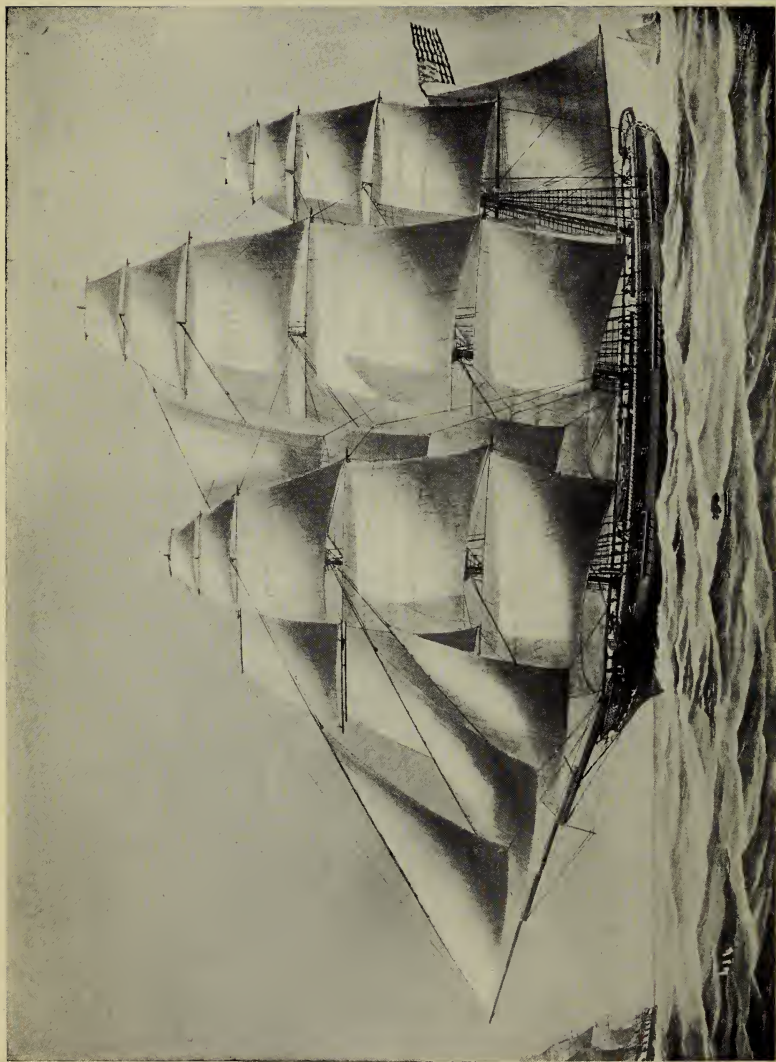
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THE "AMERICA" AS SEEN UNDER FULL SAIL.
From a painting by Edward J. Burrell.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE

VOL. LXV

JANUARY, 1929

No. 1

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

I. THE AFRICAN TRADE.

This volume, Number Four, in the series on "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages," will portray largely the commercial activities with the European, African, Australian, and the South Pacific Islands, by Salem merchants and their vessels. Most of the information and anecdote was prepared by the late Augustus Dudley Rogers, copied by him from the logs and journals of Captain Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, senior member of the firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers, high-minded merchants of Salem. Part, but not the whole, was contributed by "A. D. R." to the columns of the Salem Register, from which were gleaned the facts, many of them thrilling, here presented.

To the marine narrative, the compiler of these pages has added individual sketches of the Rogers family, with their homestead, and other stories in the line of correspondence sent to the Register at the time of publication, in the hope that the book may prove of as much interest to "all who love the sea and its story," and that it may meet with the same reception, as the three preceding volumes.

SHIP AMERICA TO AFRICA.

A large representative ship, one of 480 tons, is now to be noticed—perhaps the most famous ship of the place—the *America*. She was built in 1803-4 by Mr. Retire Beckett, for Messrs. George Crowninshield and his six

sons, nearby their new wharf (the Crowninshield, now Phillips), just then also about completed, off where previously lay an oaken pier for mooring. There, it has been told, rose to view a little "forest" of masts, as the Indiamen sometimes lay three abreast unloading. Their former business had been at the Union Wharf above. This new vessel was named for their "old French" *America*, of still greater tonnage. In 1796, commanded, as shown in a memorandum of insurance by Mr. Aaron Waite, by Eben Preble, to the East Indies; in 1800, probably to Calcutta, by Benjamin Crowninshield, a cousin of the owners; and in 1802-03, by Jeremiah Briggs, to Sumatra.

The new *America* is recollected, as late at least as 1830, at the head of the wharf, with her long guns scattered around, a dismantled hulk—altogether fast going to decay. In the war of 1812, she is well known, cut down one deck, with lengthened yards, as a Privateer, to have captured considerably more than a million dollars, prize property. Thereby her owners retrieved their fortune sadly impaired in the few previous years of disaster.

Here she is to be spoken of as a Merchantman only, in which capacity she seems almost unknown. She was destined on her first trip to Sumatra, the aforesaid Benjamin Crowninshield, Master; Elias Davison of Gloucester, Chief Officer; Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, Clerk (for about three years previous in the owner's counting room): Her complement, 10 guns, 35 men.

All known of her is chiefly from the Clerk's Log or Sea Journal, and following are a few extracts, interspersed with comments by Mr. Rogers:

"1804, July 2, at 7 A. M., cast off from the wharf. At 3 P. M., the sail boat leaves us. Aug. 4, crossed the Line in Long. 28 deg. 50 min. W. . . . Father Neptune and his Lady come on board! . . . the usual ceremonies, . . . ducking, &c. Sept. 21, saw the Isle of France. 22d, anchored off St. Denis, Bourbon. Went ashore; finding coffee above our limits, determined to proceed immediately on our intended voyage. But the Govern-

ment would not let us go out, owing to an English squadron off the Isle of France.

Oct. 4, arrives from Mocha, and sails on the 12th for Salem—home,—ship *Margaret*, Elkins, Master. He gave us flattering prospects of being able to procure a load of coffee at Mocha. Nov. 5, the embargo raised, sail for Mauritius, in company with ship *Commerce*, Bancroft, of Salem, and brig *Grafton*. Saw a large ship, supposed the *Belisarius*, Skerry, of Salem, standing in from the Mauritius. Left at St. Denis, ships *Fame*, of Salem, *Caledonia* of New York, and *Hector*, Thorndike, of Beverly, just arrived.

“Nov. 25, saw the Isle of Socotra, spoke an Arab Dhow bound for Mocha. 30th, passed through the Straits (Babelmandeb) and anchored off Mocha, the Grand Mosque bearing E. b S.”

At Mocha, arrives, Dec. 8, ship *Cora*, Billings, of Baltimore, having left Mauritius, eight days before we left St. Denis. 13th, arrives, ship *Commerce*, Bancroft.

19th, arrives from Bombay, H. B. M. Brig *Panther*, a cruiser, Capt. Court, bound further up the Red Sea. Lord Valentia, the noted Traveller, on board. He is to go overland to England. 1805, Jan. 4, the *Panther* sails.

At Mocha, the clerk was accustomed to meet the officers of the *Panther* and they kindly afforded for copy some of their Chart Surveys of the Red Sea. One of the “Panther Shoal” on a reduced scale, in his handwriting, is still extant. More interest now would seem to attach to these, probably among the earliest of the modern surveys, since the opening of the Suez Canal has converted it into a “highway” of the Nations. The Sea of the Pharaohs and Egyptians, whence around we read that the ancients, centuries before the Christian era, extended commerce and civilization as far even as China.

When the *America* was there, it should be remembered that, intercourse being dangerous, these quarters were seldom visited. The first vessel at Mocha from the United States, was the ship *Recovery*, Captain Joseph Ropes, in 1798, from Salem; again there in 1802-03, Dana, Master, Elias Haskett Derby, Esq., owner. And it may be

remarked, that Mr. Dana and Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers (now Clerk of the *America*), afterwards President of the East India Marine Society, of Salem, first opened nearly all the new trades originating at Salem from the United States, and were among the earliest pioneers in others.

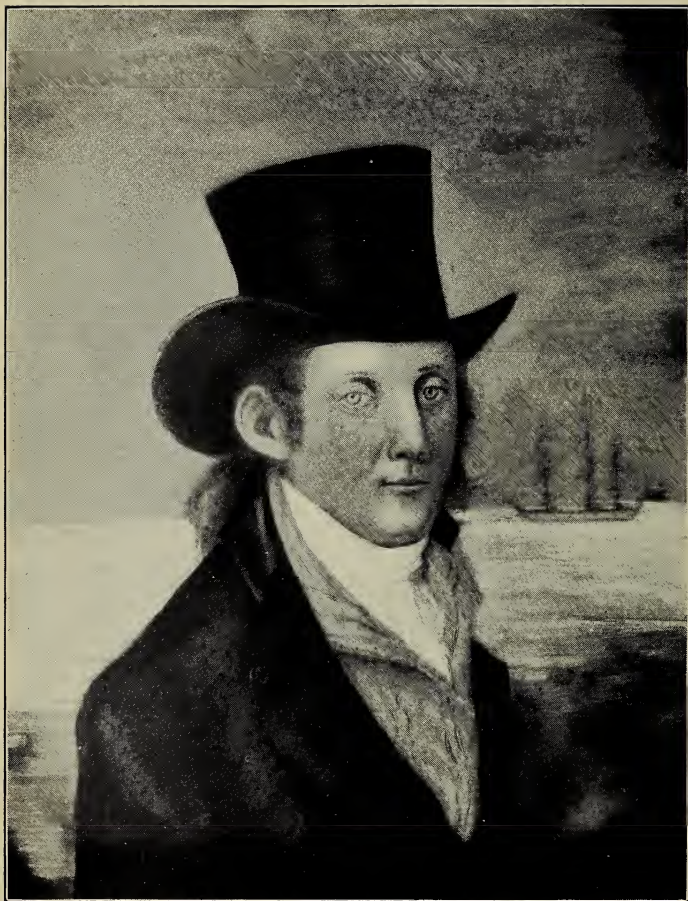
At Mocha, John Pringle, Esquire, the English Resident Consul, was also very kind to the young clerk, and as appears from Mr. Pringle's autograph, presented him with a large sea log or journal-book, with requests to keep his voyages therein.

1805, Jan. 21, completed our loading at this place, which consists of twenty-two hundred and ninety-one bags (bales) of coffee, (2291), and a quantity of gum Arabic, hides, goat skins and senna. 22d, Mr. Pringle, servants and three gentlemen, come on board,—passengers to Aden, (outside the Straits). At one A. M., anchor in seven fathoms, the Pinnace went on shore and bought some fish of the natives, Perim and Chimney Hill in sight. At 8 A. M. stood for the Abyssinian shore. 31st, anchored abreast the *Back Bay*, at Aden. Feb. 1, Mr. Pringle, &c., go on shore. Feb. 2, go ashore in the pinnace; had to row nine miles, and walk two, to see the city. While here, send round in a Dhow, to the ship, 162 bales gum Arabic, arrow-root, &c.

Feb. 7, stood to sea, towards Maculla. Saw very high land on the Arabian shore. Anchor in 13 fathoms in Maculla Roads, within a pistol shot of the shore, the high mountain over the town, N. 1-2 E.

Here they learned that Mr. Pringle had taken passage for England, at Aden, in the *Alert*, a very fine ship from Calcutta; and that the Arabs had cut her out, "risen upon her, murdered the Captain and fifteen men; and carried the ship into Calcutta." "20th, purchase 92 bales gum Arabic, which completes the whole of our cargo."

"21st. At 6 P. M. an Arab (gentleman), who is going passenger with us to the Isle of Bourbon, comes off from the shore. He advises us to put out to sea immediately! as the Dolah would fire upon us, this night!"—i. e. cut her out, his excuse being that we had furnished



CAPTAIN BENJAMIN CROWNINSHIELD
1758—1836.

Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem

Mr. Pringle, the English Resident, with cannon and powder! At 8 P. M. weighed anchor with as little noise as possible, and went to sea. . . . Next day, at the Meridian, Maculla Roads bore N.N.W. and W. 10 leagues distant. 24th, saw Mt. Felix. 25, Cape Gardefui.

March 20, Saw the Isle of Bourbon. For several days, heavy rains, sharp lightning, wind all round the compass. 24th, Anchor with best bower. Our Arab passenger (and servant)—deliverer he might be called, “takes passage in the night, in a French brig, for the Mauritius. 25th, the ship *Mary* of Salem, James King, Master, arrives from Aden. Heavy squalls. 25th, the French ship *Bellona*, of 44 guns, arrives from the Isle of France.” This was the only vessel, Capt. Rogers used to say, he ever knew to outsail, and that by very little, the *America*.

Mar. 26, Sailed from St. Denis for Salem. Nothing of particular interest occurred on the homeward passage, unless the occasional heaving to, and boarding by several of H. B. M.'s vessels of war. “Treated politely,” invariably says the Log. 1805. June 17, Cape Cod. S.S.W., seven miles distant.

It had been rumored in Salem for sometime that the *America*, instead of obeying orders to Sumatra, had gone to Mocha, in which case she would make a great voyage, but it was all uncertain, and the owners were the more anxious, because on departure they had so implicitly enjoined on the Captain, Crowninshield, somewhat in this wise, “Now you’ve broken orders so often, see if for once, you can mind them.”

Upon the *America's* being signalized far outside, “downtown,” then full of seamen, as the story goes, was “all agog” to hear the news; and some of the owners with a few friends hurriedly put off in their sailboat. On sighting, as the ship drew nearer, some thought they scented coffee, others mistrusting their olfactories, were less confident, but approaching closer, now the fragrant odor seemed unmistakable, until an old salt suggested that it might be after all only the wafting odor from a fresh pot from the cook’s galley.

Thereupon, hardly within hailing distance, Mr. Benja-

min W. Crowninshield, an owner, seized the speaking trumpet, shouted, (forgetful of the usual courtesies), "What's your cargo?" "Pe-p-per" came the doleful reply over the waters from Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield on board, who perfectly saw through the matter. "You lie," with a sailor's expletive, roared the owner, through the trumpet; "I smell coffee!" And so it was soon found, now all right. And the ship shortly after, proceeding to Holland, it is said, netted a profit of considerably more than one hundred thousand dollars.

From the Clerk's Log and Journal is a list of the company or crew of the ship *America*, on her first voyage to the Red Sea, &c., in 1804-05; also, some remarks made by him therein, many years after, in 1840, as follows:

Benjamin Crowninshield, a Revolutionary officer, Master, Salem.

Elias Davison, afterwards a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, in 1828, with myself, Chief officer, Gloucester.

Thomas Mitcherson, Second Officer, England.

John Hammond, "a nephew of Sir A. L. Hammond, English Naval Admiral," works on the wharves, Third Officer, Salem.

Nathaniel L. Rogers, Clerk, Salem.

Nathaniel Willi, Carpenter, Massachusetts.

James W. Chever, afterwards Captain of the ship in the War, Boy, Salem.

Francis Williams, do, do.

Samuel Brower, spoke Arabic and had been a slave five years in Morocco, Steward, Boston.

Wm. Gardner, colored, Cook, England. He was brought up in the family, household service, of "Billy Pitt," the Premier of England. He was cook's mate in an English frigate, at the battle of Bunker Hill; brought from London by Capt. Crowninshield the voyage before. He died in our Salem Poor House, aged about ninety, about 1828.

John Dempsey, turned schoolmaster and died down East, Seaman, Beverly.

Samuel Leach, sailed with myself and brothers, Seaman, Salem.

Isaac Story, afterward Cashier of Nahant Bank, brother of the jurist, Joseph Story, Seaman, Marblehead.

Thomas Pott, killed in the frigate *Essex*, Seaman, Salem.

John Dobbin, related to, and patronized by, Mrs. Johonnot, Salem, Seaman, Beverly.

John Hill, afterward Captain of ship *China*, belonging to Joseph Peabody, Seaman, Beverly.

Robert Martin, Seaman, New Hampshire.

Daniel Anderson, a ship-keeper for us last summer, Seaman, New Hampshire.

The names of ten foreign or outlandish seamen of the *America's* crew, in the log, are here omitted.

A picture representing the *America* may be seen at the East India Museum, now Peabody Academy of Science, of Salem. But a much better one was owned in the family of the late Capt. James W. Chever, who commanded her when a Privateer.

After the *America* was at Mocha, the ship *Essex*, Orne, Master, of Salem, was "cut out" in these quarters; and it is said, that all hands, except one, were murdered, and that several English vessels, also, about this time, met with the same fate.

CAPT. BENJAMIN CROWNINSHIELD.

Capt. Benjamin Crowninshield was a cousin of the senior partner, George Crowninshield, a man of small physique, but of great energy of character and experience as a sea captain. His daughter Hannah, to whom was married Commodore Armstrong, U. S. Navy, was a private pupil of the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, here. For some interesting correspondence by Dr. Bentley, with the then aged Ex-President of the United States, John Adams, where she is mentioned, see in November 24, 1870, of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Boston.

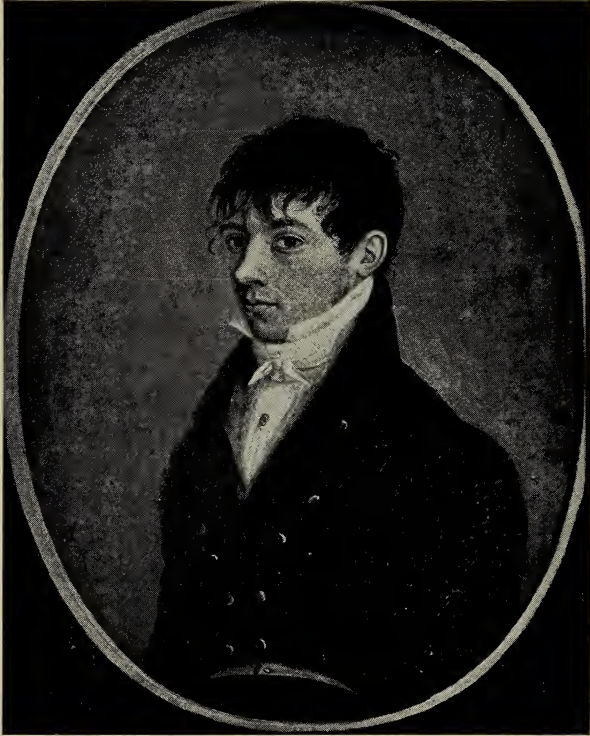
NATHANIEL LEVERETT ROGERS.

Mr. Rogers was born in Ipswich in 1785. There, and at Newburyport, he was a while at school, and afterwards

at Salem, where his parents had removed about 1787-8. In about 1797-98, he had been fitted for Harvard College by his father, Nath'l Rogers, A.M., who had opened at Salem a classical school. But the intended education was prevented by his early death at the age of thirty-seven. Among his scholars, besides this eldest son, were several who afterwards became distinguished in the various walks of public life. There were his cousin, Hon. Augustine Heard of Ipswich, the China merchant, and founder of the Institute at Ipswich; the sons of Col. Hawthorne; and the sons of Wm. Gray, Esq., the Lieutenant Governor and East India merchant, and his nephew, Ward Chipman, Chief Justice of Nova Scotia; Hon. Joseph E. Sprague, High Sheriff of Essex County, and many others.

The son was soon placed at the Phillips Exeter Academy, New Hampshire, to receive a more practical training, of which subsequent benefits he was always appreciative. He frequently spoke of his pleasant recollections while at Exeter, of the hospitalities of the families there,—at Governor Gilman's, &c., of whom he was a relative. He also, by his daily walks here at Salem over the Beverly Bridge, received the benefit of instruction in the French language, &c., from his Aunt Rebecca, the wife of Dr. Fisher there, a President of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

In 1801-2, Nathaniel L. Rogers entered the commercial house, at Salem, of the Messrs. George Crowninshield and his six sons. There he soon became a somewhat confidential clerk, often entrusted with important matters outside the counting room, including much of the private correspondence of the Hon. Jacob Crowninshield, one of the firm, then a member of Congress who died young at Washington; also with the conveying of their specie—Spanish dollars—in their tandem team of what would now be called "racers," accompanied by the storekeeper alone, both armed, all the way from Newport, R. I., to Salem. By another of the firm, Mr. George Crowninshield, Jr., it was Mr. Rogers only who was allowed the sailing in the harbor of his private yacht, the



NATHANIEL LEVERETT ROGERS

1785—1858

From a portrait in the Peabody Museum, Salem

Jefferson, said to have been the first one of the kind in New England waters. When later a Captain, Mr. Rogers was offered Crowninshield's Barge, the sumptuously fitted *Cleopatra*, to take out to the Mediterranean for sale; but, declining, at his request her command was given to his brother-in-law, Capt. Israel Williams, who returned with her from South America unsold on account of her great expense. As some public inquiries concerning her fate have been made, it may be answered that she was eventually bartered for sandal wood, came into possession of the King of the Sandwich Islands, and was wrecked thereabouts, on a reef in the Pacific seas.

Rev. Dr. Bentley, then the only Oriental scholar of note in New England, the family pastor, Mr. Rogers used to say, sometimes would give him letters in Arabic, which erudition of an American surprised their recipients abroad. A well known philanthropist, always interested in education, Dr. Bentley was a friendly visitor, with advice, too, of the down-town school of Mr. Rogers' mother, Mrs. A. D. Rogers. "She was," says the Doctor, "a distinguished schoolmistress from Ipswich, under adverse circumstances, and died in 1817." This School was kept in the house opposite the East Gate of the Common, where in one end resided Madame Boardman, mother-in-law of Mr. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, before mentioned — long the efficient Secretary of the U. S. Navy, and a member of Congress. He was always particularly friendly to Mr. N. L. Rogers, tendering him offices of trust and emolument, which were usually, however, declined.

On this first voyage, it may be mentioned, the Clerk was generously loaned for an adventure by Dr. Moses Little of Salem, the family physician, a few hundred dollars, which sum fortunately was quadrupled. After the Doctor's death, his two orphan boys were entrusted to Mr. Rogers' care and resided with his mother. Her father, Col. Abraham Dodge of Ipswich — (his mother was Rebecca Appleton, of Ipswich; hers, Abigail Cogswell of Chebacco, now Essex), — served eight months in the Continental Army at Cambridge, Long Island, &c.,

under the Doctor's uncle, Col. Moses Little of Newburyport. He had been in the French and Indian Wars and led his regiment, single file, wide apart, under the cannonading of the British Line of Battleships across the Charlestown Neck to Bunker Hill, where soon after it is recollected all passage over was cut off. He possessed the entire confidence of Washington, and but for his health would probably have become remembered as one of the principal heroes of the Revolution.

Mrs. Rogers had received at Newburyport the best education the times hereabouts afforded; and dependent on her own energies and exertions after the loss of her husband—who, as well as her father, had both been unfortunate in business—opened the aforementioned school for misses and young ladies. Here she was patronized by many eminent personages, as the Chief Justice of Massachusetts, Theophilus Parsons of Newburyport, and Dr. Story of Marblehead, their daughters and others residing with her. There, too, many ties of friendship thus were formed between families estranged by the asperities of politics—"Federal and Jacobin," running at that period extremely high.

Nathaniel Leverett Rogers died in Salem July 31, 1838, at the age of seventy-three years.

AMERICA'S SECOND VOYAGE.

The *America* sailed on her second voyage for Mocha, via Rotterdam, Holland, June 6, 1805; Elias Davison, her chief officer, now Master, and Mr. Nathaniel L. Rogers, Clerk, now Supercargo, not yet quite twenty years old. From the last named's log or Journal:

"At 6 p. m., Pigeon Hill, Cape Ann, N. W. by W. 7 leagues, takes Departure. 11th at 9 p. m. longitude by eclipse of the moon 32 deg. 30 min. W., latitude 44 deg. 41 min. N. 18th, hove to and boarded by H. B. M.'s Ship *La Loire*,—treated politely. 19th, saw a large ship under the lee, supposed to be a cruiser! 20th, chased for 22 hours by a Privateer brig; she could not come up with us! 21st, thick and foggy, at midnight, sounded in 78 fathoms; spoke a Danish brig bound for Cork; in-

formed us that Scilly bore N. N. W. 7 leagues." Here the journal is discontinued for some time. While going through the English Channel, the *America's* sailing qualities were fully tested, as she kept up (with her load of coffee on board) along with one of the very fastest frigates of the British Navy. They sail from Rotterdam, once more for Mocha, through the North Sea, August 18, 1805.

"August 24, at 5 A. M. made the Orkney Isles. Sept. 4, very heavy weather for some days after seeing, on the 4th, the Coast of Ireland, 14 to 15 leagues distant. 5th, all sail in except a close-reefed maintopsail; hard gales, high and dangerous seas, and violent squalls.

13th, in lat. 30 deg. 49 min. N., 15 deg. 15 min. W., at 1 P. M., a large ship on our lee bow! She tacked and stood for us under Spanish colors! At 5 A. M., Addison Richardson of Salem, seaman, fell overboard; hove to, and lowered the boat immediately; before we could get to him he was drowned! At noon, the Spanish Privateer still in chase! Breezes pleasant, weather fine. 14th, pass three sail standing N. The middle Spaniard takes no notice of them; middle part of the day, weather moderate and hazy. She leaves us after a chase of thirty-one (31) hours! We beat her considerably when there was any wind. Ends with a leading breeze and pleasant.

Nov. 28, at midnight, bore away for the Isle of France. 29th, brought to, at midnight by H. B. M.'s Ship *Terpsichore*, and treated politely; informed that she had on board two men (impressed?)—Nath'l Perry and James Vent taken out of the Barque *Active*, Bryant, of Salem! At 1 A. M. made sail to go through the Archipelago. Dec. 19, saw a brig, next day tacked, stood for, and went on board the *Telemachus*, Nathan Frye, Master, of Salem, 4 months out, bound for Mocha. 25th, Aden, N. E. by N. 8 leagues. 26th, at 8 A. M., pass through the Straits of B. At noon, anchor in the Roads of Mocha. Found lying here the ships *Nancy* and *Thomas Wilson* of Baltimore, brigs *Reward* of Salem, and *Sally Ann* of Gloucester, and three Country ships. Coffee high and scarce! 28th, the *Telemachus* arrives.

1806, Jan. 2, beating out of the Straits with brig *Telemachus*. Jan. 9, anchor in the back bay of Aden. Jan. 12, leave Aden for Maculla. 20th, saw an Arab ship standing W. 22d, stood close in shore; saw two Arab dhows. 24th, saw lights on shore; next day at 1 P. M., the Town; at 4, came to in the Bay. Several Banians (merchants) came off; went on shore with them, visited the Dolah; were treated very civilly by him and the Natives. 26th, found no possibility of obtaining a cargo here! At midnight, stood out of the Bay, for sea.

After their experience along these quarters, of course they were vigilant against sudden surprise. Suspicion, however, at times was entertained of being watched and "dogged" by Arab boats. But as yet there had been no occasion for serious alarm, until one day occurred an incident calculated to stir up in the Captain and Super-cargo rather uneasy sensations. They were alone on shore in a tent with a Banian merchant, finishing up some business, when suddenly, one by one, stole in with noiseless step, some thirty turbaned Arabs, and, sitting down cross-legged, enclosed them within the circle. Not a word was spoken, but after a little while, all at once, with a clang and flourish they drew their gleaming sabres, soon, however, sheathing them. This was done, as supposed, for effect, by way of intimidation, causing them to suppose that their last hour had come! No personal violence was offered, but an opportunity taken perhaps to show their power and disappointment, having been twice frustrated in their designs on so fine a prize.

The *America* left Maculla January 26, 1806, for Calcutta, encountering the first few days through the Arabian Sea hot weather and heavy rains, with thunder and lightning. "Feb. 25, the ship passes through many snakes. 25th, pass a large cocoa nut tree adrift, and many birds and snakes around. March—at midnight spoke an English cruiser with a Malay prow in tow. 8th, for some time on short allowance of water. Spoke a sloop from Calcutta to Madras; went on board; she informs of four large French Cruisers in the Bay of Bengal. Run for Sand Heads and take a pilot."



HON. BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD

An owner of the "America," and first President of the Merchants Bank.

Courtesy of Merchants [National] Bank.

The *America* remains at Calcutta till May 14. On shore in India, about this time, among the notable personages were the Marquis of Wellesley, the Governor General, and his younger brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington.

The *America* leaves Calcutta, in company down the river Hoogly, with ships *Endeavor*, *Page*, and *Sally* of Salem; left there several Salem and other American vessels; the *Lively Lass* had previously sailed for Philadelphia.

June 10. Tried the Current, &c. 30 and July 1, saw and passed the Isle of Madagascar, 8 or 9 leagues. High, sharp, and short head seas, and very squally. 5th, moderate and pleasant, a great many whales around. 6th, var. compass, by ampl. 22° , strong S'y current. 12, wind out from the W.; took in all sail! 13, in lat. $36^{\circ} 58$ m. S. begins with hard squalls from the N., a very high and dangerous sea running; at 3 P. M. violent squalls, with rain; split the foresail. At 5 P. M., wore ship to the N. E., and lay to, under a balance missen! Very high seas running, and heavy gales. Next day, plyed under the courses, hard squalls, &c. 17th, saw land, supposed the Cape of Good Hope, and tacked to the S. W. 24th, Table Hill bore E., 10 leagues.

The above gale was the only one fraught with imminent peril, of which Mr. Rogers in his after life was accustomed to make mention among his several voyages. As related, through that night, in those seas, piling mountains high, as landsmen say, all supposed the ship could not live, but tripping or foundering any moment, might go down! So, discipline laid aside, every man was left to his own private meditations. As hope grew less, one old Salem seaman began audibly in sobs to lament as to what would become at home of "his dear wife and little ones"? Whereupon another old tar, somewhat ruffled at our more stoical composure, cried out to know if shipmate hadn't a d-m-n sight better be thinking, just now, where "he was likely, himself, to go to!" Notwithstanding the solemn situation, this pointed retort brought out from all the deck a burst of merriment, completely restor-

ing their serenity. But morning saw the *America* still struggling "to hold on," and as already seen, she rode it out in safety.

"9th, touched at St. Helena. Left on the 18th. 26th, spoke ship *Telegraph*, Henry Austin, Master, from New York for Persia. Sloop ahead, standing N. At 1 A. M. she wore ship to run from us; from our appearance supposing us probably a privateer."

1806, Sept. 21. The journal is here discontinued, the ship arriving home a few days later.

AMERICA'S THIRD VOYAGE.

The *America's* third voyage was to 'the Mediterranean, Joseph Ropes, master (he was commander of her afterward in the war), Nathaniel L. Rogers, supercargo, as before; left Salem Nov. 20, 1806, and Dec. 9 shipped heavy seas, and stove bulwarks. Dec. 30, was hove to and boarded by a boat from B. M. ship *The Queen*, of 98 guns, of the blockading squadron off Cadiz. At 10, boarded by two Spanish gunboats. 31st, at 4½ P. M. boarded in the Gut by a Spanish gunboat. They were rather savage when they first came on board, but the sight of our many men, &c., frightened them; after begging a little rum and sugar, they left very politely. 1807. Jan. 2, spoke and boarded the *Romulus*, of Newburyport, Capt. Lufkin, 7 days from Alicant for Boston; several sail in sight. Next day spoke ship *Janus*, of Salem, Timothy Endicott, master, 13 days from Leghorn for Calcutta. 8th, Cape Ivi bore S. E. by E., and Jan. 10, ends the journal of the voyage.

At Leghorn the *America's* appearance attracted attention, a particular interest all along the Mediterranean having sprung up wherever waved the Flag of the dawning Republic. The ship's figurehead, too, of a full-length Indian, drew here the gaze of crowds, not probably so much as a work of art like those of other natives of Salem, worthy of the regions of Phidias, but as representative of the Aboriginal of this Western world, reviv-

ing as it did the traditionary, fabulous legends of their old sailors.

This "poor Indian" was the work of the elder McIntire of Salem, whose skill and taste as carver and architect still show in works around Salem. The United States Government thought so highly of him that to secure his exclusive services a permanent salary was offered, which was declined.

Mr. Rogers must from his casual narrations have visited several of the cities of Italy. Here ends this trip, his Log Journal. The ship arrived home in September, 1807, about the time of the laying of the Long Embargo—and now Mr. Rogers' connection with her closes.

The last of the *America* in the merchant service, of which we are appraised, is from the Log Abstract of Mr. N. L. Rogers on his first voyage as Master of the *Independence* of Salem, in 1809. "Sailed from Palermo for Messina, Sicily, in company with the *America*, Capt. Joseph Ropes, master," where she was the 29th of September, at his arrival.

The famous ship *America*, of the Messrs. Crowninshield, arrived home September 4, 1807, just before the commencement of the Long Embargo, raised in March, 1809, when non-intercourse with England and France was also established. During that period it is known the shipping lay decaying and idle at the wharves; and on no class fell more heavily the general suspension of business than upon the seamen,—a measure, said President Jefferson, in a very respectful reply to a petition of the neighboring town of Ipswich, brought about by "the circumstances of the times, to which the History of Nations presents no parallel."

It is here proposed to give some account of the former Clerk and Supercargo of the ship *America*, Nathaniel L. Rogers, his voyages and mercantile adventures, with perhaps hereafter a list of and remarks on the many vessels of N. L. Rogers & Brothers, from the time of their partnership about 1822 to 1848, the year of the firm's dissolution. This, in hopes of its being serviceable in connection, with its other most varied and extensive commerce,

for some future History of our ancient County of Essex.

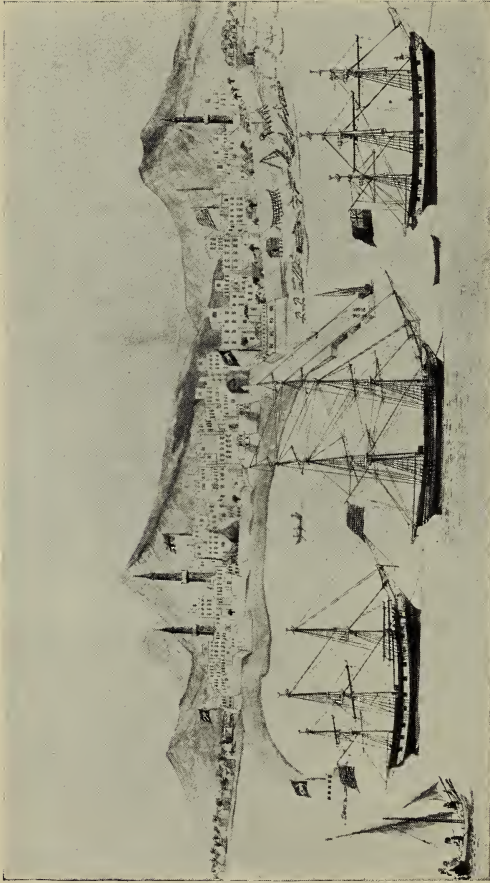
BRIGANTINE INDEPENDENCE.

On June 20, 1809, Mr. N. L. Rogers, now Captain, and interested with the owners, as supposed, Messrs. Ropes and Wellman, of the brigantine *Independence* (then just launched near Frye's Mills, North River), sailed again for the Mediterranean; Edward Brown, chief officer, Charles T. Scribner, second, and Stedman Atherton, clerk. It might be now observed that as yet no Treaty of Ghent or general Peace of '15 had smoothed down for the mariner "the troubled waters"; for cruisers, regardless of the Law of Nations, were roaming in all directions, gun-boats out, and lateeners, luggers, corsairs, and pirates, every nook and corner especially of this sea, infested. So that the American merchantman was obliged to depend on some British man-of-war for protection, or his own "heels" for safety.

From the Captain's private Sea Log or Journal: July 28, at 10 A. M. saw Cape St. Vincent. 29th, at 7 P. M., N. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., 7 or 8 leagues. At 4 A. M., a lateen sail came out from under the shore and gave us chase! Several sail in sight. Light airs and calms. Got out boats and towed! At 5 P. M. a breeze springing up, she gives up the chase! the day ending with a strong Levanter. 30th, at 7 A. M., Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. $\frac{1}{2}$ S., 8 or 10 leagues. 31st, at 8 A. M., Gibraltar N. N. E. Aug. 2, var. compass 22° 27 min. Long. 39 min. E., lat. 38° 54 min. N.

7th, light breezes and pleasant. At 11 A. M., saw the Isle of Sardinia, E. 10 or 15 degrees. At the same time saw a sail on the weather bow. She bore away and gave chase to us!—a large lateener and to every appearance a French privateer! All hands employed all day, in making, trimming, or wetting the sails. At noon, strong breezes from the N. W. . . . the brig straining and leaking 200 strokes per glass.

At 7 P. M., it being dark, the Lateener shortened sail



MOCHA, ARABIA, 1820.

Ships waiting to load with coffee.

From a water color in the Peabody Museum, Salem.

and stood for the Barbary shore. At the same time we carried away our topgallant mast, Cagliari, our destined port, being dead to windward. Thinking it impossible to avoid the Privateer if we attempted to get in, bore away for Palermo. 9th, latter part, strong breezes and a high sea; brig leaks very badly. At 1 P. M., saw the Isle of Maritimo; at 3, Sicily; at daylight, Ustria; boarded a fishing boat, took out a pilot and stood in for Palermo. 10th. At 1 P. M. anchored abreast the Mole. At 5 P. M., all hands went on shore and were examined at the Health Office. Found here the brig *Juno*, Page, of Salem, and several other Americans, who informed us that the markets were very dull, and a great many French Privateers out capturing Americans!

Aug. 13, arrived at Palermo, the *Calumet* (of Boston), Holmes, C. W. Frimes, supercargo; 14, *Hope* (of Salem), Edward P. Lander, supercargo; *Elizabeth*, Marblehead, Capt. W. Fettyplace. 23d, health officers came on board and gave us pratique. 29th, arrived ship *Monk*, J. P. Felt, master, Salem; 30th, ship *America*, Capt. Joseph Ropes, Salem, via Cagliari, 49 days; 31st, brig *Louisa*, Capt. B. Ward, Jr., Salem, Algiers, 9 days. Weather very warm. Sold and delivered 210 boxes sugar.

Sept. 24, got ready for sea; hauled out into the stream; bound to Messina and Malta; sailed in company with ship *America*, Joseph Ropes, Salem. 27th, land and sea breezes, light and pleasant. Land to the E. bore S. E. S. 8 or 10 leagues. Two men-of-war in sight; a lateener in sight, hovering round for two days! closed company. 28th, strong westerly winds, very squally, heavy showers of rain with thunder and sharp lightning. The lateener runs in behind the Lipari Islands and the Main. 29th, passed the *Faro*, in company with several sail. At 4 A. M. came to off Messina. Several Americans here, among others the *Beulah*, of Boston, David Greene, etc. 30th, went ashore with Mr. Dodge (perhaps a relative) who came passenger with us. Sold and delivered all the pepper we could get at, in very bad order. Discharged Mr. Scribner, 2d officer, to go on board ship *Elizabeth* as 1st officer.

Oct. 27, weighed and stood through, in company with 25 others, all under convoy of H. B. M.'s ship *Excellent*, of 74 guns, bound for Malta. On the 29th, saw the island. Stood in and anchored, in company with brig *Harmony*, Joy, of Boston. Several Americans here, among others, ship *Argo*, Field, and *Dash*, Stimms, of Salem.

Here, Captain Rogers' log journal ends for the voyage. At Malta in those times, as well as most of the principal ports, the captain and supercargoes usually lived on shore at the merchants' houses. There also it was usual to entertain, and there resided gentlemen and strangers of distinction. A noted house of this kind of the Messrs. Lee was at Malta, another at Smyrna, and some at other ports of Europe.

The *Independence*, a while at Malta, sailed thence for Smyrna, in Turkey.

About this time, at Malta, was Lord Byron, from England, in a brigantine, the *Spider*, of whom Captain Rogers used to speak as having seen on shore, and of having kept company, at one time in his little brigantine, with a vessel he was on board, along with these classic shores, bound to the Far East; where, in Lord Byron's "Life and Letters," are recollected many most interesting incidents.

At Smyrna, Captain Rogers lived in the merchant's large brick house. From apprehension or existence of the plague, its doors and windows were kept barred and closed by heavy shutters to exclude or prevent contagion, etc.; and everything finding ingress was first subjected to the disinfecting process of immersion in or passing through water, such as all provision, letters, etc., even to the merest trifle.

It had been the Captain's intention to go with his little brigantine through the Dardanelles to Constantinople, and he used to say he came within view of that city, but it does not appear whether in her, or when on some of those sightseeing parties he sometimes accompanied.

The *Independence* arrived home safe in April, 1810, more fortunate than many Salem vessels; and the cap-

tain used to say he must have been at that time near the track of the ill-fated Salem ship, the *Margaret*, on board of which there were several of his intimate friends and acquaintances.

Concerning this chase, the late Capt. Daniel Perkins (in his later years a storekeeper for Joseph Peabody, Esq.), who was then a seaman on board, gave the writer in 1858 a vivid description. About 4 o'clock in the afternoon, he said, the *Privateer*, one of the largest size, from her superior sailing qualities and great spread of canvas carried by this lateen rig, had gained so rapidly upon them that in a few hours capture seemed inevitable. But a gale springing up, she was obliged to shorten sail, thus checking her headway and delaying her coming up rather somewhat into the evening, which luckily became cloudy, and under cover of the darkness, by altering the brigantine's course, they narrowly escaped; and the privateer, as it came on to blow, it was supposed must have stood in for the Barbary shore.

The ship *Margaret* left Naples about April 10, 1810, it was stated, with 31 passengers, mostly captains and supercargoes of American vessels, which had been captured, carried in, and confiscated, there. Somewhere in the Atlantic, she capsized in a squall. For some details of this disaster, one of the most appalling of maritime record in its consequences, the death and starvation of many exposed for weeks in open boats on the ocean, see contemporary newspapers, or account by Charles S. Osgood, Esq., in the commercial chapters of the History of Salem, by Henry M. Batchelder and Mr. Osgood.

On his next voyage, Capt. N. L. Rogers, was in the brig *Java*, Messrs. Derby and Prince, owners, of Salem, whence she sailed July 2, 1810, for the Canary Islands and the Isle of Java, East Indies. From his Sea Log:

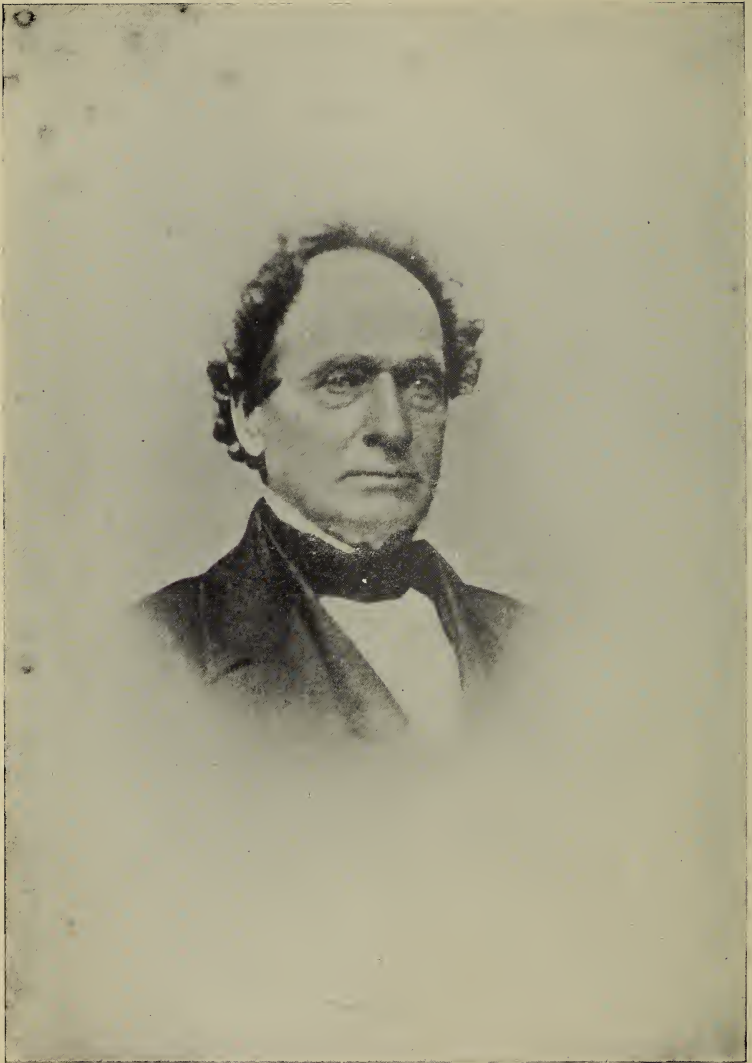
"July 28, saw the Savages, the surf breaking over the reef very high, and Teneriffe 5 or 6 leagues distant. Ordered off, under quarantine, to sea. A 'Bill of Health,' etc., is necessary to avoid 40 days quarantine." In a letter home, while off and on, he says: "There is nothing through the medium of the spy-glass, attractive in the

place . . . the only thing worthy of remark is the famous peak, very high and seen at a great distance."

While at Port Oratava, he writes, "I live, in a quiet way, in the house of an English merchant, an old bachelor. There is a large society of English and Spanish, I have visited, not for pleasure, but for information . . . the evenings are spent in gambling and waltzing, and while here, on both Sundays, were grand balls and dinners, which will not give you any great opinion, &c. . . . the beauties of the silver tree are greatly faded, &c., I did not think it worthwhile to enclose a leaf. There is but one tree on the island, and I regret time will not allow me to visit it."

"Aug. 15, at 10 a. m. got underweigh, stood to the N. W. bound to the East Indies with a full cargo of wine. Strong current down this season between the Canaries. At 1 A. M. saw the Isle of Ferro; Aug. 21, St. Anthony, northernmost of the Cape de Verds; 23d, Fogo and Brava, 10 leagues. 29, squally and heavy swell, the brig pitches very heavily. Sept. 26, Lat. $31^{\circ} 42$ m. S., long. $24^{\circ} 48$ m. W., lie to. Oct. 8, at 5 P. M., Long. by Lunar, $17^{\circ} 12$ m. W. At 11 A. M., saw the Inaccessible of the Tristan D'acunha Islands, 15 leagues. Oct. 9, the Nightingale. Nov. 13, passed great quantities of kelp and seaweed. From the smoothness of the water, judge ourselves under the lee of St. Paul's. No Lunar observation for several days. At 8 P. M. wore ship to the Westward, and endeavored to see it. At daylight made sail, heavy squalls, &c., Nov. 21, Long., by means of three observations, $92^{\circ} 30$ min. E., a difference between Dead Reckoning of $5^{\circ} 47$ min. Lat. $29^{\circ} 48$ min. S."

This would show how unreliable is Dead Reckoning, and, when Lunars cannot be taken, the value of the comparatively modern Chronometer as a Substitute. In those days, before our Salem Bowditch's Epitome, Lunars were calculated by the English method of Hamilton Moore. Dec. 5, at 4 P. M. saw the Isle of Java, N. 6 or 7 leagues distant. Took in sail at dark and stood to the Westward. At Meridian Winerow Pt. bore N. W. 5 or 6 leagues.



CAPTAIN JAMES W. CHEVER,
1791—1857

Dec. 7, Angier Pt. N. E. by N. at 5 P. M. Thwart-the-way, N. by E. At 9 1-2, the Bantam, E. S. E. At 12 1-2, hove to. Dec. 10, at 1 P. M. saw a very dangerous reef running 2 or 3 leagues to the W. of the westernmost end of the Island, having a strong current setting to the E. With difficulty we weathered it, not seeing over 1-2 from deck! It is not laid down on my charts, but I understood that there were several dangerous reefs and banks about Carimon Java. At midnight saw the Japara Hills, S. E. At Mn. Camiron Java N. 1-2 W. Lat. $6^{\circ} 30$ min. S.

It may here be remarked that along the above track or its vicinity, a few years since, happened the great volcanic eruptions of Krakatoa, when thousands of lives and many vessels were lost.

Dec. 11, at 11 1-2 saw Samarang S. S. W. 6 miles; anchored at 3 P. M. Dec. 12, and went on shore.

At this period, from 1808 to 1811, Dandiels, one of Napoleon's Marshals, was Governor General of the Dutch East Indies. He had also been Governor of Munster in 1806, and commander in chief of the French Cavalry. He published an account of his administration of Java, its moral condition and resources, and of the neighboring islands.

Captain Rogers had seen others of these famous Marshals in Europe, at Messina, reviewing a body of 70,000 or 80,000 troops. It may be observed that Java was taken by the English in 1811, and restored to the Dutch in 1816.

Dec. 21, 1810. Stood to sea, the weather excessively warm. Dec. 28, at 6 P. M. the Peak of Bally bore N. 8 or 9 leagues, S. E. Point Lombock E. Heavy rains and strong breezes from the E. Long. at 6 P. M. from bearings $115^{\circ} 54$ m. E., lat. $8^{\circ} 50$ min. S. People continue sick with the Dysentery. Jan. 24, 1811, Isaac Brown, seaman, departed this life, after three days' sickness—a man of very strong constitution, and the last one of the crew taken. Only three out of fourteen, all on board, escaped the disorder.

Feb. 9, Lat. $30^{\circ} 28$ m. S., Long. $30^{\circ} 1$ m. E., in con-

sequence of sickness, this journal was not continued. Five hands down very sick.

Thus, coming around the Cape, the brig was short-handed. Her chief officer was John L. Hammond; 2d officer, William Hatton, and Francis Dixon heads the roll of seamen. The date of her arrival, or to what port, here does not appear, but perhaps via the Vineyard.

In the Ship *Endeavor* early in January, 1812, Capt. N. L. Rogers sailed on another voyage to Pernambuco, Brazil, as master, and part shipper or freighter also, with Messrs. Nathaniel Silsbee—(long a United States Senator from Massachusetts)—Dudley L. Pickman, and Robert Stone,—(Simón, or his son, John, Forrester, owner,) all at Salem. For some time, off the coast, a continuation of some of the roughest weather ever seen. Hence, no private log journal for this voyage. The *Endeavor* was at Pernambuco in March, probably for a load of sugar, and returned in May. This ship was said to be still afloat about ten years ago (1876)—one of the oldest of the United States. Capt. Rogers took this short trip to avoid danger of capture, as his friend and former employer, the Hon. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, of Salem, afterwards Secretary of the U. S. Navy, advised, in whose opinion war against Great Britain would certainly be declared, as it was, by only one vote, however, on June 12, following.

This war of 1812, so soon after the Embargo, was another well-known blow at the commerce of Salem. Although at first very unpopular here, the times soon became livelier than during the Embargo, and the energies of the people were awakened to engage somewhat in privateering, &c. Two or three military companies were formed—a sort of Home Guard for defense of the seaboard—one of the Sea Fencibles; another of Cavalry, to which the Captain's second brother John W. Rogers belonged; and still another, the Essex Guards, Israel Williams, Commander, of which Capt. N. L. Rogers was a member. Several times in the dead of the night they turned out on false alarms, with powder and ball, equipped to meet the landing of the enemy, who, with their vessels

of war, it is known were constantly hovering in the Bay, sometimes at night running well up towards Salem Harbor.

Captain Rogers was now occasionally engaged with others of his townsmen in making small shipments abroad under Portuguese colors; sometimes in more active business, as appears in letters from Newport. Along here for years, from 1801, he had been somewhat acquainted. In a letter home, dated Newport, R. I., July 13, 1813, he says: "I arrived here the next evening after leaving you at Salem, having had a fatiguing ride of 90 miles, through bad roads, with a bad carriage and rainy weather. . . . This town is very dull in comparison with Providence, I am told by all the visitors here, of which there is a large company at present, some for health, some for business, &c., . . . Among the company is the celebrated Commodore Barney of Baltimore, a very pleasant man, who has a fund of good stories which he is very happy at telling. . . . He was commander of a Frigate in our Revolutionary War."

Capt. Rogers hopes to return in 10 or 15 days. August 5, from Providence, he writes: "I have been very busy—the weather is extremely warm. This day sold the cargo (vessel's name unmentioned). Shall be very busy, but in hopes to get along in the course of a week. Aug. 8. The inhabitants are very hospitable and the town very pleasant, situated under a hill, the weather excessively warm, no sea breezes as at Salem."

At length came the news of the Peace of Dec. 24, 1814. There is evidence to presume that, during the war, Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers had enterprises abroad with his second brother, John W. Rogers who had also been a factor and supercargo to foreign lands—in 1807 to Bombay in the ship *Arab*; 1808, to Sumatra in the *Mentor*; and in 1809-10, to Russia Gottenburg &c., in the *Orestes*, *Adeline*, and other vessels.

Capt. N. L. Rogers again sailed Nov. 7, 1815, from Boston for the Coast of Sumatra, the Isle of Bourbon, and Europe, as Master and Supercargo of the ship *William*, 413 tons. The Messrs. Jesse Inglee and Josiah

Bartlett of Boston were owners, and besides the Captain, as freighters or shippers, to the amount of about ten thousand dollars each in specie (Spanish dollars) were Messrs. Francis Lowell and — Sawyer of Boston, Robert and John Hooper, Marblehead, Col. Benj. Pickman and brother, William, of Salem; William Ropes, Benj. Pickman, Jr. (or 3d); and John W. Rogers, all three of Boston, but formerly of Salem.

The Captain's log abstract, speaks of the ship as fast, but laboursome. "Nov. 10, the maintopmast went over the side. Dec. 20, spoke ship *Glide*, Sam Tucker, of Salem, sailed 7 days before us, 50 days out for Calcutta. 1816, Jan. 7, Lat. 26° 10 min. S., Long. 78° 1 min. E., the W. lost in a hurricane, at midnight, her main and foretopmasts, jibboom, &c., leaving her almost a wreck. Feb. 24th, one hundred and eight days to land! At 4 P. M. saw the Coco Islands, at 6 A. M. Sumatra.

"During a stay of 80 days upon this Coast, the weather has been excessively warm, with rain nearly every day, and the ship very uncomfortable from steam of the pepper. Several of the crew down sick, and more complaining." Among the places visited on the Coast were one called by the Natives, Booboo, 5 miles from Analaboo Bay; Soosoo, where the Captain goes on shore, March 2, to see the Rajah; he speaks of him as 'the King'; and in a letter home to his wife, says: 'I wish you could see him, but not here.' Touched at Labou, Minjin, &c., Mar. 11, anchored off Tennigan, Town E. N. E., surf so heavy the boats could not land! It even broke over the Malay Prows! Mar. 13, the Rajah's son comes on board; agrees for the price of pepper. Mar. 21, at Battoo went on shore with Poyot, the Malay interpreter, no pepper to be had at the Bazaar."

"March 22, got underweigh for Minjin, passed over a dangerous shoal. We got 16 1-2 feet, the water. Two men aloft on the lookout! The MSS directions are very imperfect. The *America* and *Fame*, of Salem, formerly were in it. It is laid down 13 or 14 miles from Muckie; while at Minjin it never broke, but I could distinctly there see the whelm over it."

(To be continued)

SALEM TOWN RECORDS.

(Continued from Volume LXIV, page 208)

[5] Const Jona ^t Eager Crd ^t	
p ^r p ^d y ^e Towne	
p ^d Sam ^{ll} Gardner Sen ^r out of Ouer pluse	2: 5: 0
p ^d Cap ^t W ^m Browne out of Ouerpluse	5: 0: 0
p ^d Jn ^o Baker 2 ^s 6 ^d wal ^t skiner 5 ^s }	0: 11: 6
wal ^t skiner more 4 ^s }	
p ^d Jn ^o Hathorne	3: 00: 0
p ^d m ^r Jn ^o Gidny	4: 17: 9
Ⓕ abated peter Cheuers out of his rates	0: 3: 0
	15: 17: 3

Sam^{ll} Gardner Sen D^r 1 p^r stilliards in pay: 17^s }
 L^t Pickring Jun^r D^r 1 p^r stilliards in pay 12^s 6^d }

both belonging to Hen^r Skery

Att a meting of y^e Select men 1: 8: 1683

Sam^{ll} Gard^r Sen^r Cap^t Price Jn^o Hathⁿ L^t Pick^r Sa:
 Gardn^r Jun^r J. Higg^{sn}

abated Rich^d Maber 2^s 6^d of his rates to Lambert m^r
 Sam^{ll} Gardner Sen^r is chosen & desired to goe to the
 County Court at Cambridge ther to answer y^e compaint
 of Cambridge Village in relation to Abigall Parker

Att a metting of the Select men 4: 8: 83

S. G. sen^r J Hathⁿ L^t Pick^r S. G. Jun^r Jn^o Higg^{sn}

agred y^t the Constables watch of 6 men be Continued
 till further order

agred y^t a fremens metting be warned to be held 6 In-
 stant at 9 Clock for Choyse of deputys

Att a ffreemans metting 6: 8: 1683

m^r Edmond Batter & m^r Hen^r Bartholomew sen^r are
 chosen deputys for y^e Gen^r Court for the remaining part
 of this yeare

Att a metting of the Select men 6: 8: 1683

Cap^t Price m^r Jn^o Hathorne L^t Pick^r Sam^{ll} Gardner Jun^r
 Jn^o Higginson: Lew^t John Puttman is chosen desired &
 impowred to Answer to the pettition & Complaint of the
 Inhabitants of Topsfeild at the next Gen^r Court

Att a meting of the Select men 8: 8: 83
 S. G. sen^r J. Hathⁿ Sam^{ll} Gard^r Jun^r J. Higg^{sn}
 m^r John Hathorne is chosen & desired to goe to the Ad-
 journment of the County Court at Cambridge ther to
 answer the complaint of Cambridge Village in relation
 to Abigall Parker
 he did not goe

[6] Att a metting of the Select men 19: 8: 1683
 — Price — Hathⁿ Sam^{ll} Gard^r Jun^r J. Higg^{sn}
 Ther being certain Information Giuen to the Select
 men (& by m^r Jn^o Tawleys owne acknowligement)
 y^t m^r Jn^o Tawley who latly ariued from newfound-
 land has brought in the distemper of the Small Pox
 haueing one man on bord Sick of the Same & Con-
 sidering the Great danger of the Spreding of such a dis-
 temper amongst us he haueing brought home many pas-
 sengers whome he has landed & they are Scatered abroad
 This following warrant was Giuen to the Constables
 You & Euery of you are herby required in his majesties
 name forthwith to send frances Eliot on bord m^r John
 Towleys Katch & ther to tend the Sick men & forthwith
 to Send & Cary downe to the House y^t Sarj^d Jn^o Cliford
 liued in all the passengers & Sea men y^t came in m^r Jn^o
 Tawley from New found land that can be found in this
 Towne & ther to Confine them till further order be taken
 & y^t m^r Jn^o Tawley be confined to his house & that his
 boy be either sent on bord the Katch or downe to the
 aforsaid house

At a meting of the Select men 22: 8: 83
 Agred y^t a warrant be Given to y^e Constables y^t they
 goe downe to the house wher the Newfoundland men are
 Confined & require y^m ||y^t the obserue ther Confinemt to
 cary downe|| to aire ther beding & wash ther Clothing
 & that they behave them selues soberly & orderly: y^e
 w^{ch} being done that they giue aduice therof to the select
 men y^t they may take care for the realease of such as
 haue had y^e sm^{ll} pox formerly & y^t they forwarne pub-
 lique houses y^t they are not to giue y^m Entertainmt
 25: 8: 83

S. G. sen^r J Price S. Gard^r Jun^r J Higg^{sn}

agred y^t Sam^{ll} Gardner sen^r & Jn^o Higginson doe agree wth Walter Skinner or some other to be a bell man in the towne & yⁿ to discharge ye watch:

we agred wth Walter Skinner to be bel man & watch the towne every night & p^rforme y^e Ofice faithfully & Constantly from the 10th Nouember till the first of May next Ensuing for w^{ch} he is to be paid Eight pounds in pay by the towne & fiue shill^s in pay more toward a paire of Bootts

[7] Att a metting of the Select men 29:8:1683.

S. Gard^{nr} sen^r, Cap^t Price, Jn^o Hathⁿ Sa Gard^r Jun^r, J. Higg^{sn}

Agred y^t a warrant be giuen to the Constable forthwith to Imp—— a boat & two of the hands at y^e house on the necke & Cary ffrances Eliot abord m^r Tawleys Katch

Att a Towne Metting 5:9:1683

Chosen for Jury of Tryalls	Grand Jury
Rob ^t Kitchin	m ^r Ruck
Jn ^o Pilgrim	L ^t Nat. ffelton
Rich Haris	Ch ^r Bauage
Jos. Hucheson	Tho Giges sen ^r
Eph ^r Kempton	Jos Rea
Jn ^o Bachelder	Sam ^{ll} Eborne sen ^r
Sam ^{ll} Phipeny	Hen ^r West

Voated that the Prison y^t is to be built shall stand in the most conuenient place to the Northward of the Towne house.

Voated that ther be a Rate made for the defraying of the Towne Charges to the Value of two Single Country Rates

Voated y^t it is left to the Select men to prouid nes-sary to be vsed in case of fire

In answer to the petition of Tho Bell it is Voated that the Select men doe lay out to sd Tho Bell a pece of land he he hath set his house not exceding twenty pole w^{ch} he shall Injoy during the Townes Plesure & to pay the Towne two shillings & six pence in mony p^r anum for so long as he shall Injoy it.

Voated that Richard Cliford shall haue a peice of ||land|| upon the rocks beyond the bridge wher he hath

built a small house not exceding ten pole for & during the Space of twenty one yeares & after y^t during the Townes plesure to be layd out by the Select men

Voated that Israll Thorne shall haue a peice of land upon the Rocks beyound the Bridge not exceding ten pole for & during the Space of twenty one yeres & after that during the Townes plesure to be layd out by the Select men

[8] In Answer to the petition of Edward Mould y^t the Towne would apoint some mete p^rsons to vew & stake ||out|| his dew of land in the valley below his house.

Voated that it is left to the select men to doe it accordingly & it is left to the select men to vew & stake out to Nath^l Pickman sen^r his dew of land next adjoyneing

Att a metting of the Select men 9:9:83

Sa: Gard^r sen^r, Cap^t Price, Jn^o Hathⁿ Sam^l Gardner Jun^r J Higg^{sn}

it is ordred y^t Jn^o Higginson doe agre wth Goody Bath to kep Sara Lambert for y^e yeare Ensuing not exceding what was giuen last yeare & to giue her under hand in the name of the select men to Secure y^e towne of Beverly from the charge of said Lambert

ordred y^t these following p^rsons shall haue each 8^s a peice out of the pore box to by a Cord of wood w^{ch} shall be sent to ym & m^r Hathorne is to take care it be don: Jos Miles, widow Allin Tho Rix Jn^o Williams fish^r Nat Ingersons widow: & y^t Tho. Clark shall haue the palla-sados nere the bridge.

Ordered y^t all the Constables y^t are Indebted to the Towne be warned to come in to the Select men on munday ||com Sea night|| next at nine a Clock in the morning to make up ther accompts & pay in what is dew to the towne

Att a metting of the select men 19. 9. 1683

Sa. Gardn^r Sen^r Cap^t Price Jn^o Hathⁿ Sam^l Gardner Jun^r L^t Pickring J. Higg^{sn}

Const^{bl} Jona^t Auger Cr

⌘ p^d James Russell Tresurer in mony 6:0:0

⌘ p^d the Tresurer more in mony 12:0:0

& p^d him in Contry pay 24:0:0

☞ p ^d Marshall Skery for y ^c County Rate pay	06:0:0
☞ p ^d Jn ^o Cromwell for m ^r Norice on the townes acc ^o	01:4:0
abated Jn ^o Baxter 10 ^s Jn ^o Best 9 ^s 6 ^d Edw Counter 6 ^s	01:5:6
Nat. Ingerson 15 ^s R ^d Ingerson 15 ^s R ^d Rose 13 ^s 6 ^d	2:3:6
Rob ^t Sallows 16 ^s And ^r Eliot: 16 ^s pet. strek 10 ^s	2:2:0
[9] m ^r Norice D ^r to be paid by Ed flint w ^{ch} is allowed Constable Jn ^o Leach Cr. as ☞ 3 leues backward	73:19:00
☞ abated Jn ^o foster sen ^r 5 ^s his owne Rate 2.15 ^s	03:00:00
☞ abated Nich Durall 5 ^s Geo Harney 10 ^s Elec Renolds 12 ^s	01:07:00
☞ abated Nat Carell	00:11:00
☞ abated Jos Boyce 6 ^s m ^r Endicot 26 ^s	01:12:00

D^r to all his rates 88:16:0

19:9:83 Reckoned & Rest dew 8:07:0

agred y^t wm lord be p^d 4^l by Cap^t Price
 agred y^t George Hacker shall be paid 25^s in pay for
 Rent of his House for Tho Clarke to begin this 19:9:83

Sam^{ll} Gardner Jun^r Cred^t

☞ his Jorny to Coneticot wⁿ he went for m^r }
 Noyse to be paid him 3^l 4^s in mony & } 8:4:0
 5^l in pay }

D^r to 44^s mony wⁿ you went & 20^s mony }
 y^t Hen^r Skery paid in }

3:4:0

Elnor Bath doth agre to kep Sara Lambert & her child during the terme of a yeare & to prouied for her as she Ingaged last yere & to be paid for it by the towne Eight pounds in some Good pay

To all whome these may conserne, wheras Elnor Bath hath agred wth the Select men of Salem to kep Sara lambert & her Child for one yeare more, after w^{ch} time we doe Ingage as formerly in behalfe of the Towne, y^t she shall not be chargable to Beuerly or any other towne,

but shall be returnd againe to Salem unles any further agrem^t be made

[10] Att a metting of the Select men 26:9:83
 S. Gard^r sen^r Cap^t Price m^r Jn^o Hathorne Jn^o Higg^{sn}
 Chosen for Tything men
 m^r fr. Neale sen^r } Const Eng^{lishes} ward
 Jos. Graften }
 m^r Willard } Const Phelps
 m^r Jn^o Cromwell }
 Ely Kesor } Const Hirst
 Edw Mould }
 Benj^a fuller } Const Lam^{bt}
 Jn^o Chapleman }
 Jn^o Tomkins } Const Howard
 Jn^o ffoster Jun^r }
 Hen^r Keny } Const Popes ward
 Tho. Preson }
 abated Perce Angle his Rates to English

Att a metting of the Select men 23:9:83
 S Gard^{nr} sen^r Cap^t Price Jn^o Hathⁿ L^t Pick^r S. Gard^{nr}
 Jun^r Jn^o Higg^{sn}

By Vertue of a warant from the Country Tresurer
 for one rate in mony & one rate in Graine & a warant
 from y^e County Tresurer for one Rate in pay || as the
 country rate is paid || & order from the Towne for two
 Rates to defray Towne Charge we haue made these fol-
 lowing Rates

Const Ph: English D ^r to pay Con-	
try Tresurer in mony	13.0.0
⌘ in pay	13.0.0
To the County in pay	13.0.0
To the Towne in pay	37.13.4
⌘ y ^e Overpluse of mony Rate	2.18.4
	<hr/>
	79.11.8

Const Ch ^r Phelps D ^r to pay Contry	
Tresurer in mony	11.00.0
⌘ in pay	11.00.0
To the County Tresurer in pay	11.00.0
To the Towne in pay	30.01.4

ƒ y ^e overplus of mony rate	2.00.4	
	<hr/>	65.01.8
Const Jn ^o Lambert D ^r to pay Coun- try Tresurer in mony	12:10:0	
ƒ in pay	12:10:0	
D ^r to Sam ^l Pains Rates 10 ^s		
To the county tresurer in pay	12.10:0	
To the towne in pay	33:16:0	
ƒ y ^e overpluse of the mony rate	2. 4:0	
	<hr/>	73:10:0
Const. W ^m Hirst D ^r to pay the Tres- urer in mony	11:0:0	
ƒ in pay	11.0:0	
To pay the county Tresurer in pay	11.0.0	
To pay the Towne in pay	30.9.4	
ƒ y ^e over plus of y ^e mony rate	2.2.4	
	<hr/>	65:11:8
Const Nat Howard D ^r to pay the Contry Tresurer in mony	8:6:8	
ƒ in pay	8.6.8	
To the County Tresurer in pay	8.6.8	
To the Towne in pay	22.9.4	
ƒ y ^e ouer plush of mony rate	01:9.0	
	<hr/>	48.18.4
Const Jos Pope D ^r to pay y ^e Contry Tresurer in mony	10:0:0	
ƒ in pay	10:0:0	
To the County Tresurer in pay	10:0:0	
To the Towne in pay	26:19.4	
ƒ the ouer plus of mony rate	1.14.10	
	<hr/>	58.14.2
		<hr/>
		391.07.6
An accomp ^t of what has ben disburst on the New- foundland men brought in by Jn ^o Tawley all as mony		
To: Stephen Haskett as p ^r his accomp ^t		1.11.0
To: m ^r W ^m Hirst for a q ^{tr} of Beffe @ 93 ^l 2 ^d ƒ		0.15.6
To: L ^t Jn ^o Pickring as p ^r his accomp ^t		0.11.0
To Cap ^t Jn ^o Price as p ^r his accomp ^t		1:11.7½

To. Sam ^l Gardner Jun ^r for Bread 2 ^{ll} 14 ^{ll} 16 ^s ☽	1.14.0
To: Jn ^o Lambert for a q ^{tr} Beffe 57 ^l 2 ^d ☽	0.09.6
To. Jn ^o Higginson Jun ^r for ½ ^{bb} pease a brome & house rome & 5 q ^t Rom }	1.6.0
To Jer Rogers for wood (& cartage abowed in acc ^o 17/9 ^{d*})	0.08.0
* This portion of the line is an interpolation.	
To Tho. Velly for wood (a noat to Hirst for 6 ^s)	0. 5.0
To m ^{rs} Hollingworth & Gilb ^t Tapley for Bere @	1. 0.0

9.11.7½

Jos Read	0.01.0
Jn ^o Hathorne expense	0.02.0
Doct ^r Barton for visiting	0.05.0

9.19.7½

To Jn ^o Higginson Jun ^r for mony p ^d Sherell	1.00.0
to Const ^l Lambert for ½ Cord wood mony	0.04.0
Rem ^{br} Ch ^r Sherell he demands 24 ^s	
4.11.83 Goody Thorne d ^r a noate for 5 ^s mony to m ^r Hardy in p ^t for her keping Goody Goodale She is C ^r ☽ keping her 20 wekes to y ^l 3 ^d 11.83 at 2 ^s ☽ pay only 5 ^s of it mony p ^d by Sam ^{ll} Gardner sen ^r 35 ^s in Goods	

[12] An acc^o of disbursments on the high wayes in the yeare 1683: Isack Cook & Sam^{ll} Gaskin ouerseres the whole according to ther accomp^t amounting to 42^l: 04^s: 0^d are to be paid as followeth out of the Towne Rate

by Constable Nat Howard

To: Rob ^t Pease	0.16.0	Sam ^{ll} Very Sen ^r	0.03.0
To Step ^h Small	0.14.0	Tho Very	0.07.0
To Jn ^o Burton	1.04.0	Jos. Sibley	0.09.0
To Jn ^o ffoster sen ^r	0.13.0	Benja ffuller	0.03.0
Vsall Wardell	0.14.0	Jn ^o Tomkins	0.01.0
An ^t Buxton	0.04.0	Jn ^o Waters	0.03.0
Jos Southerick	1.05.0	Sam ^{ll} ffosters	0.11.0
Hugh Jones	1.03.0	Isack Read	0.01.0

Jn° Lombes	0.02.0	Jn° Stacy	00.10.0
Jn° King	0.19.0	Sam ^{ll} Marsh	00.04.0
L ^t felton	0.08.0	Sam ^l Southerick	00.07.0
Ely Geogles	0.14.0	Sam ^{ll} Stacy	00.15.0
Zack ^r Marsh	0.02.0	Ch ^r ffoster	00.06.0
Jn° ffoster Jun ^r	0.06.0	Dan ^{ll} Southerick	00.16.0
Sam ^{ll} Gaskin	2.07.0	Jn° Buxton	00.12.0
W ^m Osburne	2.00.0	Sam ^{ll} Golthite	00.02.0
Jos. Boyce	2.06.0	Jos. ffoster	00.04.0
Is. Cooke	2.17.6	Hugh Pasco	00.08.0
	<u>20.12.6</u>	Sam ^{ll} Nurse	00.08.0
Ph. logier	0.08.0	ffrances Nurse	00.04.0
	<u>21.00.6</u>	Geo Jacobs	00.06.0
		W ^m Russell	00.12.0
The warrant for these dd		Jn° Trask	00.02.0
To be paid by Const Lambert		Sam ^{ll} Eborne	
note giuen To Rob ^t wilson	0.14.0	Jun ^r	00.02.0
note giuen To Caleb Buffom	0.04.0	Tho Tily	00.02.0
	<u>0.18.0</u>	Jn° Small	00.12.0
		m ^r Grenow	00.06.0
		W ^m Osburne	00.00.0
		Isack Cooke	00.00.0

By Joseph Pope Constable			9 ^o 02.0
To Jn° Nurse	00.10.0	Sam ^{ll} Gaskin	18.11.1683
Tho Haynes	00.02.0	Granted M ^r Hirst to pay	
Tho Preson	00.06.0	Noates	{ To Isack Cooke 5.5.6 To W ^m Osburne 4.9.0
Jn° Tarbell	00.08.0	29.11.83	
Nat ffelton Jun ^r	00.06.0		
Jn° ffelton	00.04.0		
Jn° Pudny	00.06.0		
Step ^b ffish	00.02.0		<u>9.14.6</u>

To p ^d by m ^r Hathorne to Rumry	0.9.0
	21.00.6
	0.18.0
	9.02.0
	9.14.6
	0. 9.0
	<u>41.04.0</u>

[13] An acc^o of disbursm^t on y^e high wayes 1683
at y^e Cut Jos Phipeny sen^r & Jn^o Ingerson ouer seres to
be paid by Const^r English & Phelps

Shatt—Rich ^d flender	0.2.0
Shatt—Jos. Phipeny sen	0.4.0
Gilb ^t Tapley	0.2.0
Isack ffott	0.3.0
Shatt—Math. Barton	0.4.0
Powlen Daud Phipeny	0.2.0
p ^d in acc ^o Sam ^{ll} Gardners Negro	0.2.0
Jn ^o Hathorne	0.2.0
Shatt—Tho Gigles sen ^r	0.2.0
Rob ^t Stone	0.3.0
C. P.—Elias Mason	0.2.0
walter whitford	0.2.0
Phepen—W ^m Curtice	0.5.0
Phepen—Sam ^{ll} williams	0.1.0
Sam ^{ll} Robinson	0.3.0
W ^m Murell	0.2.0
Shatt—Ezekiell Waters	0.2.0
	<hr/>
	2.3.0

Gilb ^t Tapley for bere	0.7.0
disburst on y ^e high way by Jn ^o Lamberts	
Jn ^o Norman ouersere 1683	
by Jn ^o Lambert	0.14.0
Jn ^o Norman	2.03.00
Jer. Rogers p ^d him in acc ^o	0.07.0
m ^r Croad	0.06.0
George peale	0.02.0
Jona ^t Neale	0.02.0
Dan ^{ll} Bacon	0.02.0
	<hr/>
	3.06.0

A noat charged on Const^t Hirst to pay of y^e abouesaid
47^s dd Jn^o Norman
& a noat on Const lambert for 12^s 5.12.83
dd Norman
Att a meting of the select men 3.11.1683

S Gardn ^r sen ^r Cap ^t Price m ^r Jn ^o Hath ^r		
L ^t Pick ^r Sam ^{ll} Gard ^{nr} Jun ^r J. Higg ^{sn}		
Cap ^t W ^m Browne D ^r to a bill to Ch ^r Phelps for	5.10.0	
out of y ^e towne Rate		
A halfe country Rate made to be paid in mony forth with		
Const ^r Ph. English his proportion to pay tresurer		
	in mony	6.10.00
ouer plus to pay ye Towne in mony		1.08.05
		<u>7.18.5</u>
Const ^r Ch ^r Phelps his proportion to pay the		
treasurer in mony	5.10.0	
ouer plus to pay ye Towne in mony	1.15.2	
		<u>7.05.2</u>
Const ^r Jn ^o Lambert his proportion to pay y ^e tresurer		
	in mony	6.5.0
ouer plus to pay ye towne in mony	1.1.4	
		<u>7.06.4</u>
Const ^r W ^m Hirst his proportion to pay y ^e tresurer		
	in mony	5.10.0
ouer plus to pay ye towne in mony	0.18.10	
		<u>6.08.10</u>
Const ^r Nath ^l Howard his proportion to pay y ^e tresurer		
	in mony	4.03.4
ouerplus to pay the towne in mony	0.14.9	
		<u>4.18.01</u>
Const ^r Jos. Pope his proportion to pay y ^e		
tresurer in mony	5.00.0	
ouerpluse to pay the towne	0.17.5	
		<u>5.17.05</u>
		<u>39.14.03</u>
Rem ^{br} Petter woodbery & Sam ^{ll} Stone		
[14] Att a metting of hte Select men	16.11.1683	
Jn ^o Higginson to w ^m Baths rates to Jn ^o Rogers	0. 3.6	
Sam ^{ll} Gardner sen ^r D ^r to Tho Maskoll Rates to		
Ez. Waters	0.11.8	
Cap ^t Jn ^o Price D ^r to accepted to be paid by		
Ez. waters as P ^r his acc ^o		14 ^o .0

Res. Toward the Rent of Royall Side & ye 44 acres
 from Jn^o Grene 5.1.0
 from Jn^o Leach 5.1.0
 from Jn^o Bacheldor 5.1.0
 from Jn^o Tomkins 5.2.6

Res. from Step Small on acc^o of the lease to

fr. Nurce &c	2/9 ^d	Nat felton Jun ^r	2/9 ^d
from Jn ^o Cromwell	2/9 ^d	Isack Cooke	8s
from Sam ^{ll} Eborne		Jn ^o Tomkins	2/9 ^d
sen ^r	2/9 ^d	W ^m Osburne	5/6 ^d
fro ^m Jn ^o ffelton	2/9 ^d		
ffr. Nurse	2/9 ^d		
		13: 9	19: 0

Agred y^t if Job Swinerton pay 45^s in mony w^{ch} ye abatm^t
 of 14^s to J—— Knights it shall be in full of his rate
 acc^o in 6 weks time

Walt^r Skinner D^r to payd you by Jer Rogers 22^s 6^d

18.11.83	{	a noate to Cap ^t Price for	40 ^s
		a noat to Const ^r Phelps for	10 ^s
		a noat to Jer Rogers for	16

Giuen Sam^l Stone a noate to Ch^r Phelps for 10^s 6^d
 dew to him for worke on the Towne house formerly

[15]

Res from Deacon Hardy 20 ^s mon	}	out of pores & layd out
Res from Deacon Hardy 20 ^s mony		
Jos. Miles $\frac{1}{2}$ cord 4 ^s 1: 12 Miles	}	To Sam ^l Gardner Sen ^r 4 ^s for wood to m——
$\frac{1}{2}$ Cord 4 ^s		
Tho Rix 1 Cord. 8 6: 12 Tho		
Clark $\frac{1}{2}$ Cord 4 ^s		
Tho Clark $\frac{1}{2}$ Cord: 4. 22: 12		
Miles mony 4 ^s		
1.12 Wido Allin $\frac{1}{2}$ Cord 4. 22: 12		
Tho Clarke $\frac{1}{2}$ Cord		

Att a metting of the Select men 28: 11: 83

Roger Eliot being admitted an Inhabitant in to the Col-
 ony by Barth Gidny Esq. is admited an Inhabitant in
 this towne

Att a meting of the Select men 1.12.83
 S. G sen^r, Cap^t Price. Jn^o Hathⁿ, L^t Pick, S. Gard^r Jun^r
 J Hig^{sn}

Jn^o Ropes Cr f 12^s allowed him in pay for damage
 dun him in his windows wⁿ ye Gr^t Guns ware Clered
 formerly granted a note to Const^{bl} Lambert for it

Ordred y^t the Same order y^t was made last yeare about
 young wood be now again renewed & Set upon the metting
 house & y^t m^r Hen^r Barth^o m^r Jona^t Corwine & manaseth
 marston are apointed to se to ye Strict obseruance of
 said order & ye Constables of ye Towne are likewise re-
 quired to se to ye Strict obseruance of sd ord^r w^{ch} was
 posted on ye Saterday following

Att a meting of the Select men 18:12:83
 Sa Gard^r sen^r Cap^t Price Jn^o Hathⁿ Sam^{ll} Gard^r Jun^r
 Jn^o Higginson

Sam^{ll} Southreick Cr f Kill a wollfe in 83 } 1.10.0
 as p^r Const^{bl} Hirsts noate }

D^r a bill to Const: Howard 30^s in pay

Jn^o Cooke Cr f hooks & staples for y^e Towne }
 house in pay } 0.18.0

D^r a bill on Const Hirst 18^s

The Select men being Informed y^t ther is one Jn^o Chase
 come into the bounds of this Towne & is Entertained by
 Jn^o Puttman Jun^r, the Select men doe order that a war-
 rant Granted to one of the Constables to Informe y^e said
 Chase y^t the Select men are not willing he should reside
 in this Towne & to warne Jn^o Puttman Jun^r that he doth
 not Entertaine the saide Chase

[16] Wheras the Towne Nouem^{br} 5th 1683 In answer
 to the request or pettition of m^r Edward Mould concern-
 ing land, voated y^t, y^t case of his, & likewise Nathaniell
 Pickmans should be left to ye Select men to determine,
 The Select men haueing vewed both their pcells of land
 & Considered what Euidence did present, doe aprehend
 y^t m^r Edw Mould should Run from the Southward Cor-
 ner of his shop upon a streight line (towards ye Easter-
 most corner of m^r Sam^{ll} Gardner his ware house) so farr
 as his land goes; and Nath^l Pickmans to Run from m^r

Edw Moulds to the Eastermost Corner of m^r Samuell Gardners ware house leaueing all & Euery part of the S^d warhouse to the westward of the line & from ye said Eastermost corner of sd war house upon y^e same line unto ye lower end of his the said Nath Pickmans land—the Towne Consenting ther unto upon this return made ordred y^t new warrants be granted to ye Constables for ye payment of what is behind of the ministers rate to m^r Jos Hardy for ye vse of m^r Higginson sen^r

ordred y^t Good wife Thorne be paid paid 2/6^d; ¶ weke in pay for kep^{ing} Goodale for w^{ch} time is past being @ 8 weks ||to the 15 Instant|| & for what time she shall kep her more to be pd 4^s ¶ weke in pay till ye Select men take further order

Giuen a noate to Const^{bl} Hirst for 20^s
21.1683

Res Job Swinerton in part of w^t is dew 20^s mony
22.12.83

Jn^o Milk C^r for whip^r 83 1.0.0

D^r to a noate to Const Phelps for 20^s

Res^d of Thomas Dixey Jun^r mony 10^s in p^t of Rent for ye fery

[17] At a metting of the Select men 3 March 1683/4 S. G. sen^r C Price Jn^o Ha. L^t Pick^r Sa. Gard^r Jun^r Is. Porter J Higg:

Nich^o Perle being admitted an Inhabitant into this Colony by the Honored Gouenor Broadstreet, is admitted an Inhabitant into this Towne

Agred y^t m^r Philip Cromwell be allowed 40^s as ye rates are made for his care about ye Towne Stock in keeping & Turning of it &c for this yeare 'now part gon ending 31 July 1684

Granted a noat upon Constable W^m Hirst for 40^s
Res. of m^r Ph. Cromwell 8^s in mony w^{ch} is for rent of a percell of land for this yeare 1683 viz by the buring point first lett to W^m Boudish 14:12:80

Res^d of Jn^o Cromwell 21^s in mony w^{ch} is for rent of the Buring point land for an^o 83 acord^s to agrement
24.12.80

Agred y^t wheras ther is 3^l in mony dew from Constable Jos. Hucheson to ye Country we doe declare yt nothwith standing ye agrement made wth m^r Steph. Sewall aturny to ye Administrators to Estate of Jn^o Hull Esq^r deaseased y^t ye Said 3^l shall be paid to Said Sewell as Sone as posible can be got

Agred by the Select men in behalfe of the Towne y^t whereas Cap^t Jn^o Price m^r Jn^o Hathorne & Sam^l Gardner Jun^r haue ingaged to pay to m^r Step^h Sewall aturny to the Administrators of the Estate of Jn^o Hull Esq^r Deceased 40^l as mony w^{ch} is 60^l in pay upon w^{ch} S^d Step^h Sewall has giuen ye Towne a discharge as a Turny aforsaid therefore agreed y^t ye morgage Guien to the Towne by Abr^a Coale shall be asigned to the said Cap^t Price Jn^o Hathorne & Sam^l Gardner for ther Security as they are Ingaged as aforsaid

Agred y^t ther be a freemens metting warned on lecture day next to be held 11 day Instant, at 9 Clock ||in morn- ing|| for ye nomenation of Majestrates choyse of a Comissioner a County Tresurer & Choyce of Deputyys for ye Gen^r Court

Agred y^t ther be a Townes metting warned on lecture day next to be held on Saturday next ye eight Instant ||9 Clock|| for ye Choyce of Select men & Constables Choyce of the Clarke of the writs to Consider of Tho Grens case to Consider of Setting ye prison & build^e a house of Corection to Consider of Topsfeid case to Consider of the motion of the proprietors of the North feild, & Some petitions for land.

[18] Abr. Coale D ^r	753.5.2
Cred ^t as pr acc ^o	677.14.8
⌘ a bill of country disbursm ^{ts} not before entred	03:11.6
⌘ abated m ^r Broadstrets rates	05:00.0
⌘ 60 ^l in pay ingaged to be paid to S ^t Sewall for ye administr of	60.0.0
Jn ^o Hull Esq ^r desacd by Cap ^t Price,	} 746:06:2
Jn ^o Hath ⁿ & Sam ^l Gardner	
⌘ Generall abatments	3.3.0
	<hr/> 749.9:2

Reckoned wth Constable Abr Coale & his is
 Deb^{tr} on ballance 3^l 16^s w^{ch} he saith is in
 John Marstons hands 3:16:0
 m^r Jn^o Gidny sen^r Cr ☿ Select mens Expence
 for ye year 1683 8.5.0
 D^r to a bill Const Lambert for in pay 8.5.0
 m^r Tim^o Lindall Cr
 ☿ Newbery Jorny 12^s mony is 0:18:0
 ☿ debuty ship may 83:5 dayes 0.18:9
 Granted a bill to Const Hirst for 36^s 9^d pay

At a meting of Select men

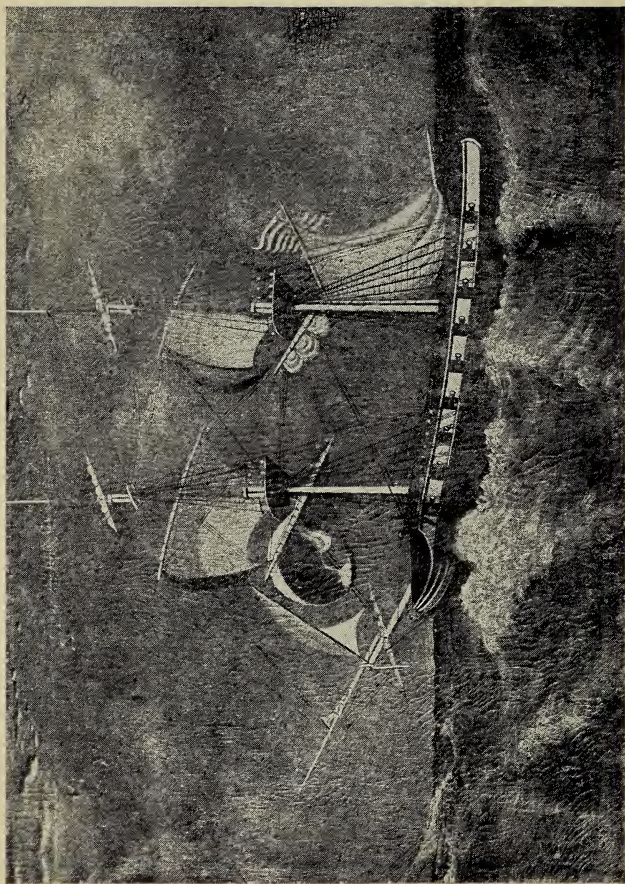
A note giuen	}	abated Bray Wilkins his rates for ye year
		1683
Const. Pope	}	abated Benj ^a Wilkins his rates for ye year
		1683
		abated Jn ^o Edwards his rates for ye year
		1683

all w^{ch} are upon acc^o of Sicknesse

[19] At a metting of the Towne 8.1.1683/4
 Sam^l Gardner Sen^r Chosen Moderator

Nominated Select men	Nominated for Constables
m ^r Jona ^t Corwin	10 Rob ^t Kitchin
L ^t Pick ^r	25 Sam ^l Shadock
Sam ^l Gardner sen ^r	30 Jn ^o Homes
m ^r Hath ⁿ	28 Rich ^d flender
Sam ^l Gardner Jun ^r	32 Ely Kesor
m ^r Porter	29 Elias Mason
Cap ^t Browne	7 Tho: Putman Jun ^r
Cap ^t Price	28 Is. Read
Jn ^o Higg ^{sn}	33
Tho Gardner	13 Chosen for Constables for
Chosen for Select men	the year Ensueing
Sam ^l Gardner Sen ^r	W ^m Dounton
Capt Price	Jn ^o Hoames
Jn ^o Hathorne	Rich ^d flender
L ^t Pickrin	Jn ^o Lander
Sam ^l Gardner Jun ^r	Dan ^l Ray
Israel Porter	Is. Cook
Jn ^o Higginson	

(To be continued)



U. S. BRIG OF WAR "PORPOISE," built in 1836.
From the original painting in the Bradley collection at the Peabody Museum, Salem.

OUR NAVY AND THE WEST INDIAN PIRATES.

BY GARDNER W. ALLEN.

(Continued from Volume LXIV, page 364)

They then stabbed him in several places and cut off one of his arms, when he told them where the money was (200 doubloons), which they took and proceeded to murder him in the most inhuman manner. He was first deprived of the other arm and one of his legs. They then dipped oakum in oil, put some in his mouth and under him, set it on fire, and thus terminated his sufferings. The mate was stabbed with a sabre in the thigh. They also robbed the brig of anchors and cables, sails, rigging, quadrants, charts, books, papers, and nearly all the provisions and water. On the passage from Campeachy to the Balize she was providentially supplied with provisions, etc., by several vessels which she fell in with, or her people must inevitably have perished.”⁷⁹

On July 3, Lieutenant Gregory, then at Key West, made his report to Commodore Porter, saying that the *Grampus* had sailed from the Balize April 24, and after convoying vessels bound to Tabasco and Vera Cruz, came to Campeche May 13, where information was received of piracies committed upon Americans. The coast of Yucatan, from Cape Catouche, its northern extremity, to the bottom of the Gulf, was “infested by several gangs of pirates, who had been guilty of every atrocity imaginable.” There were a good many American vessels at the various ports of the region, and Gregory remained until June 25, “scouring the coast up and down.” It was learned that the pirates, sometimes to the number of more than a hundred, were congregated at a place near Cape Catouche. The authorities at Campeche “requested me to land and destroy the place. The pirates issue from their post in barges, small vessels, and in canoes, hover along the shores, enter the harbour, murder and destroy almost all that fall in their power. On the 2nd June the

⁷⁹ *Captains' Letters*, 1823, II, Nos. 43, 44 (April 15, 19); *Niles*, April 12, 1823.

American Sch. *Shibbolet*[*h*], Capt. Perry, of N. Y., being then ready for sea, was boarded by a canoe having fourteen of these villians on board. The watch was instantly murdered, eight others of the crew were put in the fore-castle, the hatch spiked down, a ton or more of Logwood put over, the head sails set—with the wind off shore—and fire put to the vessel in the cabin. By the most extraordinary exertion, these now broke out in time to save their lives. I arrived while the vessel was burning down. . . . The people of the country were much exasperated and turned out to hunt them from their shores. A party of Dragoons having met them, a skirmish insured, wherein the Captain of Dragoons and several of his men were killed and the pirates, taking to their boats, escaped." These pirates had "direct and uninterrupted intercourse with Havanna."⁸⁰

Commodore Porter expressed the opinion that, owing to the thorough work of his squadron on the north coast of Cuba, not a pirate could be found between Point Yacos (Icacos) and Cape San Antonio, but he was perhaps too optimistic. A letter from Key West says: "Excluded from the ocean, they are carrying on their trade on the land. Large bodies of them, well mounted and armed, are plundering the plantations and murdering the people of Cuba. They abound in the neighborhood of Matanzas. A party of cavalry had captured five of them and the militia had been turned out to scour the country. If hemmed in much longer by Com. Porter, the authorities of Cuba in self-defence must exterminate them, if they do not abandon their horrible business. Not one piracy has been lately committed."⁸¹

In a private letter of June 11 the commodore gives a brief summary of conditions at that time. "I keep everyone very busy and, although the service has been severe and some are very sick of it, I have good reason for believing that all who leave my command will do it with a desire to return to it whenever their services may be wanted. The fact is that the disappearance of all the

⁸⁰ From original MS. in N. Y. Public Library; *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 260.

⁸¹ *Niles*, May 31, 1823.

pirates and our want of success in catching the rascals is somewhat discouraging to us, but all are satisfied that our failure was owing to other causes than a want of exertion on our part. The fact is our enemy is an invisible one; he has only to throw on the fairy mantle of a Spanish passport, which they all go furnished with, and the pirate is completely concealed from our view. Piracy is now down on this side of the island and I hope soon to give as good an account of the other side. A pirate has, however, appeared there and made two captures lately, but most of the pack, the *Greyhound*, the *Terrier*, *Weazle*, *Fox*, and two barges are in full pursuit; if he escapes, he must have good luck." The British had been taking care of the south side of Cuba.⁸²

About the middle of June, Lieutenant Thomas M. Newell, commanding the schooner *Ferret*, began "a diligent search in all the by ports and bays" between Havana and Matanzas. He discovered a 16-oared barge, armed and well manned, with six other boats, in a small bay near Matanzas. He sent in a boat to reconnoitre, which was nearly sunk by the fire of the pirates. He then took possession of a small coaster near by, manned her and tried to get into the bay, but was prevented by the very shoal water and heavy sea. The next day he obtained another boat, entered the lagoon and found two of the pirates' boats sunk. The barge, however, had been taken farther up, out of reach.⁸³

Papers, Naval, II, 265.

Lieutenant Watson, commanding the *Sea Gull*, communicated to the commodore, July 11, an account of his "proceedings in the barges *Gallinipper* and *Mosquito*. . . . Whilst cruising in Siguapa bay [near Cardenas] we discovered a large topsail schooner with a launch in company, working up to an anchorage at which several merchant vessels were then lying. Being to windward, I bore up in the *Gallinipper* for the purpose of ascertaining their characters, and when within gun-shot, perceiving the large vessel to be well armed and her deck filled with men, I hoisted our colors, on seeing which they displayed the

⁸² *Niles*, July 19, 1823.

⁸³ From original MS. in N. Y. Public Library; *Am. State*

Spanish flag and the schooner, having brailled up her foresail, commenced firing at the *Gallinipper*. I immediately kept away and ran down upon her weather quarter, making signal at the same time for the *Mosquito* to close. Having much the advantage in sailing they did not permit us to do so, but made all sail before the wind for the village of Siguapa, to which place we pursued them and after a short action succeeded in taking both vessels and effecting the almost total destruction of their crews, amounting . . . to seventy or eighty [men]. They engaged us without colors of any description, having hauled down the Spanish flag after firing the first gun." The pirates tried to escape ashore, but very few succeeded.⁸⁴

The story of the end of this fight may be given in the words of another report, according to which, "so exasperated were our men that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarters. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the barge-men and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore; the officers calculated that from thirty to thirty-five were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 fours, with every other necessary armament and . . . commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil."⁸⁵

In transmitting Lieutenant Watson's report to the Navy Department, July 17, Commodore Porter adds: "When we take into consideration the immense superiority of force opposed to him, the advantage and preparation on the part of the pirates, and the result of the action, we cannot but be impressed with the conviction that nothing less than providential influence and protection could have occasioned consequences so fatal to the pirates and so exempt from injury on our side as to appear almost miraculous. The five surviving pirates, being desperately wounded, I have, in compliment to the favorable disposition and zealous co-operation of the authorities of Ha-

⁸⁴ *Captains' Letters*, 1823, IV, No. 14; *Am. State Papers, Naval*, I, 1113, 1114, II, 275.

⁸⁵ *Niles*, August 2, 1823.

vana, sent to the captain-general of Cuba, to be tried by the laws of Spain.”⁸⁶

In a long report, dated August 10, 1823, Lieutenant Kearney, commanding the schooner *Greyhound*, then at Key West, related his experiences during a cruise south of Cuba, in July. Certain pirates who had committed outrages upon American vessels had been apprehended and were held in prison by the Spanish authorities at Trinidad, thirty miles east of Cienfuegos. Kearney established very friendly relations with the governor of that place. “He tendered us every civility and aid in his power.”

In company with the schooner *Beagle*, Lieutenant Newton, off Cape Cruz, Kearney fell in with a legitimate privateer from Colombia, which must have been a rare experience. Wishing to examine the cape, Kearney and Newton anchored their vessels and went ashore together in a boat. Having re-embarked, they rowed around the point of the cape, and when close to shore were fired upon from behind rocks and bushes. “Thus situated, with a cross fire upon us, enabled only occasionally to return the fire of the party in ambush, as some of them would dodge from bush to bush or rock to rock, having for our arms but a fowling piece and one or two muskets, we were induced to return to our vessels.” The next day they made another attempt, hoisting colors on their boat, and were again fired upon. The schooners were then warped around the cape and anchored in a smooth, shallow harbor inside the reef, within gunshot of the ambush.

Lieutenant Farragut was sent ashore, with a party of seamen and marines, with orders to attempt to get in the rear of the pirates. The schooners then opened fire, and later another landing party was sent in to attack them in front. The pirates then retreated and were pursued, but knowing the country, got away. In a cave human bones were found, and in the vicinity four houses and eight boats. These, with other property, were burned or otherwise destroyed. The arms found, two swivels and small arms, were brought away. “Finding our pursuit of

⁸⁶ *Captains' Letters*, 1823, IV, No. 14; *Am. State Papers, Naval*, I, 1113, II, 227.

the pirates promised no success, I considered it unimportant to remain longer at the cape, having destroyed their means of doing further mischief for a time, and taking into consideration the state of our officers and men, worn down by fatigue from a long pursuit over one of the roughest countries I have ever seen, their clothes nearly torn off from bushes of impenetrable thickness, and their shoes cut off their feet by sharp-pointed rocks over which they passed, I abandoned the place.”⁸⁷

According to the most reliable accounts, deep-sea piracy had by this time almost entirely disappeared, but boats from the shore were lying in wait, constantly on the lookout for vessels becalmed. The ships of the squadron maintained a partial blockade at certain points which was sometimes irritating to the Spanish officials. “Lieut. Gregory, in the U. S. schooner *Grampus*, has been for some time off Matanzas, watching and inspecting all vessels that go in or pass out, effectually preventing piracy in that quarter. This appears to have displeased some there and even the governor had sent him word that he remained too long, that Spanish vessels of war could anchor for forty-eight hours only; but Lieut. Gregory frankly stated his object and said that he would remain where he was until compelled to retire.”⁸⁸

In a court of inquiry held two years later, the peculiar character of the service performed by the Navy in the West Indies in 1823 was brought out, and the report of the court’s proceedings made known some interesting facts. “A large portion of the officers and men was employed in the small schooners and in open boats—in a severe climate—exposed to the heat of a tropical sun by day and to the not less dangerous dews and exhalations at night. The vessels themselves, from their size, were destitute of suitable accommodations, and the operations in which they were engaged necessarily imposed incessant fatigue and constant exposure. One fact may be deserving of particular notice, as exhibiting a specimen of the nature of this service. It is in evidence before the court that Lieut. Platt

⁸⁷ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 246; *Life of Farragut*, 95.

⁸⁸ *Niles*, August 30, 1823.

was employed for sixty-eight successive days in an open barge on the north-west coast of Cuba, in the examination of the inlets, bays, keys, and other places of piratical resort.”⁸⁹

In August, “such was the incessant occupation of the squadron under command of Commodore Porter, so widely dispersed, and such its deficiencies in strength, that he was compelled to discontinue, for a time, the practice of giving convoy off Havana and to bestow a more undivided attention to the pursuit and destruction of pirates. The continual presence of a vigilant force had rendered the north coast of Cuba comparatively safe from their depredations and they had retired to other scenes, into which it became necessary to follow them.”⁹⁰

Shortly after this “the yellow fever made its appearance at Thompson’s Island and in the squadron. The fatal consequences are stated in the report made by the secretary of the navy to the president of the United States under date of 21st September, 1823, and in the reports of Commodore Rodgers and the physician who accompanied him to make an examination of the island. . . . Commodore Porter himself, by authority of the department, and suffering from the effects of an attack of the fever, left the West India seas with a considerable portion of his force and returned to the United States, as a necessary measure for the restoration of the health of the squadron. To such an extent had this disease carried its ravages, that it was considered prudent to direct the *John Adams* and *Peacock* to keep in company during their homeward route, for the purpose of affording mutual protection.”⁹¹

In consequence of this epidemic of fever the operations of the squadron were necessarily much reduced during the fall of 1823 and a revival of activity on the part of the pirates was a natural result. “It appears that the *Peacock*, *John Adams*, *Sea Gull*, *Beagle*, *Grampus*, *Wild Cat*, *Weasel*, and *Porpoise* were in the United States during different portions of that time, undergoing repairs

⁸⁹ *Niles*, October 8, 1825.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Niles*, October 8, 1825.

and recruiting their crews, and as soon as they could be equipped, most of these small vessels resumed their stations."⁹² The brig *Enterprise*, which had had a remarkably successful career and was looked upon as a lucky ship, was wrecked on the island of Little Curaçao; all hands were saved.⁹³

At the end of the year 1823 the Secretary of the Navy reported that "Piracy as a system has been repressed in the neighborhood of the island of Cuba and now requires only to be watched by a proper force to be prevented from afflicting commerce any further in that quarter. The public authorities of the island of Cuba manifested a friendly disposition towards the squadron and rendered much assistance in the pursuit of its objects."

President Monroe, in his annual message, referred to less satisfactory conditions in Porto Rico. Outrages continued about that island. "They have been committed there under the abusive issue of Spanish commissions." The governor professed lack of authority and replied to complaints by reference to Spain. "The minister of the United States to that court was specially instructed to urge the necessity of the immediate and effectual interposition of that government, directing restitution and indemnity for wrongs already committed and interdicting the repetition of them. The minister, as has been seen, was debarred access to the Spanish Government, and in the meantime several new cases of flagrant outrage have occurred and citizens of the United States in the island of Porto Rico have suffered, and others have been threatened with assassination, for asserting their unquestionable rights, even before the lawful tribunals of the country.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ *Emmons*, 8, 9.



COMMODORE LEWIS WARRINGTON, U. S. N.
Engraved for the Analectic Magazine, 1815

VI. SECOND YEAR OF PORTER'S COMMAND.

In 1824 the West India squadron was slightly reduced in numbers and very late in reaching the station, owing to the dilatoriness of Congress. The sloop of war *Peacock* is missing from the list, as well as the *Enterprise*; and most, if not all, the barges were laid up for lack of crews. There remained, then, the *John Adams*, *Hornet*, *Sea Gull*, *Spark*, eleven schooners, two gunboats, and the storeship *Decoy*.

In February, Lieutenant John T. Newton, commanding the brig *Spark*, landed on the Island of Mona, west of Porto Rico, where he found the papers and other property of the brig *William Henry*, of Baltimore, which the pirates had taken not long before. In the spring, the *Grampus* and *Sea Gull* made a few captures. Commodore Porter, who sailed from the United States in February, made a voyage of inspection and, April 8, being then at Havana on board the *John Adams*, he reported the result. "I have touched at St. Bartholomews, St. Christophers, St. Thomas, examined the south coast of Porto Rico, looking in at the Dead Man's Chest and Ponce, two noted places for Porto Rico privateers, touching at Mona's, St. Domingo, Beata, and Kingston, making diligent inquiries and examinations for piratical vessels and offering convoy and protection to vessels of all nations from piratical aggressions. In the course of this long route, although we have visited places formerly the rendezvous of pirates and seen evidence of their having been recently there, we have not been so fortunate as to capture any nor have we seen any vessels of a suspicious character," except one small schooner, which he hopes to take later on. The commodore learned that the British had been attempting to suppress a revival of piracy on the south side of Cuba and about the Isle of Pines, and the pirates seemed to be dispersed there. If Porter had had a larger number of small vessels, he might have accomplished much more.

As it was, he did not escape criticism for failure to extirpate piracy altogether.⁹⁴

In April Commander Jesse Wilkinson, commanding the steamer *Sea Gull*, closely examined the northwest coast of Cuba, behind the Colorados reefs, going over the same ground covered by Commander Cassin the year before. His fruitless search, according to his report of April 24, showed that here, at least, and for the time being, piracy had been rooted out. He learned that shortly before his arrival the notorious *Diablero* had sailed away, probably bound for the coast of Yucatan.⁹⁵

Piracy, however, broke out afresh in other places. One vessel was chased off Matanzas and another was captured, but soon recaptured by the *Sea Gull*. Cases were reported as being frequent along the coast of Porto Rico.⁹⁶

From a report of the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives, May 19, 1824, it would appear that the attitude of the Cuban authorities was more friendly than formerly. "The present Captain General of the island of Cuba has acted with great courtesy towards our commander and officers engaged on this service and has co-operated with them by arresting the pirates who escaped to the shore, nor has he complained when our officers have found it necessary to pursue them and to break up their haunts on the desert and unfrequented keys that surround the island. In no case, however, within our knowledge, where pirates have been seized by the authorities of the island, have they been brought to that punishment their crimes merited; and those who are well known to have fitted out piratical cruisers and to have sold their plunder with the utmost notoriety, are suffered to remain in Havana and Regla in the unmolested enjoyment of the fruits of their crimes. Under these circumstances the British and American squadrons in those seas may repress piracy so long as they continue cruising in the neighborhood of the island, but there is

⁹⁴ *N. Y. Evening Post*, May 1, 1824; *Captains' Letters*, 1824, I, No. 154a.

⁹⁵ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, I, 1006.

⁹⁶ *Niles*, May 1, 1824; *N. Y. Evening Post*, May 25, 1824.

reason to apprehend that on their removal, similar outrages on our commerce will be renewed. In the opinion of your committee, piracy can only be effectually suppressed by the Government of Spain and by the authorities of the island taking the necessary measures to prevent piratical vessels or boats from being equipped or sailing from any part of the island, and to apprehend and punish every description of outlaws, as well as those who actually commit acts of piracy as those who receive and traffic in goods plundered on the high seas."

The Committee, speaking of the less satisfactory conditions at Porto Rico, found "that it had been the practice of these privateers not to send in their prizes to the large and frequented ports, where impartial judges could determine on the validity of the capture and where the captured could have the means of fairly defending their rights, but to send them into distant and obscure seaports, where the courts are notoriously corrupt and where the captains and owners were deprived of the means of making even statements of their cases. There are many instances of vessels condemned most unjustly, and even where they have had the rare good fortune to escape condemnation, their owners have been subjected to ruinous costs and charges, and in some cases, before the vessels have reached the port, the cargoes and property have been plundered and the officers and crew treated in a cruel and barbarous manner. In San Juan, the principal town of the island of Porto Rico, attempts have been made to assassinate the commercial agent of the United States and the master of a merchant vessel, in order, as they believe, to prevent them from taking legal measures to recover property unlawfully captured."

The Committee advised against the adoption of reprisals and blockade of the island, pending the negotiations of the United States minister in Spain, but "they earnestly recommend that two or three small cruisers should be constantly kept off the ports of San Juan and in the Mona Passage, so as to protect our commerce and intercept at the entrance of San Juan, Aguadilla, Mayaquez, Cape Roco, and Ponce, Americans vessels unlawfully cap-

tured by Spanish privateers; and that the commanders of the United States vessels of war be instructed to capture and send into a port of the United States for trial any privateer that commits an outrage on the persons, or plunders the property of citizens of the United States on the high seas, whenever good and sufficient testimony of such piratical act can be obtained."⁹⁷

As long as our navy in the West Indies was actively cruising, piracy was kept under control and very few cases were reported. Unfortunately, however, another epidemic of yellow fever broke out in the summer of 1824, earlier than the year before. Most of the squadron were sent north to save the lives of their crews. From July 3 to August 7, alone, the arrivals at northern ports of the *Shark*, *Grampus*, *Jackall*, *John Adams*, *Beagle*, *Wild Cat*, and *Sea Gull* were reported. This was the pirates' opportunity. They took advantage of it and conditions were soon nearly as bad as before. But people at home, having learned from experience, were less inclined than formerly to be over sanguine.⁹⁸

During this fresh outbreak of piracy, nine or ten cases were reported. According to a letter of July 5, from the acting consul at Havana, John Mountain, "the brig *Castor*, of Portland, Capt. Hood, from thence bound to Matanzas, was, on the 1st inst. in the bay of Matanzas, boarded by a boat with seven men armed with muskets, carbines, swords, pistols, and knives, who ordered the Captain to take the vessel out; when, after beating the master most cruelly and driving the crew below, brought the vessel to anchor in the port of Escondido, where they robbed her of everything portable on board." The vessel was then released and proceeded to Havana.⁹⁹

Thomas Randall, agent of commerce and seamen at Porto Rico and Cuba, wrote from Havana, on July 14, to the Secretary of State, Hon. John Quincy Adams, telling of atrocities on the American schooner *Mercator*, according to the story of a passenger. Mr. Randall deplors

⁹⁷ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 343.

⁹⁸ *Niles*, July 3, 17, 24, August 7, 1824.

⁹⁹ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 498.

the absence of our naval force and adds: "It may now be assumed as an undoubted fact that the crime of piracy is not limited to mariners who are active agents in its perpetration, but has advocates and partizans in a very numerous class of the inhabitants of this island. Of the latter class, many have direct concern in the equipment and arming of those vessels and a participation in their plunder. Others, amongst the planters on the coast and the merchants, are indirectly concerned in the great profits derived from purchasing the property plundered by them. Besides those persons thus concerned, the Spaniards of this Island generally observe with perfect apathy, and some even with pleasure, those depredations against the commerce of the United States; for it is not a little extraordinary that one may hear, in the streets of Matanzas and even of this city, this most odious crime warmly defended on principle by men of property and deemed respectable here. They urge in its defence that it is but a retaliation for the conduct of citizens of the United States in capturing under the Insurgent flag the property of Spaniards. They say the conduct of the people of Regla and Matanzas and other places, from which these pirates issue, is no worse than that pursued in certain places in the United States, which they name. . . .

"They assert that the conduct of our Government and its citizens, in this particular, is no less reprehensible than that which is charged against the Spaniards in respect to piracy. I shall not stop to show the utter absence of truth in the charge made against the Government of the United States, and although I entirely disapprove of the conduct of those Americans who, for the sake of plunder, have engaged in the war between Spain and her colonies, I do not think it necessary to point out the great difference of turpitude in the respective practices. I merely mention the opinions of those Spaniards to give semblance and probability to the sentiments they utter, which would otherwise, from their extreme perversity and immorality, be scarcely credited. The moment a prize to the pirates arrives on the coast, persons from the interior throng to the spot to share in or purchase the plunder,

as in the late case of the brig *Castor*. The property soon finds its way into the cities and tempts cupidity by the advantages of the traffic. . . .

“While then those practices, so far from finding a corrective or check in the moral feeling of this community, are rather countenanced and aided by it, it is obvious that a government of even greater energy and virtue than that of this island would be scarcely adequate to their suppression. But with the exception of the present chief of this Government and a very few of its highest officers, it is more than suspected that the great majority of their public agents are either indifferent or feel an interest adverse to its suppression. Participating in the general prejudices of their countrymen, they have also a pecuniary interest in occasionally conniving at those robberies and in protecting their perpetrators from the hands of justice.”¹⁰⁰

After his arrival in the United States in the summer of 1824, Commodore Porter wrote from Washington, August 10, to the new Secretary of the Navy, Hon. Samuel L. Southard. He complained of certain criticisms that had been made of his conduct of the campaign against piracy. “In the various letters accompanying these statements, it is enjoined on me to use my efforts and make such disposition of the forces under my command as will render piratical aggressions of this description less frequent, if it is possible. The whole history of my operations, in conjunction with the authorities of Cuba, against the pirates, renders any defence of my conduct, or the conduct of those under my command, against any imputations of neglect from any quarter unnecessary, as it is well known to the Department that we have been devoted to the inglorious service, sacrificing health, comfort, and personal interests for the sole object of suppressing a system of long continuance.” Upon the arrival of the American squadron in Cuban waters, “the most zealous co-operation was commenced on the part of the government of Cuba, which has ever since continued and has changed entirely the character of the piracy, from the

¹⁰⁰ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 492.

bloody and remorseless manner in which it was conducted to simply plundering of property, and the means from large cruising vessels to open boats. This latter mode of carrying on their depredations renders it extremely difficult to detect them and is calculated to baffle the efforts of the most vigilant, from the ease with which they are enabled to possess themselves of boats along the coast of Cuba, the certainty of being enabled to escape to the unsettled coasts of that island, and the certainty for some hours in the early part of every day that merchant vessels may be found becalmed near the land."

The Commodore believed that the least show of resistance on the part of merchantmen would, in most cases, be enough to intimidate the pirates, who generally operated in small parties in open boats. "Surely, sir, blame should not be attached to us or to the Government of Cuba for the dastardly conduct of those who, with the most ordinary means of defence which every merchant vessel affords, could permit such an act. . . . The cause is attributable almost entirely to the parsimony of the owners, who fail to furnish a few weapons to put into the hands of the crew of vessels destined to Cuba."

Already Porter was beginning to send the vessels of his squadron back to Cuba. During their absence the schooners *Terrier* and *Ferret* seem to have been almost alone on the station. Numerous reports of outrages were published, at that time and later, several of a murderous character which did not bear out the Commodore's opinion that piracy had taken on a more humane aspect. It is clear that, under the circumstances, Porter was very seriously hampered in his efforts and that no one could have done better, and probably very few as well. In this letter of August 10, he continues: "The charge, then, or intimation in any shape, of neglect on the part of myself or officers, to the interest of the merchants, who have no feeling but for their own pecuniary concerns, is as you perceive unfounded. It is true that, warned by the dreadful mortality of last year and by approaching disease, I left the West Indies and ordered home the greater part of the force under my command, and the only cause of regret to

me now is that I did not remove them earlier, by which many valuable lives would have been saved, and that there should be a necessity for their return at this unfavorable season, which will undoubtedly cause the death of more."¹⁰¹

Letters from Thomas Randall to Secretary Adams in September tell of continued piracies off Matanzas and of the sale of stolen goods in that town. "Many articles of a peculiar fabric and known not to have been regularly introduced are seen there constantly, such as French hats of the newest fashions on the heads of vulgar ruffians. The retailers of goods are seen travelling to the coast with pack-horses, for the known purpose of making purchases from the pirates." The British sloop of war *Icarus* sent a boat expedition into Bahia Honda, which "succeeded in capturing two pirate vessels and in killing several of the pirates. On the approach of the boats the pirates, about 40 in number, fled into the bushes. On board one of the pirate vesels were confined the captain and crew of the brig *Henry*, of Hartford, Conn., who were most seasonably released. The *Henry* was captured on the 16th ult., bound from a port in Mexico to Matanzas with a cargo of mules. The captain and his crew were treated with the accustomed cruelty of those ruffians and were designed to be killed the next day, after they had assisted in landing the mules." The wrecks of twelve vessels, recently destroyed by the pirates, were found in the bay.¹⁰²

Lieutenant Charles W. Skinner, in the schooner *Porpoise*, anchored in the harbor of Matanzas, October 18, 1824. With his boats, under the command of Lieutenants Hunter and Johnson, he made a secret examination of adjoining bays and inlets on the night of the 19th. "On the evening of the 22d, Lieutenant Hunter returned with a piratical schooner of one carriage gun, one new American cutter, and two other boats; one, having three men on board, he captured in Sewappa bay. Every appearance justified the suspicion of piracy.

¹⁰¹ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 233; *Log of Terrier*.

¹⁰² *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 494, 496.

(To be continued)

IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND, 1700-1775

BY ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON.

(Continued from Vol. LXIV, page 272.)

GORDON, Nathaniel, of Shirley, Mass.; from County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1749; b. 1705; m. Sarah Martin, in Ireland; d. 1781; Children: John, James, Samuel, Hannah, Elizabeth; d. in Peterborough, 1789, aet. 83.—*Chandler's Shirley*, p. 426; *Woodbury's Bedford*, p. 308; *History of Bedford, N. H.*, p. 642 et seq.; *Genealogy of the Rand Family* (1898), pp. 60, 61, 230.

GORDON, Samuel, of Shirley, Mass.; from Tyrone, Ireland, in 1749; son of Nathaniel Gordon, q. v.; b. 1732; m. Eleanor Mitchel, daughter of Larence and Elizabeth Mitchel, of Shirley; Children: Samuel, Sally, Elizabeth, Hannah, Nathaniel, Eleanor, Jane, Polly, Nehemiah, John, Nancy; d. Dec. 2, 1818, in Peterborough, N. H.—*Smith's Peterborough*, Pt. 1, pp. 93, 94; *Chandler's Shirley*, p. 426; *Shirley Vital Records*, pp. 36, 37.

GORDON, William, of Dunstable, Mass., from England before 1755; m. Temperance ———; Children: Elizabeth, James, Cosmo, Catherine.—*Smith's Peterborough*, Pt. 2, p. 93; *Dunstable Vital Records*, p. 39.

GORSS, John, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Tinmouth, Great Britain, before 1751; m. Sarah Cook, of Marblehead, Dec. 24, 1751.—*Marblehead Vital Records*, p. 176.

GORWOOD, Charles, Portsmouth, N. H.; from the Parish of Brigg, Lincolnshire, before 1737; m. Anna Alcock, Nov. 29, 1737.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 26, p. 378.

GOUD, Daniel, James, Jean George, of Dresden, Maine, Huguenots.—*Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 18.

GOULD, Mrs. Mary, wife of George Gould, of Boston, Mass.; from Bath, England; d. April 7, 1817, aged 37.—*Copp's Hill Burying Ground*

- GOWER, Robert, of Topsham, Me.; from Kent, England, cir. 1766; m. 1 Margaret Alexander; Children: Edward, William; m. 2 Mary Henry, 1770; Children: James, John, Samuel, George; d. Farmington, Me.—*Wheeler's Brunswick*, p. 835.
- GRAGG, Samuel,—see Gregg.
- GRAHAM, Duncan, of Rutland, Mass.; from Londonderry, Ireland, in 1718; m. Katherine —, d. March 19, 1781, aged 91 y. 9 mo.; Children: Alexander, also perhaps William, John, Mary; d. at Rutland April 10, 1768.—*Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128; *Rutland Vital Records*, p. 229.
- GRAHAM, Francis, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, with with Captain Dennis Nov. 1719, farmer; m. Mary Dickey Jan. 20, 1731.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 64; Vol. 28, p. 171.
- GRAHAM, Robert, of Chester, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1733; m. Janet Hume; Children: Robert, Agnes, Jean, Esther, Mary, Ann; d. 1748 aged 80.—*Chase's Chester*, p. 534.
- GRAHAM, William, of Chester, N. H.; from Ireland; m. Margaret Aiken; Children: John, James, David, Sarah, Jane, Margaret, Martha and two others (daughters); d. 1789 aged 73.—*Chase's Chester*, p. 535.
- GRANGER, Mr. Samuel, Boston, Mass.; late of London, who came with Capt. Brunton, 1720; admitted inhabitant of Boston Jan. 25, 1720; admitted "to keep School to teach writeing, Logick & Merchants Accots."; m. Susannah Peiret, March 20, 1726.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 65; Vol. 28, p. 163.
- GRANT, Donald, of Newtown, Conn.; from near Inverness, Scotland, cir. 1760; m. —; Child; Hannah.—*Amer. Ances.*, Vol. 3, p. 161.
- GRANT, Lt. James, of Salem, Mass.; "of His Majestys 45 Regiment, 1762"; int. m. Mary Hicks, Jan. 2, 1762; Children: Hannah, Joshua Hicks, James, Patty.—*Salem Vital Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 379, 380; Vol. 3, pp. 495, 440.

GRATER, Francis, of Marblehead, Mass.; from Barcelona, Spain, 1750; m. Jane Wilson, Jan. 24, 1779; Children: James H., Charity Wilson, George Wilson, Jenny, Francis, Francis, George Wilson, Francis, Jane; d. 1845 aged 94, in Amherst, N. H.—*Secomb's Amherst*, p. 606; *Marblehead Vital Recs.*, Vol. I, p. 219; Vol. II, p. 181.

GRAVES, Rev. Matthew; from England to New England 1755.—*Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 30.

GRAY, Francis, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1719; m. ———; Children: three; warned from Boston, 1719.—*Cullen's Irish in Boston*, p. 51.

GRAY, George, Boston, Mass.; from Jersey, before 1720; int. m. Mary Murriner Oct. 20, 1720.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 99.

GRAY, Hugh, Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland, 1718.—*Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128.

GRAY, John, Holden, Mass.; from Ireland 1718; Children: John, Samuel, Matthew, Jonas, and probably Robert, Hugh, William and Mary.—*Holden Vital Records*.

GRAY, John, Worcester and Pelham, Mass.; from Ireland, 1718; b. cir. 1707; son of John Gray (above); m. Isabel ———, d. 1799 aet 92; Children: Daniel, Isaac, John, Elizabeth, and perhaps Ebenezer; d. 1782, aet 82.—*Worcester Vital Records*, pp. 115, 116; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128; *Parmenter's Pelham*, pp. 17, 475; *Pelham Vital Records*, p. 41; *The Gray Family, Raymond*, p. 150.

GRAY, Capt. John, of Biddeford, Me.; from London before 1720 [son of Joseph]; m. Elizabeth Tarbox, widow; Children: Elizabeth, Mary Alice; will 1752, mentions "annual income from England."—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 699.

GRAY, John, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain by way of St. Christophers, 1736; a sailor; fell from a yard arm, broke his breast bone and one of his legs; maintained at Province charge.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 293.

- GRAY, Matthew, Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1717; b. 1710, probably son of John; m. Margaret —; m. 2, Jean —, b. 1716, d. Dec. 20, 1764 aet. 48; Children: Sarah, Jean, Elizabeth, Mary, Matthew, John, Moses, Aaron, Reuben, Easter, Isaac, Jacob, Robert, Joseph, Susanna, Jemima, Sarah, Sarah; d. Feb. 16, 1783, aet 73.—*Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, pp. 128, 204; *Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Worcester Probate Records, Series A*, 25351, 25338; *Worcester Vital Records*, pp. 115, 116, 117; *The Gray Family, Raymond*, p. 161, et seq.
- GRAY, Robert, of Hadwen Lane, Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland, 1718; probably son of John Gray; b. 1697; m. Sarah Wiley, who came in the same ship in 1718; Children: Molly, [wife of Andrew Boyd], Sarah [Gray], Moses Willey, Samuel, Experience [wife of Thomas Cowdin], Robert, Joseph, John, Thomas; d. January 16, 1766 [will].—*Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128; *First Settlers of Northern Worcester*, p. 49; *Worcester Vital Records*, pp. 115, 116, 117; *Worcester Probate Records, Series A*, p. 25358; *The Gray Family, Raymond*, p. 156 et seq.
- GRAY, Robert, of Biddeford, Me.; from Ireland, abt. 1718; at Biddeford, Me., 1739.—*Folsom's Biddeford*.
- GRAY, Samuel, of Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland before 1728; m. Eleanor —; Children: Eleanor, Elizabeth, Samuel, Patience.—*Perry's Scotch-Irish*, p. 14; *Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 17; *Worcester Vital Records*, pp. 115, 116, 117.
- GRAY, Thomas, Scituate, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1730; m. Sarah —; Children: George, Sarah, Elizabeth, William, Mary.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 59, p. 138; *Scituate Vital Records*, p. 164; *Dean's Scituate*, p. 276.
- GRAY, William, of Lincoln Street, Worcester and Pelham, Mass.; from Aghadowey, Ireland, in 1718; [his sister Mary m. William Blair from Aghadowey, John and Robert Gray, in 1724, sureties]; Chil-

dren: William, Hugh, Ann, Eliot, Eliot m. Jean —, Esther, Jonathan, Lydia, Mary, Sarah.—*Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128; *Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 17; *First Settlers in Northern Worcester*, p. 47; *Worcester Vital Records*, pp. 115, 116, 117.

GRAY, William, of Lynn, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1706; m. Hannah Scarlet, daughter of — and Hannah (Paul) Scarlet, Nov. 16, 1706, buried Oct. 28, 1756; Children: Joseph, William, Jeremiah, Abraham, Hannah, Benjamin, Joseph; d. June 7, 1743, in Lynn, Mass. [will].—*William Gray of Lynn, Mass. and Some of His Descendants*, pp. 1, 2; *Lynn Vital Records, Vol. I*, pp. 169, 170, *Vol. II*, pp. 162, 490.

GRAYNER, see GRYNER.

GREEK, William, Boston, Mass.; from New York with wife and child, August, 1710; in service at Annapolis Royal, dismissed; warned out, April 2, 1711.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, p. 128.

GREEN, John, of Gorham, Maine; from England, cir. 1743; m. 1760 Elizabeth Sharp, of Biddeford; Children: Jonathan, Thomas, Josiah, Moses, Cary, Isaac; m. 2. Elizabeth Rand; Child: Hannah; d. 1809, aged cir. 84.—*McLellan's Gorham*, p. 525.

GREEN, William, of Thomaston, Me.; from England, before 1775; m. 1. Barbara Deags; m. 2. Lucy Thomas; Children: Isaac, Lydia, John, Barbara, Betsey, Benjamin, William, also another; a large family; removed to New Brunswick.—*Eaton's Thomaston*, p. 244.

GREENLAW, William, of Warren, Me.; from Scotland, 1753; m. Jane —; Children: Ebenezer, Charles, Jonathan, Alexander, William; settled at Deer Isle, Me.; four of the children went to St. Andrew's, N. B.; son William remained in Maine; removed to Boston and Deer Isle.—*1st ed. Eaton's Warren*, pp. 85, 121; *2nd ed. Eaton's Warren*, pp. 132, 92; *Sabine's Loyalists*.

- GREGG, David, of Windham, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, 1722; b. 1685, son of John; m. Mary Nevins or Evans; Children: William, John, Jane, Mary, Hannah, Thomas, David.—*Parker's Londonderry*, p. 275; *Morrison's Windham*, p. 544; *Morrill's Ackworth*, p. 223.
- GREGG, James, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Antrim, Ireland, cir. 1718; b. in Ayleshire, Scotland, in 1690; m. Janet Cargill; Children: William, John, Samuel, Thomas, Elizabeth.—*Parker's Londonderry*, p. 274; *Smith's Peterborough*, pt. 2, p. 98.
- GREGG, John, Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1730; m. 1. Nancy —; Children: Hugh, James; m. 2. Agnes —; Children: John, William, Elizabeth, Joseph, Benjamin.—*Documentary History of Maine*, pp. 20, 24; *Vital Records of Londonderry*, p. 70.
- GREGG, Samuel, of Groton, Mass.; from Londonderry, Ireland, 1712; son of John Gregg; name changed to Gragg; Child: Jacob.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 544; *Butler's Groton*, p. 404; *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 24.
- GREGG, Thomas, Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1730.—*Documentary History of Maine*, p. 24.
- GREGG, William, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1730; m. Jenat —; Children: James, Jenat, and another daughter.—*Documentary History of Maine*, p. 24; *Vital Records of Londonderry*, p. 71.
- GREGORY, Patrick, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland; b. Ireland 1693; m. Hannah Sever, Nov. 26, 1724, in Boston; d. July 5, 1756, aged 63.—*Rutland Vital Records*, p. 229; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 120.
- GREIN, George, of Lancaster, Mass.; from Ireland; b. Ireland cir. 1689; ran away from Lancaster; "hath an Irish Frize coat, Jacket and breeches, a pair of gray yarn stockings, not very long above the knees."
- GRENLAW, see Greenlaw.

- GREVES, James, Boston, Mass.; a tobacconist, late from London, 1730; admitted an inhabitant, and liberty to keep a shop, Jan. 1731.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 204.
- GROOZ, John Mertin, of Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany; b. Feb. 1, 1679; d. Feb. 11, 1768, tablet.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 211.
- GROSS, Jans Peter, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany before 1760; a blacksmith.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 51.
- GROVE, William, Newbury, Mass.; from Plymouth, England, before 1763; m. Mercy Hunt Sept. 4, 1763.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 210.
- GROVER, James, of Boston, Mass., from Great Britain, before 1708; m. Susana Knot Dec. 2, 1708.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 31.
- GROW, Thomas, of Andover, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1712; m. Rebecca Holt; Children: Ruth, Hannah, James, Joseph, Thomas, and one other; illegit. son John, by Elizabeth Nichols, to be provided for by the town, when he was bapt. 1728; signed the petition to Shute.—*Andover Vital Records*, p. 185.
- GRYNER, Martin, of Braintree, Mass., (or Graynor); "Germantown," 1753.—*Pattee's Braintree*, p. 481; *Mass. Archives*, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-2.
- GUILLOW, Francis Lorenzo, of Norton, Mass.; from Italy before 1756; m. Polly Derby, Feb. 7, 1784; Children: Maturin, John, Daniel, Nancy, Salee, Tyler.—*Hayward's Gilsum*, p. 317; *Norton Vital Records*, pp. 67, 244.
- GYLES, William, of Portland, Me.; from Ireland in 1718.—*Smith's & Dean's Journal*, p. 60.
- HACKNEY, Samuel, of Boston, Mass.; "marriner who came from Barbadoes," sickly, Oct. 1719; warned out Nov. 22, 1719.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 64.
- HAGGARD, John, of Boston, Mass.; "from anopilus Royal," 1726; warned out June 13, 1726.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 154.

- HAHN, Hans George, of Broad Bay, Maine; from Germany; m. — —; Children: George, Philip, John, Frederick, and Barbara an adopted daughter.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 61.
- HAINES, William, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain before 1715; int. m. Bethiah Peggee, Nov. 21, 1715; forbid by Capt. Benj. Cowell.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 95.
- HALL, [Isaac?], of Boston, Mass.; from England, cir. 1722; Children: Isaac, Joseph, Nathaniel.—*Eaton's Thomaston*, p. 247; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 24, p. 182.
- HAMBLETON, Armour, of Hopkinton, Mass.; from Ireland before 1728; m. Agnis Montgomery, July 9, 1728; Children: Ephraim, Mary, Patrick.—*Hopkinton Vital Records*, pp. 96, 288.
- HAMBLETON, Patrick, of Hopkinton, Mass.; from Ireland before 1721; m. Anne — —; Children: Mary, John, Ann, Sarah.—*Hopkinton Vital Records*, p. 96.
- HAMILTON, Thomas, of Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1733; perhaps son of James.—*Perry's Scotch-Irish*, p. 14.
- HAMILTON, Hugh, of Rutland and Hopkinton, Mass., and Blandford, Conn.; from Ireland, about 1716 or 1718; inspector of swine, Rutland, 1722.—*Reed's Rutland*, p. 27.
- HAMILTON, James, of Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland in 1718 (Miss Patten says 1716); m. 1, Margaret — —; d. Feb. 14, 1761, aet. 35; Children: Thomas, Michael, John, Frances; m. 2, Rebecca — —; brother of John Hamilton, and "cuzen" of Samuel Calhoun; d. before May, 1735, in Pelham (will).—*Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Perry's Scotch-Irish*, p. 114; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, pp. 128, 204; *Worcester Inscriptions*, p. 38; *Worcester Vital Records*, p. 355; *Worcester Probate, Series A.*, 26681; *Additional Notes to Genealogy of the Hamilton Family*; *Pelham Vital Records*, p. 167.
- HAMILTON, John; see Henderson, Hugh.

- HAMILTON, John, of Pelham, Mass., and Shutesbury, Conn.; from Scotland, 1717; son ? of Alexander, of Ayrshire, and brother of James of the West Indies; Child: James.—*Temple's Palmer*, p. 476.
- HAMILTON, John, of Rutland, Mass.; from Londonderry, 1717; m. Eleanor —; she afterwards m. John Savage at Rutland, Jan. 15, 1733; Children: John, Eleanor, Martha?, Mary?.—*Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 446; *Vital Records of Rutland*, p. 148; *Reed's Rutland*, p. 82.
- HAMILTON, John, Newbury, Mass.; "a foreigner"; m. Mehitable Duty, of Byfield Rowley, Dec. 25, 1778, at Newbury.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 157.
- HAMILTON, Samuel, of Brookfield, Mass., and Chesterfield, N. H.; came from Ireland, 1772, with linen goods; b. Ireland, 1752; m. Molly Tyler, May 9, 1775, in Brookfield; d. Dec. 16, 1842, aet. 90; Children: John, Hannah, Hance, Loammi, James, Samuel, Asa, Fanny, Amadella; d. Feb. 12, 1812.—*Randall's Chesterfield*, pp. 327-8; *Brookfield Vital Records*, p. 331.
- HAMITT, Thomas, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Shadwell, Middlesex, before 1717; m. Elizabeth Deneford of Kittery, Me., in Portsmouth, Jan. 1, 1717.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 23, p. 393.
- HANCKLETON, John, of Boston, Mass.; from South Carolina, Feb. 1719, plater; warned out Feb. 24, 1719.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 52.
- HANDLEY, John, of Thomaston, Maine; from Holland, before 1756; m. Lucy Lewis, of Wales, Great Britain; Children: Henry, Joseph, Hannah, William, Samuel, Nancy, Lucy, Jane, John; d. in Canton, Mass.?.—*Eaton's Thomaston*, p. 251.
- HANFORD, Richard, of Boston, Mass.; from South Carolina, Feb. 1719; plater; warned out Feb. 24, 1719.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 52.
- HANKIN, Edward, of Salem, Mass.; from London, mariner, before 1712; son of Roger, deceased; m. Hope

- Borden, late of Barbadoes, daughter of Joseph Borden, merchant, deceased, March 26, 1712.—*Salem Vital Records, Vol. 3, p. 463.*
- HANLEY, Henry, of Amherst, N. H.; captured from Burgoyne's Army; m. Mrs. Elizabeth (Eaton) Goodman; d. 1819, aged cir. 90.—*Secomb's Amherst, p. 611.*
- HANNAH, James, of Boston, Mass.; from Northern Ireland, 1718, in ship "Friends' Goodwill."—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County.*
- HANNAN, John, of Milton, Mass.; from Ireland, in 1764; m. Elizabeth Gove; first chocolate maker in the United States.—*Cullen's Irish in Boston, p. 187.*
- HARDWIG, Adam, of Braintree, Mass.; from Germany, cir. 1752; "Germantown."—*Mass. State Archives, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-242; Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- HARDWIG, Frederick Philip, of Braintree, Mass.; from Germany, cir. 1752; "Germantown."—*Mass. State Archives, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-242; Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- HARDWIG, Henry, of Braintree, Mass.; from Germany, cir. 1752; "Germantown."—*Mass. State Archives, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-242; Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- HARDWIG, John, of Braintree, Mass.; from Germany, cir. 1752; "Germantown."—*Mass. Archives, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-242; Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- HARDWIG (afterwards Hardwick), John Peter, of Braintree, Mass.; from Germany, cir. 1752; "Germantown."—*Mass. Archives, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-242; Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- HARE, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, with Captain Dennis, Nov. 1719; farmer.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 13, p. 64.*
- HARKNESS, Adam, of Smithfield, R. I.; from near Belfast, Ireland; in Boston in 1730; b. 1710; m. Mary Gaskill, in Lunenburg, Mass.; Child: Nathan; d. Oct. 25, 1793, aet. 83.—*Bassett's Richmond, N. H., p. 402.*
- HARKNESS, Thomas, of Lunenburg, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1733; m. Mary Mickleroy, in Boston, Oct. 30, 1733; Children: Mary, Elizabeth, Jane, John, Rob-

ert, and perhaps Adam, who does not appear on the records; d. before April, 1753.—*Lunenburg Records*, pp. 225, 238, 258; *Worcester Probate Records, Series A-27086*; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 184.

HARKNESS, William, of Pelham, Mass.; from Scotland, 1710; m. Anne Gray, July 28, 1748; Children: John, William, David, James, Daniel, Jonathan, Nancy.—*Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 420; *Pelham Vital Records*, p. 116.

HARPER, James, of Ellerton, Conn.; from County Derry, Ireland, Oct. 1720; settled at Casco Bay; Indians forced him to leave and he came to Boston; Children: Joseph, Moses, John, and perhaps William and James.—*Stiles's Ancient Windsor*, Vol. 2, p. 365; *Hist. Delaware Co., N. Y.*; *Wheeler's Brunswick*, p. 875; *Lyford's Canterbury, N. H.*, p. 183.

HARPER, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, cir. 1712; int. m. Mary Millar, Nov. 20, 1712.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 92.

HARRISON, Anne, of Boston, Mass.; from Northern Ireland, 1718, in ship "Friends' Goodwill," Edward Goodin, captain.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace, Suffolk County*.

HARRISON, Mary, of Boston, widow; from England in the "Johnson," galley, Nov. 1709; warned out, Dec. 1709.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, p. 99.

HART, Barshaba, of Boston; from Surinam in Ship "Neptune," 1716; m. William Foster, July 18, 1715 q. v.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 29, p. 230; Vol. 28, p. 94.

HARTLEY, Jonathan, to New England; from Martown, Yorkshire, 1699, in the "Virginia"; eighteen years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 64, p. 260.

HARVEY, James, of Derry, N. H.; sailed from Port Rush, Ireland, to Boston, arriving Oct. 8, 1727; m. ———; Children: Robert, Rachel, Thomas, Margaret, Grizel, Rose, Mary L., Elizabeth; d. May 4, 1742.—*Cogswell's Nottingham, N. H.*, p. 212.

- HARVEY, Rev. John, of Palmer, Mass.; "a gentleman from Ireland"; b. in the North of Ireland; "Grad. of the University"; schoolmaster at Londonderry, N. H.; began to preach at Palmer (The Elbows), May 11, 1731; convicted of drunkenness and accused of immorality; resigned about Nov. 1, 1747; Child: Dorothy; d. at Blandford, Mass.—*Temple's Palmer*, pp. 85, 123.
- HARWOOD, Phebe, of Boston, Mass.; from Maryland; "last from Salem Ten Days" with four children; warned out, April 3, 1725.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 137.
- HARWOOD, Rev. Thomas, from England, 1730; "lecturer."—*Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 32.
- HARWOOD, Thomas, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Chatham, Kent, before 1735; m. Elizabeth Hull, April 18, 1735.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 25, p. 122.
- HASARD, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1720; int. m. Sarah Bridge, Jan. 25, 1721.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 99.
- HASTY, Daniel, of Scarborough, Me.; from Ireland, before 1731; Children: Martha, William, Robert, Mary; d. 1756.—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 725.
- HATHORNE, Mrs. Hamilton, of Boston, Mass.; lately from Scotland, 1741; with Mr. Vicar will sell goods at Captain Tyng's warehouse, Milk St.—*Boston News Letter*, 3 August, 1741.
- HAWK, John B., of Warren, Me.; from Germany, cir. 1773; m. Sarah —, of New Brunswick; Children: Martha, John, Sarah, Mary; d. 1824, in Warren, Me.—*Eaton's Warren*, p. 397; *Eaton's Thomaston*, p. 259.
- HAWKINS, Francis, of Boston, Mass.; from Munster, Ireland, June, 1727; stole in Malden and Dorchester.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County*, 1725-32, p. 87.
- HAWKINS, Henry, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1716; int. m. Mary Girton, June 16, 1716.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 95.

- HAWKINS, John, of Boston, Mass.; from New York; warned out May 9, 1727.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 68.
- HAYNES, Mr. Peter, of Boston, Mass.; from London, before 1727; dancing master, school on Hanover Street 1727.—*Boston News Letter*, May 18, 1727.
- HAYTON, Captain William, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from "Sandwich," Kent, before 1738; m. Mrs. Ann Harvey, Feb. 15, 1738.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 26, p. 378.
- HAZLEY, Richard, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain cir. 1712; int. m. Tamozine Mills, Sept. 15, 1712.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 92.
- HEALY, William, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1718; int. m. Sarah Clark, June 2, 1718.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 97.
- HEDEN, Richard, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, Oct., 1714; warned out, June 14, 1715.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, p. 229.
- HEDMAN, Joseph, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1721; int. m. Sarah Miller, Jan. 24, 1721, forbid by her father; m. Mary Smith Nov. 5, 1728, in Newbury, Mass. (she was also from Ireland).—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. II, p. 227; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 159.
- HEDMAN, Philip, of Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1718; m. Elizabeth —; Children: Eliza, Benjamin.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 24, pp. 129, 145.
- HEIDENHEIM, Frederick, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany, before 1760.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 51.
- HELTON, Ann. See John Lobden.
- HEMPHILL, David, of Newburyport, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1769; yeoman.—*Deed of Belfast, Maine*, 1769.
- HEMPHILL, Nathaniel, of Windham, N. H.; from County Antrim, Ireland, 1728; b. 1700; m. the Widow Isabella Robinson; Children: Jane, Robert, Isabella, Nathaniel; m. 2. Mrs. Mary Dunlap; d. 1780.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 575; *Merrill's Ackworth*, p. 227.

- HENDERSON, Hugh, of R. I. (alias John Hamilton); from Ireland, in 1729; b. Armagh, Ireland, about 1710; executed Nov. 24, 1737.
- HENDERSON, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1719; m. ———; Children: five.—*Cullen's Irish in Boston*, p. 5.
- HENDERSON, John, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Colraine, Ireland, before 1721; m. Sarah Keel, Jan. 1, 1722.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 15.
- HENDERY, Malkem, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland, Parish of Ardstraw, before 1720; he brought a letter from the Rev. Mr. Halyday there; m. Margaret McCarter, in Rutland, June, 1720; Child: Andrew; d. about 1730.—*Reed's Rutland*, pp. 82, 153, 154; *Rutland Vital Rec.*, pp. 50, 151.
- HENDLEY, Matthew, of ———, R. I.; from Limerick, Ireland, cir. 1775.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 34.
- HENRY, Hugh, of Colraine, Mass.; from Ireland? before 1750; married and had five children; d. 1754.—*McClellan's Colraine*, p. 74.
- HENRY, John, of Colraine, Mass.; from Ireland? before 1750; brother of Hugh Henry, q. v.; m. Mary McCrellis from Ireland; m. 1. ——— Foster, 2. ——— Workman, 3. John Henry, 4. Richard Ellis, d. May 11, 1802, aet. 96; Children: William, James, John, Andrew; d. cir. 1750.—*McClellan's Colraine*, p. 74.
- HENRY, Robert, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1741; blacksmith.—*Cullen's Irish in Boston*, p. 32.
- HERBERT, John, of Deerfield, Mass., and Bangor, Me.; from England in the "Old French War," as Chaplin and surgeon of a British Regiment; before 1760; m. ———; Child: George; d. 1785.—*Sheldon's Deerfield, Mass.*, p. 199.
- HERR, Samuel, of Broad Bay, Waldobore, Maine; from Germany, 1760.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 61.
- HEWES, Robert, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1714; int. m. Sarah Dunnel, Sept. 30, 1714.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 94.

- HEWEY, Samuel, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Colrairie, County Derry, Ireland, before 1718; m. Elizabeth Denett, widow, Dec. 23, 1718.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 23, p. 395.
- HEYCE, Martin, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany, 1760; m. ———; Child: Conrad; d. before his son was born.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, pp. 25, 26.
- HICKEY, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Dublin, before 1759; linen printer and dyer; m. Elinor Mann, March 8, 1759.—*Boston Gazette*, May 7, 1759; *Old-Time New England*, Vol. 18, p. 39.
- HIGGINS, Alexander, of Newport, R. I.; from Ireland, before 1724; Irish servant of Major Nathaniel Sheffield, aged 18 in 1724; run-away.—*Boston News Letter*, Feb. 27, 1724.
- HIGGINS, Fergus, of Scarborough, Me.; from Ireland; Child: Edmund; d. 1777.—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 727; *History of Scarborough*, p. 212.
- HIGGINS, Tully, of Berwick, Me.; from Ireland.—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 727; *History of Scarborough*, p. 212.
- HILDRETH, Mr. ———, of Rutland, Mass.; from England, one of Burgoyne's army, 1775; m. Hannah ———, d. May 12, 1827, aet. 66; d. Dec. 22, 1830, aet. 86.—*Rutland Vital Records*, p. 231.
- HILDRETH, Jacob, of Litchfield; from England, cir. 1720; probably son of Ephraim Hildreth; m. Abigail ———; Children: Jacob, Ephraim, William, Abigail, Lucy, John, David.—*Secomb's Amherst*, p. 626; *Hodgman's Westford*, p. 453.
- HILL, Roger, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1717; int. m. Lydia Strong, July 4, 1717.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 96.
- HILL, Thomas, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, November, 1719; with Captain Dennis; m. perhaps Hannah Cushing, July 13, 1727.—*Boston Record Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 64; Vol. 28, p. 138.
- HILLIAR, Nicholas, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1712; int. m. Mary Drumer, May 17, 1712.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 92.

- HILT, John, of Braintree, Mass.; "Germantown," 1761.
—*Mass. State Archives, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-242.*
- HILT, Captain Peter, of Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany, in 1760; m. Polly Klaus; Children: Mary, John, Philip, Elizabeth, Catherine, Peter, Henry, Anne; d. at sea 1785, aet. 37.—*Eaton's Warren, p. 398; New Edition, p. 551; Waldoboro grave yard.*
- HILTON, Mathias, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Monkweymouth, County Durham, before 1738; m. Margaret King, Aug. 13, 1738.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 26, p. 378.*
- HINDS, Corliss, of Barre, Mass.; from England, before 1764; m. ———, d. Feb. 13, 1806, aet. 83; Child: Jesse Corlis; d. Nov., 1811, aet. 90.—*Barre Vital Records, p. 247; Randall's Chesterfield, p. 355.*
- HINES, John, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Kent, before 1724; m. Elizabeth Ray, Aug. 11, 1724.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 24, p. 18.*
- HINKS, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Northern Ireland, 1718, in ship "Friends Goodwill," Edward Goodin, Captain.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County.*
- HIPSLEY, Peter, of Boston, Mass.; from Virginia, cir. Oct. 1703; warned out, 1703.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 11, p. 28.*
- HOCH, George, Martin, and C——, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me.; from Germany, before 1760 (see also Conrad Koch).—*Miller's Waldoboro, p. 51.*
- HODGES, Sabastian, of Boston, Mass.; from the Barbadoes, with Captain Huntington, 1715; warned out May 3, 1715.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 11, p. 227.*
- HODGKINS, John, of Warren, Maine; from Scotland, 1753; removed to Boston.—*Eaton's Warren, p. 85, p. 121.*
- HODGSON, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Scotland, cir. 1762; m. ? Cecilia ———; Children: William, Christian, Elizabeth, Nancy, Cecilia; d. 1781.—*Thomas's History of Printing, Vol. 2, p. 228; Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 24, pp. 308, 310, 318, 322, 327.*
- HOFFSES, Anthony, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me.; from Germany, before 1760.—*Miller's Waldoboro, p. 51.*

(To be continued)

ENTRY BOOK, IMPOST BOOK, REGISTERS (FOREIGN TRADE),
PORT OF MARBLEHEAD, MASSACHUSETTS.

COMPILED BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE,
FROM THE MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

(Continued from Volume LXIV, page 380)

Date	VESSEL'S NAME	Master's Name	Tons	Men	CARGO	Duties
1807	<i>Consignees</i>					
Sept. 15	Sch. "Rebecca"	Rich'd Meek	77	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
28	Sch. "Hiram"	John B. Prentiss	97	7	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
29	Brigantine "America"	Franklin G. Selman	157	9	1 looking glass, ship's provisions & ballast.	
Oct. 2	Schooner "Two Brothers"	John Warner	88	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
2	Sch. "Hannah"	Rob't Cloutman	79	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
6	Sch. "Friendship"	John Doliber	93	7	Ship's provisions, ballast, 39 sacks cocoa shells, looking glass.	\$18.85
6	Sch. "Saratoga"	John Tucker	70	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
3	Sch. "Liberty"	Benj. Gardner Jr.	86	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
10	Sch. "Lydia"	Abishai Macy	94	7	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
12	Brig "Good Intent"	Bilbao Stephen Hall	106	6	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
12	Brig "Helen"	Wm. Cole	128	7	Ship's provisions & ballast.	
12	Schooner "Tom"	Henry N. Quiner	101	7	142 hhds. & tierces & 25 bbls. sugar, 8 bbls. coffee.	\$3777.82
	H. N. Quiner					
21	Brig "Dido"	Sam'l Steniss	128	9	153 pipes & 14 half pipes Catalona wine.	\$4366.32
	Philip Bessom					
Nov. 4	Schooner "Ann"	Thos. Cloutman	75	6	12 casks ochre, 300 hhds. salt, 24 pairs of shoes, 8 doz. cork soles, 10 doz. silk shawls.	\$414.30
	Rich'd Prince					

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
Nov. 4	Sch. "John" R. Stacey	Benj. Stacey	87 6	78 sacks cocoa shells—ballast.	\$16.84
Nov. 7	Sch. "Perseverance" John Williams	Mark Meservey	71 6	78 casks sugar.	\$1799.12
18	Sch. "Spring Bird" N. Tucker	Nicholas Tucker	84 6	10 casks ochre, 20 moyes salt.	\$333.15
18	Brig "Harmony" Nat. & Wm. Hooper & master	Jos. Proctor Jr.	147 8	80 bundles hemp, 265 packages sail cloth, 24 bales raven duck, 1509 bars iron, 7 feather beds, 6 boxes starch, 2 boxes candles, 1 muff.	\$2780.65
24	Ship "Orient"	Edmund Bray	187 12	Ballast & ship's provisions.	\$1175.58
27	Schooner "John" Thos. Meek	Geo. Barker	91 7	5322 bars iron, 84 boxes window glass.	\$2873.68
7 4	1808 Jany. 13	Sch. "Success" Rich'd & Rich'd Pedrick 3rd, Sam. Knight	83 6	152 casks sugar, † hhds. molasses, 6 sacks cocoa.	\$1995.08
22	Sch. "Adams" John Selman, Jos. Barker & master	John Dennis	63 6	3 casks coffee, 79 casks sugar, 11 casks molasses.	\$1489.61
25	Sch. "Sally" John Adams, John Bailey, Isaac Collyer, etc.	Joseph Pedrick	69 6	52 casks sugar, 19 casks molasses.	\$1812.02
26	Schooner "Sally" Lovett Kingsbury, Jos. Barker, Sam. Turner etc.	Christopher Francis	58 6	64 hhds. & 5 bbls. sugar, 3 bbls. & 2 bags coffee, 22 bbls. molasses.	\$45.38
Feb'y. 4	Sch. "Lydia" Thos. Meek	Thos. Meek Jr.	86 6	100 quintals cocoa shells.	\$22.69
12	Sch. "Hannah" D. Bruce	David Bruce	76 6	80 bags cocoa shells.	

16	Sch. "Hannah" Nich. Bartlett, Saml & Jos. Barker	" Martinique Turner	Rob't Cloutman	79	6	7	casks molasses, 109 casks sugar.	\$2680.45
March	2 Schooner "Ocean" Benj. Taylor Reed	" Martinique	Sam'l Hadlock	131	7	25	casks molasses, 6 bags coffee, 199 casks sugar.	\$4347.32
10	Sch. "John" John Pedrick 3rd	" Havana	Edward Lewis	65	6	295	boxes, 5 boxes, 12 bbls. sugar, 3 casks molasses, 2 bbls. & 1 bag coffee.	\$3267.38
15	Sch. "Prudentia" John Pedrick 3rd	" Havanna	John Woodrudge	65	6	236	boxes & 8 bbls. sugar, 8 bbls. coffee, 9 casks molasses.	\$2604.85
15	Sch. "Perseverance" Sam'l Turner	" Plymouth, Eng.?	Mark Meservey	71	6	10	hhds. & 5 bbls. sugar.	\$304.80
18	Brig "Cato" Jos. Barker	" Bordeaux	Thos. Millett	150	8	45	pipes brandy, 400 casks & 644 cases wine.	\$7390.51
21	Barque "Packet"	" Bilbao	John Pedrick 4th	169	8		Ballast & provisions.	
23	Schooner "Tom"	" Bilbao	H. N. Quiner	101	7		Ballast & provisions.	
23	Sch. "Lydia"	" Bilbao	Nathan Hilbert	94	6	2	pipes brandy—8 sacks cocoa shells.	
26	Sch. "Two Sons"	" Bilbao	John Warner	88	6		Ballast & provisions.	
26	Sch. "Union"	" Bilbao	John U. Patten	84	6		Ballast & provisions.	
26	Sch. "Ann"	" La Rochelle	Thos. Cloutman 3rd	75	6		Ballast & provisions.	
30	Sch. "Eleanor"	" La Rochelle	Ebenezzer Allen	76	6		Ballast & provisions.	
April	5 Sch. "Saratoga"	" Bilbao	John Tucker	70	6		Ballast & provisions.	
19	Brig "Hope" Benj. Andrews	" Gijon	B. Andrews	147	7	11	cases wine, 59 bags cocoa shells.	\$37.12
19	Sch. "Hannah"	" Bilbao	Rich'd Tutt	85	6		Ballast & provisions.	
May	27 Brigantine "Increase" John Hooper 4th	" Fayal	Wm. Widger	108	7	11	pipes of wine, 318 $\frac{1}{2}$ boxes oranges, 25 boxes lemons, 17 nest baskets, 58 boxes sugar, 45 barrels oil, quantity of merchandise & cod fish.	\$954.77
June	20 Schooner "Hannah" J. Candler	" Gibraltar	John Candler	84	6		Salt in bulk, 7 boxes raisins, 1 box sewing silk, 15 boxes of olives, capers, etc., 14 pieces linen.	\$55.08
Aug.	1 Sch. "Two Friends" B. Gardner	" Antigua	Benj. Gardner	38	4	46	hhds. rum, 21 bbls. limes.	\$1299.73

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
Nov. 5	Sch. "Oriental" Geo. Bartlett John Pedrick 3rd	George Bartlett	84	6 12½ moys salt, 10 casks ochre, 1 cask claret wine,	\$68.93
Nov. 7	Sch. "Abigail"	John Woodridge	107	7 85 boxes white & 41 boxes brown sugar, 26 bbls. sugar, 89 hhds. & 39 tierces molasses, 3 bbls. white & 5 bbls. brown sugar, 1 box sweetmeats, 4 boxes segars.	\$2140.71
Dec. 22	Sch. "Lively" Benj. Tyler Reed	Tobias Davis	105	7 Ballast, 3 bags coffee.	\$13.90
EMBARGO					
June 8	Schooner "Two Sons" Jas. Lindsey	John Warner	88	6 61 hhds. & 21 tierces & bbls. sugar, 10 bags coffee.	\$1844.45
9	Sch. "Molly" Rob't Hooper, Benj. T. Reed & master	Nath. H. Thrasher	74	6 62 hhds. & 16 bbls. sugar, 5 hhds. rum, 13 bags coffee.	\$1917.28
15	Sch. "Louisiana" Jos. Fuller 3rd	Timo. Newhall	102	7 19 hhds. rum, 29 hhds. sugar, 64 bbls. sugar, 65 bags coffee, 4 bbls. molasses.	\$2122.09
16	Sch. "Hannah" Sam. Turner	Sam'l Stacey	68	6 37 hhds. & 10 bbls. sugar, 9 bbls. & 15 bags coffee.	\$1116.21
July 17	Brig "Hannah"	Jos. Mudge	144	7 15 casks limes, 2 do. tamarinds, 2 do. copper & lead, 43 hhds. sugar, 5 hhds. rum, 5 hhds. molasses.	\$476.82
21	Brig "Increase" John Hooper 4th	Wm. Widger	108	7 141 moys salt, 327 boxes lemons, 8 boxes oranges, 10 casks wine, 1200 lbs. feathers, 2 sacks almonds, 1 basket of indispensables, 1 mat.	\$291.61

July	27	Schooner "Tom" Nat. Hooper	from Surinam	Henry N. Quiner	101	7	200 casks molasses, 7bbls. & 29 bags cloves, 140 bags cocoa, 20 casks Roco, 1 bag coffee.	\$1679.76
Aug.	4	Sch. "Minerva" John Devereux	" Isle of May	Rich'd Leech	83	6	11 pipes Madeira wine, 30 moyes salt.	\$672.22
	7	Sch. "Robert" Wm. Story	" Isle of May	Abiel R. Story	87	6	9 pipes, 7 half pipes, 27 quarter pipes Madeira wine, 2 bags & 100 lbs. cochineal & 38 moyes salt.	\$1123.46
	12	Sch. "Hannah" Ro'b't Hooper & master	" St. Lucia	Thos. P. James	76	6	36 puncheons rum, 36 hhds. molasses.	\$1215.39
	21	Sch. "Polly" John C. Blackler	" Martinique	John Gerry	69	6	85 hhds. molasses	\$432.25
	21	Sch. "Nancy" John Mudge	" St. Jago	Abner Ingalls	94	7	250 hhds. salt, 1000 goat skins, 40 bullocks hides, 2 half pipes & 3 quarter pipes Madeira wine.	\$87.87
	21	Sch. "Lively" Benj. Tyler Reed	" Barbadoes	Thos. Gordon	105	6	15 hhds. rum.	\$378.—
	21	Sch. "Polly" Ebenzer G. Evans, Jesse Blanchard, Nat. Hooper, John H. Gregory & master	" Cadiz	Rob't Devereux	83	6	230 casks wine, 10 boxes lemons, 40 tons salt, 14 jars olives, 17 fraills almonds, 12 fraills figs.	\$2841.37
	28	Barque "Packet" John Hooper 4th & master	" Gottenburg	John Pedrick 4th	169	9	7298 bundles & bars iron, 57 bundles steel, 20 bars steel, 100 tubes steel, 29 boxes glass, 20 doz. tumblers, 5 copper kettles.	\$1898.56 \$273.40
Sept.	9	Schooner "Hannah" Sam. Horton	" Martinique	John Story	66	6	62 casks molasses.	\$502.65
	12	Sch. "Betsey" Jos. Barker	" Martinique	Lewis Girdler	71	6	108 casks molasses, 1 bbl. sugar.	
	26	Sch. "Rebecca" Thos. Meek	" Martinique	Jacob Meek	77	6	113 casks molasses, 1 sack cotton, 2 boxes Noyou (licorice).	\$537.—
Oct.	9	Sch. "John" Wm. Hooper	" La Guayra Venezuela	Edw. Lewis	65	6	622 bags coffee.	\$3600.—
	9	Sch. "Speedwell" Philip Bessom	" Martinique	George Chinn	62	6	36 hhds. & 4 bbls. molasses.	\$176.45

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
Oct. 9	Sch. "Sally" Wm. Story	David Bruce	62 6	17 hhds. molasses, 1 bbl. sugar.	\$94.72
9	Sch. "Betty" Jos. Barker & John Brown	Christopher Francis	61 6	61 hhds. molasses, 1 bbl. sugar.	\$292.42
11	Sch. "John" " Gigon	Benj. Stacey	87 6	Ballast.	
12	Sch. "Molly" " Martinique	Nathl. Gardner	74 6	86 hhds. molasses, 20 cases noguao.	\$459.75
12	Sch. "Louisiana" Ro'b't Hooper	Timothy Newhall	102 7	28 hhds., 11 tierces, 77 bbls. sugar, 25 bags coffee, 2 hhds. rum, 4 bbls. molasses.	\$1675.32
20	Sch. "Perseverance" Jos. Fuller 3rd Thos. Haskell	Mark Meservey	71 6	20 casks wine, 1 bag sewing silk, 30 lasts salt.	\$310.02
30	Sch. "Adams" " Corunna	John Dennis	63 6	Ballast & 1 bbl. sugar.	
30	Sch. "Little Cherub" " Martinique	Nathan Hilbert	65 6	72 hhds. & 10 bbls. molasses.	\$362.92
31	Sch. "Hope" Nich. Quiner	Wm. Vickery	76 6	30 casks wine, 35 lasts salt.	\$372.—
31	Sch. "Two Sisters" Asa Hooper P. Bridgeo	Philip Bridgeo	80 6	30 casks wine, 40 lasts salt, 2 tierces & 4 bbls. sugar.	\$424.80
Nov. 3	Sch. "Hiram" " (St. Bastian)	Joshua Prentiss Jr.	97 7	Ballast.	
3	Sch. "Union" " (St. Sebastian?)	Geo. B. Bartlett	84 6	Ballast.	
15	Sch. "John" " Mirigalant	Geo. Barker	91 6	67 hhds. & 5 bbls. sugar.	\$1612.60
20	Sch. "Meek" " Thos. Meek	Thos. Elkins Jr.	78 6	13 hhds., 23 tierces & 19 bbls. sugar, 7 bags coffee.	\$909.52
20	Brig "Helen" Jos. Barker Jos. Barker	Thos. Mullett	128 8	94 boxes sugar, 224 bags pepper.	\$1521.16

23	Schooner "Hannah" Nich. Bartlett	" St. Barts	Rob't Cloutman	79	6	32 casks & 5 bbls. molasses.	\$161.25
Dec. 7	Sch. "Miriam" John Pedrick 3rd	Archangel Russia	John Boden	82	7	796 bars of iron, 64 coils of cordage, 200 bales raven's duck, 150 packages sail cloth, 14 bales Flims (paper), 4 cases Brussels, 3 trunks & 2 bales linens, 1 box candles, 8 cables.	\$3374.47
9	Brig "Harmony"	" Corunna	Samuel Cloon	147	8	Ballast.	
11	Schooner "Industry" James Smith	" Cadiz	Jonathan Thompson	86	6	48 Lasts salt, 46 boxes raisins, 17 jars grapes, 2 jars oil.	\$22.47
13	Brig "America"	" Liverpool	Francis G. Selman	157	9	395 hhds. salt, 10 tons & 13 cwt. of coals.	
1810							
Jan'y. 10	Schooner "Betsey" Ro'b't Hooper	" St. Barts	Ephriam Harding	70	6	32 hhds., 9 tierces & 40 bbls. sugar, 39 casks & 13 bbls. coffee.	\$2585.82
15	Sch. "Oriental"	" Lisbon	John U. Patten	84	6	125 moyes of salts, 10 boxes oranges, 8 boxes raisins, 12 jars oil, 1 sack almonds, 27 fraills figs, 1 straw carpet.	
Feb. 16	Brig "Dido"	" St. Ubes	Edmund Lewis	128	8	182 moyes salt.	
March 1	Schooner "Polly" Ebenzer G. Evans, Jesse Blanchard, John Williams, Benj. T. Reed, Nich. Quiner	" Malaga	Rob't Devereux	83	6	300 casks wine, 3 boxes raisins, 19 jars oil, 2 pots grapes, 25 straw hats, 12 kegs anchovies.	\$2319.76
6	Brig "Increase"	" Gijon	Wm. Widger	108	7	500 flat stones, 640 goat skins.	
9	Schooner "Endeavour"	" Gijon	John Power	82	6	134 flat stones.	
15	Sch. "Sally"	" Gijon	Simon Lamprell	74	6	50 flat stones.	
22	Sch. "Minerva" John Devereux	" Alicant	Rich'd Leech	83	7	59 hhds. cocoa shells, 80 moyes salt, 4 fraills figs, 2 fraills almonds, 12 mats, 1 cask wine	\$7.24
April 16	Sch. "Saratoga"	" Corunna	John Tucker	70	6	Ballast.	
17	Sch. "Tom" Wm. Hooper	" Tarragona	Henry N. Quiner	101	7	150 casks wine, 1 pipe brandy, 20 bags corks, 60 quintals corks, 9 carpets, 12 mats, 1 box figs, 1 box raisins, 60 sacks cocoa.	\$4220.55
May 18	Sch. "Hannah"	" Cadiz	Richard Tutt	107	7	55 casks salt, 8 carpets, 4 jars olives, 26 boxes sugar.	\$277.99

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
June 1	Brig "Hannah" Jos. Mudge	Joseph Mudge	144 7	85 hhds. rum, 17 hhds. & 1 bbl. molasses, 2 bbls. tamarinds, 5 bbls. limes, 2 bbls. oranges, 1000 cocoa nuts, 50 goat skins.	\$2389.29
June 4	Schooner "Polly"	Freedom Woodberry	69 6	212 boxes & 5 bbls. sugar, 13 bags coffee, 50 quintals log wood, 4 bbls. molasses.	\$2430.71
8	Sch. "Lark"	Lisbon John Collyer Jr.	79 6	115 moyes salt, 50 boxes lemons, 10 boxes oranges, 99 sacks cocoa, 42 bags pepper, 13 bags coffee.	\$468.95
11	Sch. "Bird"	Vianna John D. Dennis Jr.	80 6	112 moyes salt, 31 boxes lemons, 23 boxes oranges.	
13	Sch. "Hannah"	Algeciras Spain Thos. P. James	76 6	Ballast—7 sacks almonds, 1 box figs.	
20	Barque "Packet"	Pontevedro John Pedrick 3rd	169 10	1 hhds., 18 tierces, 74 bbls. 63 bags cocoa, 25 packages silk.	\$472.33
21	Brig "Mentor"	Gibraltar Rich'r Pedrick Jr.	128 8	1600 bu. salt.	
25	Schooner "Union"	LeMatt Geo. B. Bartlett	84 6	55 modins salt, 20 pipes & 2 quarter casks wine, 2½ doz. floor mats, 4 boxes lemons.	\$580.67
26	Sch. "Joan"	Cadiz Thos. Quiner	87 6	69 lasts salt—6 mats.	
29	Schooner "Hope"	from Cadiz Wm. Vickery	76 6	43 lasts of salt.	
2	Sch. "Betsey"	Cadiz John Russell 3rd	95 6	55 lasts of salt—3 mats.	
9	Brig "Cato"	Isle of May Lewis Girdler	160 8	Ballast.	
18	Brig "Elizabeth"	Havanna Wm. Pettyplace	171 9	38 hhds., 1 bbl., 685 boxes sugar, 21 bales cotton, 23 casks cocoa, 9 kegs cloves, 21,000 quintals cocoa, 27 casks raisins, 15 kegs currants, 1 tierce & 1 bbl. molasses, 1 bag coffee.	\$8093.99
18	Schooner "Success"	St. Barts. Rich'd Brown	53 6	111 bbls., 10 hhds. & 4 tierces sugar, 27 hhds. rum, 4 bbls. molasses, 3 bags coffee.	\$1702.56
24	Sch. "Ann"	Dominica John B. Prentiss	75 6	72 hhds. rum, 1 bag coffee.	\$2133.62
27	Sch. "Polly"	Cumana Ambrose Martin	71 6	115 casks molasses, 4 bbls. & 15 bags cocoa, 1 bag cloves, 2 bbls. limes, 200 oranges.	\$561.87
	Leavitt Kingsbury				

28	Sch. "Saratoga" Rob't Hooper	"	Martinique	John Tucker	70	6	100 hhd. & 2 bbls. molasses, 1 hhd. rum.	\$492.64
Aug. 4	Sch. "Betsey" Jos. Hooper	"	Guadaloupe	Simon Lamprell	70	6	104 casks molasses.	\$500.35
6	Sch. "Two Sisters"	"	Le Matt	Philip Bridgeo Jr.	80	6	63 moys salt.	
16	Brig "Union"	"	Isle of May	Jos. Proctor Jr.	167	9	112 moys salt, 53 hides.	
20	Schooner "Friendship"	"	Viana	Geo. Tucker	80	6	75 tons salt, 38 boxes lemons.	
22	Sch. "Adams"	"	Corunna	John Dennis	63	6	33 hhd. sugar, 2 tierces coffee.	
27	Sch. "Lively"	"	Antiqua	Thos. Gordon	105	6	69 hhd. & 1 bbl. molasses, 18 hhd. rum.	
31	Sch. "Molly"	"	Aux Cayes	Francis Hiter	74	6	9261 ft. Logwood, 1326 ft. Mahogany, 61 cwt. old copper, 2 old bells.	
Sept. 10	Sch. "Springbird"	"	Bayonne	Nicholas Tucker	84	6	1 trunk, 1 bbl, 2 boxes & 3 packages mdse.	
14	Sch. "Polly"	"	Cadiz	Rob't Devereux	83	6	50 tons salt.	
15	Brig "Ruthy"	"	St. Ubes	Wm. Hammond	148	9	225 moyes of salt, 30 quintals corks, 7 doz. mats.	
17	Brig "Hannah" Jos. Mudge	"	St. Kitts	Joseph Mudge	144	7	80 hhd. rum, 6 hhd. & 1 bbl. molasses, 100 bbls. limes & oranges, 5 bbls. tamarinds, 50 goat skins, 6 bbls. sugar.	\$2348.11
19	Brig "Helen" Jos. Barker	"	Martinique	Thos. Elkins Jr.	128	7	100 hhd. & 3 tierces molasses, 1 bbl. sugar, 1 bbl. coffee.	\$497.55
26	Brig "Increase"	"	Gottenburg	Wm. Widger	108	7	15 pieces linen.	
28	Schooner "Hannah" Benj. Tyler Reed	"	St. Petersburg	Wm. B. Orne	79	6	883 bars iron, 10 whole & 39½ half bundles hemp, 6 casks bristles, 5 bales ravens duck cloth, 25 packages Russia duck, 1 package diaper.	\$922.23
Oct. 3	Sch. "Lark"	"	Martinique	John Collyer Jr.	79	6	Stone ballast & ship's provisions.	
15	Sch. "Speedwell"	"	Port au Prince	Haiti Joseph Dixon	62	6	50 tons logwood, 5 bags cotton, old iron & copper.	\$24.90
	Wm. Hooper	"	Martinique	Nathl. Gardner	70	6	89 casks molasses.	\$425.20
22	Sch. "Sally" Rob't Hooper	"	Port au Prince	Phares Shirley	38	5	138 bags coffee, 32 bbls. & 2 tierces coffee, 4 bbls. cocoa, 6 sacks cotton, 4 tons logwood.	\$1062.64
27	Sch. "Germantown" Lovett Kingsbury	"	Port au Prince	Phares Shirley	38	5	138 bags coffee, 32 bbls. & 2 tierces coffee, 4 bbls. cocoa, 6 sacks cotton, 4 tons logwood.	\$1062.64

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
Novr. 3	Ship "Orient" John Hooper 4th & master	Benj. Andrews	187 11	51 bales flims, 55 bales raven duck, 42 bales diaper, 16 cables, 156 coils cordage, 2024 bars iron, 54 bundles hemp, 50 packages duck, 4 bbls. quills, 2 muffs, 2 bales crash.	\$7519.10
8	Schooner "Meriam" Wm. Blackler Jr. & master	John Boden	82 7	150 bales sail cloth, 55 bales flims, 19 bales raven duck, 12 casks bristles, 24 bundles hemp, 887 bars iron, 3 bales horsehair, 1 bale diaper, 4 beds, 3 boxes quills, 2 boxes candles 1 coil rope.	\$2683.82
Nov. 12	Schooner "Petsey" from St. Petersburg	Thos. Mullett	71 5	21 tons hemp, 21 tons iron, 184 packages duck, 10 bales raven duck, 5 bales flims, 1 bale linen, 3 bales diaper, 3 casks bristles, 7 sacks feathers, 1 box candles, 20,000 quills.	\$2155.76 \$321.30
12	Jos. Barker	Geo. B. Bartlett	84 7	66 hhds. molasses.	
12	Sch. "Union" John Bailey	H. N. Quiner	101 5	60 tons logwood, a quantity of old iron & copper.	\$35.64
12	Sch. "Tom"	Wm. Doliber	84 6	1466 bars iron, 46 bundles hemp, 5 bales flims, 3 bales raven duck, 2 pieces sail cloth, 1 muff & tippitt.	
12	Sch. "Hero"	Francis G. Selman	157 10	253 hhds. salt, 30 quintals of shells, 5 marine Shop or Shap.	\$19.80 \$3439.30
Nov. 17	Brig "America" Benj. Tyler Reed	Freeborn Woodberry	75 6	319 boxes sugar, 7 bags coffee, 1 bale cotton.	
Nov. 17	Schooner "Ann"	Havanna	67 5	213 boxes sugar.	\$1896.01
Dec. 3	Sch. "Friendship" Wm. Fettyplace	Abraham Hill Jr.	67 5	213 boxes sugar.	
Dec. 3	Sch. "Friendship" John Pedrick 3rd	Havanna	108 7	466 whole & 2 half boxes of sugar, 2 bags coffee.	\$5049.14
24	Brig "Increase" John Hooper 4th & master	Wm. Widger	108 7	466 whole & 2 half boxes of sugar, 2 bags coffee.	

26	Schooner "Saratoga"	"	Martinique	John Tucker	70	6	74	hhds. & 4	bbls. molasses.	\$374.05
	Robert Hooper									
28	Sch. "Regulus"	"	Archangel	Saml. R. Gerry	89	7	1195	bars iron, 70	bundles hemp, 8 casks bristles, 4 feather beds, 4 boxes candles, 39 pieces diaper, 14 pieces linens.	\$1056.55
	John Pedrick 3rd									\$366.80
1811										
Jany. 1	Sch. "Sally"	"	Martinique	Thos. Quiner	68	6	80	casks molasses, old iron & copper.		
	Sam'l Bowden									\$1547.46
3	Brig "Oriental"	"	Tonningen Norway	John U. Patten	102	7	29	packages linen, 7 pieces bagging, 1 case looking glasses, 2 boxes quills, 1 box hollow glass, gloves & diaper, 11 cwt. bricks.		
11	Schooner "Hannah"	"	Corunna	Thos. P. James	76	6	4	marinoes (sheep) & ballast.		
15	Ship "Print"	"	Lisbon	Nathl. Lindsey	215	10	182	merino sheep & ballast.		
22	Schooner "Success"	"	St. Barts	Rich'd Brown	53	6	26	hhds. & 45 bbls. sugar, 2 bbls. coffee, 2 hhds. rum.		\$916.20
Feb'y. 12	Sch. "Polly"	"	Corunna	John D. Dennis Jr.	71	6	92	bags merino wool.		
18	Sch. "John"	"	Bordeaux	Benj. Wormstead Jr.	91	7	200	casks & 343 cases wine, 50 pipes brandy		\$4940.70
	Thos. Meek									
21	Brig ex barque? "Washington"	"	Washington	Joshua Orne	166	8	111	tons logwood, 66 boxes sugar, 12 bags coffee, 3 whole & 3 half boxes sugar.		\$752.58
	Wm. Blackler Jr.		Havanna							
March 5	Brig "Cato"	"	Isle of May	Lewis Girdler	160	9	1	pipe of oil & salt.		
5	Schooner "Juno"	"	Havanna	Sam'l Stacey	91	7	175	casks molasses, 169 ox hides, 13 bbls. sugar, 29 bags coffee, 3 half boxes sugar, 6 box segars, 2 bbls. oranges.		\$1069.71
	Benj. Tyler Reed									
May 8	Sch. "Meriam"	"	La Guayra	John Boden	82	7	34	casks & 414 bags coffee, 22 deer skins, 18 bales mdse.		\$388.73
	John C. Blackler & master									
30	Brig "Mentor"	"	Lisbon	Rich'd Pedrick Jr.	128	7	2	bbls. beef & sand ballast.		
June 14	Schooner "Betsey"	"	Trinidad	Simon Lamprell	70	6	109	hhds. & tierces & 7 bbls. molasses, 1 bbl. sugar, 1 cask rum.		
14	Sch. "Polly"	"	Havanna	John D. Dennis Jr.	71	6	115	hhds., 12 tierces & 4 bbls. molasses, 40 bbls. sugar, 4 half & 2 whole boxes sugar, 220 hides, 14 boxes segars, 1 bag coffee.		\$910.81
	Benj. Tyler Reed									

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME Consignees	Master's Name	Tons	Mch	CARGO	Duties
June 24	Sch. "Hannah" Robert Hooper & master	Thos. P. James	76	6	57 hhds. & tierces, 79 bbls. & 1 half bbl. sugar, 7 hhds. & tierces & 3 bags coffee & 1 bbl. molasses.	\$2010.17
July 25	Sch. "Sally"	Nathl. Gardner	70	6	Ballast.	
July 1	Brig "Ruthy" John C. Blackler	Freeborn Woodbury D. W. I.	148	8	56 bbls. & 3 tierces coffee, 42 bags coffee, 35 serons, 12 boxes, 1 hhd. & 2 tierces Peruvian bark, 1 seron extract of Brazil wood, 2584 ox hides etc.	\$1086.37
12	Schooner "Tom"	Henry N. Quiner	101	7	Ballast.	
16	Sch. "Springbird" Jos. Barker	St. Salvador Nicholas Tucker	84	6	930 ox hides, 1011 ox horns, 150 bags coffee, 143 boxes sugar, fustic, 916 seal skins, 1 bbl Eppie-cac, 13 bundles Nankins.	\$3200.89
17	Brig "Increase"	Corunna	108	7	Ballast.	
20 Aug.	Brig "Joseph"	Lisbon	161	10	150 moyes salt, 11 boxes lemons, 2 boxes oranges.	
4 Sept.	Schooner "Regulus"	St. Ubes	89	7	130 moyes salt, 10 straw mats, 10 bags corks.	
12	Sch. "Minerva"	Bonavista	83	6	2200 bu. salt.	
13	Ship "Concordia"	St. Ubes	386	19	13000 bu. salt.	
21	Schooner "Robert" John Candler	Algeciras Spain?	87	7	127 canisters & 1 case saffron, 26 boxes mana, 12 casks currents, 20 boxes licorice, 74 bbls. raisins, 23 casks & 97 boxes oil, 67 boxes soap, 5 bags orange peel, 12 pipes wine, 14 bags almonds, 60 bags juniper berries, 18 bags feathers, 6 boxes lemons.	\$2143.08
26	Sch. "Success" Wm. Fettyplace	Algeciras	83	7	110 casks wine, 100 cases oil, 142 boxes soap, 27 sacks of almonds, 16 sacks bird seed, 1 box opium, 2 casks raisins.	\$3204.56
Oct. 29	Ship "Orient" John Hooper 4th & master	St. Petersburg Benj. Andrews	187	10	225 packages sail cloth, 32 bales flims, 60½ bundles hemp, 2524 bars iron, 151 bags feathers, 15 coils cordage, 9½ bales ravens duck, 3 kegs verdigris.	\$4051.62

Oct. 29	Brig "Union" Wm. Hooper & master	" St. Petersburg	Joseph Procter Jr.	167	10	23 bales ravens duck, 52 bales sheetings, 200 packages sail cloth, 64 bundles hemp, 1771 bars iron, 2 boxes quills, 77 sacks feathers, 2 feather beds, 2 bales diaper.	\$4267.24
Nov. 5	Schooner "Tom" Wm. Hooper	" Corunna	Henry N. Quiner	101	7	173 casks claret wine, 6 casks brandy & a quantity (small) of musket balls.	\$2421.88
18	Sch. "Liberty" " St. Petersburg via Boston		John Russell 4th	86	6	6 bales flems.	\$86.13
28	Sch. "Hannah"	" Corunna	Thos. P. James	76	6	Sand ballast.	\$38.50
Dec. 2	Brig "Increase" W. Widger	" Corunna	Wm. Widger	108	7	2 casks brandy, ballast.	
9	Schooner "Saratoga"	" Corunna	John Tucker	70	6	Ballast.	
1812							
Jan. 13	Sch. "Adventure"	" Nantes	John Collyer Jr.	78	6	Ballast & household furniture.	
16	Sch. "Sally" John Hooper	" La Guyra	Nath'l Gardner	70	6	916 bags cocoa, 7 bags coffee, 40 bales cotton, 30 zeroons of indigo.	\$2847.22
24	Sch. "Patriot" John Williams	" Cayenne	Andrew Hussey	83	6	157 casks molasses.	\$676.50
27	Sch. "Sally" John C. Blackler	" Nantes	John Stevenson	58	6	160 casks red and yellow ochre, 1 package silk.	\$917.38
28	Sch. "Meriam" John C. Blackler	" Maracaibo	D. W. I. Joshua Orne	82	7	835 quintals fustic, 80 do., 63 bags coffee, 10 bags bark, 1175 ox hides, 12 tons Nicaragua wood, 120 goat skins.	\$366.95
April 6	Ship "Globe" Wm. Fettyplace	" Lisbon	Thos. Russell	209	11	10 baskets licorice paste, 192 moyes salt, 193 baskets & 16 frails figs.	\$57.62
6	Schooner "Nancy" Thos. Martin Jr.	" St. Barts	Rich'd Brown	60	6	28 hhds., 9 tierces & 162 bbls. sugar, 8 tierces, 7 bbls., 127 bags coffee, 8 boxes lemons.	\$2619.51
17	Brigantine "Increase"	" Corunna	Wm. Widger	108	7	Ballast.	
21	Schooner "Success" John Pedrick 3rd	" Cayenne	John Johnson	83	6	156 casks rice, 95 bbls., 1 hhd. sugar, 9 hhds. molasses, 5 bags & 2 bbls. coffee, 3 casks & 1 keg cloves.	\$808.80

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME Consignees	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	
1812					
May 1	Sch. "Tom" from	Pharis Shirley	101 7	53 moys salt.	\$1545.35
June 8	Schooner "Snow Bird" from	Geo. Chinn	38 5	431 bags coffee, 13½ bbls. castor oil.	
22	Brig "Washington" Nat. Hooper from	Sam'l R. Gerry	166 9	250 moys salt, 165 boxes lemons, 2 boxes oranges, 10 jars olives.	\$128.64
22	Wm. Blackler Jr. " Lisbon				\$4078.70
22	Schooner "Regulator" Henry N. Quiner	John Quiner	109 7	241 casks sugar.	
26	Sch. "Sally" " Porto Rico	Ambrose Martin	69 6	176 casks of molasses.	\$641.05
	Leavitt Kingsbury				
July 6	Brig "Union" " Corunna	Joseph Proctor Jr.	167 9	Ballast.	
8	Schooner "Hannah" " St. Barts	Thos. P. James	76 6	56 hhds. & 8 bbls. sugar, 4 bbls. & 12 bags coffee, 1 bbl. molasses.	\$3111.15
14	Sch. "Sally" John Hooper				\$1539.28
Aug. 24	Sch. "Lively" a prize " Rivadoe	Nath'l Gardner	70 6	Ballast.	\$532.47
1814					
Mar. 31	Sch. "Curllew" a prize				
The records for the War of 1812 (1812-15) are missing.					
1815					
June 21	Schooner "Rambler" from	Havanna John Knight	88 8	846 bags coffee, 340 galapagoes copper, 4 boxes sweet meats, 2 bbls. molasses, 5 cannisters & 3 bottles snuff, 1 box fruit.	\$10539.71
	Thos. Lee & Co.				
27	Brigantine "Washington" Benj. T. Reed.	John C. Blackler	166 10	239 casks molasses, 8 puncheons rum, 30 hhds., 1 tierce, 7 bbls. sugar.	\$4388.08
	H. D. Merritt & master				
July 13	Schooner "Sally" " Martinique	Thos. P. James	70 6	64 hhds. sugar, 1 hhd. & 5 bbls. molasses, 1 hhd. rum, 2 bags coffee, 2 bags sugar.	\$3257.30
	Rob't & John Hooper, John Gilley, Lewis Girdler & master				

Aug. 14	Sch. "Success" John Johnson, J. Gilley, Jos. Barker etc.	" Martinique	Elias Hulén	59	6	26 casks sugar, 37 casks molasses.	\$1606.95
14	Sch. "Regulator" Henry N. Quiner & Frederick Lewis	" Cayenne	Pharis Shirley			41 casks molasses, 7 casks sugar, 26 casks & 1 bag cloves, 122 bags & 3 casks cocoa, 29 casks Roco, 26 bales cotton, 41 bundles bark, 40 bags & 1 bbl. coffee, 10 kegs white lead, 4 jars paint oil, 3 boxes wine, 2 trunks mdse., 8 hhds. rum, 7 trunks clothing.	\$5273.58
Oct. 9	Sch. "Saratoga" Wm. Hooper	" Gibraltar	Ebenezer Graves	70	6	100 quarter casks wine, 60 boxes oil, 9 boxes olives.	\$1693.17
Nov. 11	Sch. "Jefferson" " Charante (France) Wm. Hooper, Sam. Giles & master		Nicholson Broughton	79	6	87 pipes brandy.	\$7317.76
15	Brig "Increase" Rob't & John Hooper, John Beal, Thos. Pedrick & master	" St. Petersburg	Benj. Andrews	108	7	63 bags feathers, 276 packages sail cloth, 38 bales raven duck, 25 bales flims, 1581 bars iron, 510 cwt. hemp, 6 bbls. tumblers, 5 boxes starch, 1 package diaper, 1 package sheeting.	\$5465.98
18	Sch. "Success" W. & N. Hooper, Geo. Barker, Hy. Fettyplace etc.	" Charante	Wm. B. Orne	83	7	74 pipes brandy, 10 boxes champagne wine, 10 boxes claret, 10 baskets olive oil, 1 case silk goods, 1 case cambrics.	\$6333.70
18	Brig "Elizabeth" " Bordeaux via Boston Geo. Barker, Wm. Fettyplace		Edmund Bray		9	20 pipes brandy, 200 boxes wine, 154 baskets oil, 100 boxes prunes, 50 boxes capers, 100 bags corks, 2 bales merchandise.	\$2473.95
20	Brig "Union" Wm. & Nat. Hooper, John Johnson, Edmund Bray, Nat. L. Hooper, Abigail Pedrick, Simon Williams & master	" St. Petersburg	Jos. Proctor Jr.	167	9	2376 bars iron, 72 bundles hemp, 279 packages sail cloth, 31 bales raven duck, 2 sacks down, 16 sacks feathers, 1 box quills, 3 bales diaper, 2 boxes crash, 4 boxes tumblers, 2 boxes wine glasses, 1 box starch, 1 cask tumblers, 3 bales flims & diapers.	\$6304.18

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	CARGO	<i>Duties</i>
Feby. 8	Schooner "Sally" J. Hooper, J. Broughton & John Peters	Thos. P. James	70 6	87 hhds. molasses, 1 tierce molasses, 4 bbls. & 6 casks do.	\$843.10
May 8	Sch. "Hope" — Lovett	Edw. Chapman	32 3	903 bu. salt.	\$180.68
9	Brig "Mentor" Rob't Hooper	Pharis Shirley	128 7	239 logs mahogany, 16 casks molasses, 5 tons fustic,	\$144.50
25	Brig "Columbia" W. Gray & master	" Cadiz Thos. Elkins Jr.	150	3 casks sherry wine, 8444½ bu. salt, 30 boxes lemons, 8 bags cocoa shells.	\$5487.72
June 14	Ship "Elizabeth" <i>does not figure in Entry Book</i> , from Marselles to Marblehead. Wm. Gray, Jos. G. Cogswell, D. & J. Hastings, Buffington & Thorndike, J. Thorndike Jr., F. W. Sargent, Geo. Wilson, Wm. Fettyplace, Philip Bessom.	Philip Bessom		14441 bu. salt, 2 cases watches & clocks, 2 boxes olives, 1 case bonnets, 3 cases tags, 1 case cordials, 1 case lemons, 2 casks clocks, 16 boxes claret wine, 16½ doz. bottles claret wine, 1 box silk gloves, 1 box paints, 1 box champagne wine, 11 boxes fruit, 3 small do. fruit, 3 boxes silks, 8 doz. snuff boxes, 4 doz. suspenders, 8 doz. pairs gloves, 8 doz. silk stocks, 1 doz. do., 2 boxes oil, 1 case men's hats, 1 box cordials, 2 boxes claret wine, 4 doz. bottles do., 3 doz. bottles do.	\$3100.70
July 10	Brig "Legal Tender" " Palermo Italy William Gray, Thos. Cloutman	Nath'l Lindsey	21	21 casks oil, 201 hhds. salt, 357 boxes lemons, 1 cask Marsala wine.	\$1060.70
13	Schooner "Sally" R. Hooper, Wm. Reed, Wm. Gray, Wm. Williams	Thos. P. James	70 5	681 bags coffee, 11 casks coffee, 120 hides, 3000 horns.	\$4325.90

(To be continued)

THE GREAT AWAKENING

By REV. THOMAS HENRY BILLINGS, PH. D.

“Monday, September 29, 1740. Set out about seven in the morning. Got to Marble Head, a large town twenty miles from Boston. About eleven preached to some thousands in a broad place in the middle of the town, but not with much visible effect. Rode to Salem and preached there also to about 2000. Here the Lord manifested forth His glory. In every part of the congregation persons might be seen under great concern and one, Mr. Clark, a good minister as is granted by all I conversed with, seemed to be almost in heaven. After the exercise was over, I immediately set out and got to Ipswich, another large town sixteen miles (the way we went) distant from Salem. Two or three gentlemen came to meet me, and I and my friends were most kindly entertained at the house of the Rev. Mr. Rogers, a venerable old man, one of the ministers of the place. The Lord reward him and all others a thousandfold who refresh our bowels in the Lord.”¹

This is an extract from the journal of Whitefield, the associate of John and Charles Wesley. His visit to America came in the midst of the movement which we are to consider, the revival of religion, usually, because of the extent of its influence, known as “The Great Awakening.” The movement began in the town of Northampton, in the winter of 1734-35, and was at its height during the decade from 1740 to 1750. To the people of that day the manifestations that accompanied the revival seemed to be the direct effect of supernatural power. Not all observers believed that this power was of God. Some, and notably the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncey, pastor of the First Church of Christ in Boston, believed that it was due to the devil. There was no doubt on the part of anybody that the conversions, the emotional and physical disturbances, were supernatural in origin.

The movement spread throughout all the colonies from

¹ Whitefield's Journal, London, 1756, page 397.

Maine to Georgia and was by no means confined to this country. Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco, now Essex, was an enthusiastic believer and on one occasion, October 15, 1743, burst into poetry, which, even if it is not inspired may be quoted to show the extent of the movement.²

Many in these latter days
 Have experienced Jesus' grace.
 Souls in Europe not a few
 Find the gospel tidings true.

Britons Isle has caught the flame.
 Many love and know thy name
 Both in England and in Wales
 And in Scotland grace prevails.
 London, Wilts and Gloucestershire
 Feels our Saviour very dear.
 Bristol sinners seek the Lord,
 And in Kingswood he's adored.
 And a few sheep here and there
 Are beloved in Oxfordshire.
 At New Castle and near York
 We are told God is at work
 And in many sinners hearts
 Who're unknown, in various parts.
 By whatever means he will
 We are bound to thank him still.
 And our Shepherd's arms infolds
 Edinburgh and Glasgow souls
 Muttel, Kilsyth, Cambuslang
 Late of Jesus' blood have sang.
 Carry on your work with power
 Every day and every hour.
 Still let thousands in the north
 Know the great Redeemer's worth.
 Many Germans walk with God
 Thru the virtue of Christ's blood
 Self deny the cross take up.
 They no doubt with Christ shall sup.
 What they know not teach them Lord!
 Souls they do love thy word.

² Cleaveland Manuscripts, Essex Institute.

In the "Christian History," a periodical issued in Boston at this time, edited by Mr. Thomas Prince, reports were received from England, Scotland and the North of Ireland. Manifestations similar to those occurring in America were common in all districts where the same sort of preaching took place.

The movement in England under John Wesley began one of the most significant social and religious movements of the Eighteenth Century, largely because Wesley reached a section of the population of England that was at this time neglected and submerged. He thought no human being too degraded to respond to the influence of God and we find this cultivated Oxford gentleman moving by his words great audiences of illiterate, degraded miners, so low down in the scale of civilization that they were hardly regarded as human. Wesley's organizing genius and his amazing social intelligence led to the permanent uplifting of great masses of the English people and to the development of philanthropy and education on a scale such as had never been dreamed of before. In this country the final effect was quite different, but we must not lose sight of the fact that in all essentials the two movements were one.

In order to understand what took place, it is necessary to enter into a state of mind foreign to most that are likely to read this paper. It was a period when the belief in the supernatural was very real. The witchcraft episode in Salem was still vividly remembered and while men may have believed that the persons accused were for the most part innocent, that was not inconsistent with the belief in the direct interference of evil powers in the life of men. Even where people had lost their belief in supernatural manifestations of evil, they still believed in supernatural manifestations of good. God, or Providence, was a very real factor always to be considered. Again we can hardly estimate the force of their preoccupation with the thought of hell. To them, hell was a vivid reality. One of the most popular books of the day was Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom." It is a

long poem reiterating and picturing in vivid detail what hell is like.

For day and night in their despite
 Their torment's smoke ascendeth
 Their pain and grief have no relief,
 Their anguish never endeth,

Who live to lie in misery
 And bear eternal woe.
 And live they must while God is just,
 That He may plague them so.³

A verse from one of their hymns shows the same pre-occupation:

My thoughts on awful subjects roll,
 Damnation and the dead.
 What horrors seize a guilty soul
 Upon a dying bed!

It is hard for us to realize the fear to which such a belief gives rise, and the way in which it may haunt the consciousness of sensitive souls. The mental agony that many persons endured in that day will hardly bear thinking of.

Another one of their fundamental beliefs was that human beings are of themselves naturally depraved. It is easy for us to make a joke of this today, but picture to yourself what went on in the minds of some of these sensitive young Puritans, who believed firmly in the existence of God and the devil and who felt in their own bodies the warfare between good and evil. The devil has always had a close connection with the flesh. Paul cries out, "I am carnal, sold unto sin," and this fiery Puritan of the first century spoke a language that the Puritans of eighteenth century America thoroughly understood. It is not much wonder that we find in many of them a morbid fear of the natural. The youthful Bunyan in England found no peace until he had given up playing tip-cat on Sunday. This was the last stronghold of the evil one in his soul. Puritans in America were the same.

³ Pancoast, "American Literature," p. 64.

This mood of fear and of helplessness was latent in the religion of the day but it was accentuated in the colonies by the experiences through which they had passed, the long struggle with the French and Indians, the feeling of insecurity that the Deerfield massacre gave, the seeming impossibility of gaining a reasoned security. The state of mind is comparable to the 'failure of nerve' in the Greco-Roman world to which Prof. Gilbert Murray assigns a determining place in the religion of a whole era. There was the same sense of helplessness before forces that might destroy life, the same search for mystical assurance.

There was, in spite of the belief in hell and in the guilt of the natural, considerable moral laxity. Jonathan Edwards tells of the decay of morals in Northampton. "Just after my grandfather's death it seemed to be a time of extraordinary dulness in religion. Licentiousness for a great many years greatly prevailed among the youth of the time. They were many of them very much addicted to nightwalking and frequenting the tavern and lewd practices, wherein some, by their example, exceedingly corrupted others." One sin to which he greatly objects is the indulgence in what he calls 'frolics' which so far as I can find out were no more than innocent merry-making. Some observers claimed that Edwards' account of the wickedness of his day is greatly exaggerated. That there was lax morality no one can deny, but there is a tendency in all movements of this kind to darken the picture in order to heighten the effect that the revival produces. The sins that worried people most were on the whole rather trivial and we find even the lax among them willing publicly to confess their sins and undergo humiliation, in order to be even approximately free from the dread of hell. The practice of public confession is only one manifestation of the need that people felt for assurance. In any time of fear men tend to seek something to bolster up their courage and to restore the lost sense of security. The assurance is often based not on a reasoned hope, but on a conviction reached by other than rational means, through some emotional experience.

To the people of Edwards' day the coming of this assurance of salvation was identified with conversion. Conversion was a mystical and inexplicable experience, a free gift of God.

Edwards, who was one of the first to study religious psychology, outlines the process in his "Treatise on the Religious Affections." This process became so stereotyped in Evangelical groups that one of the officials of a church I knew some years ago objected to a young student leading a devotional meeting in the church, on the ground that he had gone only part way through the process. The stages are as follows:

First, conviction—a realizing sense of one's lost condition, of one's danger of hell. Second, a struggle by works and exercises to propitiate God and win His favour. Third, a sense of resignation to God's will, a willingness "to lie at God's feet and wait His time." This was sometimes expressed as a willingness to be damned for the glory of God. Fourth, to those who are of the elect, there comes a sense of peace and joy, of assurance, such as is expressed in Wesley's hymn

My God is reconciled
His pardoning voice I hear,
He owns me for His child
I can no longer fear.
With confidence I now draw nigh
And Father, Abba, Father, cry.

We can illustrate the process by a document, later than the revival, but revealing the same state of mind, that is among Rev. John Cleaveland's papers in the Essex Institute.

"THE RELATION OF EUNICE ANDREWS.

After God had first begun to pour out his Spirit in this our Day and I came to hear the enlivened Ministers preach, I was put under some serious consideration about my soul, and was convinced in some measure of my need of a Saviour to save me from Hell and Damnation; and for two years before I was married, I was under considerable concern and at Length thought I received comfort, but have been con-

vinced since that it was only counterfeit; for ye comfort yt I then received did not humble me, as I find what I have received since does, even the least degree of it, and after this at Times I was under considerable concern and it would wear off again 'till the time of my first Lying in; and then I was in my own apprehension brought to the very brink of eternity; and that night I received comfort. I thought, I should be in eternity before morning and expected to go to Hell which gave me a great since of my miserable and Lost State and condition and I had a great since, not only of my actual sins but also of ye sins of my nature, I saw the opposition of my Heart to God—and saw I could not help myself—I saw I stood in need of mercy and was made to cry to God for mercy and Tho't if I had an Interest in Christ I should not be afraid to die but I could not see that there was any mercy for me; then Christ was manifested very plainly to my soul as a Saviour to save me from my sins and as an Interceding with God for me—he appeared also very Lovely to my soul which drew my soul out to him and filled me with comfort and made me willing to live or die and made me exceeding desirous that all and especially such as were around me might have an Interest in Christ and feel yt joy & comfort that I then felt, and then I seemed to be astonished at my living so long in a course of sinning against so many calls from God, and was astonished at the long suffering of God towards me; and I then found my Heart to hate sins and indeed was so turned against sin I thought I would never sin any more; but I have found it true otherwise to my Grief; and all the Time of my sickness I seemed to be very comfortable and sometimes I had so much comfort that I could not sleep; but after I got well again, (although at times I enjoyed some comfort) yet I got into the world and worldly cares carried my Mind off too much from the main Thing: and when the elders of this Church were at our House, one of them asked me what my experiences were when I was sick. I felt a disposition to putt it off being very low and Dull and therefore told them I feared it was only a sick-bed Repentance but my heart soon struck me for saying so, and afterwards what they said to me I trust was in some measure blessed to me. It putt me to more strict search and examination and calling to mind that it was about two years then from the time of my sickness when I mett with that experience and to con-

sider that God had been waiting on me two years to see if I bear Fruit; but I seemed to have a great sinse of my Unfruitfulness and Unfaithfulness to God; I was made sensible that ye Lord appeared for me in ye time of my sickness; but to think of my barrenness filled me with shame before God; and a little while after this I heard a sermon on these words, yt their hearts being knit together in Love, wherein it was shewed that all Believers did find their Hearts knit to those that appeared to have the Image of God on them which I then and since do find to ye children of God here and although for some Time before I had a Desire to join with this Church, yet I could not see my way clear as I have since but I am not now without some staggerings for I find myself to be very weak; and after I related my Experiences to the Elders in order to join with the Church I was seized with fear lest I had said more than I had really experienced, but then I was brought to see again I had not one half so much as I ought to have done. I hope this Church will pray for me and my Desire is with your Consent to be taken under your watch and to be admitted as a member of your communion; I have no more at present but to wish Grace, etc. to be multiplied, etc.

Eunice Andrews.

The church being stayed after Divine Service, Sabb. August 26, 1756, the above Relation was read to them and after considering ye same they voted That they were so far satisfied as yt she shall stand propounded which accordingly she does pr John Cleaveland, Pastor.

Sept. 16, 1756. Eunice Andrews was admitted unto ye Church and signed ye Articles and Covenant. Attest. John Cleaveland, Pastor."

This document needs no comment. Its sincerity, the struggle to be honest, the terror and pain it so simply lays bare, grip our hearts. Eunice is not always sure what her experience was but she knows what it should be. She thinks that a genuine experience of conversion would manifest the stages outlined in Edwards' treatise. The theory he sets forth determined emotional religious experience for the Evangelical churches.

It was in a mental and moral atmosphere such as this relation reveals that Jonathan Edwards began his work. The people he served were past the pioneer stage of liv-

ing. They were people of intelligence and for their day of more than the average information. Edwards was a man of remarkable intellectual and moral power. He was terribly convinced of the truth of what he was preaching, the reality of hell, the eternal doom of the unconverted, and the necessity of assurance to salvation. He was a man of intense but controlled emotion and of vivid imagination. He preached to people who had absorbed his belief in the very air they breathed. It is not to be wondered at that emotion burst out uncontrollably and that it spread like a fire throughout the colonies. The classic expression of Edwards' faith is the sermon which he preached at Enfield on July 8th, 1741, from the text in Deut. 32:35, "Their foot shall slide in due time." The title of the sermon was "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God." I do not need to repeat here the ten headings under which Edwards arranged this vivid picture of helpless humanity slipping to eternal torment, to "the kind of hell an infinite God would arrange who was infinitely enraged against a human being who had infinitely sinned in rejecting God's infinite love." Dr. Watts, the hymnologist of England, read the sermon and in a letter to Prince of Boston says: "I think Mr. Edwards' sermon on the Danger of the Unconverted is one of the most terrible representations I ever read." It is an index of the state of mind of the time that Watts' letter is quoted as a recommendation in an advertisement of the published sermon. Such sermons played the same part in the reading of the day as tales of mystery and murder do in our own.

The movement spread with great rapidity after 1740, due not only to the influence of Mr. Edwards, but to the visits and inspiration of Whitefield and to the rise of a whole group of itinerant evangelists. Ministers left their parishes and following the example of Whitefield and of Wesley went on long tours, everywhere meeting with the same response. "Men of no learning and of small capacity took up the work of exhorters; babes in age as well as in understanding; chiefly young persons, sometimes lads or boys, women and girls, even negroes." In spite

of the conviction that man of himself could do nothing, and that assurance could come only by the free gift of God, people were urged to press into the Kingdom.

You can and you can't,
 You shall and you shan't
 You will and you won't,
 You'll be damned, if you don't.⁴

This is the way in which an enemy of the movement described what has come to be known as the Edwardean paradox.

Under the preaching of such doctrines, there were startling physical manifestations. One of the ministers says, "The bodies of some of the awakened are seized with trembling, fainting, histerisms, in some few women, and with convulsive motions in some others, arising from that apprehension and fear of the wrath of God they are convinced they are under and liable to because of their sins. They have a quick apprehension of the greatness and dreadfulness of this wrath before they are affected."⁵ A minister named Parks, pastor of the church at Westerley, R. I., describes the preaching of the Rev. James Davenport at Stonington and says: "There was an outcry all over, caused by a deep conviction of sin." The Rev. Joseph Park preached to an Indian congregation. "I attempted," he said, "to preach from second Corinthians 6: 2, but was unable to continue my discourse by reason of the outcry." Tennent, one of the most enthusiastic of the evangelists, writes in a letter to Whitefield of his own experience in a letter dated from New York, April 25, 1741. "The shock was rather more general at Charlestown. Multitudes were awakened and several received great consolation, especially among the young people, children and negroes. At Cambridge, in the college and town, the shaking among the dry bones was general and several of the students received consolation. . . . There were also several awakened in Portsmouth, in Greenland, in Ipswick Hamlet, Marble Head, Chelsea, Malden, New Town, Rosebury, Plimouth, etc. (Note

⁴ Charles G. Finney, "The Tradition of the Elders," p. 557.

⁵ J. Robe in "The Christian History" for 1743, p. 6.

that there is no mention of Salem). . . . In and about Mr. Davenport's place there is a great commotion. Multitudes are under soul concern and I hear that he is very warm. From Horse Neck to York beyond Boston there is in most places a greater or less degree of soul concern."

It is not much wonder that, with manifestations such as these, the movement aroused questioning in the minds of many people. The ministers seem to have resented the visits to their parishes of itinerant evangelists, who came uninvited and seriously disrupted church after church they visited. I can find nowhere except in Whitefield's Journals and in brief notices of his visits any account of the movement in Salem, and I am inclined to attribute this to the probable attitude of the ministers of the day. Many ministers did not like Mr. Whitefield or his methods and were suspicious of the whole movement. Dr. Chauncey, minister of The First Church in Boston, and President of Harvard College, published in 1743 his criticism of the whole movement called "Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England." The errors of the revivalists, according to Chauncey, are first an appeal to the emotions. He was particularly disgusted with the behavior of Mr. Davenport. He tells how on one occasion during his preaching Davenport "stripped off his upper garments, jumped up into the seats and leaped up and down some times and clapped his hands together and cried out in these words, 'The fight goes on; the devil goes down, the devil goes down' and then betook himself to stamping and screaming most dreadfully and what is it more than might be expected to see people so affrighted as to fall into shrieks and fits at such methods as these."⁶ Davenport was brought before the General Assembly in Connecticut on the following charge: "That he endeavored by unwarrantable means to terrify and affect his hearers. 1st. By pretending some extraordinary discovery and assurance of the very near approach of the end of the world. 2nd. By the indecent and affected imitation of the agony and passion of our Blessed Saviour, and also by voice and gesture of the

⁶ Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 561.

surprise, horror, and amazement of persons supposed to be sentenced to eternal misery. *3rd.* By a too peremptory and unconditional denouncing damnation against such of his auditory as he looked upon as opposers, vehemently crying out that he saw hell's flames flashing in their faces and that they were "Now! Now! Now! dropping down to Hell."⁷

The effect of his preaching was what one might expect. Often the distress of his hearers, "their trembling, fainting and falling down grew tempestuous and dreadful until most of his hearers were affected." Those seized with such manifestations were brought together often in such meetings to the front of the church, while the preachers, in the words of an observer, "stamp, smite and cry out loudly and in a terrible manner and language while the poor creatures screech, faint and cry bitterly." "Sometimes," Chauncey says, describing Davenport, "he put a mighty emphasis upon rather unmeaning words and delivered a sentence of no importance with a mighty energy." The effect was as great as if the most awful truth was brought to view.⁸

Chauncey's second charge was that of censoriousness. He blames Whitefield for beginning this, but it spread with great rapidity. Ministers or other persons who did not favor the movement and support it were unsparingly condemned. Dr. Chauncey collects out of one sermon by Tennent, "notwithstanding his character by Mr. Whitefield as a mighty charitable man," a list of the slanderous names freely bestowed upon the body of the clergy of this generation. "Hirelings; Caterpillars; Pharisees: Men that have the Craft of Foxes and the Cruelty of Wolves; Plaistered Hypocrites; Varlets; The Seed of the Serpent; Foolish Builders whom the Devil Drives into the Ministry; Dry Nurses; Dead Dogs that cannot Bark; Blind Men; Dead Men; Men possessed with the Devil; Rebels and Enemies to God; Guides that are Stone Blind and Stone Dead; Children of Satan that like their father may do good to Men's Souls by Chance Medley; Daubers with

⁷ Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 561f.

⁸ Hayes, "American Journal of Psychology," Vol. 13, p. 564.

Untempered Mortar; moral Negroes; Salt without savor that stink in the nostrils of God and Man; Judases whose chief desire is to Finger the Penny and Carry the Bag"; etc., etc., etc. Davenport was accused in Boston of such censoriousness and one of his prayers delivered on Copp's Hill was quoted in Court: "O, Lord, I will not mince the matter any longer with Thee. Thou knowest that I know that most of the ministers of Boston and of the country are unconverted and are leading their people blindfold to Hell." He was not at all the only person so censorious. In 1744 Whitefield was refused access to Harvard College, and a resolution of the faculty described him as an "uncharitable, censorious and slanderous man."

Chauncey also charges the leaders of the movement with a claim of immediate inspiration. Verses of scripture, dreams and visions, unusual imaginations were taken as messages from God. Davenport on one occasion attempted to cure a distracted and dumb woman. He went solemnly to her house in procession and prayed over her, finally announcing a day on which she would recover. It happened that she died on that very day, but Davenport claimed that she was delivered by being received to heaven. One itinerant evangelist named Barber came to the town of Oldman, Connecticut, and settled down there in idleness "until he was grown very fat and ragged," alleging that he must stay as long as the cloud abode upon the tabernacle.

Such surrender to delusion was extremely dangerous. In the town of Northampton for a time there was an epidemic of suicide. One man had cut his throat in a fit of melancholia and others kept hearing voices which would say, "Now is a good time to cut your throat. Do it now." And other expressions of a like sort. Most had sense enough to realize that if these voices were supernatural, they were bringing messages from the devil, but a number seem to have taken them in another way. Edwards set himself firmly against such illusions and tried, as Paul did under similar circumstances, to draw attention to the fact that Christian practice, not extravagant,

emotional experience, is the real test of friendship with God.

Chauncey's next objection was to the itinerant preaching. The lay exhorters became a great nuisance. At Yale there was in the early forties a state of continual disturbance. The students started out in evangelistic bands touring the country. They were "greatly spirited to save souls, but wanting furniture." They and other itinerants always turned to abuse of the ministers who did not welcome them and many churches were seriously disrupted as a result.

I have already called attention to the silence of contemporary records with regard to the movement in Salem. There is no doubt of the spread of the contagion to this community, but it was certainly not favored by the ministers who were settled here during that period. A meeting was proposed in Boston in the year 1744 or 45 of ministers who favored it and those unable to attend are asked to report by letter their opinions. The papers were collected and published under the name of "The Christian History" by Thomas Prince. None of the Salem ministers responded.

Whitefield, on his return from a trip along the North Shore, in the early part of October, 1740, preached three times on the common with considerable effect.⁹ We have already noticed that Rev. Peter Clark of Salem Village was on a former occasion greatly impressed. Mr. Clark was one of the ablest ministers of his day in this vicinity, a Dudleian lecturer at Harvard in 1763. The Rev. John Cleaveland of Chebacco was an enthusiastic supporter. He was in 1758 chaplain of Col. Bagley's regiment in Abercrombie's Expedition. He was a man on the whole of excellent judgment and independent mind. The ministers in Ipswich were also friendly to the movement. We cannot doubt but that the same manifestations that accompanied the revival elsewhere were familiar to our ancestors here, and that many of them were swept along on the full tide of this emotional movement. I cannot, however, find that it produced any permanent effects and

⁹ Boston News Letter, 1740, Nos. 1905, 1908.

judging by the silence of the local ministers I infer that it did not have their official approval.

By 1750 the movement had waned. In Northampton the reaction set in in 1744. The church turned violently against Edwards and finally drove him from the pulpit. From 1744 to 1750 there were no applications for membership. The same reaction set in throughout the entire country. Davenport publicly apologized for his behavior and particularly for his censoriousness. So far as the churches were concerned, there was a period of religious apathy. This was due in part to the fact that the colonies were absorbed in the struggle with France and with England. There is, however, no doubt but that the natural reaction from the emotional debauch of the great awakening also played its part.

In attempting to estimate the movement as a whole, we must not lose sight of the fact that there were many genuine reformations of life. One interesting account is contained in a letter "from G. D. to W. N. at Biddeford," dated Boston, November 22, 1740, and quoted from the "Glasgow Weekly History" in the Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. 53, Page 200. It is the story of a gentleman who hated Whitefield, but one day in his own house thought he heard him preaching. He followed the sound and came upon one of his negro slaves, who for his own edification was imitating one of Mr. Whitefield's sermons. The man listened with great amusement and some time later when he was entertaining a few friends at dinner and the pipes and wine were brought, he had the negro come in and repeat the performance. The negro gave an excellent imitation of Mr. Whitefield, finally coming to the exhortation, "I am now come to my exhortation and to you my master after the flesh. But know I have a master, even Jesus Christ my Saviour, who has said that a man cannot serve two masters. Therefore, I claim Jesus Christ to be my right master and all that come to him, he will receive. You know master you have been given to cursing, swearing, and blaspheming God's holy name, you have been given to be a drunkard, a whoremonger, covetous, a liar, a

cheat, but know that God has pronounced a woe against all such and has said that such shall never enter the Kingdom of God. Except you shall repent, you shall likewise perish." "The negro spoke with such authority," the account continues, "that struck the gentlemen to heart. They laid down their pipes, never drank a glass of wine, but departed every man to his own house and are now pious sober men, but before were wicked persons."

I suspect that this account is not strictly historical but many such tales were told and were believed partly because such reformations did take place. There is no doubt about the fact that many men under the preaching of earnest persons like Edwards, even under deluded charlatans, like Davenport, had their lives organized about a new center. I think that most of us would believe, however, that these reformations were purchased at too great a cost in emotional stability and in the standing of religion among men of intelligence and sanity. The clergy of New England never regained the dominant position they held before the movement began.

We may well ask why the movement made so little impression in Salem. The mass of the people here were as much affected by Whitefield's preaching as were those in other places, but the leaders of the community stood aloof. Their aloofness, no matter how they may have explained it, was probably due in part to the vivid memory of the witchcraft delusion and its horrible results. Men still in active life during the decade from 1740 to 1750 would remember Judge Sewall's recantation and apology and the shame that attended the recovery from the madness of those terrible days. The community had experienced a purgation of those emotions on which the fear of the supernatural rests. This is not the whole explanation. Salem men were beginning in those days the sea ventures which were to have so glorious a future. They were not helplessly exposed to destructive forces beyond their control. They had achieved the emotional stability which comes from successful activity and a hopeful future.

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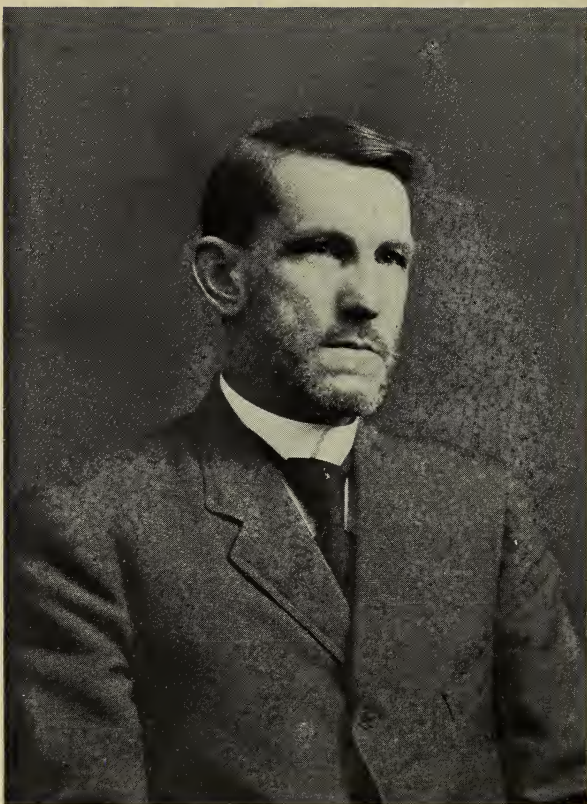
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I can think of no more appropriate word of Scripture on which to base our thought this afternoon than that of Jonathan, son of Saul, to David, his friend: "Thou shalt be missed because thy place will be empty."

This friend of ours who lives in God will be widely and sorely missed in many relationships and associations. Born in the nearby town of Boxford, a member of an old and honored family of that town, he has been intimately known in this neighborhood all his life. In early manhood he entered the profession of law and for something over forty years practiced in this, his adopted city. While he won recognition in general legal practice and as the author of a number of standard works on law, his largest professional labor was along the lines indicated by the bent of his nature and his lifelong study.

Mr. Perley was by instinct and training an historian. While familiar with wide ranges of history and the author of books and articles testifying to his attainment in those fields, his peculiar and compelling interest lay at home. Anything which had to do with Salem or Essex County, touching fundamental features or concerns of life, enlisted his powers of thought and research. Early in life he told the story of the great storms which had swept the Atlantic seaboard. His knowledge of the early maritime history of Salem was wide and accurate.

He was an authority with reference to the streams of life flowing in the Puritan period of our American history. In his contribution to the history of these and other fields which engaged his interest and which need not be mentioned here, there is one characteristic which stands out with impressiveness, namely, he saw everything in the light of human interest, and his concern in every realm of investigation and historical writing was dictated by that element in his personality.

Here we have the key to the man and his life work. And as we look further into the story of his activities and labors we find this analysis confirmed. His chief vein of interest had to do with friends and neighbors and localities and old-time human things. From this soil grew all the wider manifestations of grasp and power as an historian. While still a youth, in fact before his twenty-first birthday, he produced a history of his native town of Boxford, which dealt with old land concessions, land transfers, the opening of farms, the building of homes, the curve of old highways, the story of families, and this is the kind of thing to which he was preeminently devoted throughout his life. In this work Mr. Perley was a man of prodigious industry and marvelous painstaking. He was in sympathy with and employed the modern scientific principle of basing all deductions and interpretations on facts. In his field facts were largely found in records. These he was assiduous in collecting and through his determined and unrelenting industry he gathered from official documents in our town and county institutions masses of authentic historical material which forbid anyone ever to think of approaching him in this field. It is a cause for thankfulness that Mr. Perley has given the public the benefit of his researches in local history. In the publication of his digested and tabulated findings he has laid the city of Salem, Marblehead, Danvers and others of our surrounding towns under a debt beyond computation.

But it ought to be said in this final word—and appear in our estimate of this servant of our neighborhood—that Mr. Perley never rested in merely ascertaining or stating

a fact. He possessed in unusual degree each of the two faculties rarely seen in combination, the power of intensive observation and mastery of the specific, and the power to generalize therefrom. So he was not content to transcribe records from old tomes, but he saw all the details brought before his mind interpenetrated and transfused with the light of human significance. He reproduced in his imagination the people of whom the records told him. He loved to identify and see the actual places which rose up before him in the dim and musty papers of the olden time. He was never happier than when exploring field and forest in quest of long-hidden places of habitation or in following the obscure path of some forgotten "way." In other words, the friend whom we today honor was a man of poetic insight and spiritual understanding.

Like Robert Browning's "Grammarian," who, while others devoted themselves to Greek drama or Greek philosophy, was content to spend his strength and years in the apparently uninspiring study of Greek grammar, yet saw, beyond the minute things of that ancient and beautiful language, the spiritual realities of which they were part and symbol, so our friend, in spite of the seemingly humdrum and dry-as-dust character of much that he gave himself to with such loyal patience, was able to give specific and particular facts, small though they might be, their place in the human story and to invest them with the glory and the gleam. In fact, none but a poetic soul could have been induced to do the irksome work which he carried through the years, at once with determined persistence and passionate devotion.

Mr. Perley left a noble outcome of his life's labors in the three large volumes of the history of Salem from his hand, the last of which came from the publishing house just as he was stricken with his final illness.

These books are invaluable, not merely for their presentation of the history of our city with the personal touch of Sidney Perley in the determination of fact and its interpretation, but will serve through all the future as a priceless repository of historical data for students of the beginning and development of Salem. He often said that

he hoped he would live long enough to complete the fourth volume, thus bringing the tale of his beloved city down to the close of the Revolutionary War, where she faced the opening of our national period. Again, he frequently expressed the hope that, following the comprehensive work, it might be granted him to prepare a popular history of the city of about two hundred pages, for the inspiration of school children and the people at large.

We feel the deepest regret that those things could not be. For, while the city of Salem and towns of the vicinity are rich in men and women of profound historical interest and keen historical insight, we yet feel that Mr. Perley, in his particular field, stood alone. Others have their work to do. We would that he might have completed his. For, in his chosen sphere, he has left no successor. There come naturally to mind, in this connection, the words of Edwin Markham regarding the death of Lincoln:

“And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a lordly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.”

Beyond his clear-visioned and poetic interest in history, Mr. Perley was a militant spirit in the world of civic concerns. As a young man he bore a large part in the contest for national prohibition of the liquor traffic, a contest into which he flung himself with the abandon of a devoted knight. I believe that practically his first public speaking was done in the name of the political party organized to promote this great reform. He never lost his interest in matters civic or political. While recognizing the obstacles of human inertia and self-will to any needed changes, the ultimate idealistic outcome he always believed in and fought for. He cherished the hope that the American people might come to conceive their destiny as one of service, appointed unto them by the Divine Ruler. In 1921, having miraculously found time, in the midst of his multifarious legal and historical activities, he issued a little book under the title “Service,” in which he drew out from the pages of Scripture the developing manifes-

tation of the self-giving God in his tutelage of the Hebrew race and the crowning embodiment in Jesus of Nazareth. This of itself is not noteworthy except as revealing Mr. Perley's own nature and disposition. But he went on to indicate, with loving insight, the similar office filled by the Salem colony and the possible application of underlying Puritan principles in sacrificial and redemptive work for mankind seemingly appointed by Divine intent to his beloved America.

But above and beyond the loss sustained by the public in the death of Mr. Perley, what we feel today the most keenly is our sense of personal bereavement.

He will be missed by his friends. And they were many. It has been a common remark since his passing, "I shall miss Mr. Perley." This feeling is pervasive because he was a man of sincerity and friendliness himself. One who discovered and brought to light the human interest of old-time incidents as he did could not fail to care for people of his own day, whether in the mass or as individuals. He illustrated the working out in life of Emerson's statement, "If you would have a friend you must be one." He had friends in unusual numbers because of his own inborn love of men. In conversation, while not "carrying his heart upon his sleeve," he was not afraid to reveal the genuine interest he felt in "the other fellow." He had an electric spirit which kindled response in the mind of a companion and, where two were at one in the matter of the moment,

"Fancy light from fancy caught
And thought leapt out to wed with thought
Ere thought could wed itself with speech."

One of my clearest memories of him will be the eager light of his eye, the lift in his soul, the ring in his voice as, with boyish abandon, he pounced upon some discovery in some land transfer two hundred years ago of significance to his quest, or found, opening before him through the lanes of an old wood, traces of some ancient highway which he knew must be there but which no other living man had ever detected. No better companion for

a day's exploring could ever be found for one who cared for such things.

Mr. Perley was notably helpful to others engaged in his kind of work and lavish of time and sympathy. He was always ready to put aside his own employment to aid even the amateur, provided the amateur knew what he wanted to find and had sufficient skill to recognize and coördinate facts. More than once he has given a whole half-day in helping to solve some problem of mine. With his own tasks calling, and with his time worth money, he seemed to care nothing for the gliding away of the hours. He would go through his immense files as eagerly as though the point sought were indispensable to his own researches. As one who stood just on the border of the field in which Mr. Perley won preëminence, I can truly say that I shall miss the guidance of his informed and willing spirit.

There was in Mr. Perley a deep vein of religiousness which he revealed to those who were close to him. He would from time to time turn away even from the absorbing things of ancient local history or an investigation in hand to the yet more important things of spiritual reality. He had a vital appreciation of walking with God and the place of conscious fellowship with Him in the life of men. He loved the old hymns, the great passages of the Bible and the sweet story of divine love. He felt that the emphasis of the modern church should be, not so much upon things of a material or outward sort, as the inner richness which comes from the life of God in the heart of man.

As regards the place of our friend in the affections of those with whom he was joined in the circle of the home, wife, son, daughter, I feel it is not fitting for me to attempt to speak. Such things are too sacred to find utterance here. I will only say that if we, his many friends, shall feel from time to time a loneliness of spirit through his absence, how much more shall they! May the comfort of their possession through memory and their satisfaction in his earthly accomplishment outweigh their sorrow and lend also the compensation of exultant thanksgiving.

At a time like this we look beyond the things we see.

“The things which are seen are temporal but the things which are unseen are eternal.” This soul which we have never seen, though it has been revealed to us by “human hand and lips and eye,” the love that has “hoped and endured and been patient;” the vital spirit at the voice of which our own have kindled; these live, we believe, not only in our hearts and minds and in the life of the world made better by their presence, but in sentient integrity in the land beyond. We have the promise of the Master for this—and the promise of God in our own souls set forth in the words of Alfred Tennyson:

Glory of warrior, glory of orator, glory of song,
 Paid with a voice flying by to be lost on an endless sea—
 Glory of virtue, to fight, to struggle, to right the wrong—
 Nay, but she aimed not at glory, no lover of glory she:
 Give her the glory of going on, and still to be.

She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
 To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky:
 Give her the glory of going on, and not to die.

Let us turn now at the last from these thoughts which crowd upon us and the many other elements of characterization which must be left unexpressed, to words from Mr. Perley's own hand. Let them tell us of his trust and vision and of the spirit which has pervaded his life.

THE EBB OF LIFE

The tide has turned! An hour ago
 I seemed upon its flood to be;
 But now the ebb begins to flow
 And slowly moves me out to sea.

The tide has turned! How long it seemed
 Since reaching manhood's early prime;
 Life knew no bounds; I scarcely dreamed
 That I was limited by time.

The tide has turned! I worked and planned
And lived and thought as though the day
Would always last; but from the land
The waters bear me now away.

The tide has turned! Old friends I had
Have on the former billows gone;
Alone I start, thoughtful and sad;
Oh, favoring wind, speed thou me on!

Behind I leave but little now;
Seaward I turn without regret;
My only fear, that I allow
Too much of earth to hold me yet.

Oh, glorious day, when earth and sense,
Their limitations I shall flee;
No more to learn my impotence!
Nor want be longer known to me.

Oh, precious day, when love is free,
And he that lovest most is king;
And naught exists to hinder me
From any noble thought or thing.

IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND, 1700-1775.

BY ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 72)

- HOGAN, Dennis, of ———, R. I.; from Limerick, Ireland, before 1775; b. cir. 1751.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 28.
- HOGG, George, of Salem, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1732; dug a well for Judge Benjamin Lynde.—*Benjamin Lynde's Journal*, p. 33.
- HOGG, Joseph, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, cir. 1754; son of James Hogg; m. Mary Moor, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Gregg) Moor; Children: Thomas, William, Hugh, James, Agnes N., Mary, Sarah; the four sons changed their name to Moor in 1803.—*Cochran's Francestown*, p. 757; *Woodbury's Bedford, N. H.*, p. 947.
- HOGG, Robert, of New Boston, N. H.; from Ireland, cir. 1754; b. 1732; son of James Hogg; m. Margaret Gregg, of Londonderry, N. H.; Children: Mary, Susan, James, Robert, Margaret, Samuel, Joseph, Thomas, John, Nancy; d. 1795.—*Cogswell's New Boston*, p. 423; *Woodbury's Bedford, N. H.*; p. 311; *Cochran's Francestown*, p. 756.
- HOGG, Robert, of Boothbay, Me.; from Great Britain in May, 1764, with John Leishman, who was born in Falkirk, Scotland.—*Greene's Boothbay*, p. 478.
- HOLBROOK, John, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1710; int. m. Mary Gross, Sept. 13, 1710.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 32.
- HOLDEN, William, from Dublin, Ireland, husbandman; b. cir. 1710; volunteer against the West Indies, 1740.—*Colonial Wars*, 1899.
- HOLE, Henry, of Ashburnham, Mass., (afterwards Hall); from Germany, cir. 1750; b. 1711; m. Anna Mary Saunders, in Germany, d. 1802, aet. 76, (will, she signs as Mary Hall); Children: Mary, John, Henry, Katherine; d. Oct. 14, 1794, aet. 83.—*Stearns Ashburnham*, p. 727; *Worcester Probate, Series A*, 26489.

- HOLGRAVE, John, to New England; from Haslingdon, Lancashire, 1699, in the "Virginia," Edmund Ball, Master; twenty-eight years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 64, p. 259.
- HOLLAND, Col. Stephen, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1775.—*Parker's Londonderry*, p. 107.
- HOLMAN, Solomon, of Newbury, Mass.; from England, before 1703; b. cir. 1672; m. Mary —, b. cir. 1683, d. Oct. 18, 1736, aet. 63; Children: Elizabeth, John, James, Sarah, Ruth, Rachel, Sarah, Anna, Thomas; d. May 7, 1753, aet. 81.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 1, pp. 226, 227; Vol. 2, pp. 236, 237, 617.
- HOLMES, Abraham, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, in ship "Elizabeth"; warned out Nov. 3, 1719; m. 1. —; m. 2. Mary Morrison; Child: John; d. 1753, aged 70.—*Parker's Londonderry*, p. 277; *Secomb's Amherst*, p. 634; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 63; *Documentary History of Maine*, p. 20.
- HOLMES, Rebecca, of Boston, Mass.; from New York, 1723; warned out, Feb. 19, 1723.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 110.
- HOLT, Simon, of Boston, Mass.; from Philadelphia with his wife, 1710; gardner; warned out, Jan. 1710.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, pp. 99, 100.
- HOLTON, Rowland, of Boston, Mass.; "from London in Demerra, merchant," 1720 (Demerara?); warned out Oct. 28, 1720.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 76.
- HOLTZAPPLE, David, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me.; from Germany, cir. 1760; went to North Carolina after 1770.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 67.
- HOMES, Rev. William, of Chilmark, Mass.; from Strabane, Ireland, 1715; b. 1662; m. Katharine Craighhead; Children: Robert, John, Margaret, Jane, Agnes, Elizabeth, Margery, Katherine, William, Hannah; d. 1747.—*Rev. Wm. Homes' Diary*, Ms. owned by the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.*
- HONEYMAN, James, of R. I.; from New York, 1702-3; "clerk"; "formerly chaplain at New York, and is now going chaplain to Rhode Island," 1708.—*Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 34.

- HOOD, David, of Marblehead, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1723; m. Elenor McFarland, also from Ireland, at Marblehead, Nov. 27, 1723; Children: Margaret, Breed(?).—*Marblehead Vital Records, Vol. I, p. 269; Vol. II, pp. 219, 582.*
- HOOD, James, of Pelham, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1738; m. Easter Gray, 1747, d. 1811; Children: 2 sons and 2 daughters (Jennet? Jonathan? Nancy?) record torn.—*Parmenter's Pelham, p. 17; Pelham Vital Records, p. 47.*
- HOOPER, Henry, from Bristol, England, 1716; Surgeon.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 29, p. 233.*
- HOOPER, John, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Apsum, Great Britain, before 1716; m. Mary Waldin Dec. 13, 1716.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 23, p. 393.*
- HOOTON, John, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1719; int. m. Sarah Wye (see John Curril) June 5, 1719; Children: John, John, Thomas, Sarah, Richard, William, Joan.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 28, p. 98; Vol. 24, pp. 144, 151, 160, 171, 182, 193, 203.*
- HOPE, James, of Portland, Me.; from Stoke Damerell, Devonshire, cir. 1762; m. ———, and had one daughter.—*Smith's and Dean's Journal, p. 210.*
- HOPKINS, ———, of ———, Me. (see William); m. Jenny Morison of Sheepscoot, Me.—*Morrison's Windham, p. 595.*
- HOPKINS, Christopher, of Newcastle, Me.; from Devonshire, England, before 1778; m. 1. Mary ———; m. 2. Abigail Newbit, 1778; Child: William.—*Cushman's Ancient Sheepscoot and Newcastle, pp. 391-2.*
- HOPKINS, Edward, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Appledore, Devonshire, before 1720; m. Joanna Ball of Berwick, Me., May 3, 1720.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 24, p. 14.*
- HOPKINS, James, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, 1720; m. Mary ———; Children: John, James, Robert.—*Morrison's Windham, p. 595; Cochran's Antrim, p. 542.*
- HOPKINS, John, of Windham, N. H.; from Ireland, 1730; m. Elizabeth Dinsmoor; Children: James, Margaret,

- John, Robert, Nancy or Molly, Ruth; died after February, 1779.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 589; *Cochran's Francestown*, p. 762; *Cochran's Antrim*, p. 542.
- HOPKINS, Robert, of Windham, N. H.; from Ireland, 1720; m. 1. Elenor Wilson; m. 2. Martha —; Children: Elizabeth, Sarah, James, Robert, Boyd, Elenor.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 595; *Cochran's Francestown*, p. 762; *Cochran's Antrim*, p. 542.
- HOPKINS, Solomon, of Boston, Mass.; wife and one child from "Pencilvania," 1722; warned out May 26, 1722.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 101.
- HOPKINS, Thomas, of Portland, Me.; from Axminster, England, 1784; Children: James D., Thomas, and three daughters.—*Smith's and Dean's Journal*, p. 252.
- HOPKINS, William, of Newcastle, Maine (see Hopkins, —), from Ireland, before 1735; Children: Jenny, Patty, Solomon; d. in Canada, where he had been carried by the Indians.—*Cushing's Ancient Sheepscot and Newcastle*, p. 319.
- HORNE, Robert, of Marlborough and Framingham, Mass.; from Flanders, before 1723; m. Elizabeth Maynard, daughter of Simon Maynard, Aug. 7, 1723; Child: Robert.—*Temple's Framingham*, pp. 596, 597; *Marlborough Vital Records*, pp. 94, 266.
- HORNEY, David, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Gallway, Ireland, before 1720; m. Elizabeth Broughton, Nov. 1720.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 14.
- HOUDELETTE, Charles Stephen, of Dresden and Frankfort, Me.; from France cir. 1752; lace weaver; b. 1707; Child: Louis; d. 1784, at Pownalboro, Me., aet. 77.—*Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 2d Series, vol. 3, p. 351; *Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, pp. 6, 7.
- HOUDELETTE, Louis, of Dresden, Maine; Huguenot from France, cir. 1752; b. Sept. 8, 1746, son of Charles Stephen Houdelette; m. Mary Cavalear, Jan. 31, 1770, b. Nov. 15, 1748; d. 1835.—*Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, pp. 1, 6, 7, 8.
- HOUDEN, William, of Petersborough, N. H.; from Eng-

land, cir. 1775; m. Sarah Barnard, of Lynn, Mass., and settled in Salem; Children: William, John, Sally, Polly, Thomas, Betsy, Betsy; d. 1829, in Bristol, Vt.—*Smith's Peterborough, part 2, p. 122; Salem Vital Records, Vol. I, p. 454.*

HOUSTON, Robert, of Andover, Mass.; from the North of Ireland, in the ship "Elizabeth," at Boston, 1719; warned out, Nov. 3, 1719.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 13, p. 60.*

HOW, Richard, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, in 1716; glover.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 29, p. 232.*

HOWARD, James, of Augusta, Me.; from Ireland, before 1736; b. 1702; m. 1. Mary —, d. 1778; Children: John, Samuel, Margaret, William; m. 2, Susanna (—) Cony, 1781, who m. 3d, William Brooks; Children: Isabella, James; d. May 14, 1787.—*North's Augusta, p. 882.*

HOWARD, Mary, of Boston, Mass.; from London, 1727; warned out April 15, 1727, warned out July 11, 1727.—*Suffolk Court Files, 20510; Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 13, p. 167.*

HOWEL, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1716; int. m. Eliza Player, March 19, 1716; forbid by Stephen Perks.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 28, p. 95.*

HUGHES [alias Freeman], Henry, of East Haven, Conn.; from Wales, 1748; b. 1723; m. Lydia Tuttle, 1749; Child: Henry.—*Amer. Ances., Vol. 3, p. 189.*

HUGHES, Hugh, to New England; from Anglesey, Wales, 1699, in the "Virginia"; nineteen years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 64, p. 260.*

HUGHES, John, of Windham, N. H.; from Great Britain, during the Revolution; m. Mehitable Buzwell, of Kingston, N. H.; Children: William, Elizabeth, Sarah, Anna, Polly, Barnet, John, Hannah, Mehitable, Margaret; d. 1819, aged 75.—*Morrison's Windham, p. 596.*

HUGHES, William, of Boston, Mass.; runaway from Boston; "born in Ireland, about 28 years old, a brick

- layer, of short stature, brown complexion, his hair of a blackish brown colour, with the ring finger on his left hand bent inwards."—*Boston News Letter*, Nov. 25-Dec. 2, 1717 [advertisement].
- HUMPHRIES, Edward, of Scituate, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1740; m. Anna Sandlin, int. Oct. 3, 1739; Children: Margaret, Edward, Richard, Mary, John.—*Dean's Scituate*, p. 290; *Scituate Vital Records*, Vol. I, p. 187, Vol. II, pp. 155, 398.
- HUMPHREY, Lawrence, of Georgetown and Topsham, Me.; from "the Cove of Cork," Ireland, by way of the West Indies, cir. 1780; b. 1757; m. Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, 1788; Children: Mary, Sally, Nancy, John Campbell, Daniel, Eliza, William, Margaret; d. 1835, in Topsham, Maine.—*Wheeler's Brunswick*, pp. 839, 840.
- HUMPHREY, William, of Windham, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, 1719; Child: William.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 603.
- HUNT, Thomas, of Salem, Mass.; from Waterford, Ireland, before 1770; m. Susanna Jefferds [widow], April 3, 1770.—*Salem Vital Records*, Vol. 3, p. 529.
- HUNTER, Daniel, of Boston, Mass.; with his wife, "Irish people from small point" [Small Point, Maine], warned out Apr. 26, 1723.—*Suffolk Court Files*, 16816.
- HUNTER, George, of New England; from Morn, near Newry in County Down, Ireland, in 1707.—*Boston News Letter*, June 10, 1717.
- HUNTER, James, of Cornish, N. H.; from Scotland, before 1770; Children: James Sumner, Lucy, Hannah, and perhaps others.—*Child's Cornish*, Vol. II, p. 217.
- HUNTER, Jane, of Boston, Mass., spinster; from Dublin, 1721, in the brigantine "Anne and Rebecca"; m. Edward Dixson, Dec. 18, 1722.—*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 105; *Court of Sessions of the Peace*, 1715-18, Vol. 1, p. 117; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 106.
- HURD, Nicholas, to New England; from Pousonby, Cumberland, 1699, in the "Virginia"; nineteen years old,

- with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 64, p. 260.
- HURST, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1720; int. m. Margaret Pope, Aug. 26, 1720.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 98.
- HUTCHIN, Zachary, of Boston, Mass.; from New York by land, with his wife and two children, Oct.-Nov. 1717; butcher; warned out, Dec. 23, 1717.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 32.
- HUTCHINS, Anne, of Boston, Mass.; from Newcastle, Great Britain, 1721.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County*, 1719-25, Vol. II, p. 124.
- HUTCHINS, Parley, of Stratford, N. H.; from Edinburgh, Scotland, in the British Army, 1774; settled in Connecticut; Child: Parley.—*Thompson's Stratford*, p. 395.
- HUTCHINSON, Henry, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1710; int. m. Margaret Syle, July 20, 1710.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 32.
- HUTCHINSON, Henry, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1710; int. m. Mary Ranger, Sept. 14, 1710.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 32.
- HUZZEY, John, of ---, R. I.; from Armagh, Ireland, before 1777; b. cir. 1727.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 34.
- HYER, Conrad, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me.; from Germany, cir. 1760; b. April 10, 1749; d. Feb. 19, 1856.—*Portrait in the Church, Waldoboro, Maine*.
- HYSLOP, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Scotland, cir. 1740; b. Humley Parish, East Lowden, Scotland, cir. 1714; m. Mehitable Stoddard; Children: James, William, David, Elizabeth; pedlar; "In 1746 he lodged at the house of Mr. John Williams at the sign of the Three Sugar Loaves, King Street; d. 1796.—*Bolton's Brookline*, p. 28; *Ancient and Honorable Artillery Co.*, p. 74; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 24, pp. 277, 282, 287, 291; *Boston News Letter*, May 29, 1746.
- INGRAM, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Lisbon, before 1752; mustard-maker, near Oliver's Dock, Boston.—

Boston Gazette, Sept. 19, 1752; *Old-Time New England*, Vol. 18, p. 39.

- IRISH, James, of Falmouth, Maine; from England, 1711; m. Elizabeth —; Children: John, Miriam, Joseph, Elizabeth, Thomas, James, Thomas, William; d. in Gorham, Me., aged 53.—*McLellan's Gorham*, p. 583.
- JACKSON, John, of Boston, Mass.; from England, Aug. 1716; "Joyner."—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 10.
- JACKSON, Stephen, of Providence, R. I.; from Kilkenny, Ireland, cir. 1724; b. 1700.—*Murray's Rhode Islanders*, p. 29.
- JACKSON, Thomas; from Ireland, cordwainer; b. cir. 1716; volunteer against the West Indies, 1740.—*Colonial Wars*, p. 1899.
- JACOB, Daniel, of Dresden, Me.; from France.—*Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 18.
- JACOE, Denis, of Dresden, Maine; from France.—*Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 18.
- JARVIS, Freeman, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Great Britain, before 1736; m. Mehitable Hatch, of Charlestown, in Portsmouth, Dec. 23, 1736.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 26, p. 377.
- JAMES, William, of Warren, Maine; from Ireland, cir. 1735; b. 1689; m. Catherine Cunningham; Children: William, Patrick, Phebe, Fanny, Catherine, Anna, Joseph; d. Oct. 29, 1770, aged 81.—*Eaton's Warren*, p. 401; *New Ed.*, p. 559.
- JAMESON, Hugh, of Dunbarton, N. H.; from the Isle of Man, or from Colraine, Ireland, on the sloop "Molly," cir. 1740; son of William Jameson of Belfast, Ireland; m. 1st, Chrystal or Christine Whitehead, of the Isle of Man, d. cir. 1788; m. 2d, Jane McHenry, widow of John Barr, of Londonderry, N. H.; Children: Jane, Elizabeth, Rosina, Esther, Martha, son, d. e., son, d. e., Molly, Alexander, Daniel, Hugh, Peggy, Sarah, Thomas; d. 1790.—*American Ancestry*, Vol. 3, p. 29; *Hadley's Goffstown*, pp. 233-4.

JEROULD, see Gerould.

JEWEL, Philip, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from "the Parish

of Yanton in ye County of Biddeford," before 1739; m. Elizabeth Wilkinson, Nov. 8, 1739.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 26, p. 380.

JIRAULD, Reuben, of Cornish, N. H.; from France, "at the time of the Huguenot wars"; b. 1734; settled first at Plainfield, Conn.; m. Joanna Spaulding, b. 1733, d. 1807; Children: Martha, Polly, Hannah, Sally; d. May 8, 1800.—*Childs' Cornish*, Vol. II, p. 231.

JOHNSON, Abraham, of Cornish, Portsmouth and Greenland, N. H.; from England, before 1760; m. Mercy Huggins, cir. 1760, b. 1739, d. 1815; Children: Sarah, Joshua, Hannah, John, Margaret, Rebecca, Elizabeth, Mercy, Mary, Abraham; d. October 24, 1893.—*Childs' Cornish*, Vol. II, pp. 231-2.

JOHNSON, Adam, of Pelham, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1738.—*Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 17.

JOHNSON, James, of Scarborough, Maine; from Auckley, Scotland, cir. 1732; Children: John, James.—*McLellan's Gorham*, p. 593.

JOHNSON, John, of Boston, Mass.; from London, 1737; gunsmith; granted liberty to follow his calling.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 57.

JOHNSON, John, of Shrewsbury, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1738.—*Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 17.

JOHNSON, Michael, of Londonderry, N. H., Haverhill, Mass., and Hampstead, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, 1727 or 1728; m. Mary Hancock before 1728; Children: Miriam, John, Michael, Sarah, Charles, Robert.—*Whitcher's Haverhill, N. H.*, p. 552; *Haverhill Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 183.

JOHNSTON, Thomas, of Warren, Me.; from Scotland, 1735; removed to Bristol, Me.; d. 1811.—*Eaton's Warren*, p. 85, 121.

JOHNSTON, Rev. William, of Windham, N. H.; from Mulloy Male, County Tyrone, Ireland, before 1736; b. 1710; educated at Edinburgh University; m. Annie Cummings; Children: William, Anna, Nancy, Lois, Elizabeth, Witter, Hugh C.; d. Florida, N. Y.,

- 1782.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 607; *First Settlers in Northern Worcester*, p. 50.
- JAMESON, James; called on Rev. Wm. Homes at Chilmark, Nov. 3, 1717, with John McClellam.
- JAMESON, Thomas, of Dumbarton, N. H.; from Belfast, Ireland, cir. 1740; b. 1710; m. Margaret Dickey; Children: Mary, Alexander John, Margaret, Hugh, Thomas, and one other; [see his brother Hugh Jameson].—*Cochran's Antrim*, p. 555.
- JAMIESON, William, of Portland, Me.; from Ireland, in 1718.—*Smith's and Dean's Journal*, p. 60.
- JAQUIN, George, of Dresden, Me.; from France.—*Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 18.
- JAQUIN, James Frederick, of Frankfort and Dresden, Me.; from France, via Halifax, 1702.—*Allen's Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 14.
- JECKYLL, John, of Boston, Mass.; from England, before 1733; born in England, the son of Thomas Jeckyll, D.D.; d. before January 4, 1733 ("died last Friday").—*Boston News Letter*, Jan. 4, 1733.
- JEFFERS, John; convict assigned to Apthorp and Hancock, July 18, 1747, from Wm. Cookson of Hull.—*Suffolk Court Files*.
- JEFFRIES, Charles, Boston, Mass.; sailor from South Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, to Philadelphia; from Philadelphia on sloop "Humbird," 1737; ill.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 48.
- JENKINS, Richard, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, cir. 1713; int. m. Bethia Hughs, July 27, 1713; bans forbidden by Nathaniel Dew.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 93.
- JENNESS, Job, of Rye, N. H.; from England, cir. 1750; Children: Samuel, Benjamin; drowned.—*Carter's Pembroke*, Vol. 2, p. 163.
- JEPSON, William, of Wells, Me.; from Magwater?, Ireland (Moy-water?).—*Browne's Wells and Kennebunk*, p. 313.
- JEREE, Péter, of Boston, Mass.; from "Jersie," before 1716; int. m. Anna Foosheron, May 8, 1716, "from

London with Capt. Thomas."—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 95.

- JOHONNOT, Daniel, of Boston, Mass.; Huguenot, from France, before 1700; m. Susannah Johnson, April 18, 1700; Children: Zachariah, Daniel, Andrew, Marianna.—*Temple's Framingham*, p. 610; *Boston Vital Records*, Vol. 28, p. 1; Vol. 24, pp. 3, 25, 35, 42.
- JOINER, Edward, of Sudbury, Charlestown, Leominster and Deerfield, Mass.; from Wales or Isle of Jersey, cir. 1740; m. ———, d. June 8, 1803, aet. 93; Children: Edward, Elizabeth, William; d. May, 1796, in Deerfield.—*Sheldon's Deerfield*, p. 221.
- JONES, David, of Boston, Mass.; shipwright, from London, April 27, 1727; warned out July 11 (return), 1727; m. Elizabeth Alcott, Feb. 24, 1731.—*Suffolk Court Files*, 20510; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 167, Vol. 28, p. 172.
- JONES, Edward, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, cir. 1713; int. m. Sarah Wayman, June 19, 1714.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 93.
- JONES, Eldridge, of Boston, Mass.; from London, 1741; corkcutter.—*Boston News Letter*, May 28, 1741.
- JONES, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Parish of St. Nicholas, Glamorganshire, Wales, in 1725; he brought a letter to the Parish in Boston, 1725, when he came to settle the estate of his brother, Captain Thomas Jones of Boston, captain of the "Blessing." Other heirs: brothers William and Richard, sisters Elizabeth, Cicile.—*Suffolk Probate*, Vol. 24, pp. 86, 250, 285, 617.
- JONES, John, of Newbury, Mass.; from Rochester, Kent, England, before 1744; m. Martha Mitchell, March 25, 1744, in Newbury.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 330.
- JONES, John, to New England; from Clanderry, Denbysire, Wales, 1699, in the "Virginia." Edmund Ball, Master; seventeen years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 64, p. 259.
- JONES, Margaret, to New England; from Ritchen, in

- Denbyshire, 1699, in the "Virginia," Edmund Ball, Master; thirty-two years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 64, p. 259.
- JONES, Richard, of Boston, Mass.; bricklayer, from Bristol, April, 1717; warned out June 19, 1717.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 21.
- JONES, Thomas, of Warren, Me.; from England, before 1782; Children: Hannah, Sarah, Lucy, Williams, William, Thomas, John, Mary, Elija, Rebecca.—*Eaton's Warren*, pp. 561-2.
- JONES, Thomas, of Hanover, Mass.; perhaps from Wales; m. ———; Child, Noah.—*Amer. Ances*, Vol. 3, p. 165.
- JONES, William, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Rythyn, Wales, before 1720; m. Anna Mason, of Nechowannuck, Sept. 13, 1720.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 14.
- JONG, Michael, of Broad Bay, Me. (see also Jung); from Germany, before 1764.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 64.
- JORDEN, Patrick, of Boston; from Virginia, April 27, warned out July 11 (return), 1727; a hatter from Maryland; admitted a citizen, May 3, 1727, on £100 security.—*Suffolk Court Files*, 20,510; *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, pp. 163, 167.
- JUNG, Valentine, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me. (see also Jong); from Germany, before 1782.—*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 15-A, pp. 240-2.
- JUPP, John, of Shirley, Mass.; from England, a deserter from the British army; m. Mary Simonds, int. Nov. 12, 1774, m. 2. Nathan Smith; Child: Mary; "John Jupp, Englishman," d. Dec. 17, 1780.—*Shirley Vital Records*, pp. 56, 141, 196; *Bolton's Shirley Uplands and Intervales*, p. 356.
- KALLOCK, ———, of Portsmouth, N. H. [or Kellock]; from Ireland, before 1725; Children: David, Finley; removed to Philadelphia; d. in Philadelphia.—*Eaton's Thomaston*, p. 294; *New Ed.*, p. 563.
- KALLOCK, Finley, of Warren, Me. (Kellock); from Ireland, before 1725, son of above, q. v.; m. Mary

- Young; Children: David, John, Mary, Matthew, Alexander, Margaret.—*Warren's Eaton*, p. 563.
- KARR, James, of Bow, N. H.; from Ireland, 1722; brother of John Karr of Merrimack, N. H.; killed by the Indians, 1748.—*Whiton's Antrim*, p. 59.
- KARR, John, of Merrimac, N. H.; from Ireland, 1722; m. Isabella Walker.—*Whiton's Antrim*, p. 59.
- KARR, John, of Chester, N. H.; from Bally Wollon, Ireland, cir. 1736; m. Elizabeth Wilson, in Ireland; Children: John, Mark, Joseph; d. 1792, aged 75.—*Chase's Chester*, p. 483.
- KARRICK, Bryan, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland in ship "Catherine," Robert Waters, master, before June 24, 1737; accepted as an inhabitant.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 54.
- KASSON, Adam, of Voluntown, Conn.; perhaps from near Carrickfergus, Ireland, in 1722; b. 1682; m. Jane Hall; Child: James; d. 1752.—*American Ancestry*, Vol. 3, p. 205.
- KAVANAUGH, James, of Newcastle, Me.; from Ireland, 1781; b. at New Ross, County Wexford, Ireland; m. Sarah Jackson, of Boston, d. Jan. 16, 1813; owned land and mills at Damariscotta Falls, Me.; Children: Edward, Sally, John, Margaret, Francis M., James, Winniefred; d. June 30, 1828, aet. 72.—*Ancient Sheepscott and Newcastle*, pp. 395-6.
- KAY, Brian, of Haverhill, N. H.; from Yorkshire, England, to Fort Cumberland, 1774, and later to Haverhill; m. 1. Dorothy ———, b. 1782, d. cir. 1800; m. 2. Mrs. Elsie McCormack, d. before 1810; m. 3. Mrs. Mary Smith, widow of David Smith; Children: Elizabeth, Hannah, Sarah, Anne, Jane, Bryan, Robert, Hannah; d. 1813.—*Whitcher's Haverhill*, p. 556.
- KEAIS, H^m, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Exeter, England, before 1721; m. Elizabeth Perry, Sept. 14, 1721.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 14.
- KEESE, Henry, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Exeter, England, before 1720; m. Sarah White, of Topsum, Eng-

land, in Portsmouth, N. H., May 19, 1720.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 14.

KELAH, John, of Boston, Mass.; arrived in ship "William," with wife and four children, from Ireland, 1718.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County*, 1718.

KELLEY, see also Kelly.

KELLEY, John; from England, deserter; matross in Captain Lillie's Co., 1777.—*Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution*.

KELLOCK, see Kallock.

KELSEY, Alexander, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland before 1720, with three brothers; m. Ann [Kelso?]; Children: Margaret, Jonathan, William.—*Londonderry Vital Records*, p. 77; *E. S. Bolton, Mss. History of the Kelsey Family; Cogswell's New Boston*, p. 383.

KELSEY, John, of Harvard and Shirley, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1721; m. Martha McFarland, of Lunenburg, Jan. 10, 1740, d. 1774; Children: John, Martha, Betsy; d. March 1, 1780, aet. 85.—*Chandler's Shirley*, p. 487; *E. S. Bolton, Mss. History of the Kelsey Family; Lunenburg Records*, p. 253; *Shirley Vital Records*, pp. 56, 196.

KELSO, Hugh, of Worcester; from Londonderry, Ireland, in 1718; wheelwright; m. Sarah —; Children: Matthew Gray, Jean, John, Sarah, "Shusanah," "Marey," (Matthew Gray married his daughter Jean); will probated 14 June 1737.—*Worcester Probate; Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49; *Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128; *Worcester Probate, Series A*, 34,458.

KELLY, see also Kelley.

KELLY, Daniel, of Portsmouth, N. H.; from Limerick, Ireland before 1741; m. Joan Rijan, of Limerick, in Portsmouth, Jan. 15, 1741.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 27, p. 9.

KELLY, James, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1716; joiner.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 29, p. 232.

- KELLY, Michael, of Newport, R. I., from Limerick, Ireland, cir. 1775.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 34.
- KELLY, Robert, of Newcastle, Me.; from England, 1793-5, with Captain David Otis; b. Liverpool; m. Mary Holmes, daughter of John Holmes, cir. 1809; Children: Robert, James, William, Daniel D.—*Ancient Sheepscott and Newcastle*.
- KELLYGRUE, Henry, of Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1722; m. Mary Worthylak, Sept. 12, 1722.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 107.
- KENDALL, [Mrs.] Sarah, of Salem, Mass.; from Staffordshire, England, before 1713; daughter of James Kendall, glover, of Staffordshire; m. Thomas Maule, merchant, Oct. 6, 1713.—*Salem Vital Records*, Vol. 4, p. 76.
- KENNEDY, Hugh, Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1720; m. Mary Wyer, Dec. 28, 1720.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 88.
- KENNEDY, Hugh, Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1738 (see above); m. Susanna Pico, Nov. 2, 1738; Children: Hugh, Margaret, Elizabeth, Abigail.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 207; Vol. 24, pp. 237, 240, 246, 267.
- KENNEDY, John, Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1743; m. Joanna Daniels, Jan. 12, 1743; Child: Mary.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 251; Vol. 24, p. 257.
- KENNEDY, Matthew, Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1747; m. Jane Vibert, May 21, 1747; Child: Mary.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 251; Vol. 24, p. 274.
- KENNEDY, Samuel, of Sheepscott, Me.; from Ireland, cir. 1731; Children: Jane, James, William, Agnes, Sarah, Samuel, Robert.—*Ancient Sheepscott and Newcastle*, p. 396.
- KENNEDY, William, Boston, Mass.; in Boston before 1750; m. Margaret Dalrymple, Nov. 1, 1700.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 341.
- KENNISTON, John, of Nottingham, N. H.; from Scotland, 1746, after battle of Culloden Moor; b. Scotland;

- m. — — —; Children: David, Joseph, Isaac, Joshua, Samuel, Thomas.—*Greene's Boothbay*, p. 554.
- KENNY, James, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Cadteen, County Tyrone, Ireland, before 1726; m. Lydia Linsley, Nov. 17, 1726.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 358.
- KEPPLE, James, of Salem, Mass.; from Roddingham, County Suffolk, before 1771; m. Ruth Williams, of Danvers, late of Lynn, int. Sept. 25, 1771.—*Salem Vital Records*, Vol. B, p. 564.
- KERBEL, David, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Me.; from Germany, before 1764; m. Margaret ———.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 64.
- KERWIN, Robert, of Portsmouth, N. H. and Salem, Mass.; from Newfoundland, before 1770; int. m. Mary Marrow, June 25, 1770.—*Salem Vital Records*, Vol. 4, pp. 62, 564.
- KERKWOOD, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Glasgow in Snow "Amity," in 1716, with 13 men servants; a pedlar.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 29, p. 232.
- KIBLING, or Kiblinger, John, of Ashburnham, Mass.; from Germany, before 1758; b. Germany, 1722; m. Catherine Wolfe, d. 1821, aet. 91; Children: Jacob, John, Catherine, Jane, Elizabeth, Sarah, Margaret, Hannah, Henry; d. 1771.—*Stearn's Ashburnham*, p. 778; *Worcester Probate*, Series A, 26,489.
- KID, Matthew, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1730.—*Documentary History of Maine*, p. 24.
- KILBORNE, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Antigua, 1721; a question whether he was a passenger or a sailor.—*Court of Sessions of the Peace of Suffolk County*, 1715-18, Vol. 1, p. 118.
- KILGORE, John, of Kittery, Fryeburg, and Bethel, Me.; from Scotland, before 1764; m. Elizabeth Brickett, of Berwick, Me.; Children: Joseph, John, Benjamin, Samuel, Mary, Sally, Elizabeth, Mehitable, Alice.—*Lapham's Bethel*, p. 571.

(To be continued)



CAPT. GEORGE CROWNINSHIELD, JR.

From a crayon outline sketch in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 24.)

Captain Rogers here gives some valuable sailing directions, etc., "But in fact, the coast is so full of shoals, after you get up with Battoo, &c., . . . a good lookout and the lead are the best pilots; there are no charts, neither are the Malays to be depended upon."

While on the coast, arrived at Soosoo the *Packet* from Boston, and *John Adams*, Downing, from Salem. The *William* beat the former on the passage out by 21 days; the latter, by 40 days. March 12, for America; the brig *Mary and Eliza*, of Salem, Capt. Beadle, was also on the coast to the westward.

May 7, the *William* sailed from Minjin for Europe, via Isle of Bourbon, where, at St. Denis, she arrived June 4. Here Capt. Rogers finds that many of his acquaintances and friends are dead. He may be recollected here in the *America* as early as 1804. "Take on board several hundred bales of cloves."

"June 13, 1816, wrenched and capsized the windlass. June 13, parted cable and stood to sea. 19, at 6 P. M., saw at leeward what was judged to be the light of a ship on fire, or a fire on Madagascar. Keep a sharp lookout during the night. From our run the above must have been the light of a vessel. A strong breeze. July 5, Wm. Churchill of Newburyport, a useful man, departed this life." Edmund Winchester of Boston, seaman, had also died at sea.

"July 18, by lunar observation, long. 18° E., lat. 35° 30 min. S., up with the Cape! Strong westerly current for several days; lying to most of the time. Hard gales and cross seas. Aug. 7, long. by means of two lunar observations, with Spica and Fomalhaut, 14° 33 min. W., lat. 8° 27 min., saw Isle of Ascension N. 10 leagues. Sept. 5 and 6, the Isle Pico and St. Michaels of the Azores. Sept. 19, arrived at Lisbon, Portugal—in quar-

antine 10 days, lying down the river five miles below the city. Oct. 2, sail for Gibraltar, Spain. 9th, sail from Gibraltar. 16th, windbound five days. 26th, arrived at Marseilles, France. In quarantine 15 days. Nov. 11, get pratique.

While at Marseilles, Capt. Rogers says in letters home to his wife, that he is determined not to try the climate of India again. Would probably go to Bordeaux and Havre, and take passage home in the *Mt. Vernon*, a very fine ship of Philadelphia. Is delightfully situated, happy as one can be from home, living in the family of one of his merchants, Edward Fettyplace, Esq. (Messrs. Hughes, Fettyplace & Rogers, the last of Cambridge, Mass.) Mr. Fettyplace had married a Scotch lady. Capts. Rice or Price, and Low of Salem, had given him much local news since he left a year ago, and Capt. Haraden, from Salem, Oct. 1, here at Marseilles. "Jan. 7, 1817, bought a good deal more." While there the Captain also received news from his youngest brother, William Augustus Rogers, Esq. (see notice hereafter), who had just established himself as an attorney and Counsellor at Law in Salem, that on the night of the same day he opened an office he had been burned out, had been chosen a Representative to the General Court, and also writes very particular domestic and local news—among others the death of Capt. Prince, a friend of Capt. Rogers of whom, in his letter home, he speaks with much esteem, laments his early loss, and regrets the declining health of his own mother, Mrs. Augustus D. Rogers, sending her words of comfort and consolation.

1817, Jan. 11, the *William*, under instructions of Capt. Rogers, left Marseilles for Calcutta, via Gibraltar, with \$74,000 in specie (Spanish dollars), Mr. George Batchelder of Beverly, chief officer, now appointed captain, and the clerk, Mr. Thomas Smith, joint supercargo, late president of an insurance company of Boston, about 1870, well known there in commercial circles.

Capt. Rogers' travelling passport issued from the American Commercial agency seems very strict. It is signed at Paris, March 1, 1817, with seven official en-

dorsements and seals, by Albert Gallatin, "Envoye Extr. et Ministre, &c., des Etas Unis Amerique, certifying que nomme Mons. Nathaniel L. Rogers &c., est citoyen de las Ville de Salem, &c., negotiant aliant du Havre par terre it par Paris, &c., de le laidder librement passer, &c., de lui donner aide it assistaince en cas de besoin," &c.

Now at leisure, the Captain journeyed over the country in the diligence, and met with an incident, then not infrequent, of being waylaid and overhauled by the banditti on the mountains.

As a sort of cosmopolitan residing for several weeks at Paris, with some little knowledge of the language, he could the better appreciate the advantages and attractions of that polite metropolis. There he met some acquaintances, among them residing at his lodgings a son of the noted merchant, Israel Thorndike, Esq., of Beverly, a sort of relative. Among the historical personages of great distinction, the Captain used to speak of having seen in his travels, was the naturalist, the Baron Cuvier, who honored him with several long conversations, calls, &c., with many inquiries about the Arabs, in which topic he was particularly interested. From Capt. Rogers' letters home, long since destroyed, are recollected remarks of his about receiving unexpectedly from several distinguished society people notice and invitations, usually, however, declined.

The captain's youngest brother, William Augustus Rogers, before mentioned, had previously resided here, after completing his law studies with Hon. John Pickering of Salem, having sailed thence to France, it is supposed, in the *Heroine*. He brought home thence many valuable articles and curiosities, as books, the Code, &c., music, seals, watches, and several relics he had personally picked up on the field of Waterloo soon after the battle; also his own portrait painted by the noted artist there, Vandelyn.

In the latter part of April Captain Rogers returned to Marseilles, soon embarking as passenger for Salem in the brig *Charles*, arriving home some time in May. When just off Cape Cod, she was struck by lightning, knocking

down a seaman from aloft on deck, dead at their feet,— a casualty never before occurring in his several voyages, of which this one was the finale.

[NOTE.—Brig *Charles*, Meacor, 30 days from Havre de Grace, arrived at Boston, Saturday evening (May 3). The vessel was struck by lightning, April 26, knocking a man off the main yard and severely wounding the second mate. Passenger, Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers of Salem.—*Salem Register* of Tuesday, May 6, 1817.]

After arrival home, May, 1817, Capt. N. L. Rogers continued in his commercial enterprises. In the earlier part of the year, Mr. Charles M. Forbes also arrived from the Pacific Seas and China, as some presents to the Captain's wife and other circumstances would indicate. From youth he had been assisted in his education by the Rev. Dr. William Bentley, his pastor, the Captain, his wife, and mother, who died Sept. 11 of this year, aged fifty-three years.

From the superscription of a letter directed to "Mr. Charles M. Forbes, New York, Aug. 8, 1817, ship *Indus*, Benjamin Vanderford, Master," he probably was then either just off this or on another new voyage, in which Capt. N. L. Rogers seems to have been interested. The *Indus* was insured on for Capt. Nathaniel Page of Salem between 1804-17, who, by donation to the East India Marine Society's Museum, is known thus early to have been to the Feejees, Marquesas, &c. And again, she was insured in 1817 by Mr. Aaron Wait, "round the globe," for Mr. Thomas Sanders. Moreover, Capt. Vanderford was in the *Indus* in 1820, and in 1822 in the brig *Roscoe*, of the Rogers's, at the Feejees, and for many years after captain of some of their other vessels there.

II. MADAGASCAR TRADE

In 1817, '18, or '19 Mr. Forbes was in, or Captain of, the brig *Beulah*, when for Capt. N. L. Rogers and J. W. Rogers they opened with her from Salem the first voyage and trade from the United States to Madagascar! In 1819, Mr. Forbes was Captain of the *Beulah* to Madagascar, across to the Red Sea, etc., arriving at Salem, April, 1820. She was an old vessel and made but a few trips to Madagascar, records of which, once in his possession, are lost, or mislaid. In 1818-'19, the Rogers's had built at Bradford, on the Merrimack, Essex Co., their second new brig, the *Thetis*, of which with others before mentioned, Capt. Forbes was part owner and master. He died at Majunga, Madagascar, in 1821—the first or pioneer American agent in the East Coast of Africa trade. The *Thetis* was there on her fourth voyage in 1823, and running, and was wrecked about there as late, it is said, as 1826.

Their new brig *Nereus*, built at Bradford, also in 1817-'18, was on her fifth return voyage from Madagascar, via Rio de la Plata, December, 1823, when David N. Brookhouse was master. Her first voyage had been to Calcutta; her second to Madagascar, 1819-'20; her seventh was to Genoa, Italy.

Their next new (third) brig, the *Pioneer*, built at Bradford or Newburyport, was on her second voyage to Madagascar in 1822, and continued running there and to the Rio de la Plata, in 1826, where she was seized, released, again held on appeal to the Court of Admiralty, and finally abandoned to the Insurance Company of Salem, Jacob Ashton, President. Her Captain, Jesse F. Potter, a few years afterward was lost at sea.

During these years, beside the above, they had many other craft in the Mozambique Channel — some making several trips each, and touching, it is understood, at the little ports along here on the East Coast of Africa, as far up as the Island of Zanzibar at the Channel's head. Among them certainly were the brigs *Economy* and the *Seaman* — old voyage as early as 1822 — the *Generous*,

Harbinger, Talent, Virgin, topsail schooner *Complex*, and others. Their ship *Perseverance*, Capt. William Bates, was wrecked at Majunga in 1828. Among some of their adventures—whether any of them here or not is uncertain—might be named, about 1822, the brig *Sacramento*, which had been at Providence, R. I., 1813, owned or chartered by Capt. N. L. Rogers, the *Ariadne*, along 900 miles of Madagascar and the Main, and perhaps to Zanzibar Island at the Channel's head—the charts from which surveys have been the basis of all subsequent ones of this sometimes dangerous navigation, where many a fine vessel had been lost.

On 1829-'30, Capt. Henry Leavitt, of the *Spy*, while awaiting the arrival of the Rogers's ship *Black Warrior*, to take charge of her to Madagascar, Zanzibar, the Red Sea, etc., went South for his health, and perished in a vessel foundering in a hurricane. Thereupon she was offered, with one quarter ownership and interest, to Capt. John Bertram of Salem, to those quarters; Mr. Henry F. King of Salem, his clerk. She sailed Dec. 31, Capt. N. L. Rogers, with his usual care, placing on board the Journals of the *Spy* at her leaving. She returned in 1832, making so considered "a great voyage." She was continued by the same parties to Bombay, Red Sea, &c., under John Endicott, master, for another voyage, at the end of which Capt. Bertram's ownership ceased.

After Capt. Bertram's *Black Warrior* voyage to Zanzibar, vessels went flocking from all directions, insomuch that the business became overdone, and in some cases a very losing one. But from these circumstances arose on this Island of Nomadic Arab's tents or huts the present commercial City of Zanzibar. And the Sultan of Muscat coming there for residence gave further eclat to that growing part of his dominions.

The Rogerses, after that period, had few vessels in this Madagascar-Zanzibar business—the brigs *Quill*, King, master, and Baltimore Clipper *Lady Sarah*, King, Conant and Knight, masters, in 1830-'35. And it is believed the ship *Augustus* was their last to touch there about 1837. Then they had pretty much left the trade for their new

Holland and Australia ventures; when in Sydney, N.S.W., the *Black Warrior*, in 1834-'35, was sent, under Capt. William Driver, making another equally good voyage as that mentioned under Capt. Bertram.

Capt. Bertram, however, persevered with the brig *Waverley*, of Salem, alone and with much rivalry and opposition, before and after, rather unsuccessfully, as understood, till about 1837. Then he united in this trade with Michael Shepard, Esq., of Salem, and Capt. Andrew Ward, recently in the Rogers' ships *Sheperdess* and larger *Brenda* of about 400 tons, in the Bombay, Ceylon and Red Sea trades. He had been for the Rogers's as sailor up to Captain, Supercargo, &c., for some 20 years. They, Ward, Shepard, and Bertram, continued to run the trade when, after the decease of Capt. Ward, Aug. 2, 1860, and Mr. Shepard, Oct. 10, 1856, it fell pretty much all into Capt. Bertram's hands. He, with few exceptions, as the House of Arnold, Hines, & Co., of Providence, R. I., had nearly the whole control of it until his decease in 1882, at the age of 86, and is well known to have been the richest merchant who ever lived in Salem.

As many misstatements have been made about these affairs, it can be readily perceived from the above that the Zanzibar was merely an extension of the Madagascar trade, and the foregoing is believed to be a correct account of the inception and early conduct thereof. But, doubtless, a more detailed and interesting one could be gathered by access to the instructions and correspondence of Messrs. N. L. Rogers & Bros., invariably in the handwriting of the senior partner. He used to say that he had opened it, from knowledge of these parts derived from his visits, from 1804 to 1816, to the Isle of France, Bourbon, &c., only a few days' sail, as may be seen, from Madagascar. Finally, first and last, it has been a source of much wealth to Salem.

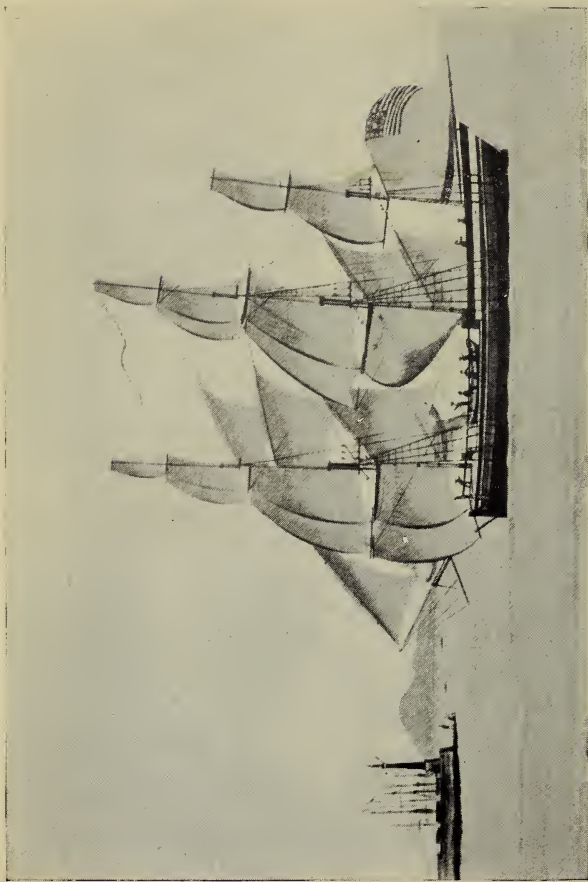
In 1817, Capt. N. L. Rogers undertook another enterprise with the ships *Tartar*, *Alexander*, *Betsy*, *Phebe*, *Fenelon*, *Roscious*, and *Regulus*.

Their new three-masted schooner *Spy*, pinkstern, Che-

bacco built, as early as 1821-22 went across from Madagascar to and home from Bombay on her first voyage. She was the first vessel from Zanzibar, Andrew Ward, master, thence direct to the United States, arriving at Salem, with a cargo, August 11, 1827. In this cargo, is said to have been the first importation, in quantity, of the now prized Gum Copal, although small lots of it had been brought in their vessels, as early as, if not before, 1822. The *Spy* returned and was sold at Mozambique to go over to Brazil. The brig *Fawn* had recently touched there only. She belonged to Robert Brookhouse, Esq., of Salem, to whom, in 1822, the brig *Climax* was consigned, whose relatives had early, as the one before named had, sailed in the *Nereus* to Madagascar.

The brig *Ann* (Henry Prince's), Capt. Charles Millett of Salem, arrived November 26, 1827, at Zanzibar, had procured a load of wheat there, carrying it over to the Red Sea; and the brig *Laurel*, belonging to Robert Brookhouse, Salem, had touched there in 1825, but was driven off, barely escaping capture to trade allowed. The *Ann* had touched there also in 1826, and probably some of the Rogers' craft previously. Both these vessels have claimed the honor of first hoisting the American flag there. But it belongs to neither; for it is said a Capt. Josiah Roberts, of Portsmouth, N. H., who died on his passage from Rio de la Plata in 1809-'10, first flew the stars and stripes off that Island. He had been First Lieutenant of the frigate *Flora* in 1783, and discovered a group near the Marquesas, where he built a vessel. At first they were called for him the Roberts, afterwards the Washington Islands.

Mr. Henry Leavitt in the *Spy*, then Supercargo and Agent of the Rogers's, under Capt. Andrew Ward, about 1826, first surveyed the Mozambique Channel between them to Bombay. By an agreement in writing signed by him to John Andrew, Esq. (who was an uncle of the late War Governor, John A. Andrew of Massachusetts), he sells him one-sixth of said ship and voyage. He was considerably interested with the Rogers Brothers in their



SHIP "SALLY," OF SALEM

Built at Boston in 1803. 322 tons.

From a water-color probably made in 1803 at Palermo or Genoa

little vessels at this time. At her sailing, Sept. 9, he was owner with the three elder brothers, Richard S. Rogers, master, &c.; and their youngest or the fourth brother, "William Augustus Rogers, Esquire" (who now gave up his law profession in Salem) was joint supercargo; Mr. Meacom of Beverly, chief officer. On her second voyage to Calcutta, &c., said Meacom was master; W. A. Rogers, supercargo. She was now owned only by the two elder brothers, and perhaps on a third voyage with the same officers.

About 1821, William Augustus Rogers sailed as captain of the brig *Texel*, to Siam, one of the first and few Americans to visit there, where he died of a fever in 1821, aged twenty-nine. He had been fitted at Dummer Academy, Byfield, Essex County, for Harvard College, and graduated in 1811, with a class of great distinction. He was at Paris a while in 1814-'15; afterwards studied and practised law in Salem, and belonged to the Lodge of Free Masons.

The brig *Texel* of 275 tons, so named from the island of Texel, Netherlands, was built in Quincy, Mass., 1816, perhaps for John W. Rogers, who as sole owner in 1820 sells one-fourth to N. L. Rogers; and probably the captain, W. A. Rogers, was interested in the other. She had been either before or after 1820 and '23 to Havana from New York, to Antwerp, Hamburg, &c., and was running in 1825, to the Mediterranean, Charles Hill, master.

He then became the master of their ship *Black Warrior*, bought new, on the stocks; next of their larger new ship *Crusoe*, 350 tons, to China, Russia, &c., built by Mr. Elias Jenks in South Salem in 1828. Capt. Hill died, as understood, at Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, about 1855 to '60, very wealthy.

On her third voyage, the *Crusoe* was commanded by Capt. George Putnam of Salem, formerly of the *Black Warrior*, Bryant P. Tilden, Esquire, supercargo; she sailed early in January, 1831, for Batavia, Manila and Canton. While at Manila, just getting underway for Canton, she was driven ashore by a sudden typhoon,

far up on the sandy beach, and abandoned—a great loss to her owners. Whereupon the Spanish Governor of the Island turned out the natives, who, digging a canal or trench, buoyed her off uninjured. She was then named the *Bueno Sucesso*, and sailed under Spanish colors; was at Valparaiso, Chile, in 1841-'42, and at Bangor, Me., U. S. A., about '55. She was last heard of through a Salem sea captain, who relates that walking on a wharf at San Francisco (Cal.) one day, he saw a dismantled vessel, with the above Spanish name, but, to all appearance, of "Yankee build." Going on board, his conjecture proved correct; and aside on the wharf, some way off, a set of sea and weather beaten old plank revealed the faded remains of a carved "Robinson Crusoe, his man Friday, goats, &c." This once was the costly gilded stern-board (so attractive to the "small boy") of the ship he had been launched in some thirty years or more before. She was broken up and buried—a part of the filling up for enlargement of the wharf there.

Another commercial enterprise of Capt. N. L. Rogers, in 1817, was the building, at Bradford on the Merrimac, of the brig *Nereus*, to sail in. For supervision, he rode three or four times weekly from home at daylight in an open sleigh during one of the coldest New England winters known. In the spring of 1818 about ready for launching, there occurred "the great freshet," sweeping down the river everything before it—bridges, houses, barns, fences, etc.—the ice of two feet thickness piling in fearful heaps, and the water rising 22½ feet above high mark.

The brig thus lifted off the stocks, tumbling about, was lodged some distance in a field. By skillful management, however—the tying together of some iron bars or rods lying near—attaching to and thus lengthening out her cable—she was made fast to an apple tree and finally buoyed off in safety.

Notwithstanding this mishap she made out to buffet all the elements the seas over for thirty years. Not placed in her intended trade to Madagascar, across to Bombay, &c., until the second voyage (where she went

1819-'20), on her first she was chartered to Calcutta—one-half by Capt. Jones Neal, the owners, Nathaniel L. Rogers and J. W. Rogers, retaining the other half. Then, as is stated, among other freight, she carried out seven hundred thousand (\$700,000) Spanish dollars, or specie.

Besides many other voyages to most other quarters, the last of Messrs. N. L. Rogers and Brothers, and her 21st to India, or around the Capes, was from Salem, in October, 1841, via the Sandwich Islands, to Oregon, then disputed territory. Thence from Columbia River with her catch of salmon proceeding to Sydney, N.S.W., there she opened in 1842 the first trade from the Pacific coast of the United States, as their ship *Tybee* had opened the first from the United States from Salem on the Atlantic side in 1832. In commemoration of the completion of this 21st voyage, on her return to Salem in 1843, one of the few, she wore (a nautical usage) "her freedom suit" of silken colors.

With her Captains, many a name familiar here is associated — Bowditch, Brookhouse, Chapman, Endicott, Farley, William and David A. Neal, Skerry, Ward, Woodbury, and others. Some may more readily recall those of her sailors, or the gentle missionaries, great numbers of whom the Rogers' vessels often bore to the "Coral Strand."

But for their unnecessary suspension in business, and other untoward circumstances in 1842, Salem probably would have had the first voyage thence from the United States direct to San Francisco. The writer has now in possession several rare unprinted charts of that harbor, gifts, which Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers was using soon after the above sailing of the *Nereus*, for that immediate purpose.

The *Nereus*, was, after 1843, owned and run to Cayenne, S. A., for several years, by the Messrs. Fabens of Salem.

III. FEEJEE ISLAND TRADE

At the Feejee Islands, the Messrs. N. L. Rogers and Brothers were engaged in the early trade from Salem, and between 1820-'30 seem to have had there more business than any other house from the United States. Who first commenced it, it is now difficult to ascertain. It is known, however, always to have been pretty exclusively a Salem one, insomuch that the natives supposed for a long time that there was no other place of consequence outside their Insular world!

Many a vessel roaming the Pacific from the United States after the peace of 1783 (some owned or partly owned in Salem), from the west coast of America to the Sandwich Islands, as far as China, or below the Marquesas and New Zealand, doubtless must have touched if not traded there. The first evidently from Salem seem to be Capt. Nathaniel Page (perhaps in the *Indus*) in 1812, and Capt. William P. Richardson, who in the brig *Active* sailed from Salem June 1, 1810 to the Isle of France, thence to the Feejees, remaining till July 26, 1811, thence to China, arriving home April 29, 1812, selling at "war prices" and making a very great voyage.

The next found at the Feejees is the *Indus*, Benjamin Vanderford, master, in 1817, with whom was found young W. C. Forbes, before mentioned as the pioneer captain and agent in the pioneer trade for the Rogerses. At this period, Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers is supposed to have been the first interested in this business; and in 1817, on this or the next voyage, the *Indus*, as has been mentioned, was insured for Mr. Thomas Sanders. She was at the Feejees, Benjamin Vanderford, master, in 1819; and again, in 1822, of the brig *Roscoe*, he was master there, for the Rogerses. Their ship *Clay*, Benjamin Vanderford, master, was there two voyages, perhaps as early as 1826, and perhaps before; and again in 1830, when Capt. Charles H. Millett carried her up to Manila with the wrecked crew of the brig *Fawn*, belonging to Robert Brookhouse, Esq., of Salem.

A story is told of the veteran, Capt. Benjamin Vander-

ford, at the Feejees, that a council of war by the cannibals once adjudged him not fat enough for a roast, and so he was released.

The principal articles procured at these islands seem to have been beche-de-mer, edible bird-nests, and tortoise shell. In China (where the Rogerses sent the second cargo ever sent from the Feejees) the beche-de-mer is called trepang, being prepared from the holothurians, which are classed between the echinoderms and the vermes or worms. The price varies from 10 to 50 cents a pound. The food of all these animals consists of marine mollusks of the sea. They are called "sea cucumbers." The late Capt. William Driver has said in writing that he cured, after buying, the first four cargoes ever cured by white men: two for the *Clay*, Vanderford, master; one for the *Quill*, Joshua Kinsman, and one for the *Charles Doggett*, himself master—all these vessels being owned by the Rogerses.

Captain Driver and his comrades first learned how (after stripping them off the reefs), from a set of Manila pirates living at the Island of Amboyna, of whom they bought some sugar boilers, which had belonged to the brig *Conception*, Hosea Boyes, — all hands murdered. Without these boilers, says Capt. Driver, as they had nothing larger than a dinner-pot on board, the voyage would have been a failure. One of these voyages of the *Clay*, thence to China, is said to have been a "fine one" of \$60,000. The old ship, afterwards a whaler, could be recalled by stage coach and other travellers as lying some time a hulk at the Lynn wharf, abreast the Salem and Boston turnpike, about 1832-'33.

Capt. Vanderford died in 1842 on board the United States South Sea Exploring Expedition under Commander Wilkes, of which squadron he was the pilot in that and the Pacific Seas, and to his merits and valuable services the Commodore pays a full tribute of due praise.

IV. THE SOUTH SEA TRADE

Nearly a century ago, to be exact, on October 8, 1832, when certain portions of Australia were best known as English penal colonies, a Salem ship, owned by Salem merchants and commanded by a Salem ship master, opened the trade between America and what is now a great and thriving continent in the South Pacific Ocean. The vessel was the ship *Tybee*, the owners, Nathaniel L. Rogers and Brothers, and the master Capt. Charles Millett. That careful annalist and historian, the late Joseph B. Felt, whose *Annals of Salem* have been published in two volumes, was of the opinion that the *Tybee* was not only the first vessel from Salem to that distant land, but also the Columbus of the fleet from America. It will not be the purpose of the compiler of these articles to debate the question, but rather to present such facts as he has found in searching ancient records, and to allow his readers to judge.

The *Tybee* was a small ship of 298 tons register, built in Philadelphia in 1829. She was owned by Charles Millett, master, and John W. Rogers of the firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers. The vessel cleared from the Salem Custom House, April 27, 1832, according to the shipping papers signed by William W. Oliver, deputy collector of customs, with the following as the entire ship's company:

Master, Charles Millett, Salem.

Mate, George W. Lamson, age 32 years, height, five feet six inches. (A story of the murder of Mr. Lamson will appear later.)

Second Mate, John Lambert, Salem.

SEAMEN

John B. Williams, Salem, 20 years, six feet one inch.

Fred Madgwick, foreign, 24 years, five feet seven inches.

John Pickoe, foreign.

William Saunders, Charleston, 26 years, five feet seven and three-quarters inches.

Thomas Staples, Deer Isle, 22 years, five feet ten inches.

William Williams, Salem, 23 years, five feet seven and one-half inches.

David McHoane, Waterford, 23 years, five feet eleven and one-half inches.

Silas Chetts.

William Willey, Conway, 20 years, five feet nine and two-thirds inches.

Steward Irvin Williams, Baltimore, five feet.

Cyrus Abott, Salem, 24 years, five feet five inches.

The two last named were black; the others white men. All returned to Salem, with the exception of Frederick Madgwick, William Willey and Silas Chetts, who deserted during the voyage. John White, William S. Cary and L. C. Cartson were shipped in their places.

The vessel arrived back in Salem, February 21, 1833.

Captain Millett was born in Salem in 1793, and was consequently thirty-nine years of age when he started on this voyage. Eight years previous, in the brig *Ann*, owned by Henry Prince & Son and himself, he made a voyage to Pulo Penang, Sumatra, and return to Salem. In 1826 in the *Ann*, he went to Mocha, Lamoo, back to Mocha and arrived home in Salem, May 9, 1827, this being the real opening of the trade between Zanzibar and Salem. He also made several voyages in the Sumatra trade, and engaged in the trade to Madagascar, Feejee Islands, Australia, New Holland, Canton, Manila, Islands in the South Pacific, and other ports. A sketch and a tribute to Captain Millett may be found in Volume One of the series on "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages," published by the Essex Institute, and also in the Historical Collections of the Society.

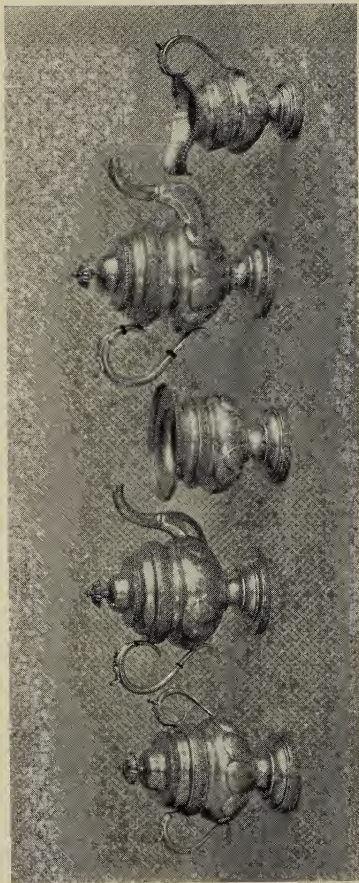
The report of Captain Millett, when he arrived home October 20, 1833, published in the Salem Register, was as follows:

Oct. 20, 1833.—Arrived—Ship *Tybee*, Charles Millett, from Sydney, New South Wales, June 8, by the way of Cape Horn. Left no Am. vessels. . . . The *Tybee* was beating off Cape Horn against N. and E. winds for 15 days, got as far S. as lat. 61 55, and the lon. of 67 32 W. Saw large ice fields extending from S. to W. as far as the

eye could extend from the masthead.—Touched at Pernambuco, 15th ult., sailed same day. Left the *Verges*, Buckman, for Boston, 3 ds; *Leonidas*, Dearborn, Alexandria 3; *Pegasus*, Young, Philadelphia loading. Spoke, 7th inst. lat 24 48, N. lon. 59 30, W. brig *Baltimore*, Towne, 14 days from Para for this port, was in co. 2 days. Passed 15th, in the Gulf Stream, lat. 37 47, lon. 65 13, a two-topsail, shew no colors. Yesterday, Cape Cod bearing WbS 1-2, 35 miles distant, passed a bright sided ship beating in, which shew a signal, white field, one blue and one red corner, and 3 blue balls in the white. Passed a brig standing out of the South Channel, with the letter L in the foretopsail.

The firm owning the *Tybee* was composed of Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, John Whittingham Rogers and Richard Saltonstall Rogers. They were all highly educated, of the finest type of gentlemen, and during the progress of these articles sketches will appear of every one of them, as well as of Augustus Dudley Rogers. To the last named, still remembered by many citizens, the reader is indebted for a large portion of this story written many years after the voyages, and which will no doubt interest all.

The brig *Charles Doggett*, Capt. William Driver, sailed from Salem, January 14, 1831 for the Feejees. She had a perilous run off, over or on the edge of Georges Shoals—five of the six sail in sight going down with all their crews, and the sixth returning (crew saved), going ashore, to pieces! The vessel seems to have been saved for the performance of a special mission, most creditable to American commerce. She arrived out at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, June 5, thence, on July 16, at Matavai Bay (of Capt. Cook), Isle of Otaheite or Tahiti. Six months previously the Pitcairn Islanders had been brought and left there by the British Government (with no orders for further removal), to save them from destruction threatened by frequent droughts at their native isle (only six by three miles area), and their rapidly increasing numbers. And for



SILVER SERVICE PRESENTED TO CAPTAIN MILLETT OF THE BRIG " ANN "

Inscription :

Reward of Merit

To Captain Charles Millett. Presented by the

Insurance Companies

In Salem, May 16, 1829

Now in possession of his grand-daughter, Mrs. John Pickering

the same reason, in later years, nearly all have been removed to Norfolk Island in the Pacific.

On the *Charles Doggett's* arrival, there were at Tahiti sixty-five (twelve, the flower of the flock, having already died of fever) of these descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty* and their Otaheitan wives. They were in a deplorable, almost perishable condition, beset on every side too by the seductive vices of that tropical clime, from all of which they shrank with virtuous abhorrence.

The once beautiful Queen Pomare, then at war, on their arrival had assigned them to the village of Boby Aty until a suitable tract of land could be procured. The British Government had done everything conducing to their comfort, and in vain did the good missionaries talk to them of the God of Israel. Despondent, disgusted and homesick, "Take us back," they cried, "or we are lost!"

Touched by their situation and their entreaties to be returned, Captain Driver, at the risk of his life and his vessel and cargo, embarked them on Aug. 14, all being obliged to live upon the open deck, arriving safe Sept. 4, 1831; not daring, however, to entrust their landing except to their own most skillful surfmen, upon this almost inaccessible, sea-girt, isle.

The romantic tale of the frigate *Bounty*, under Lieut. Bligh, in 1787, needs little repetition. The thrusting into a small boat, in mid-ocean, of nineteen men and officers out of forty-four, for 47 days passing Cannibal Isles, in intense sufferings, over 3000 geographical miles, to Timour, near Java. The loss in August, 1791, of the *Pandora*, Capt. Edward Edwards, on a reef near Endeavor or Torres Straits, with about fifty men, one-half her company (the residue in open boats 18 days to Timour), while returning to England after vain search of many weeks among the Pacific Islands for the *Bounty*, with part of the mutineers captured amid the mountains of Otaheite. And the discovery, twenty years after, by Capt. Mayhew Folger, in the ship *Topaz* of Boston (a sealer belonging to Messrs. J. and T. H. Perkins), of the last surviving mutineer, Mr. Alexander Smith (alias

John Adams) at Pitcairn, with a family of about thirty, mostly children (the eldest twenty years old), whom he had brought up in the faith of Christianity! Only three vessels, all incommunicable, had passed the island during these years. And Captain Folger describes it with its surroundings as a Paradise of innocence, loveliness and virtue.

Captain Folger's account of the whole story is probably the only authentic one, several popular versions seeming too mythical and perhaps prejudiced. It may in general be found in his correspondence with his friend Capt. A. Delano of Duxbury, Mass., the noted voyager. The humane act of returning the Islanders, according to Captain Driver, has scarcely been noticed by English writers, or the Lady Beecher in her book on the subject; but surely it stands, the "saving link" in the history of Pitcairn.

In January, 1837, H. B. M.'s ship *Actaeon* visited, via Valparaiso, Bounty Bay, Pitcairn Island. Her captain, the Right Hon. Lord Edward Russell, confirms the account of the high character of the Islanders by former visitors, Capt. Folger, Sir Thomas Staines, Captain Driver, and others. From Lord Russell's remarks on the character and conduct of their chief ruler sent out by the British Government, and his right-hand man, whom he gave a hearing and dismissed at once, Captain Driver's complaints might be somewhat accounted for. Lord Russell then speaks of Mrs. Fletcher Christian (widow of the ring-leader of the mutineers) and Mrs. Adams (or Smith alias Adams), both natives of Tahiti, as yet living there, at the age of eighty-seven years. The former recollected Captain Cook on his first voyage and spoke of him with great respect. There were then left at Pitcairn a few remnants of the *Bounty*, he says, eagerly seized on as articles of curiosity, and greatly prized.

The *Charles Doggett* is positively known to have brought home from Pitcairn relics of the *Bounty* (broken up there), as pump-boxes, converted into articles of curiosities. And rudder chains, bolts, etc., also were said

to have been brought by her, which either were deposited or intended so to have been by the owners with the East India Museum, but overlooked or otherwise, they are among the missing. On this topic, Lady Beecher had some inquiry and correspondence many years since with Mr. John W. Rogers, as owner, then of Boston.

On his passage from Pitcairn, Captain Driver discovered in the vicinity of Elizabeth Reef two small islands, low and lonely, not laid down on any chart extant. One, in latitude 22.09 S., longitude 138.49 W., he named for the owners the "Rogers," and the other, in lat. 21.54 S., long. 138.37 W., the "Martha," for his wife, daughter of Mr. Christopher Babbidge of Salem. Next day, he sighted Bligh's "Lagoon Island," to prove his chronometer all right.

The *Charles Doggett* arrived home from a successful and eventful voyage in 1833. Among its fruits are recollected more than \$20,000 worth of tortoise shell, in demand at \$14 a pound, for ladies' fashionable expanding combs; little boxes of pearls of "purest ray serene," and bundles of bows and arrows, war clubs, etc., thrown aside in the old warehouse loft—rubbish which the small boy who stole up there, however, wouldn't long allow of being viewed in that dark light.

In fine, of Captain Driver, at the Feejees, it is said that he performed the first missionary service at the islands; for, on one occasion, seizing a hatchet he demolished an idol before them, at the same time preaching an impressive sermon! For this dangerous task, his knowledge of their language and their peculiarities, his rhetorical gifts and bold and energetic character especially qualified him.

In 1834 he commanded the Rogers's ship *Black Warrior* to Sydney, N. S. W., and sent her home again by his mate, "a true sailor," he calls him, Joseph Rogers of the South Shore, Mass., who returned with a cargo of flour, delivered on contract. "Mr." Rogers was afterward captain of their ship *Tybee*, to New Holland. After these also successful voyages, Captain Driver returned to Salem about 1837, and soon removed to Nash-

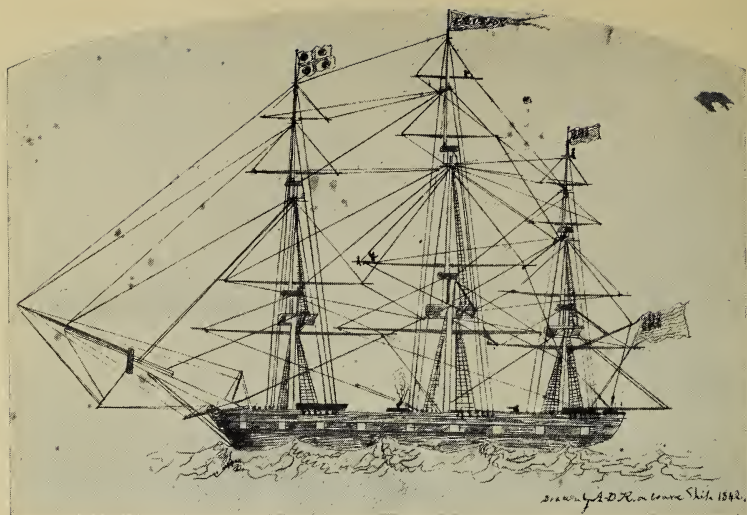
ville, Tennessee, and spent the remainder of his life. He died there March 2, 1886, aged about eighty-three years.

On the second voyage at the Feejees in 1834, while the crew of the *Charles Doggett* were upon the rocks at Kandora curing beche-de-mer, they were attacked by the natives and fled to their boats. The chief officer, Charles Shipman of Salem, and nine men were killed, and all more or less injured. The captain, George Bachelder of Salem, was chased down into the cabin, narrowly escaping in a scuffle for life. Those who escaped were taken in by boats. James Magoun of Salem, who had lived among the islanders several years, was dangerously wounded. The assailants, who had no cause for ill will, appear to have acted so murderous a part merely for the sake of plunder. The company, who had their number thus cruelly thinned, touched at the Pelew Islands, and were there attacked by hundreds of the natives. In this conflict they lost a boy, and the second mate was knocked overboard, but saved.

The brig, while making a fine voyage prospectively, was wrecked at Raratonga, and on this voyage her tender, the schooner *Albion* of 60 tons, was lost.

The ship *Clay*, Capt. Vanderford, of the Rogerses, it has been ascertained, was the first American vessel to cure and carry to China a cargo of beche-de-mer. The only one previously carried was by a Spanish brig, which returned for another load, but with all hands was lost or wrecked. Some of her Spanish dollars, strung out and worn by natives, were bartered with the *Clay's* crew for mere trifles. The trade to the Feejees before this had been chiefly for sandalwood superior in quality, of which these islands then had been about wholly stripped.

The last vessel there of the Rogers Brothers was the ship *Augustus*, in 1836-'37. A tragedy of the Feejee Islands which afflicted this good ship took place in 1836. The ship was built in Salem by Enos Briggs, was launched October 19, 1805, for Joseph Peabody, who owned her until December 7, 1833, when she was sold to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers. In 1836,



SHIP "GROTIUS"

From a drawing by Augustus D. Rogers in 1842, in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem



SHIP "TYBEE"

The first American vessel at Sydney, Australia, 1832

From a water color sketch made on board by Augustus D. Rogers

under the command of Captain George W. Lamson, she was sent to the Feejees. While there, the crew of her tender, the *Tybee*, under the command of Mr. Lakeman, her first officer, was lost in some way, among the islands. The tender was framed in Salem and carried out.

From the Feejees the *Augustus* sailed for Manila, where she arrived October 23, 1836. On the passage, the ship stopped at the Caroline Islands to trade with the natives. She remained there a few days. As Captain Lamson and a boat's crew were leaving the islands for the last time, the ship being underway and ready for sea, they were attacked by a party of natives. One of them came up behind Captain Lamson and struck him with a war club, killing him instantly. It was a brutal act, and "murder most foul." The others discharged a shower of arrows at the men in the boat, wounding several severely. Captain Lamson was born in Salem in 1800, the son of Amos and Elizabeth (Symonds) Lamson. No news was received of the tragedy until the *Augustus* arrived at Manila, in charge of the mate, Captain Lang, who sent letters to the owners in Salem, informing them of the sad news.

Captain Lamson had before sailed for the firm and was mate of the ship *Tybee*, Captain Charles Millett, master, a vessel famous in the shipping annals of Salem, when she was the first ship to open the Australian trade, as before stated. Captain Lamson was born in Salem in 1800. The *Augustus* arrived home in Salem, under command of Captain Lang, May 5, 1837, from Manila December 22, 1836, Cape of Good Hope, February 27, 1837, with a full cargo to Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers.

Mr. William Putnam Endicott was a passenger in the ship from Manila. Mr. Endicott was the father of the late Hon. William Crowninshield Endicott, who became a justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and was Secretary of War in the Cabinet of President Grover Cleveland. He was also grandfather of William Crowninshield Endicott, Jr., Esq., now of Boston.

The *Salem Gazette* said of Capt. Lamson: "In the

melancholy death of Captain George W. Lamson, we have another of those sad events peculiar to commercial towns. Capt. Lamson was a young man of great excellence of character, and much respected by all who knew him. His long absence had given his friends apprehension, which recent intelligence of his safety and speedy return dispelled. The anguish occasioned by the recent news is deepened by contrast with the hopes that had existed."

The *Augustus's* next voyage was to Sweden, Henry F. King, master. Then in 1839-'40 to New Holland, Charles D. Mugford of Salem, master. He had been a seaman of the noted ship *George*, of Salem, and first officer of the Rogerses ship *Black Warrior* to New Holland.

He was a son of Capt. William Mugford of Salem, noted in his day for saving, in a gale, by invention of a rudder, the ship *Ulysses* belonging to the merchant William Gray, Esq., of Salem. For this the Philadelphia Academy presented to him a silver medal. This sea-faring family of the Mugfords claimed kin with the famous Mugford of Marblehead who captured the 6000 kegs of gunpowder from the British, when Washington, long beleagured with the Continental Army at Cambridge for want of ammunition, it is well known, couldn't "show his hand." The residence of the Salem family of Mugfords, in 1833-'34, was on the west side of the now Grace Church, Essex Street, opposite that of Capt. Nathaniel L. Rogers, whom Mr. Charles D. Mugford accompanied in his chaise to Providence, R. I., to go on board, as mate, the *Black Warrior* then at New York.

In 1842, the brig *Gambia*, of Capt. Charles Hoffman, Edward A. King, master, who had been clerk of the *Augustus* there, was at the Feejees, via Hobart Town, Van Dieman's Land, etc. He returned to Salem in her, and was thence there again at the Feejees, in the brig *Elizabeth*, about 1844; she was lost somewhere on the California coast. Captain King trading in the Pacific became for a few years the first Harbor Master of San Francisco, during the great influx of shipping consequent on the gold discoveries in 1848. He finally died

while trading at Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1805, and his clerk, Mr. Samuel Derby of Salem, who settled at Honolulu, Sandwich Islands, died in 1855.

The barque *Glide*, formerly a ship of Salem, in 1832, and the brig *Niagara*, were both wrecked at the Feejees in a gale, the former at Talednona, the latter 140 miles distant. Mr. George Dana Lewis, an experienced seaman (who had been wrecked three times in the North Sea with Capt. Nathaniel Osgood, and at the Cape of Good Hope) when mate of the ship *Grotius* in 1841-'42, of which A. D. Rogers was clerk, used to speak of having been in the *Glide* at the Feejees. Her Captain was said to have been the occasion or subject of several cannibal councils as to a roast, but it was decided to release the prisoner, who had in many ways made himself useful and instructive. The trade in the Feejees was almost exclusively carried on by Salem parties until 1854. More about the *Glide* later.

In 1843-'44 Capt. John B. Williams of Salem (a son of Capt. Israel W.), through the influence of N. L. Rogers, Esq., was appointed by President John Tyler, and confirmed as American Consul to the Feejees and New Zealand. He had in '32 been clerk in the Rogers's ship *Tybee* to New Holland and New Zealand, was captain for other parties of a little hermaphrodite brig, the *Tim Pickering*, and the first American trading along the coast of West and South Australia. Capt. J. B. Williams was also in a vessel, Joseph Moseley of Salem, master, wrecked and plundered by natives on a reef to the south, at New Zealand.

When on a temporary visit home in 1854, to an inquiry, the Consul replied that he mingled among the natives without any sense of personal insecurity, their manners having been somewhat mollified. He also related the impression and good effect occasioned by the visit of an American man-of-war or two saluting the Consulate, and the roar of their broadsides among the islands. The Consul soon returned, and died at the Feejees about 1859.

Just before in writing thence he remarked of the

change there, at or near the place where he first resided, that he had witnessed a native captive girl of sixteen years old, tied to the trunk of a tree, and horribly mutilated in preparation for a feast, but now, in that place, stood the British missionary printing press and bookstore.

In the same year, 1832, when the Consul was clerk of the *Tybee* at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, was also His British Majesty's surveying ship, the little *Beagle*, attractive perhaps, if "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," as any of the Royal Navy. She commenced surveys as early at least as 1826, and was afloat ten years, if not at present. Her Capt. Fitzroy (Capt. Stokes being deceased) in '32 speaking of the changes there wrote, "that an Englishman on the northern part of the Island might now walk alone unmolested! . . . Then, ten years before, such an attempt would have been a rash braving of the club and oven! But now English and American farms were scattered about the Bay, and he was surprised to see natives carrying to and fro the mill sacks of flour on their shoulders. All this was due to the Church Missionary Society."

Strange, indeed, is it to witness the wondrous spread of civilization, in that last half century, chiefly by the British Empire of Victoria, with the aid of modern science, over her Island continent Australia and other vast domain in the southern seas.

The last vessel except the *Nereus* (before mentioned) the Rogerses had to New Holland was the ship *Grotius*, Charles D. Mugford, master. Of her voyage, the writer, having been clerk, may be allowed to speak more particularly.

She was the first American merchantman to double Cape Leeuwin, the southwest cape of New Holland, and the first trader of consequence along South and West Australia. Sailing from Boston, July 15, 1841, having no northeast trades, and knocking about sometime in the "horse latitudes," she became "close jammed," near Bahia on the Brazil coast. Thence had a tolerable outward passage around the Cape of Good Hope.

(To be continued)

DESCENDANTS OF ROGER PRESTON OF
IPSWICH AND SALEM VILLAGE.

BY CHARLES HENRY PRESTON.

(Continued from Vol. LXIV, page 396)

Children, born in Norridgewock, Maine:

827. FRANCIS WARREN, b. 17 May 1815.
828. SUSAN FRANCIS, b. 6 June 1817; d. in Salem, Mass., 21 June 1859; m. 1 Sept. 1840, Rev. Dexter Clapp, b. in Westhampton, 15 July 1816; he grad. Amherst 1839, Harvard Divinity School 1842, was an evangelist in New York 1843, then in Savannah, Ga. In Roxbury, Mass., 1846. East Church, Salem, Mass., 1851.
829. MARY ELIZABETH, b. 21 Jan. 1821; d. in Medford, Mass.; m. as his second wife, int. 20 Sept. 1843, George Luther Stearns, born 8 Jan. 1809, d. in New York 9 Apr. 1869. He was very prominent in time of Civil War. (For full account, see Hall Gen.) Ch.: Frances Preston, and Carl. In 1898 the widow and one son lived on Stearns Ave., Medford.
830. SARAH MARIA, b. Nov. 1822; d. 1 Jan. 1898.
831. GRACE OSBORNE, b. 25 July 1826; d. 11 Mar. 1841, in Bangor, Me.

Warren Preston graduated from Brown University in 1804. Studied law with Judge Fuller, grandfather of Chief Justice Fuller. He was one of the Commissioners on the separation of the District of Maine from Massachusetts. Was on the staff of Gov. King of Maine. He practiced law for many years in Norridgewock and Bangor and was Judge of Probate for Somerset County, Maine. "He was a man of great refinement of feeling, cultivation and liberality; very devoted to every good cause; and a pronounced Abolitionist."

VI. 415. REV. WILLARD PRESTON (Amariah, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Uxbridge, Mass., 29 May 1785; died in Savannah, Ga., 26 April 1856; married 1 Jan. 1811 Lucy Maria, daughter of Dr. Joseph and Lucy

(Devotion) Baker* of Pomfret and Brooklyn, Conn.; born in Brooklyn 23 Mar. 1793; died in Aiken, S. C., 13 Feb. 1867.

832. HENRY KIRKE, b. 30 Jan. 1814, in Northbridge, Mass.; d. 21 Oct. 1854, at Savannah, Ga. Grad. Yale College, 1836. Unmarried. "An accomplished scholar."
833. CHARLES FENTON, b. 3 April 1816, in Northbridge; d. in Savannah, Ga., 19 Nov. 1884; m. Catherine H. Bullock of Savannah; no issue.
834. JAMES WILLARD, b. 11 Aug. 1818, in Providence, R. I.
835. CAROLINE DYER, b. 28 Jan. 1821, in Providence; died in Aiken, S. C., 8 Aug. 1868; m. Andrew Yonge of England, who d. 18 June 1862. Ch.: Caroline Dyer, b. 9 May 1856; Lucy Preston, b. 17 Jan. 1858; Andrew Atkinson, b. 2 Jan. 1860.
836. WILLIAM FREDERICK, b. 23 July 1823, in Burlington, Vt.
837. CHARLOTTE MARIA DEWOLFE, b. 17 Sept. 1825, in Burlington, Vt.; d. unmarried, in Washington, D. C., 28 May 1875.
838. JOSEPH BAKER, b. 11 April 1829, in Philadelphia, Pa.
839. LUCY MARIA, b. 25 June 1832, in Savannah, Ga.; d. Mt. Zion, Ga., 6 Sept. 1861; m. Thomas S. Beman, who was killed Aug. 30, 1862, at the battle at Manassas Junction. Ch.: Willard Preston, b. 31 July 1858; Catherine DeWitt, b. 30 Nov. 1859; Edward Douglas, b. 15 Jan. 1861.
840. GEORGE GILMER, b. 8 May 1835, in Savannah, Ga.; d. 11 July 1839, in Savannah.

Rev. Willard Preston, D.D., graduated at Brown University in 1806. Received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Georgia in 1839. He first studied law and then for the ministry. He was ordained as a Congregationalist in 1811. Was in Northbridge, Mass., from 1811 to 1816; was pastor in Providence, R. I., from 1816 to 1821, then in Burlington, Vt. Was president of the University of Vermont 1825 and 1826. He removed to Georgia for the benefit of a milder climate in 1829, and officiated in Powellton, Madison and Milledgeville. In 1831 he became pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Savannah and remained there until his death. The Catalog of the University of Vermont says of him: "In 1825 Rev. Willard Preston, pastor of a church in

* See note under Dea. Amariah Preston.

this place (Burlington) was elected president; in August 1826 Dr. Preston resigned and removed into the southern states. Dr. Preston was connected with the College for so short a time that little can be said respecting his actual or prospective influence. He was a man remarkable for his gentlemanly and elegant bearing; of simple, genial and artistic tastes; and in the discharge of his public duties secured at once the love and admiration of students and of others."

VI. 417. ZEPHANIAH PRESTON (Medine, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 24 Dec. 1764; died there, 16 Mar. 1849; married there, 25 May 1786, Mary Bishop of Ashford; born 1766; died in Eastford, 21 Oct. 1858.

Children, born in Ashford:

841. NATHAN, b. 25 Oct. 1786.
 842. TABITHA, b. 12 Aug. 1788; d. 16 Nov. 1807, unmarried.
 843. REUBEN, b. 26 Aug. 1792.
 844. POLLY, b. 6 Oct. 1797; d. at Rockford, Ill., 26 Apr. 1864; m. 12 Nov. 1817, Charles Crawford; he d. at Rockford. Ch.: 1. Preston, was mayor of Rockford; 2. Louisa, m. — Holman.
 845. RHODA, b. 9 Mar. 1802; d. 25 Feb. 1889; m. 28 Aug. 1839, Samuel Sibley; Ch.: Preston Bishop, b. 25 June 1840, m. Kate B. Noble, 2 Jan. 1862. They have 3 ch. Res. Brooklyn, Conn.

Zephaniah Preston was a farmer and lived in the part of Ashford which was in 1849 set off as town of Eastford.

VI. 418. DR. STEPHEN PRESTON (Medine, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 29 Dec. 1767; died probably in Sangerfield, N. Y., 28 Feb. 1835; married Clarissa, daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Crawford) Loomis of Union, Conn.; born 19 Jan. 1772; died in Sangerfield, N. Y., 24 Feb. 1831.

Child:

846. MEDINA, b. 23 Sept. 1793.

The above is the only child known to descendants.

There was, however, a Maria Preston of Sangerfield, N. Y., married 6 Dec. 1820, Lyman Day who was born 11 May 1794 (Loomis Gen.). Also ——— Preston of Sangerfield, N. Y., m. Moses Atherton of Sunderland, Mass.; born about 1790.

“Dr. Stephen Preston removed from Ashford to Union, and later to Sangerfield Centre, N. Y. Had son Medina.” (History of Union, Conn.)

VI. 419. EZEK PRESTON (Medine, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 31 Mar. 1770 (bapt. “Ezekiel”); died in Eastford, Conn., 29 April 1859; married 10 Oct. 1792 Sally, daughter of Major Earl and Sarah (Howes) Clapp of Rochester, Mass.; born 20 Oct. 1769; died in Eastford, 6 July 1862.

Children, born in Ashford:

847. SUKEY CLAPP, b. 13 Oct. 1793; d. 21 Mar. 1795.
 848. ZEPHANIAH, b. 14 Feb. 1795.
 849. EARL CLAPP, b. 25 Nov. 1796.
 850. SALLY CLAPP, b. 31 July 1798; d. 12 Mar. 1878; m. 23 Apr. 1818, Samuel Sumner, b. in Ashford 30 Mar. 1795, d. 30 Jan. 1879. Ch.: Ossian, b. 18 Feb. 1819, who had son Arthur P., living in Providence, R. I., in 1896; Ezek Preston, b. Jan. 1821, who had dau. Minnie Preston, living in Providence, R. I.; Oliver, b. 29 Apr. 1825.
 851. RHODA, b. 14 Oct. 1800; d. 5 Oct. 1894, unm.
 852. EZEK JUDSON, b. 25 May 1802.
 853. BETHIAH, b. 16 June 1804; d. 10 Apr. 1826; m. 17 Apr. 1823, Asa Pratt, who d. 27 Dec. 1872. Ch.: Henry Preston, b. 24 July 1824, d. 9 Nov. 1866; Sarah Elizabeth, b. 3 Apr. 1826, d. 17 Apr. 1826.
 854. BETSEY, b. 3 Dec. 1806; d. 29 June 1873; m. 5 Feb. 1837, Dr. David Holmes, b. 27 Feb. 1809, d. 30 Nov. 1871. Ch.: Frances Amillia, b. 11 June 1838, d. 12 June 1838; Ellen Clarissa, b. 15 Dec. 1840, m. John A. Coleman, living (1896) Providence, R. I.; Susan Eliza, b. 24 Sept. 1842, d. 16 Apr. 1873, m. Norman N. Mason of Providence; Mary Henrietta, b. 16 Nov. 1845, d. 20 Apr. 1882.
 855. CLARISSA LOOMIS, b. 24 Nov. 1808; d. 28 Nov. 1856; m. 14 May 1835, William E. Cheney, who d. 5 Apr. 1884. Ch.: Sarah Lavinia, b. 1 Aug. 1837, d. 2 May 1853; Isabel

- Graham, b. 10 Sept. 1839, living Eastford, Conn. (1896); Francis Worthington, b. 30 Mar. 1842, d. Oct. 1894; Catherine Elizabeth, b. 31 July 1844, m. Clark E. Barrows, Norwich, Conn.; David Holmes, b. 19 July 1841, d. 28 Apr. 1847; Mary Bethiah, b. 5 May 1848, d. 5 Apr. 1849.
856. ALVAN BACON, b. 7 June 1810.

Esek Preston was a tailor in Ashford, the part now Eastford, and subsequently kept a hotel there.

VI. 420. SHUBAL PRESTON (Medine, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 16 May 1772; died at Vernon, Conn., 24 Dec. 1852; married 9 Nov. 1794 Lucretia Miner of New London; born 1 Feb. 1768; died at Vernon, Conn., 19 Apr. 1859. 20 Aug. 1796, "Lucretia wife of Shubel Preston was received into full communion with this church by letter from a church in New London. Henry Channing, Pastor." (Westford Cong. Church rec.)

Children, born in Ashford:

857. JESSE MINER, b. 8 June 1795; d. 26 Mar. 1796.
858. FREDUS, b. 15 Nov. 1796; bapt. 30 July 1797, Westford Cong. Ch.
859. ANNA, b. 24 Sept. 1798; bapt. Westford Cong. Ch.; received into full communion June 12, 1825, in Westford Cong. Ch.; d. 16 Aug. 1846.
860. ELIZA, b. 10 Feb. 1801; bapt. 7 June 1801, at Westford Cong. Ch.; d. 5 July 1803.
861. MINER, b. 24 May 1803; bapt. 10 July 1803, at Westford Cong. Ch.
862. LUCRETIA, b. 21 Nov. 1805; bapt. 23 Feb. 1806, at Westford Cong. Ch.; received to full communion 29 May 1825, at Westford Cong. Ch.; d. May 1891; dismissed to Church in Hampton, Conn., 14 Mar. 1830; m. Nathaniel Hodgkins, Jr., of Hampton, Conn.; their son, Dr. Hodgkins, was father of Grace Preston Hodgkins, an opera singer. Lucretia m. 2nd, Harvey Loomis.
863. WILLIAM STORRS, b. 15 Jan. 1810; bapt. 17 June 1810, at Westford Con. Church.

Shubal Preston was a farmer, teacher and basket-maker in Ashford, Conn. He was received into full com-

munion in the Westford Congregational Church in Ashford 25 Oct. 1801. With his wife he was dismissed to the church in Vernon, Conn., 31 July 1842 and they both died there.

Shubal Preston's family Bible has records dating back to his grandfather's birth, 1716.

VI. 424. SAMUEL PRESTON (Medine, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 14 June 1783; died in Greenport, Long Island, N. Y., 5 Mar. 1856; married in Ashford 26 Aug. 1806, Phebe Lyon; born in Ashford 15 June 1787; died in Greenport, 8 Feb. 1806; "Phebe wife of Samuel Preston received to full communion with this church, Nov. 26, 1809." (Westford Cong. Ch. rec.)

Children, born in Ashford:

864. LEVI, b. 7 Feb. 1808; bapt. 29 Apr. 1810, at Westford Cong. Church.
 865. MEDINA FITCH, b. 2 Mar. 1817; bapt. 27 Apr. 1817, at Westford Cong. Ch.
 866. SAMUEL HOWARD, b. 26 June 1825; bapt. 28 Aug. 1825, at Westford Cong. Ch.

VI. 441. JOSEPH PRESTON (Hovey, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger) born in Ashford, Conn. 4 Mar. 1787; died in Salem, Wis., Aug. 1784; married, Nabby, daughter of Cornelius and Rachel (Robinson) Colburn; born in Tolland County, Conn. 1782; died in Huron, N. Y. May 1842.

Children:

867. HOVEY, b. 20 Aug. 1809, in Ashford, Conn.
 868. RUTH, b. 1811; d. 1837, in Rose, Wayne Co., N. Y.; m. Nelson Benjamin in Westmoreland, N. Y., 1830. Ch.: George, b. 1831, d. Butler, N. Y., 186—; Louisa, b. 1833, lives (1899) in South Butler, m. Abram Caywood.
 869. SARDIS, b. 15 May 1813, in Ashford, Conn.
 870. ALBERT, b. 3 Apr. 1816, in Rome, N. Y.
 871. TABITHA PHILENA, b. 1818, in Rome, N. Y.; d. in Winona, Minn., Apr. 16, 1870; m. Leonard Van Alstine in Palmyra, N. Y., 1841. Ch.: Alfonso Wellington, b. 1843;

Charles Preston, b. 1845; Evaline, b. 1847, m. Joseph Brown; Julia, b. 1849, m. Asbury Clark.

872. WEALTHY JANE, b. 4 Mar. 1822; m. Henry Blanchard in Huron, N. Y., 1841. Ch.: Melissa, b. 1843; Mary, Henry, George. Res. Lake Villa, Ill. (1899).

873. JOSEPH SANDFORD, b. 12 July 1825, in Rome, N. Y.

Joseph Preston is supposed to have left Connecticut about 1815 and settled in Rome, N. Y.

VI. 445. ANSON PRESTON (Tiras, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 30 June 1773; married in Moretown, Vt., 11 Dec. 1806, Loascina Hume.

Tiras Preston, father of Anson, was living in Weathersfield, Vt., as early as 1793 when he sold land in Ashford and is called of Weathersfield. He probably left Connecticut between 1783 and 1785 taking his family of young children with him.

VI. 448. JOHN PRESTON (Tiras, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Ashford, Conn., 7 Sept. 1779; died 24 Dec. 1860; married Rebecca Proctor; born 1785; died 1 Feb. 1852.

Children:

874. REBECCA, b. 21 Apr. 1807; d. 15 Sept. 1867, unm.

875. JONATHAN LOVEJOY, b. 16 July 1816.

876. MARY R., b. 11 Dec. 1818; d. 4 Sept. 1843; m. Mar. 1839, William Ray.

— a dau., b. 11 Dec. 1818.

877. EDNA ELVIRA, b. 10 Jan. 1821, in Ascutneyville, Vt.; d. there 15 Dec. 1884; m. there, 6 Apr. 1850, Allen Murray; b. Cornish, N. H., 6 Nov. 1819; res. (1896) Ascutneyville, Vt. Ch.: Mary Ella, b. 12 Nov. 1852, d. 11 Feb. 1854; Emma Bell, b. 1 Sept. 1854, m. 22 Feb. 1874, Fred W. Blanchard, res. Ascutneyville (1896); Ch.: Carrie, Edna, Nellie Preston.

John Preston probably lived and died in that part of Weathersfield, Vt., called Ascutneville.

VI. 449. CLARK PRESTON (Tiras, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Mansfield, Conn., 22 Nov. 1781;

died in Weathersfield, Vt., 27 Apr. 1863; married there 6 Dec. 1804, Martha, daughter of Stephen and Mary Reed; born in Westford, Mass., 31 Jan. 1783; died in Weathersfield, Vt., 31 Mar. 1868.

Children:

878. GEORGE SUMNER, b. 1 Sept. 1805, in Claremont, N. H.; m. Kate ———; d. 22 Dec. 1854, in Newark, Ohio; no ch.
879. WILLIAM REED, b. 3 June 1807, in Claremont, N. H.
880. HENRY EATON, b. 11 Apr. 1809, in Claremont, N. H.
881. ENOS LOVEJOY, b. 11 Nov. 1811, in Weathersfield, Vt.
882. MARY ANN, b. 7 Dec. 1815, in Weathersfield, Vt.; m. Samuel Allison; living in Lawrence in 1895. Ch.: Charles, d. in Army in La.; Martha; Ellen; George, m. Nellie Preston of Dennysville, Me., 1 ch.
883. ALBERT, b. 22 May 1822.

Clark Preston was a farmer and lived in Weathersfield, Vt., although for a few years he seems to have lived in Claremont, N. H., where the first three children were born.

VI. 454. ZEBINA PRESTON (Tiras, John, Jacob, Samuel, Roger), born in Weathersfield, Vt., 30 June 1790; died there 6 July 1823; married Mary Tarbell Woods; probably born in Pepperell, Mass., Oct. 1794; died in Baltimore, Vt., 4 Sept. 1873.

Children, born in Weathersfield:

884. HENRY T., b. 18 Feb. 1818; d. 14 Aug. 1863, Springfield, Vt.
885. THOMAS, b. 23 May 1819.
886. MARY E., b. 23 Jan. 1822; m. 1846, Patrick Bryant, in Springfield, Vt.; she d. 9 Sept. 1889. Ch.: Augusta, b. Feb. 1847 in Warsaw, N. Y., m. Clinton Daniels; Ella, b. 11 May 1849, d. Oct. 1867; Wallace E., b. 15 Aug. 1850, m. Stella J. Sherwood; Wayland R., b. 16 Apr. 1853, m. Helen A. Bryant; Emma A., b. 1 Aug. 1854, m. F. Z. Preston.
887. ZEBINA, b. 14 Feb. 1824; d. 10 Nov. 1851, in Baltimore, Vt.

Zebina Preston was a farmer and lived in Weathersfield, Vt.

VI. 475. CAPT. LEVI PRESTON (Asa, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Harwinton, Conn., 24 Dec. 1762; died in New Canaan, N. Y., 5 July 1811; married first ———; married, second, Abigail ———, born 1767; she married, second, Nathan Rossiter of Williamstown, Mass., and died in Hartford, Conn., 8 Apr. 1847, aged 80.

Children by first marriage:

888. RUHAMAH, b. ———; m. 26 Oct. 1815, Abraham P. Van Vleck.

889. ASA, b. ———; m. Sept. 1817, Zilpha Parsons.

Child by second marriage:

890. DANIEL HAWLEY, b. 18 April 1798, in Canaan, Conn.

Capt. Levi Preston was a carpenter and built the Church in New Canaan, N. Y. In 1786 he sold 27 acres of land in New Canaan to Lupton Warner upon which a descendant, Anna Warner, was living in 1897.

Feb. 1817, Asa purchased a pew in the Congregational Church in New Canaan. March 25, 1825, Daniel H. Preston purchased a seat, and Widow Abigail bought a seat the same day. Mrs. Abigail Preston was dismissed from the Church in New Canaan to the Church in Williamstown, Mass., in 1827. This may be about the time of her marriage to Nathan Rossiter.

VI. 477. NOAH PRESTON (John, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Harwinton, Conn., 23 Feb. 1763; died in Camden, N. Y., 4 Apr. 1835; married, 29 Dec. 1785, Honor Rossiter; born 28 May 1766; died 22 Nov. 1847.

Children, born in Litchfield, Conn.:

891. WARREN, b. 4 Aug. 1786.

892. ROSSETER, b. 4 Feb. 1788.

893. WILLIAM RILEY, b. 4 Feb. 1790.

894. HONOR, b. 22 Mar. 1792; m. Calvin Johnston, 11 Mar. 1811.

Ch.: Rosseter, Spencer, Lorenzo, Cornelia. She died 30 Mar. 1819, in Camden, N. Y. Rossiter was b. 16 Dec. 1811, went to Cal. in 1849, and became a very prominent man in San Francisco; died in 1886.

895. CYPRIAN, b. 13 Apr. 1794; d. 26 May 1819, at Camden, N. Y., unm.
896. OLIVE, b. 1 Mar. 1796; d. 17 Oct. 1815, at Camden, N. Y., unm.
897. SABRA, b. 20 Apr. 1798; d. 17 Mar. 1863; married 1st, ——— Howell; m. 2nd, Daniel Northrop; m. 3rd, ——— Wellman.
898. LYMAN, b. 11 Apr. 1800.
899. JOHN STILES, b. 21 May 1804.
900. CHANDLER BRISTOL, b. 18 June 1806.

Noah Preston was a resident of both Harwinton and Litchfield before moving to New York State; the History of Camden, N. Y., says: "Noah Preston came from Harwinton, Conn., about the year 1800. Their large family of children were born in Conn." "One and a fourth mile from the Village . . . on the left side as you are going toward the west there used to be a long wood colored house built and occupied by Noah Preston; he was one of the oldest inhabitants and possessed qualities of industry and perseverance."

Noah Preston appears on roll of Capt. Josiah Phelps' Co., Col. Phelps' regt., pay abstract for horses, ordered on tour to Norwalk 9 July 1779 (Conn. Rev. Rolls, Conn. Hist. Coll., Vol. 8).

Noah Preston of Oneida Co., N. Y., received a pension as a private in Conn. Militia; 70 years of age in 1833. He was also in the War of 1812.

Noah Preston, his wife Honor and son William, daughter Olive and son Cyprian, are all buried in the Mexico Street Cemetery in Camden, N. Y.

VI. 479. JOHN STILES PRESTON (John, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Harwinton, 5 Dec. 1769; died there, 12 Dec. 1842; married there, 6 Mar. 1797, Aurelia, daughter of Eli and ——— (Loomis) Dewey; born Harwinton, 5 Sept. 1774; died 16 Feb. 1837.

Children, born in Harwinton:

901. MARY, b. 7 Jan. 1798; m. Nehemiah Griffin, a farmer of Plymouth, Conn.; she d. 11 Sept. 1828. Ch.: Mary, Martha, Wesley N.

902. NOAH, b. 18 Feb. 1800.
 903. MARIUM, b. 28 Dec. 1801; d. 8 Aug. 1820.
 904. ELI DEWEY, b. 28 Mar. 1804.
 905. GARDNER, b. 14 Apr. 1806.
 906. JOHN STILES, b. 3 May 1808.
 907. AUBELIA, b. 3 Feb. 1813; m. 6 Sept. 1836, Henry Bancroft of East Windsor, Conn.; she d. 13 Aug. 1884. Ch.: George E., Henry N., Miriam A., res. Forestville, Conn., Julia P., James H., Frank P., Frederick B., Alfred J., Jane A.
 907a. PAMELA, b. 3 Apr. 1815; d. 11 May 1846; m. 21 May 1839, Giles L. Gaylord of Torrington, Conn. Ch.: Caroline.
 908. JAMES JACKSON, b. 5 May 1817.

John Stiles Preston was a farmer and lived in Harwinton, Conn. He was twice Representative to the Legislature and also served as Selectman and Assessor.

VI. 480. GARDNER PRESTON (John, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Harwinton, Conn., Feb. 1772; died there, 3 July 1804; married there, 2 Dec. 1795, Berthena Upson; she married second, Dea. Ambrose Curtiss*, who died 6 Mar. 1842, aged 72 years; she was born 15 Sept. 1776; died at Farmington, Pa., 27 July 1853.

Children, born in Harwinton:

909. DEBORA, b. 24 Dec. 1796; d. 6 Oct. 1880, at Lander, Pa.; m. 28 May 1817, Spencer Johnson, a farmer who lived in Farmington, Pa. Ch.: Gardner, Andrew, Elihu Spencer, Henry, Elihu S., Maria, Calvin, Isaac, Maria Polly.
 910. NELSON, b. 7 Nov. 1798.
 911. MABIA, b. 5 Dec. 1800; d. 14 Apr. 1879; m. 3 Mar. 1819, Dea. Lent Upson, b. 27 May 1797; d. 5 May 1870. Ch.: William, b. 12 Apr. 1820; William Nelson, b. 20 July 1822; Lyman Davis, b. 19 Oct. 1824; Nancy Berthena, b. 15 July 1827; Miles, b. 9 Jan. 1830, res. Oneida, N. Y.; Eliza Jane, b. 5 June 1832, res. Ill.; Angeline, b. 19 Dec. 1834; Ashbel, b. 7 Nov. 1837; Spencer Johnson, b. 16

* Dea. Ambrose Curtiss, by first wife Lucy Doolittle, who died 29 May 1815, aged 43, had nine children: Charles Hastings, Ambrose, Hall, Oril who m. Rossiter Preston, Mabel, Amelia, Lucy and Sophronia.

Aug. 1840, res. Minneapolis; Maria, b. 7 July 1842, m. Samuel Scoville of Camden, N. Y. Dea. Lent Upson lived in Camden, N. Y.

912. RILEY, b. 5 Apr. 1803.

Gardner Preston was a member of the Legislature, Selectman and Assessor.

VI. 484. STEPHEN PRESTON (Stephen, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Conn., 1774-6; married, first in New Haven; married second, Polly Patterson of Oneida Co., N. Y.; he died in Hamilton, Madison Co., N. Y.

Children by first wife:

913. CLARISSA.

914. LUCY.

Child by second wife:

915. WILLIAM.

Stephen Preston and his brother Lewis settled in Hamilton, Madison Co., N. Y. Stephen died there, leaving one son and two daughters.

VI. 486. LEWIS PRESTON (Stephen, John, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Conn., 29 May 1786; died in Avon, Livingston Co., N. Y., 27 Apr. 1860; married in Hamilton, N. Y., 27 Dec. 1808, Susannah, daughter of Abijah and — (Porter) Snow; born in Plainfield, Mass., 14 Nov. 1785; died in Avon, 11 Apr. 1862.

Children, born in Hamilton, N. Y.:

916. ELECTA, b. 19 Nov. 1809; d. 14 Oct. 1831, in Hamilton, unm.

917. LORIN PORTER, b. 16 Mar. 1812.

918. LYMAN OSGOOD, b. 27 May 1818.

919. LEWIS ORLANDO, b. 17 Dec. 1820.

920. JULIA ANN, b. 19 Nov. 1824; m. in Hamilton, Damon Richmond; d. 18 Feb. 1854; no children.

921. SUSAN MARIA, b. 7 Nov. 1826; d. 9 Sept. 1859, in Avon, unm.

Lewis Preston was a farmer and lived in Hamilton, N. Y. In 1856, his son, Lyman O., moved to Avon,

N. Y., and the father and mother went with him and died there.

Stephen Preston, father of Lewis, removed from Connecticut to New Lebanon, N. Y., when Lewis was about six years old, and his farm is said to have joined that of the New Lebanon Shakers. After the death of Stephen Preston, his sons, Lewis and Stephen, removed to Hamilton.

VI. 496. JOSEPH PRESTON (Daniel, Joseph, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Norwich, Conn., 3 Dec. 1781; died in Brockport, N. Y., 3 Mar. 1848; married in Norwich, Conn., Oct. 1811, Sally, daughter of Philip Bowen; born in Rhode Island, 6 Apr. 1781; died in Brockport, N. Y., 24 Apr. 1830.

Children, born in Brockport, Monroe Co., N. Y.:

922. AMBROSE, b. 6 Apr. 1813.
923. PHILIP, b. 28 May 1815; d., aged about 2 yrs.
924. DANIEL, b. 28 May 1815.
925. SYLVESTER, b. 25 Nov. 1816.
926. SABRA, b. 15 Aug. 1818; d. 16 Oct. 1902; m. 28 Oct. 1852, Jonathan Men Muir, at Albany, N. Y., who d. 11 July 1900. Ch.: Ambrose Preston, b. 6 Sept. 1854, m. 23 Jan. 1895, at Albany, Mettje Arend DeBoer, res. Albany; Charles Bowen, b. 6 Sept. 1854, d. 1 July 1855; Alice Sabra, b. 31 Jan. 1861, d. 26 Nov. 1862.
927. EMILY, b. 3 June 1820; d. 31 Aug. 1872; m. Ora Cooley near Brockport, N. Y. Ch.: Fred, who d. young, unm.
928. JOSEPHINE, b. 9 Oct. 1823; d. 11 Feb. 1899, in Shell Rock, Ia.; m. in Sparta, Wis., 23 Oct. 1856, Robert Stanley; d. 28 May 1909; Robert Stanley served two years in Civil War. Ch.: William Robert, b. 14 Apr. 1858, m. Helen Rosetta Shorter, 16 May 1880; George Preston, b. 12 July 1860, m. 12 Sept. 1881, Emma Rosalie Moyer, res. Shell Rock, Ia.
929. GEORGE, b. 10 May 1825; d. 9 Nov. 1864; m. Emily Cooley, who was living in 1912 in Brockport, N. Y.; no children.
930. CATHERINE, b. 8 Apr. 1827; m. 4 Mar. 1851, Chauncey Colton Elwell, in Brockport, N. Y. Ch.: Ida, b. 5 Mar. 1854, m. 24 Aug. 1875, Edmund Sherburn Tilson, who died three years later; lived in 1919 in West Salem, Wis. Mrs. Ida E. Tilson graduated from Ripon College, Wis.,

June 1873; with her husband she did High School work; after his death she became a successful farmer and lectured on poultry culture and domestic science for twenty years in the farm institutes of more than a dozen states.

Joseph Preston was a farmer; he moved to Brockport, N. Y., on the Erie Canal, to which he gave considerable land. He was drafted in the War of 1812, but was honorably discharged because of his wife's severe illness.

VI. 497. DANIEL PRESTON (Daniel, Joseph, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Norwich, Conn., 3 Mar. 1773; married Abigail Clark; born in Preston, Conn., 5 Feb. 1788.

Children, born in Preston, Conn.:

931. ASENATH CLARK, b. 11 Oct. 1812.
 932. ELISHA AARON, b. 22 June 1816.
 933. EBENEZER C., b. 23 Sept. 1825.

VI. 499. ELISHA PRESTON (Daniel, Joseph, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Lisbon, Conn., 16 May, 1787; died there, 19 May 1873, aged 75 (G. S.); married in Lisbon, Mary, daughter of David and Susannah (Lawrence) Gorton; born in Lisbon, 3 Jan. 1795; died in Scotland, Conn., 23 June 1875, aged 80 (G. S.).

Children born in Lisbon, Conn.:

934. ELIZA JANE, b. 14 Sept. 1818; d. 1883; m. 19 Apr. 1843, Harvey G. Alexander of Voluntown, Conn., who resided in Scotland, Conn. Ch.: 1. Henry P., b. 1845, d. 1847; 2. Eliza Maria, b. 1847, d. 1865; 3. William Henry, b. 7 Aug. 1849, m. Stella E., dau. of Shepherd P. Parker, 18 June 1872, in Quincy, Ill.; ch.: (a) Lila M., b. 10 Sept. 1873, m. Wing B. Allen, Omaha, Neb., dau. Jane Elizabeth Allen; (b) Sara E., b. July 1881, m. Ashby D. Cleveland of Birmingham, Ala., in 1905, at Salt Lake City; 4. Jane Elizabeth, b. 1851, d. 1869.
935. LYDIA MARIA, b. 17 July 1820; d. unmarried.
936. DEBORAH MORGAN KILLAM, b. 18 July 1822; m. Jediah Baldwin of Canterbury, Conn. Ch.: 1. Helen; 2. Elisha P., m. Mary Ray of Norwich; 3. Mary.
937. JOSEPH TYLER, b. 3 Apr. 1824.

938. AARON LEE, b. 13 Mar. 1826.
939. TABITHA B., b. 11 Mar. 1828; m. William Ford of Norwich, Conn. Ch.: 1. Harriet; 2. William; 3. daughter.
940. SARAH ANN, b. 27 July 1830; m. Lyman Burnap of Norwich, Conn.; living in 1895, in Versailles, Conn. Ch.: 1. Mary Jane, b. 7 Aug. 1849; 2. Frank; 3. Edward.
941. MARTHA E., b. 20 July 1832; m. Charles Burdick of Willimantic, Conn. Ch.: 1. Charles; 2. Edward.
942. HULDAH PRIDE, b. 27 May 1834; m. George Lawton, magistrate, of Hanover, Conn.; no children.
943. ALFRED HUNTINGTON, b. 13 Apr. 1837.
944. ALBERT FRANCIS, b. 1840.

Elisha Preston was a farmer and lived in the part of Norwich which was in 1786 set off as Lisbon. Elisha occupied the farm of his father which was in 1912 owned by his son Alfred H. Preston.

VI. 501. SAMUEL DECATUR PRESTON (Samuel, William, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Calais, Vt., 3 Jan. 1812; died in Columbus, O., Nov. 1856; married in Montpelier, Vt., 13 July 1841, Katherine Pauline, daughter of Ira and Elsie (Short) Clarke; born in Moretown, Vt., 8 Nov. 1822; died in Columbus, O., 4 Dec. 1889.

Children born in Columbus, Ohio:

945. ELOISE, b. 1 June 1842; m. 4 Dec. 1861, George W. Sinks, a banker in Columbus, O. Ch.: Clinton Preston, b. 23 Aug. 1862, m. Leona Gibbs of Albion, N. Y.; Ann Eliza, b. 9 Apr. 1870, m. 7 Nov. 1894, Richard Jones of Columbus, O.; Frederick Nichols, b. 24 Aug. 1872, m. 28 June 1899, Katherine DeFord Thurman of Columbus; Frederick Nichols Preston was a lawyer in Columbus, O.
946. FREDERICK, b. 15 May 1844; d. aged 5 years.
947. EFFIE, b. Aug. 1847; d. Nov. 1847.
948. EFFIE DESHLER, b. 10 Jan. 1850; m. 17 Nov. 1885, Frank S. Taylor; res. Orange City, Florida.
949. ANNETTE CLARKE, b. 10 May 1853; m. 9 Jan. 1873, Alonzo B. Coit; res. Columbus, O. Ch.: Elizabeth, b. 17 Mar. 1874, m. Harry Williams of Youngstown, O.; Henry, b. 5 Dec. 1878, m. Mary E. Sample; Alonzo Preston, b. 10 Mar. 1884.

950. EVA MOORE, b. 19 Dec. 1855; d. 25 Dec. 1885; m. 25 Sept. 1882, Ben. S. Prevatt; resided Orange City, Fla.

Mrs. Eloise Preston Sinks writes: "My father went west to Columbus, Ohio, at nineteen years of age in 1831; taught school for one year; then became a dry goods merchant. Afterwards sent for his brother Lorenzo whom he installed as partner and for twenty years they were most successful business men."

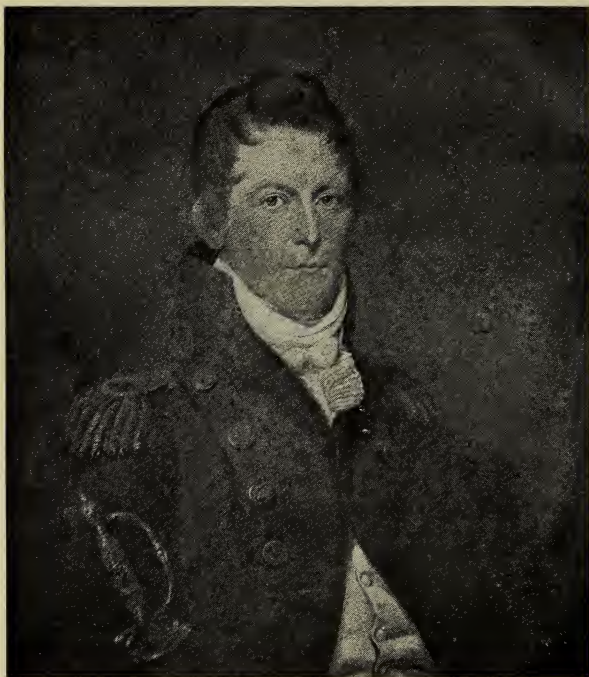
VI. 503. WILLARD BAINBRIDGE PRESTON (Samuel, William, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Calais, Vt., 9 Nov. 1815; died near Columbus, Ohio, 8 Dec. 1862; married in Montpelier, Vt., 7 Jan. 1840, Angeline, daughter of Samuel and Susanna (Hobbs) Shackford; born in Duxbury, Vt., 19 July 1820; died in Columbus, Ohio, 14 Nov. 1883.

Children:

951. HENRY SAMUEL, b. 14 Feb. 1844, in Indianapolis, Ind.
 952. ADALINE CORILLA, b. 10 Apr. 1846; m. at Columbus, O., 2 May, 1867, William D. Heyl of Columbus; d. 28 July 1894.
 953. CORA ANGELINE, b. 11 July 1847, at Indianapolis, Ind.; d. 5 Dec. 1847.
 954. ISABELLA FRANCENIA, b. 25 Apr. 1849, at Columbus, O.; m. at Columbus, O., 24 Dec. 1878, Lucius C. Snow of Montpelier, Vt.; res. Urbana, Ohio. Ch.: Ida Irene, b. 19 Apr. 1880; d. 19 Jan. 1885; Henry Preston, b. 21 Nov. 1881; Angeline, b. 19 Nov. 1884; Otto Chauncey, b. 29 July 1887.
 955. PRENTICE VINCENT, b. 3 Sept. 1851, at Columbus, O.; d. 27 Feb. 1859.
 956. IDA CORALIA, b. 15 Sept. 1855, at Columbus, O.; m. at Columbus 31 Oct. 1895, William D. Heyl; res. Columbus, Ohio.
 957. ROSANNA LYDIA, b. 18 Mar. 1860, at Columbus, O.; d. 22 Apr. 1864.

William Bainbridge Preston was a farmer and lived on a farm near Columbus, Ohio.

(To be continued)



CAPTAIN JAMES BIDDLE

OUR NAVY AND THE WEST INDIAN PIRATES

BY GARDNER W. ALLEN.

(Continued from Volume LXV, page 56.)

“The persons informed Lieutenant Hunter their vessel had been taken by armed men, the boat they were in given in exchange, with a promise of returning in a few days and restoring their vessel. The next day, off Camrioca, Lieutenant Hunter discovered a suspicious schooner standing to sea in chase of a vessel in sight. On his approach the schooner tacked and made for the shore, closely pursued by the boats. The crew abandoned the vessel and fled to the wood, where they were sought for in vain. She proved to be a pirate, mounting one gun and small arms. From the number of nautical instruments, trunks of clothing, rigging and sails, with three sets of American colors found on board, she must have robbed several vessels. From stains of blood on the clothes and other articles on board, I fear the unfortunate persons to whom they belonged must have been murdered.” Several other captures of pirates were made by vessels of the navy in October and November.¹⁰³

Commodore Porter returned to his station in the *John Adams* early in November, and on the 12th arrived at St. Thomas. Just after this occurred the episode known as the Foxardo Affair.

¹⁰³ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 255; *Niles*, November 6, 20, December 25, 1824; *Log of the Porpoise*.

VII. THE FOXARDO AFFAIR.

In October, 1824, the U. S. schooner *Beagle*, commanded by Lieutenant Charles T. Platt, lay at anchor in the harbor of St. Thomas. On the morning of the 26th, Lieutenant Platt was informed that goods had been stolen from the store of Cabot, Bailey & Co., American citizens in business at St. Thomas. It was believed that these goods had been taken to Foxardo (Fajardo), a small town at the eastern end of Porto Rico. Stephen Cabot, a member of the firm and United States vice-consular agent, requested Platt to assist in recovering the property. Accordingly the *Beagle* was got ready for sea and a pilot was taken, also a clerk of the injured merchant with a letter to leading citizens of Foxardo.

At six P. M. October 26, the *Beagle* anchored in Foxardo harbor with colors flying. "Early the next morning," Lieutenant Platt afterwards testified in a Court of Inquiry, "a boat came alongside with a message from the Captain of the port, who said he would be happy to see me on shore. I inquired whether he was acquainted with the character of the vessel, to which he replied yes. Lest he might be mistaken, I directed him to inform the Captain of the port it was the United States Schooner *Beagle* and that I should be on shore as soon as possible."¹⁰⁴

The lieutenant landed and went directly to the Captain of the port. "I informed [him] of the object of my visit and my reasons for appearing in citizen's dress, and after producing the letter addressed to Mr. Campos, he appeared perfectly satisfied with my character and directed me to call upon the Alcalde and inform him. I called on the Alcalde and explained to him my object and again produced the letter to Mr. Campos. He was perfectly satisfied with my character and appeared very much pleased that I had taken the precaution to come on shore in citizen's dress. He then stated that he had no doubt

¹⁰⁴ Porter's *Expedition to Foxardo*, 14.

that he should be able to obtain the goods before night, or ascertain where they were."¹⁰⁵

The friendly aspect of affairs then took on a change. While taking breakfast at a public house, Platt was requested to call at the Alcalde's office. On his arrival he inquired for that official, when the captain of the port demanded the *Beagle's* register. Platt replied that a man-of-war carried no register and offered to show his commission and other evidence. He was then put under arrest, but was allowed to send for his commission and uniform on board the *Beagle*. When these were brought, Platt put on his uniform and showed his commission. After some deliberation, he says, "they pronounced the commission a forgery and me a damned pirate, and ordered me to be confined in the jail." He protested, and after a short confinement was released and put in charge of a sentry. Later he was allowed to send on board for his orders, which seemed to make more of an impression. A consultation was held, which resulted in his release and return to his vessel. He then lost no time in getting under way. Up to this point, Platt's testimony before the court differs slightly, but in no essential particular, from his report to Commodore Porter.¹⁰⁶

On November 12, Commodore Porter in the *John Adams* came into St. Thomas and Lieutenant Platt informed him of what had taken place at Foxardo. Porter at once resolved to visit Foxardo and obtain redress for the insult offered to the flag of the United States and to an officer of the navy. The next morning the *John Adams*, *Beagle*, and *Grampus*, the latter commanded by Lieutenant John D. Sloat, got under way. For lack of wind they made slow progress. On account of shallow water and dangerous navigation the *John Adams* anchored twenty-two miles from Foxardo. Her boats, carrying over a hundred men, were taken in tow by the *Grampus*. The two schooners kept on through the night and early in the morning of the 14th came to anchor in Foxardo harbor, the *Grampus* off a battery on a low hill near the beach,

¹⁰⁵ Porter's *Expedition to Foxardo*, 14, 15.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 15, 16.

the *Beagle* at a point covering the proposed landing place.¹⁰⁷

A landing party, comprising about two hundred officers and men, went ashore. One of the barges was sent to attack the battery near the beach. The guns were trained in a threatening manner on the barge, but as soon as the boat's crew landed the Spaniards ran without firing. There were two guns, 18-pounders, which were spiked. Meanwhile, the main party made a landing. The men were armed with muskets, bayonets, pistols, cutlasses and boarding pikes.¹⁰⁸

Lieutenant Stribling, with a flag of truce and a letter from the Commodore to the Alcalde, was sent up to the town. In the letter Porter represented that one of his officers had been "shamefully insulted and abused in your presence by the Captain of the port, after which he was sent by your orders to prison and when released therefrom was further insulted and abused by the inhabitants of the town. . . . I leave it entirely to your choice whether you come with the Captain of the port and the other offenders to me, for the purpose of satisfying me as to the part you have all had in this shameful transaction, or to await my visit at your town. Should you decline coming to me, I shall take with me an armed force competent to punish the aggressors, and if any resistance is made, the total destruction of Foxardo will be the certain and immediate consequence."¹⁰⁹

Without waiting for Stribling's return with the Alcalde, or a message, the whole party took up the march. A guard of marines was left with the boats, under the command of Lieutenant Thomas B. Barton, the senior marine officer of the expedition. A marine guard of about twenty-five men commanded by Lieutenant Horatio N. Crabb, another officer of the marine corps, was sent ahead of the main body. On the way to the town, about a mile distant, another battery was passed, and its two guns spiked.

Within forty rods of the town, before which a body

¹⁰⁷ *Expedition to Foxardo*, 16, 17.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 16, 17, 26, 27, 28-30, 50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 93.

of sixty or seventy armed men with a field-piece was drawn up, Porter halted. In about a quarter of an hour the white flag appeared with Lieutenant Stribling, the Alcalde, the Captain of the port, and an interpreter. The Alcalde admitted the indignities offered to Lieutenant Platt, but claimed to have acted under orders. Under threat of a resort to force of arms, and at the dictation of the Commodore, the Alcalde made a suitable apology. "This being done, we proceeded down to the beach. Refreshments were brought down and we returned to the vessels," which weighed anchor and went to sea. The whole transaction consumed about three hours.¹¹⁰

The next day, November 15, Porter wrote his report to the Navy Department. An extract will give his point of view. "Indignant at the outrages which have so repeatedly been heaped on us by the authorities of Porto Rico, I proceeded to this place [Passage Island], where I left the ship and taking with me the schooners *Grampus* and *Beagle* and the boats of the *John Adams*, with Capt. Dallas and part of his officers, seamen, and marines, proceeded to the port of Foxardo. . . . I found them prepared for defence, as they had received intimation from St. Thomas's of my intention of visiting the place. I . . . sent in a flag requiring the Alcalde or Governor, with the Captain of the port, the principal offenders, to come to me to make atonement for the outrage, giving them an hour to deliberate. They appeared accordingly and after begging pardon (in the presence of all the officers) of the officer who had been insulted, I permitted them to return to the town, on their promising to respect all American officers who may visit them hereafter."¹¹¹

In a short, curt letter, dated December 27, 1824, Secretary Southard expressed his strong disapproval of the Commodore's "extraordinary transactions at Foxardo," ordered him to return "without unnecessary delay to this place, to furnish such explanations as may be required," and directed him to turn over his command to Captain Warrington. Porter replied, January 30, 1825, that he

¹¹⁰ *Expedition to Foxardo*, 16-18, 26, 27, 28-30.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 43.

would hold himself ready to justify his "conduct in every particular, not only by the laws of nations and of nature, and highly approved precedent, but, if necessary, by the orders of the Secretary of the Navy."¹¹²

After Porter's return to the United States he was summoned before a court of inquiry, of which Captain Isaac Chauncey was president. The court met in May, 1825, and inquired into his conduct at Foxardo, and later, at his own request, into his whole conduct of the campaign against the pirates. The report of the court on its first inquiry was unfavorable to Porter and resulted in his being ordered before a court-martial.

In concluding its report on the whole campaign, the court observed "that the manner in which the squadron under the command of captain Porter was employed, during the period of his command, appears to the court to have been highly honorable to him and to the officers and men; that the said forces were employed in the suppression of piracy in the most effective manner in which they could be employed, in conformity with the orders and instructions from the department; and that no part of them was on any occasion engaged in objects of inferior moment, to the injury of the public service."¹¹³

The court martial was held in July. Captain James Barron was president. Its verdict was that Captain Porter be sentenced to suspension for six months. Porter wrote a strong defence of his conduct, which is an interesting document. He drew a parallel between his actions and those of General Jackson, when he entered Florida in pursuit of Indians, for which he received only praise. Porter insisted that the public officials of Foxardo were in league with the pirates, of which there can be no reasonable doubt. Much evidence bearing on the character of the place was collected.¹¹⁴ Porter felt that he had been treated with injustice and the next year resigned his commission in the navy.

¹¹² *Expedition to Foxardo*, 47, 48.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 13,32; *Niles*, October 8, 1825.

¹¹⁴ *Expedition to Foxardo*, 53-90; *Beale's Report of the Trial of Commodore Porter; Proceedings of the Courts of Inquiry and Court Martial*.

During the months between his return from the West Indies and the end of his trial—in his correspondence and conversation with the Secretary of the Navy and his judges—Porter, as is not uncommon with high-spirited men, was not always, nor even usually, conciliatory and tactful, and doubtless caused irritation. But this could have influenced only men of small natures. His great services to his country and his value to the navy should have outweighed his offense, if indeed any existed. Every true American, from that day to this, knowing the facts, has rejoiced in his landing at Foxardo.

VIII. PORTER RECALLED.

It is now necessary to go back to the fall of 1824 and pick up the thread of the narrative. Speaking of the difficulties encountered by the officers and men of the West India squadron, the court of inquiry into Commodore Porter's conduct reported "that everything was done towards the suppression of piracy which could be accomplished with a force of that description and of such limited strength. The number of men employed was small and the greater part of the vessels engaged qualified only for a particular kind of operation. Their inconsiderable size rendered it impracticable to carry either provisions or water for any length of time. Repairs were frequently required, the stores were furnished from the United States, and the cruises therefore necessarily of short duration. It appears also that the confinement of the officers and men in the small schooners and barges upon the cruises and expeditions in which they were unremittingly occupied, exposed both by day and night to the baneful influence of a noxious climate, the necessities which drove them continually to Key West for the purpose of repairing the vessels and procuring supplies, combined to engender and add virulence to the malignant diseases which broke out and proved so destructive to life, compelling for two successive seasons the return to the United States of a large proportion of the squadron. Under these circumstances it appears to the court that the officers and men have eminently entitled themselves to the commendations which they have received."¹¹⁵

On the subject of convoy the court considered that the importance of protecting trade had not been overrated and that it should be looked upon "as one of the means of suppressing piracy. By affording convoy and adequate protection to private commerce, one of the principal inducements to piratical adventure was removed. . . . In no one particular does it appear to the court that the

¹¹⁵ *Niles*, October 8, 1825.

benefits produced by the squadron in the West India seas was more widely diffused or greater in amount. . . . Every vessel in the squadron, in addition to her ordinary and specific duties, was engaged in affording convoy on all occasions and in every quarter. . . . Lieut. Skinner alone, in the short period which intervened between the 30th March and the 3d July gave convoy to about one hundred and eighty vessels."¹¹⁶

One of the encouragements to piracy committed on American vessels seems to have been the undue leniency with which those who were captured were subsequently treated. Pardon by the President often followed conviction in court and resulted in the return of the culprit to his evil practices. The stern justice the pirates had learned to expect from the British, led them to prefer Americans as their prey.¹¹⁷

A particularly atrocious case of cold-blooded murder was reported by Lieutenant McKeever, commanding the steamer *Sea Gull*. The story came to him from Daniel Collins, second mate of the brig *Betsey*, Captain Ellis Hilton, which sailed from Wiscasset, Maine, for Matanzas late in November, 1824. "The Brig was cast away on one of the Doubleheaded Shot Keys about the 21st of December, when the officers and crew, seven in number, took the long boat and steered for the Island of Cuba, and the next day made one of the Keys about 20 leagues to windward, at which place they found two fishing huts and five men, with whom the Captain made an agreement to be brought with himself and crew to Matanzas. The night previous to their intended departure, which was two days after their landing, one of the fishermen was absent during the whole night. When they were on the point of shoving off, they were boarded and taken possession of by a boat having ten men on board, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, and cutlasses, which the fishermen told them when first seen was the King's launch, who soon after tied the Captain and crew of the *Betsey*, put them into the perogues of the fishermen, and

¹¹⁶ *Niles*, October 8 1825.

¹¹⁷ *N. Y. Evening Post*, November 15, 1824.

taking them into a little lagoon about half a mile from the huts, where they left their boat, taking with them no other arms than cutlasses, they deliberately commenced an indiscriminate murder by cutting off the head of Captain Hilton, which seemed to be the signal for dispatching the others. The informant was knocked overboard by a blow and finding that he had broken the cord with which he was tied, ran through the water (about knee deep) and swamps, followed by two of the murderers, but fortunately effected his escape, after witnessing the murder of his comrades with the exception of one, who had also broken his cord and was trying to escape, but presumes that he was overtaken, being very closely pursued by two or three. The informant on the sixth day got to an estate called Santa Clara on the Rio Palma, where he received some nourishment and rest and continued his route to Matanzas, where he arrived last evening; presented himself to Captain Holmes of the American ship *Shamrock*, belonging to the same owners (Mr. A. Wood of Wiscasset). Captain H. immediately recognized him and says that he is a sober, honest, and upright man."¹¹⁸

After his return to Wiscasset, Daniel Collins published a narrative of the cruise of the *Betsey*, in which he gives a gruesome account of the killing of her captain and first mate. "They seized Captain Hilton by the hair, bent his head and shoulders over the gunwhale, and I could distinctly hear them chopping the bone of the neck. They then wrung his neck, separated the head from the body by a slight draw of the sword, and let it drop into the water. There was a dying shriek, a convulsive struggle, and all I could discern was the arms dangling over the side of the canoe and the ragged stump pouring out the blood like a torrent. There was an imploring look in the innocent and youthful face of Mr. Merry that would have appealed to the heart of anyone but a Pirate. As he arose on his knees, in the posture of a penitent supplicating for mercy even on the verge of eternity, he was prostrated with a blow of the cutlass,

¹¹⁸ *Captains' Letters*, 1825, I, No. 43.

his bowels gushing out of the wound. They then pierced him through the breast in several places with a long pointed knife, and cut his throat from ear to ear."¹¹⁹

That the comparative apathy and indifference of earlier years, the failure to realize the situation in the West Indies, on the part of governmental authorities in the United States, had finally disappeared, was shown by the voluminous reports of the navy department and of congressional committees, and presidential messages. All this discussion was based on knowledge of conditions derived from the numerous reports of naval officers and governmental agents in the islands and the frequent newspaper accounts of robbery and murder.

The commercial agent at Havana, Thomas Randall, furnished much information, which, however, in Commodore Porter's opinion was not always fair to the navy. A letter from Randall to Secretary Adams, October 31, 1824, after relating further piracies, continues: "It cannot be endured that this band of remorseless wretches should be suffered longer to cumber the earth. The robberies and cruelties of the Barbary States, which have so often roused all Christendom to arms, were trifling in extent and ferocity, compared with those of the pirates of Cuba. It is in vain for commercial nations to rely for security upon mere preventive measures at sea or upon the efforts of the authorities and people of this island to extirpate it. . . . Even the present Governor, characterized as he is for firmness and moral courage, feels his power too precarious at this crisis to venture upon the measures of rigor and severity essential to its suppression. . . . The unprincipled and wicked have obtained the complete ascendancy and the honest few dare not denounce or pursue the criminals. In such a state of things, the pirates must be pursued by foreign forces into their retreats on land, and this community coerced by a severe and just retribution to aid in ejecting those miscreants from its bosom." He discourages the carrying of specie in vessels of war for the use of American merchants, one of the minor duties imposed

¹¹⁹ *Narrative of Daniel Collins*, 25.

on the West India squadron. "If the benefit to commerce by this medium for the transportation of specie, be of sufficient importance, it may be effected by vessels especially designated for that purpose. But experience shows that the suppression of piracy and the transportation of specie, on the late system, are incompatible."¹²⁰

In the annual report of the Navy Department, December 1, Secretary Southard mentions the difficulty of pursuing the pirates on land and the necessity of co-operation with the local governments. "Unless this co-operation be obtained, additional means ought to be entrusted to the Executive, to be used in such manner as experience shall dictate." The secretary expresses the same views three weeks later, to Hon. B. W. Crowninshield, chairman of the naval committee of the House of Representatives, and dwells on the need of large numbers of boats to chase the pirates into creeks and inlets. To carry so many boats, large vessels must be provided. "I would therefore respectfully recommend three or more frigates or sloops of war, as an addition to the forces now in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico, or as a substitute for the small vessels. The sloops would be as competent to the object as the frigates and would be much less expensive. We cannot, however, detach that or even a less number from the stations where they now are without weakening our squadrons too much. It will be necessary to build them, which can be done in less time and at less expense than would require to repair and fit for sea the same number of frigates. . . . In addition to this provision, our officers should be authorized to pursue the pirates wherever they may fly. . . . The right to follow should be extended to the settled as well as the unsettled parts of the Islands; and should this prove ineffectual, a resort will be necessary to such a general and rigorous blockade, as will make both the local Governments and their subjects feel that their interest, as well as their honor, requires a respect for our rights and the rights of humanity. For such an extremity the proposed sloops of war will be indispensable."¹²¹

¹²⁰ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 496.

¹²¹ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, I, 1004, II, 183.

The President's annual message recommends an increased naval force and speaks of the amphibious nature of the pirates, acting by sea, along shore, and on land. Their atrocious practices "must be attributed to the relaxed and feeble state of the local governments, since it is not doubted, from the high character of the governor of Cuba, who is well known and much respected here, that if he had the power he would promptly suppress it."

A body of merchants in Portland addressed a memorial to Congress. Portland and other Maine ports carried on an extensive trade with the West Indies, chiefly in lumber. The memorial rehearsed the whole subject and suggested an increase in the number of small cruisers. "During the summer and sickly season, they should never be allowed to enter any of the ports in that climate, but from necessity or in pursuit of pirates; by which means our commerce would be effectually guarded and the health of our brave seamen effectually secured."¹²²

The New York merchants advised "authorizing merchant vessels to arm for their own protection, . . . that the squadron on the Cuban station should be reinforced, that decoy vessels should be employed, and that ships of war be furnished with additional launches and boats calculated to pursue the pirates into their retreats and fastnesses." These memorials were presented in December.¹²³

The end of the year found the situation in the West Indies still occupying a great deal of public attention. Early in 1825 Congress attempted the solution of this difficult problem. The foreign relations committee of the Senate in a report refers to the evil as "ascribable to the asylum afforded the banditti in the colonies of Spain," and speaks of the efforts to obtain satisfaction from the Spanish government — efforts resulting only in vague promises on the part of that power. "Spain had been solemnly warned that if she did not promptly ac-

¹²² *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 471.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, V, 428.

quit herself of her obligations to us on this subject, our government would be constrained from the nature of the outrages to become its own avenger and, availing itself of its own resources, protect the commerce and lives of the American citizens from destruction. . . . An appeal has been made to the local authorities, accompanied with a request, that if from weakness they were unable to exterminate the hordes of banditti who took shelter from pursuit within their territories, that permission might be given our forces to pursue them on land. This has been denied on the vain punctilio of national dignity. The posture in which Spain now stands is that of connivance in these injuries or incapacity to prevent them." The committee intimates that if it believed the conduct of Spain wilful, it would favor a resort to war, but under the circumstances would recommend only measures thought to be indispensable.¹²⁴

At the same time the House naval committee considered methods of carrying on the work. The means already "employed have displayed the vigilance of the Government and the activity, zeal, and devotion of the officers and seamen who have been assigned to that perilous service. . . . It becomes necessary for the Government to adapt the force to the existing character of the evil, and the committee are of the opinion that the best species of force which can be employed in future, while the pirates are confined to small craft, are the boats and launches which are attached to larger vessels. Sloops of war of the largest class may be well provided with launches and boats, of which several might be constantly employed in ferreting out these marauders and bringing them to condign punishment." The question of arming merchantmen is discussed. "The committee believe that if a considerable number of trading vessels should provide themselves for resistance and a few instances of successful resistance should be the consequence, the effect would be highly salutary and would greatly discourage

¹²⁴ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 489; *Niles*, January 15, 1825.

these banditti by rendering their vocation dangerous and fruitless."¹²⁵

The President in a special message to the Senate, January 13, 1825, joined in the discussion and presented three expedients. "One, by the pursuit of the offenders to the settled as well as the unsettled parts of the Island from whence they issue; another, by reprisal on the property of the inhabitants; and a third, by the blockade of the ports of those islands. It will be obvious that neither of these measures can be resorted to in a spirit of amity with Spain, otherwise than in a firm belief that neither the Government of Spain nor the Government of either of the islands has the power to suppress that atrocious practice, and that the United States interpose their aid for the accomplishment of an object which is of equal importance to them as well as to us. Acting on this principle, the facts which justify the proceeding being universally known and felt by all engaged in commerce in that sea, it may fairly be presumed that neither will the Government of Spain nor the Government of either of those islands, complain of a resort to either of those measures, or to all of them, should such resort be necessary. It is therefore suggested that a power commensurate with either resource be granted to the Executive, to be exercised according to his discretion and as circumstances may imperiously require."¹²⁶

A report of the House foreign relations committee, January 31, attributes to the blockade declared by General Morales, the commander of the Spanish forces, responsibility for "most of the evils since suffered by all commercial nations in the West Indies and Gulf of Mexico." Discussing the subject of arming merchantmen, the committee says: "There is no law forbidding such defensive armament, nor is any law required to justify it. It is, however, asserted that the restraints upon the armament of merchant vessels are inconvenient and oppressive and that they ought to be removed. The only provision

¹²⁵ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, I, 1049; 18th Congr., 2nd Sess., *Com. Rep.* by Mr. Crowninshield.

¹²⁶ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 490.

on this subject is that which requires bond and security to be given to prevent an unlawful use of the armed vessel—a provision which should not be changed, an adherence to which the best interest of commerce requires.” For the pursuit of pirates on land, the committee deemed an act of Congress unnecessary. Being criminals against all nations, they are punishable in every tribunal and it is the duty of all to hunt them down. “The pursuit of a mutual enemy into the territory of a friendly or allied power is a right of war; it cannot be deemed a violation of the sovereignty of that power; it confers a favor and imposes upon him an obligation of gratitude. . . . Instructions have been given to our naval commanders to pursue and capture on Spanish territory pirates who seek refuge or concealment there. The Government of Spain has been duly warned of the existence of these orders; it knows that they will be obeyed. No remonstrance has been made by it—no objections have, as far as the committee have been informed, been urged. The acquiescence of Spain is all that should be desired. A distinction is supposed to exist between pursuit of pirates on lands uninhabited and on those inhabited, and it is imagined that the authority of Congress is necessary to justify pursuit in the latter case, while in the former, the power of the Executive alone is sufficient. The committee do not admit the correctness of this distinction. Fresh pursuit is justifiable in either case, if necessary to the capture of the pirate. There is greater danger of collision with the friendly power when the object of pursuit flies into a settled country and greater care is requisite to avoid giving offense, but the same principles apply to either case and it is just as necessary that Congress should legislate to justify the capture of pirates as to authorize the pursuit of them into any place of refuge inhabited or unsettled.”¹²⁷

On January 1, 1825, Commodore Porter reported the disposition of his cruisers as follows: “The *Hornet*, Kennedy, cruising along the south side of Cuba, between

¹²⁷ *Am. State Papers, Foreign*, V, 585; 18th Congr., 2nd Sess., *Com. Rep.*

Cape Cruz and [Cape San] Antonio; the *Porpoise*, Skinner, and *Weazel*, Boarman, in the Gulf of Mexico; the *Grampus*, Sloat, and the *Beagle*, Platt, to windward and to the coast of Columbia; the steam galliot *Sea Gull*, the schooner *Ferret*, Bell, barges *Diablita* and *Mosquito* in the neighborhood of Mantanzas; and corvette *John Adams*, Dallas, and the schooner *Terrier*, Paine, at Thompson's Island. There are three barges here but no men."¹²⁸

In February Captain Lewis Warrington arrived in the *John Adams* and assumed command of the West Indian station, relieving Captain Porter, who immediately returned on the same ship to the United States.

¹²⁸ *Captains' Letters*, 1825, I, No. 2.

IX. THE END OF PIRACY

In 1825 the frigate *Constellation*, Captain Melancthon T. Woolsey was added to the West India squadron. The *Wild Cat* was lost in 1824 and the *Ferret* early in 1825. The *Greyhound* and *Jackall*, being much out of repair, were sold. There were few if any other changes in the force.

A case of friendly and effective co-operation with local authorities was reported by Lieutenant John D. Sloat, commanding the *Grampus*, in a letter written at St. Thomas, March 12, to Secretary Southard. "Having learned that several vessels had been robbed by Pirates near Foxardo and that two sloops" of those taken "were equipped and cruizing as Pirates, I obtained two small sloops at this place, free of expense, by the very cordial co-operation of his Excellency, Governor Von Scholten of St. Thomas, who promptly ordered . . . a temporary embargo, to prevent the transmission of intelligence to the Pirates, which sloops I manned and armed under the command of Lieutenants Pendergrast and Wilson. . . . We sailed on the first of March and examined every place as far to the westward as Ponce without success, although we got frequent information of them. We anchored at Ponce on the evening of the 3d and took our men and officers on board [the *Grampus*]; the next morning at 10 o'clock a sloop was seen off the harbor, beating to the eastward, which was very confidently supposed to be one of those fitted out by the pirates. I again got one of the sloops and manned her under the command of Lieutenant Pendergrast . . . with [three officers and] twenty-three men, who sailed in pursuit. The next day at 3 o'clock they had the good fortune to fall in with her in the harbor of Boca del Infierno, which is very large and has many hiding places, where an action commenced that lasted forty-five minutes, when the pirates ran their sloop on shore and jumped overboard. Two of them were found killed and ten of those which escaped to the shore were taken by the Spanish soldiers, five or six of whom were wounded and amongst them the famous piratical chief Cofrecinas, who has long been the terror of the coast and the rallying point of the pirates in this vicinity. As near as we can ascertain, he had fifteen or sixteen men on board and was armed with one four-pounder and muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and knives

for his men. The sloop was got off and arrived safe with our tender at this place last evening, and I am happy to add that none of our people received any injury and all have returned in good health. . . . I received every assistance from the authorities of Ponce whilst there and they showed every desire to promote the success of the expedition." Lieutenant Sloat reported this affair to the governor of Porto Rico and received that official's profuse thanks and promises of co-operation. An order was issued to the local authorities throughout the island to give every possible assistance to the Americans.¹²⁹

The cordial and friendly attitude of Don Miguel de la Torres, governor of Porto Rico, was especially gratifying, because he had hitherto been somewhat hostile towards Americans and had been irritated by the Foxardo incident. Of the final chapter in the history of this particular band of outlaws, Sloat wrote to Secretary Southard from St. Thomas, April 5. "On my arrival at this place yesterday, I had the satisfaction to receive the information that all who made their escape from the vessel (eleven) were shot on Wednesday the 30th ultimo. They all except one met their fate in the most hardened manner. The celebrated Cofrecinas refused to be blindfolded, saying that he himself had murdered at least three or four hundred persons and it would be strange if by this time he should not know how to die. From his and other confessions twenty-eight others have been taken and seventeen are to be executed in a few days, and the remainder in a short time after. Those already executed have been beheaded and quartered and their parts sent to all the small ports round the island to be exhibited. This capture is thought by the government of the Island to be of the greatest importance and it is believed from the number taken and convicted that it will be for a long time a complete check to piracies about that island."¹³⁰

It always gives satisfaction to hear of men of different nations working together in a common cause, and an instance is related by Lieutenant McKeever, commanding the *Sea Gull*, who in his report of April 1, 1825, tells of cordial and successful co-operation with British sailors

¹²⁹ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 104-107; *Expedition to Foxardo*, 100-107.

¹³⁰ *Niles*, April 30, 1825.

in an enterprise requiring courage and judgment. The *Sea Gull*, accompanied by the barge *Gallinipper*, sailed from Matanzas to the eastward March 19. "At Stone Key I met his B. M. Ship *Dartmouth*, under the command of the Honble. Captain Maude, and was informed by him that some of his boats were there cruising to windward in company with H. B. M. Schooners *Union* and *Lion*. Continued our course and fell in with them the next evening at Cadiz Bay. As they were also in search of Pirates, but without any particular or certain information of their haunts, of which I was possessed, I deemed it proper to propose a co-operation, it being perfectly understood that I was to have the conducting of the enterprize. This proposition was cheerfully acceded to." The *Sea Gull* and the British schooners were left at Cadiz Bay. McKeever in the *Gallinipper* with two small cutters, in company with a British barge and two cutters, set out on their quest for pirates. After various adventures, including the capsizing of the *Gallinipper*, which fortunately was righted again, the party reached the mouth of the River Sagua la Grande on the 25th. There a fisherman was found, who was impressed into service as pilot, and soon the masts of a schooner concealed in the bushes came in sight. The party immediately attacked.

Being unable to get through the narrow, shallow channel, they waded ashore and took a position within twenty yards of the schooner, which surrendered but again opened fire. It took a little time to subdue the pirates. The chief twice tried to escape and some of his crew succeeded, but many were shot in the attempt. Nineteen prisoners were taken and eight dead accounted for; others were believed to have been killed. Six of the prisoners, including their chief, were wounded. On the other side was only one casualty—a British marine slightly wounded. The next day another schooner was taken, but the crew escaped ashore. It was these men who had murdered the crew of the brig *Betsey*, ashore on Double Headed Shot Keys in December. The pirates' establishment on shore was found and destroyed. The prize schooners were brought away but afterwards went ashore in a squall and were set on fire. The party returned and rejoined the *Dartmouth*. "The handsome manner in

which we were seconded by the officers and crew of H. M. Ship *Dartmouth* merits our highest approbation."¹³¹

A correspondent in the public press, writing from Key West says of recent events: "The *Sea Gull* has just landed her prisoners, five of them dreadfully wounded with sabre cuts; among them is the captain, who fought resolutely; he has five wounds. . . . The chief officer of the port (Villa Clara), where the piratical schooner was fitted out, is among those taken. They state that they had a privateer's commission and deposited \$600 in the hands of the governor or commander of the above place, as security. . . . The *Sea Gull* had on board the figure head of a vessel, which was found in the piratical schooner. Report says it belonged to the ship *Balize*, a trader between New York and New Orleans. I understood from the officers of the *Sea Gull* that the bodies of thirteen unfortunate creatures were found tied to trees on shore; what vessel they belonged to has not been ascertained from the pirates. . . . The fact is, if piracy is to be suppressed, liberty must be granted, or *taken*, to pursue them on land as well as on the water, and that when the Spanish authorities shall fail to punish those captured on shore, self-preservation will require us to exert the right of doing it ourselves."¹³²

The pirates were showing signs of discouragement and the system was now on the decline. Commodore Warrington, on board the *Constellation* off Havana, reported to the Secretary of the Navy, August 29: "If pirates are now or have been in force lately on either side of Cuba, they have not only abstained from making captures, but they have concealed themselves so effectually as to prevent detection. The orderly conduct of fishermen on the coast, the steady pursuit of their occupation and absence of all suspicious persons induce a belief that there outlaws are not at present collected in any force. I shall, however, keep a watchful eye on the island and prevent, if possible, the commission of depredations which may be attempted under a belief that we are relying too much on appearances."¹³³

Secretary Southard said in his annual report in December: "The West India squadron now consists of the

¹³¹ *Captains' Letters*, 1825, III, No. 15; *Niles*, April 30, 1825.

¹³² *Niles*, April 23, 30, 1825.

¹³³ *Niles*, September 17, 1825.

frigate *Constellation*, corvette *John Adams*, sloop *Hornet*, brig *Spark*, schooners *Grampus*, *Shark*, and *Fox*, and the storeship *Decoy*, with the barges. The duties assigned to it have been signally accomplished. Several captures of pirates were made in the early part of the year, of which the documents annexed furnish an account. Since that time the principal places where piracy existed have been diligently watched and no complaints have been made, to the knowledge of the Department, for several months past. Captain Warrington, an active, systematic, and enterprising officer, commands in that quarter, and seconded as he is by a commendable zeal and skill in his subordinate officers, it is believed that he will continue to repress that evil, which has heretofore produced so much anxiety and distress. There have been thirteen deaths among the officers attached to that squadron, occasioned by diseases contracted either in the vessels or in the ports of the West Indies. Against danger from this cause the commanding officer was particularly instructed to be upon his guard, and has no doubt been attentive to his orders; but severe exposures are incident to the service and, where so many officers are subjected to them, it must be expected that they will prove fatal to some, especially to those who are not very cautious in guarding their health. We have been, however, so far fortunate as to suffer less from this cause in the present than in the preceding years, arising probably in part from a change in the size and character of the vessels employed; and steady attention is paid to the subject and such arrangements made as give the best hopes of lessening the evil." As it had been found that Key West was particularly unhealthy, it was decided to move the station to Pensacola, and this was done in the late summer. This was the beginning of the Pensacola Navy Yard.¹³⁴

In his first annual message, December 6, 1825, President Adams speaks of the greatly improved situation in the West Indies, but considers it not "probable that for years to come our immensely valuable commerce in those seas can navigate in security, without the steady continuance of an armed force devoted to its protection."

In 1826 the West India squadron was still further reduced by dropping the *Fox* and *Decoy* from the list

¹³⁴ *Am. State Papers, Naval*, II, 98.

given by Secretary Southard the year before. The *John Adams* cruised south of Cuba and the *Hornet* on the north side. Warrington wrote from the *Constellation* at Pensacola in July that "no piracies have been committed since my last letter. Depredations on our commerce are fortunately unheard of where they were formerly so frequent." Some cases, however, had been reported early in the year.¹³⁵

During the next three years there were a few sporadic cases of piracy. In 1828 a so-called privateer from Buenos Ayres was captured and sent to Pensacola.

In 1829 a brutal case of piracy and murder occurred, recalling the worst of former years. The second mate, Alfred Hill, escaped and the tale was related by him under oath. The brig *Attentive*, Captain Crozer, of Boston, sailed from Matanzas, homeward bound, February 22. There were on board the captain, two mates, three seamen, and a cook. Only a few hours from Matanzas the *Attentive* was "brought to by a piratical schooner of about 60 or 70 tons burthen full of men armed with cutlasses and having two large guns, who ordered the boat to be lowered and sent on board of the schooner, which was done, having on board Capt. Crozer and two men, Joseph Blanday and John Robinson; that as soon as the boat got alongside of the schooner, a number of men jumped on board, took out the two seamen, and immediately shoved alongside the brig and boarded her, and ordered all hands except the captain into the fore peak. After shutting the scuttle over they waited about ten minutes and ordered all hands on deck again; that at this time he the said Alfred Hill was stowed away amongst the cargo for the purpose of secreting himself; that the crew were called on deck separately; that he then heard a heavy groan from the captain and heard him distinctly repeat these words: 'Lord have mercy on my soul,' and heard a scuffling on deck and groans of the people; that after the noise had ceased, they commenced searching, as he supposed, for money; that about 4 o'clock in the afternoon they knocked out her bow port, when she immediately began to fill with water. Hearing a noise on deck at the time, he supposed that the pirates had not left her and was afraid to go upon deck; that having

¹³⁵ *Niles*, February 25, August 10, 1826.

discovered the noise to proceed from the flapping of the sails, after having remained below until twilight, he went upon deck and got some blankets with which he endeavored to stop up the bow port, but found it no use, as the force of the sea washed them in again; that he then filled the topsails, to endeavor, if possible, to get her back into the harbor; that about three miles and a half from the shore she sunk."¹³⁶

Moved by this case and by others less atrocious, a number of merchants and underwriters of Boston called upon the Secretary of the Navy, Hon. John Branch, for protection and learned that steps to this end had already been taken. The *Hornet*, *Grampus*, and *Shark* were on the lookout and giving convoy to merchantmen of different nations. The sloop of war *Erie*, which arrived at Pensacola in April, sent out her boats in pursuit of pirates. The Governor of Matanzas offered large rewards for the apprehension of these outlaws. Several were hanged at St. Thomas in the spring of 1829. Others were shot at San Juan, Porto Rico. It was necessary to maintain a naval force in the West Indies for several years.¹³⁷ The system died a lingering death.

As late as 1832 the brig *Mexican*, of Salem, was captured, though not in the West Indies. This piracy was committed on the high seas southwest of the Azores and is the last on record in the North Atlantic ocean. Six of the pirate crew were executed in Boston three years later.¹³⁸

This conflict with pirates, extending over many years, may be regarded as by no means the least important of the minor wars in which our country has been engaged. The task of ridding the seas of a race of cruel and cowardly murderers, who were a menace to the peaceful trade and commercial interests of the world and to the lives of honest sailors, fell to the navy. The service was of a peculiarly trying sort and the officers and men of the navy and marine corps were called upon to endure hardships rarely met with in ordinary warfare. In a deadly climate they did their work with zeal, intelligence, patience, and fortitude.

¹³⁶ *Niles*, March 21, 1829.

¹³⁷ *Niles*, May 30, 1829.

¹³⁸ *Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, XXXIV (1898), 45.

ENTRY BOOK, IMPOST BOOK, REGISTERS (FOREIGN TRADE),
PORT OF MARBLEHEAD, MASSACHUSETTS.

COMPILED BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE,
FROM THE MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 88)

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons	Men	CARGO	Duties
July 15	Brig "Orient" R. & Robert Hooper Jr. & master Zerubabel Kemp, Geo. Cloutman, Jos. Hooper etc.	Rich'd Meek	194	13	190 bales cotton goods, 70 bales silk goods, 701 bags ginger, 200 bags turmins, 2 boxes preserves, 1 box sugar, 88 cases indigo, 55 carpets, 12000 gunney bags, 1121 bags sugar.	\$17665.89
Aug. 26	Brig "Union" Nat. Hooper, Ed. Bray, Wm. W. Johnson, Simon Williams & master	Jos. Proctor Jr.	169	8	2358 bars iron, 44 bundles hemp, 518 pieces sail cloth, 144 bales feathers, 6 pieces diapers, 2 pieces raven's duck, 4 boxes candles, 15 boxes quills, 2 casks tallow, 1 box starch, 6 boxes quills.	\$3187.90
Sept. 10	Brig "Increase" John Hooper, L. Girdler & master	Ebenezer Graves	108	7	391 bags & casks cocoa shells, 6 jars olives, 1 looking glass.	\$149.99
17	Brig "Washington" John Tappan, Benj. C. Ward, Francis Amory, John C. & Wm. Brown & master	John C. Blackler	166	1	box porcelain, 6 chairs, 2 boxes clocks, 1 box books, 2 boxes lace, 17 cases silk goods, 1 case leather gloves, 1 case jewelry.	\$1289.22
22	Ship "Albion" Wm. Gray & master	John Conway			13689 bu. salt, 12 casks Malaga wine, 2 cases hats.	\$2909.40

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME Consignees	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
1816					
Nov. 5	Brig "America" Jos. Goodwin	Francis G. Selman	157 9	21 bags cocoa shells.	\$7.26
Dec. 10	Brig "Hope" B. Andrews	Benj. Andrews	170 10	1 pipe port wine, 8 bags nuts.	\$71.74
1817					
Feb'y. 21	Brig "Mentor" Robert Hooper, John Hooper Jr. & master	Pharis Shirley	128 8	1849 bu. salt, 6½ quarter chests oil, 7 boxes soap, 15 boxes raisins, 2 drums figs, 1 cask Malaga wine, 8 bags feathers, 5 cases writing paper, 2 boxes alabaster, 1 box olives, 1 box cordials, 2 cotton shawls, 2 marble slabs, 1 box leather slippers, 1 box ladies straw bonnets, 1 box Cal-lonne water.	\$618.10
28	Schooner "Sally" John Hooper, Wm. R. Gray, & master	Thos P. James	70 6	200 cwt. iron, 26 casks tallow, 2 cables & 73 coils cordage, 75 package sail cloth, 15 bales raven duck, 42 bales flems, 51 bales feathers, 2 boxes glass tumblers, 6 packages quills, 1 cop-per kettle.	\$2153.14
April 2	Sch. "Caesar" Wm. Hooper, Thos. Grush, Jr., Peter Newhall & master	Jos. Proctor Jr.		2345 bu. salt, 29 pipes wine, 1 box raisins, 80 jars olives.	\$1321.01
28	Sch. "Saratoga" Wm. Hooper, John Humphries, H. & D. Merritt & Co., Thos. Haskell & master	John Quiner		3 hhd's. rum, 14 casks sugar, 25 casks molasses, 7 casks do., 15 casks sugar.	\$826.85
May 12	Sch. "Success" B. M. Watson, Thos. Thompson, Porter & Green, Wm. Thorner, Jas. Harris, W. Thorner & master	Elias Hules		22 casks molasses, 1 bbl. sugar, 1 bbl. coffee, 5 casks molasses, 11 casks do.	\$186.05

May 30	Sch. "Spring Bird" Wm. Gray, Jesse Mayo, Nich. Tucker, Wm. B. Swett & Co.	Havanna Nicholas Quiner	76 bags coffee, 40 boxes brown sugar, 78 boxes slates, 24 boxes white sugar, 16 do. brown, 11 casks molasses, 1 bbl. brown sugar, 1 bag cof- fee, 3 kegs honey, 99 bags coffee, 8 hnds. mo- lasses, 26 boxes brown sugar, 36 boxes white do., 2 boxes segars.	\$3058.24
June 9	Sch. "Sally" R. & J. Hooper, Rich'd Prince, Cy- rus Smith, Chandler Flagg, Thos. Stevens & master	St. Domingo Francis Hiter	141½ boxes segars, 2 bbls. do., 7 boxes do., 12 boxes straw hats.	\$446.98
June 9	Brig "Columbia" Wm. Gray	Isle of May Thos. Elkins Jr.	8470 bu. salt.	\$1694.—
July 11	Brig "Hannah" Wm. Russell & master	Cadiz Richard Tutt	3990 bu. salt, 15 boxes lemons, 7 sacks nuts, 11 jars olives, 2 boxes raisins, 6 floor mats.	\$809.43
July 14	Brig "Union" Nat. Hooper	Buenos Ayres Nicholson Broughton	19 mats of thick duck, 2 cases silk.	\$163.48
Aug. 4	Schooner "Ardent" A. Hooper	Bilbao Asa Hooper	1 box Spanish muskets, 1 box saffron, 6 spy glasses.	\$47.52
Aug. 11	Brig "Mentor" John Hooper & master	Isle of May Pharis Shirley	4929 bu. salt, 31 sacks cocoa shells.	\$993.76
Aug. 11	Brig "Elizabeth" Boardman & Co., Buffington & Thorndike, W. Hooper, J. Harris, Sam. Stacey & master	Antwerp Edmund Bray	10 cases muskets, 2 cases framed paintings & prints, 2 cases rolls of paper, 1429 demijohns, 12 cases caps, 1 box watches, 211 demijohns, 30 cases caps.	\$375.05
Aug. 25	Schooner "Caesar" Nat. Hooper & master	Gibraltar Jos. Procter Jr.	2001 bu. salt, 81 teroons almonds, 4 cases indigo, 46 casks Catalonia wine, 6 teroons almonds, 5 pipes C. wine.	\$2104.97
Aug. 25	Sch. "Speedwell" Nat. Hooper	Martinique Simon T. Williams	4 cases indigo.	\$146.85
Sept. 9	Brig "Concord" Wm. Gray	Isle of May Jones Vesey	8450 bu. salt.	\$1690.12

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	<i>Duties</i>
1817 Sept. 17	Schooner "Regulator" (probably the cargo from a wreck)	Benj. Wormstead		122 bbls. coffee, 57 boxes white Havanna sugar, 8 boxes brown do., 4 sails, cables, anchors, etc.	\$2370.78
Sept. 18	Brig "Orient" Jas. Prince Lewis Girdler, Jr., Wm. Hooper, Jr., Glover Broughton, John Hooper & master	Rich'd Meek		15 bags ginger, 2 boxes gum copal, 8 pieces silk goods, 1200 small lines silk goods, 4 kegs mustard, 4 bags sugar, 1 bale woolen carpets, 1 bale straw do., 2000 gunney bags, 33 pieces silk goods, 2 trunk silk goods, 1 trunk cotton do., 1½ bales silk goods, 15 bags ginger, 1 box gum copal, 900 small lines silk goods, 24 cotton shawls, 1168 bags sugar, 23 boxes shellac, 14 boxes ginger, 122 bales cotton goods, 6 boxes silk goods, 4 bales cotton goods, 1 bale woolen carpets, 3 boxes gum copal.	\$13474.71 \$872.15
Oct. 1	Schooner "America" " Turk's Island L. Kingsbury	Leavitt Kingsbury		36 bags cocoa shells, 10 small fowling pieces, 1½ doz. floor mats, 189 bags cocoa shells.	\$57.80
Oct. 25	Schooner "Spring Bird" N. Tucker	Nicholas Tucker		1076 bars iron, 10 bundles hemp, 15 bales sheeting, 25 bales ravens duck, 434 packages Russia duck, 5 casks tallow, 5 bales feathers, 4 boxes tumblers, 1 box candles, 8 packages sail cloth, 2 packs. ravens duck, 1 pack. diaper, 1 copper kettle.	
Oct. 27	Brig "Increase" John Hooper & master	Thos. P. James		5 casks & bbls. cloves, 213 sacks & bbls. cocoa, 51 hhds., tierces & bbls. molasses, 37 sacks & bbls. coffee, 32 hhds. bbls. & boxes brown sugar, 1½ bag cotton.	\$3552.99
Nov. 27	Brig "Joseph" John Pedrick, John Humphrey, A. H. Chase, Nath. Goodale, Sam. W. Phelps, Thos. Le Master,	John Johnson			

Wm. Thorner, J. Pope, Mary Williams, Jas. Chapman, Andrew Lackey, Porter & Greene, Jacob Newhall, John Ingalls, Graves & Evans, Ebenz. King, Dan. Weed, Jas. Topham, Wm. Russell Jr., Wm. Stacey, Philip Bessom, John Glover Jr., Hanscom & Pratt, Webster & Hooper, Moon & Ireson	Bibao	Pharis Shirley	4 bbls. nuts.	\$2.31
John Hooper R. Tutt	"	Rich'd Tutt	6 sacks nuts, 6 floor mats.	\$4.29
Dec. 10 Brig "Mentor"				
Dec. 15 Brig "Hannah"	"	Bilbao	925 packs. sail cloth, 1436 bars iron, 58 bales of raven duck, 750 pieces hemp, 61 bales fims, 7 bales diapers, 33 packs. sail cloth, 82 do., 13 bales ravens duck, 10 bales fims, 30000 quills, 3 pieces diaper, 4 pair shoes, 25 packs sail cloth.	\$7447.96
Dec. 29 Brig "Hope"	"	St. Petersburg	768 bars iron, 3 yds. broadcloth, 3 cassimere shawls.	\$186.44
John Hooper, John D. Lewis, John Girdler & master		Benj. Andrews	110 casks molasses, 11 casks sugar, 13 casks molasses, 6 casks do.	\$901.84
1818				
Feb. 21 Brig "Union"	"	Bristol, Eng.	3351 bu. salt, 56 bags corks, 5 cases oil, 5 cases olives, 1 case kid gloves, 2 boxes olives, 2 boxes oil, 1 box glass tumblers, 7 bags corks, 10 nests baskets, 7 bags corks, 1 box claret wine, 2 doz. bottles, 2 cases glass, 1 case paper hangings, 1 lamp, do. do., 1 case alabaster.	\$804.90
Feb. 26 Schooner "America"	"	Martinique		
Leavitt Kingsbury, S. Bassett, — Lord		Timothy Farrow		
April 13 Sch. "Caesar"	"	Marseilles		
Nat. Hooper, John Forrester, John Pedrick, Wm. Eustis & master		Ebenezer Graves		

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME Consignees	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
April 21	Sch. "Speedwell" from St. Jago de Cuba Nat. Hooper, Wm. Hooper Jr., Simon Lamprell & master	Simon J. Williams		5 serons indigo, 132 bags coffee, 113 casks sugar, 29 casks molasses, 95 boxes cigars, 6 bbls. sugar, 5 bags sugar, 7 casks sugar, 19 bags coffee, 4 boxes cigars, 11 casks molasses, 2 baskets sugar, 4 bags coffee.	\$3132.38 \$7422.25
May 8	Brig "Phoebe" Nat. Hooper & master	Jos. Procter Jr.		3686 bu. salt, 23 grass mats.	
June 23	Brig "Mentor" John Hooper & John Ross	Pharis Shirley		120 casks molasses, 2 casks sugar, 3 bbls. mo- lasses.	\$1007.63
July 1	Brig "Rolla" Wheeler & Farley, Whitwell & Bond, B. Tappalona & master	John Hooper Jr.		4384 bu. salt, 3 boxes glass ware, 30 boxes claret wine, 30 boxes Frontenac wine, 57 doz. bottles, 2 bales cloth, 3 cases & 2 rolls prints.	\$1205.32
July 16	Sch. "Spring Bird" Wm. Tucker, Benj. Tyler Reed & master	Nich. Tucker		75 casks molasses, 3 casks rum, 5 boxes sugar, 52 casks molasses.	\$696.93
Sept. 3	Brig "Ardent" Benj. Tyler Reed	Asa Hooper		57 pipes brandy, 2 do. do., 100 cases claret wine, 214 doz. bottles.	\$4046.95
Sept. 14	Schooner "Caesar" N. Hooper, J. H. Cabot, Geo. Wilson, Thos. & Wm. Fettyplace & master	Ebenezer Graves		3508 bu. salt, 284 bags corks, 3 casks olive oil, 16 boxes olives, 4 boxes wine, 1 box olives, 1 box wine, 6 doz. bottles, 2 boxes wine, 1 box olives, 2 casks olive oil, 3 boxes olives, 1 trunk goods, 16 bags corks.	\$1024.79
Sept. 14	Brig "Hannah" Wm. & Wm. Russell Jr. Snow, Cole & master	Richard Tutt		84 casks molasses, 1 bbl. sugar, ½ bbl. & 1 box sugar.	\$424.72

Sept. 25	Schooner "America" John Hooper, Leavitt Kingsbury, Timo. Farrow, Glover Skinner, John Williams & master	" Martinique Thos. P. James	140 casks molasses, 31 bbls. sugar, 2 casks molasses, 4 do. do., 6 do. do., 1 bbl. sugar.	\$943.19
Oct. 26	Brig "Orient" John Hooper, Wm. Hooper Jr., Lewis Girdler Jr., Glover Broughton & master	Calcutta Lewis Girdler	25 bales cotton goods, 32 bales silk goods, 1 bale muslin, 382 bags cotton, 12 boxes gum copal, 11 do. shellac, 849 bags brown sugar, 9 bales cotton goods, 1 box silk goods, 1 box Assaffedita, 1 box borax, 2 do. camphor, 7 do. gum copal, 2 kegs castor oil, 1 trunk silk goods, 40 bundles bobbin, 9 packs. cotton goods, 19 do. silk goods, 1 keg castor oil, 4 boxes gum copal, 2 boxes china goods, 1 keg castor oil, 1 pack. cotton goods, 42 packs. silk goods, 1 trunk cotton goods, 1 box china ware.	\$14911.14
Oct. 30	Brig "Union" Nat. Hooper & master	St. Petersburg Nicholas Broughton	1076 packs. sail cloth, 103 bales raven duck, 18 bales sheeting, 5 bales diapers, 3 bales linen, 1 bale huckaback, 1 bale crash, 10 bales feathers, 1 sack down, 602 cwt. hemp, 206 sheets iron, 1215 bars iron, 2 boxes candles, 30 pairs ladies' shoes, 12 tea clothes, 3 packs. diapers, — quills, 6 packs. raven duck, 2 packs. brown sheeting, 312 lbs. cordage.	\$8905.74
Dec. 25	Brig "Phoebe" Elisha Ticknor & master	Cadiz Jos. Procter Jr.	2931 bu. salt, 11 casks catalonia wine, 2 sacks wool, 2 boxes wood.	\$960.40
1819 Feby. 5	Brig "Rolla" John Hooper, Jr.	St. Domingo John Hooper Jr.	190 bags coffee, 3 do. do., 7 boxes candles.	\$893.25
Feby. 5	Schooner "Speedwell" Wm. Hooper & master	Martinique Simon Campbell	38 casks molasses.	\$165.90

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
Feb'y. 8	Sch. "Caesar"	from Bilbao & Isle of May		2652 bu. salt, 12 chests Hyson tea, 8 chests Souchong tea, 86 bags cocoa shells, 2 bbls. nuts, 48 bags cocoa shells, 2 bbls. nuts.	\$992.92
April 2	John Hooper & master Ship "Liverpool Packet"	from Canton, China		531 casks silk goods, 338 bundles & 289 cases Nankins, 374 boxes china ware, 2286 chests Souchong tea, 24 chests Pouchong tea, 533 chests Hyson tea, 6 chests Young Hyson tea, 974 chests Hyson tea, 1 trunk silk goods, 3 boxes Pouchong tea, 1 box china ware, 1 box candy, 1 box preserves, 2 cases silks, 1 case & 547 bundles Nankins, 19 cases silk goods, 99 chests Hyson tea, 6 boxes china ware, 13 boxes Pouchong tea, 3 boxes Imperial tea, 1 box Hyson sheets.	\$77461.71
April 7	Brig "Mentor"	"Charente (France)	Pharis Shirley	80 casks of brandy, 2 bales leather.	\$5243.54
	Wm. Reed, Sam'l Hammond, Jesse Putnam			<i>The largest amount of duties ever paid in the port of Marblehead</i>	
April 28	Brig "Union"	"Gibraltar	Simon T. Williams	464 hhds. salt, 102 boxes raisins, 22 jars olives.	\$996.51
May 11	Nat. Hooper & master Brig "Hope"	"Gibraltar	John Girdler	54 pipes brandy, 214 hhds. salt, 26 jars olives, 160 casks Malaga wine, 69 casks Malaga wine, 24 jars olives, 1 box raisins, 1 box figs.	\$4894.53
May 11	Sch. "Spring Bird"	"Isle of May	Nicholas Tucker	29 casks Teneriffe wine, 301 hhds. salt, 31 bags cocoa shells, 6 small muskets, 12 mats, 2 bu. nuts.	\$1073.74

June 7	Sch. "Speedwell" Nat. Hooper, Thos. Lyon, & master	" Martinique	Simon Lamprell	139 casks molasses.	\$599.70
July 28	Sch. "Regulator" Henry A. Quiner	" St. Eustatia	John Quiner	110 casks brown sugar, 2 casks molasses.	\$2022.69
Sept. 11	Brig "Rolla" Wm. Dennis, E. Brigham, George Wilson, Dan'l Weed & master	" Rio de Janeiro	John Hooper Jr.	602 bags brown sugar, 11 bbls. & 62 boxes do., 10 bags coffee, 6 bags & 9 bbls. brown sugar, 31 bags coffee, 1 bag sugar.	\$5092.40 \$974.51
Sept. 16	Schooner "America" Leavitt Kingsbury	" Martinique	Thos. P. James	221 casks molasses, 1 cask sugar.	
Sept. 22	Brig "Phoebe" J. Procter	" Cadiz	Jos. Procter	213 hhds. salt, 5 pipes Catalonia wine, 2 sacks wool, 32 jars olives, 24 mats.	\$500.72
Sept. 29	Schooner "Speedwell" Nat. Hooper, Thos. Lyon & master	" Martinique	Simon Lamprell	12611 gals. molasses, 1 cask molasses, 1 cask sugar, 1 box sugar, 1 cask molasses, 1 cask sugar, 1/2 cask molasses.	\$696.27
Oct. 14	Ship "Ganges" John Hooper, Rob't Hooper Jr. & master	" Bremen	John Dixey	— linen, 1 box & 1 bale linen, 2 boxes glass ware, 1 box wooden toys, 20 hams, 1 bbl. & 1 tub brown sugar, 3 boxes glass ware, 2 boxes & 1 package linen, 1 box wooden toys, 4 boxes brushes.	\$1771.80
Oct. 15	Schooner "Lewis" Benj. T. Reed, Wm. Russell, Sam. Manning & master	" Martinique	Wm. Russell Jr.	35 hhds. molasses, 9 bbls. brown sugar, 9 bbls. brown sugar.	\$282.69
Nov. 22	Brig "Ardent" Asa Hooper, Leavitt Kingsbury, Sam. Knight, Wm. Elliott, John H. Gregory, Joseph Gregory, John Traill, Edmund Kimball, Wm. Reed, Jesse Blanchard & master	" Martinique	Benj. Gardner	8 hhds. brown sugar, 5 bbls. & 5 kegs do., 32 casks molasses, 13 boxes noyeau sugar, 11 casks sugar, 22 casks molasses, 4 casks mo- lasses, 5 casks sugar, 8 casks molasses, 1 cask sugar, 2 casks molasses, 8 casks molasses, 8 casks sugar, 3 casks molasses, 7 boxes noyeau sugar, 2 casks molasses, 2 casks sugar, 3 casks molasses, 17 casks molasses, 5 casks sugar.	\$1711.17

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	from Canton	Master's Name	Tons	Men	CARGO	Duties
Dec. 29	Ship "Java"	Sam. G. & Thos. H. Perkins, Wm. Sturgis, Paschal P. Pope, Peter R. Dalton, John Dorr, Nathan Bridge, John Tappan, Geo. Trott, Chas. Thatcher, Wm. Marston, Thos. Thomas, Wm. W. Johnson, Lewis Girdler Jr., John Hooper, Sam. Ingalls, — Conant & master	Nicholson	Broughton		45 casks silk goods, 72 chests Souchong tea, 352 cases silk goods, 35 cases silk goods, 308 bales nankins, 127 chests Hyson, 1 chest young Hyson, 6 chests Imperial tea, 77 cases silk goods, 8 bales nankins, 4 cases mdse., 16 cases silk goods, 1 trunk silks, 2 trunks mdse., 12 cases silks, 2 chests mdse., 6 cases silks, 1 trunk mdse., 1 case silks, 1 case rockets, 2 boxes Souchong tea, 12 cases silks, 360 pieces nankins, 653 chests Souchong tea, 43 chests Hyson tea, 1 bag brown sugar, 2 trunks & 14 cases silk goods, 2 boxes Souchong tea, 21 chests Hyson tea, 3 tubs white sugar, 1 bale nankins, 8 boxes china ware, 5 rolls matts, 1 desk, 4 boxes preserves, 2 boxes tea caddies, 2 bales damask, crepe & handkerchiefs, 2 cases rhubarb, 1 case silk goods.	\$39758.73
1820	Jan. 31	Schooner "Caesar"	Bilbao	Ebenezer Graves		600 bars iron, 175 bags shells, 6 bags nuts, 8 mats, 55 bags cocoa shells, 3 bags nuts, 11 bags cocoa shells, 137 bars iron.	\$425.70
	Feb. 7	Sch. "Regulator"	Port au Prince	John Quiner		100 bbls. & 121 bags coffee, 6 bbls. cocoa, 3 bbls. sugar.	\$1442.47
	March 1	Brig "Union"	St. Petersburg	Simon T. Williams		40 bundles hemp, 110 coils cordage, 1 cable, 84 bundles sheet iron, 1087 bars iron, 96 packages sail cloth, 69 bales ravens duck, 56 bales feathers, 99 matts sail cloth, 20 bales ravens duck, 2 bales brown sheeting.	\$4756.89

March 3	Schooner "America" Leavitt Kingsbury	" Martinique	Thos. P. James	110 casks molasses, 75 casks sugar.	\$2318.98
March 18	Sch. "Speedwell" Nat Hooper & master	" Havana	Simon Lamprell	349 boxes white sugar, 2½ bbls. honey, 1 bbl. sugar, 1 bag coffee, 1 hhd. molasses.	\$5407.86
March 18	Sch. "Spring Bird" Isle of May	" Bilbao &	Nicholas Tucker	1904 bu. salt, 273 bars iron, 6 bundles nail rods, 2 casks brandy, 272 bars iron, 6 bundles iron, 46 sacks cocoa shells.	\$749.23
March 29	Thos. C. Jones & master Brig "William" Rich'd & John Pedrick, Larkin Thorndike, John Hooper, Jos. Story & master	" Calcutta	Benj. Andrews	600 bags brown sugar, 2 bales carpets, 94 bags ginger, 2 cases hats, 5 2/3 cases indigo, 300 bags brown sugar, — silk goods, 1 bale carpets, 47 bags ginger, 1 case hats, 5 1/3 cases indigo, 34 bags sugar, 296 bags brown sugar, 1 case indigo, 72 bags brown sugar.	\$8112.59
April 25	Schooner "Four Sisters" Ebenezer G. Evans, Henry A. Quiner, Benj. T. Hooper, Sam'l Bowden, Sam'l Roads, Benj. Gardner, J. H. Gregory, Jos. Gregory Jr., Wm. Tucker, Nich. Procter, Jesse Blanchard, John Hooper, R. & W. Hooper, Edmund Kimball, John Bartlett, Rob't Farrier & master	from Martinique	Michael Bowden	153 casks & hhds. molasses, 60 boxes & bbls. sugar, 2 casks rum, 2 boxes china ware.	\$1166.96
May 25	Sch. "Five Sisters" Leavitt Kingsbury, Benj. T. Hooper, R. & I Hooper, Henry A. Quiner, Andrew Lackey, Sam'l Knight, Joshua O. Bowden, Geo. Bridges, John A. Blacklee, Joel Newhall, Sam. Manning, John Brown Jr., J. H. Gregory	from Martinique	John Doliber	145 casks & hhds. molasses, 19 boxes & bbls. sugar, 2 casks rum, 3 boxes citron.	\$1122.66

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
1820	<i>Consignees</i>				
May 31	Brig "Hope" from Bilbao & Isle of May	John Dixey	733	hhds. salt, 23 sacks cocoa shells.	\$1514.36
June 8	Schooner "Caesar" "Rob't Hooper & master"	John Broughton		122 casks & bbls. molasses, 20 boxes claret wine, 19 doz. bottles do., 2 boxes noyeau.	\$549.89
June 28	Brig "Dido" John Hooper, Alex. Malcolm, Bartlett Francis & master	Philip Bessom		866 hhds. salt, 84 boxes lemons, 1 cask sherry wine, 49 boxes raisins, 1 frail figs.	\$1826.45
July 5	Schooner "Speedwell" P. Bessom	Simon Lamprell		122 casks molasses, 37 casks sugar.	\$1472.92
July 6	Brig "Phoebe" Wm. Hooper & master	Jos. Procter		271 hhds. salt, 98 sacks cocoa shells, 40 jars olives, 3 matts grapes, 58 sacks almonds, 7 casks Catalonia wine, 1 cask sherry.	\$879.97
July 17	Brig "Mentor" Jos. Procter	Pharis Shirley		465 hhds. salt.	\$1023.—
July 25	Schooner "Jachin" Wm. Reed	John Warner		40 casks molasses, 11 casks brown sugar.	\$470.78
July 28	Brig "Rolla" Jesse Blanchard, John C. Blackler	John Hooper Jr.		75 casks molasses, 16 bbls. & boxes brown sugar.	\$899.25
Aug. 21	Ship "Java" John Hooper Jr., Francis Blackler, George Wilson	Nicholson Broughton		— bars iron, 126 bundles hemp, 467 matts sail cloth, 50 bales ravens duck, 5 bales brown sheeting, 49 chests Souchong tea, 5 bales tarpaulin cloth, 21 sacks feathers, 1 basket quills, ½ bale diapers, 211 matts sail cloth, 2 bales ravens duck, 7 bales brown flems, 5 bales white flems, 14 pairs shoes, 6½ bales diapers, 1 trunk diapers, 1 trunk sable skins, 5 bales tarpaulin cloth, 4 sacks feathers, 1 bale boys caps, 4 matts sail cloth, 1 sack feathers, 400 quills	\$9863.20
		Nat. Hooper & master		1 package silk goods.	

Sept. 11	Sch. "Regulator"	" St. Domingo	John Quiner	97 bags & casks coffee, 11 casks cocoa.	\$1243.09
Sept. 25	Henry A. Quiner	"	Jas. Lyon Jr.	48 casks, bbls. & boxes brown sugar, 14 casks & hhd. molasses.	\$1424.01
	Sch. "Sally"	" Guadeloupe			
	Jos. W. Green, Nat. Hooper,				
	Jas. Oliver, Wm. Haskell, Wm. Reed, Jos. Hidden, H. A. Quiner, Geo. Wilson, Jas. Harris & master				
Oct. 13	Schooner "America" from Martinique		Thos. P. James	152 casks molasses, 4 bbls. brown sugar, 12 bags coffee, 9 bbls. brown & 2 bbls. white sugar, 25 bbls. brown sugar, 2 casks rum—a lot of old iron.	\$1158.21
	Leavitt Kingsbury, Wm. Haskell, J. Howe, Neal C. Lemmon & master.				\$1370.27
Oct. 25	Sch. "President"	" St. Andrews	Ebenezer Graves	123 sacks wool, 24 sacks cocoa shells.	\$10.06
Oct. 26	John Hooper	"	Rob't Hooper Jr.	1 box glass ware, 6 pots preserves, 1 bag coffee.	\$2.97
	Ship "Ganges"	"			
Oct. 31	R. Hooper Jr.	"	John Broughton	1 package books.	\$590.11
	Schooner "Caesar"	" Hamburg			
Nov. 1	J. Robins	"	Geo. Chinn	388 cwt. hemp, 1 bundle table linen.	\$457.01
	Sch. "Regulus"	" Archangel			
Nov. 10	Thos. Fettyplace	"	Simon Lamprell	97 casks molasses, 1 bbl. brown sugar.	\$13851.80
	Sch. "Speedwell"	" Guadeloupe			
Nov. 20	Nat. Hooper & master	"	John Girdler	1547 bags coffee, 391 cannisters brown sugar, 1 basket glass ware, 25 boxes sago, 124 bags coffee, 5 boxes of ?, 20 bags coffee, 20 straw mats, 1 box glass ware, 10 bags coffee, 1 box cassia, 34 small bags sago.	\$845.95
	Brig "Orient"	" Batavia			
	John Hooper, Wm. Hooper Jr., Glover Broughton, Benj. Pedrick & master			29 casks & bags coffee.	
1821					
Jany. 10	Schooner "Romp"	"	Geo. Barker		
	Jesse Blanchard, John Miller & master				

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Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	CARGO	<i>Duties</i>
1821					\$143.03
Jan. 15	Brig "Hope" from Rio de Janeiro Sam. Blackler, Wm. Dennis, Wm. Goodwin, Jos. Green & master	John Dixey		17 bbls. brown sugar, 2 bags coffee.	
Mch. 19	Brig "Rolla" John Hooper 2d	John Hooper Jr.		70 bags coffee, 40 pieces brown sheeting, 152 bars iron.	\$505.14
Mch. 28	Brig "Union" Wm. Fettyplace, Nat. Hooper, Thos. Jefferson, Israel Munson, Henry Hall & master	Simon J. Williams		3 casks claret wine, 2 casks muscat do., 4 baskets oil, 1 cask muscat wine, 2 casks verdigris, 7 casks cream of tartar, 47 casks malaga wine, 117 casks claret wine, 2 casks muscat do., 56 cases olive oil, 14 cases olives, 1 cask white wine, 4 cases red ditto, 184 bottles red ditto, 1 case macaroni, 3 cases olive oil, 1 marble altar, 2 chandeliers, 1 foot piece, 1 box books & engravings, 2 casks Colmar wine, 1 cask cream of tartar, 46 cases olive oil, 6 cases anchovies, 2 cases crapes, 48 jars olives, 2 jars grapes, 1 box paper, 4 pairs silk hose, 3 pairs worsted hose, 28 casks claret wine, 3 casks malaga wine, 1 cask muscat wine, 400 empty bottles, 6 bbls. almonds, 4 frails figs, 73 boxes raisins, 2 packages sewing silk, 1 package lace.	\$2037.98 \$767.30
April 7	Schooner "President" John Hooper & master	Bilbao Ebenezer Graves		297½ hhds. salt, 134 sacks cocoa shells.	\$158.98
May 1	Sch. "Spring Bird" N. Tucker	Ile of May Nich. Tucker			
May 1	Brig "Hannah" P. Shirley	Rio de Janeiro Pharis Shirley		5 bags hair, 2 bags sugar.	\$16.48

May 15	Schooner "Romp"	"	Guadaloupe	Michael Bowden	128 casks molasses, 21 bottles castor oil.	\$643.17
May 16	Schooner "America"	"	St. Thomas	Thos. P. James	17 casks rum, 10 casks sugar, 27 bags coffee, old iron.	\$955.57
May 18	Brig "Phoebe"	"	Cadiz	Jos. Procter	319½ hhd. salt, 27 sacks cocoa shells, 2 sacks corks, 288 jars olives, 5 casks sherry wine, 6 jars olives.	\$768.44
June 2	Brig "Alexander"	"	Martinique	Henry Kemp	76 casks molasses, 1 cask, 1 box, 23 bottles claret wine, 200 baskets olive oil.	\$634.44
July 7	Brig "Union"	"	Cape Haytien	Ebenezer G. Evans	7 old anchors, 50 bags coffee, 13 matts Russia duck.	\$415.73
Aug. 17	Schooner "Five Sisters"	"	Martinique	John Dolliber	177 casks molasses, 4 bbls. sugar.	\$762.57
20	Brig "Union"	"	Gibraltar	Simon T. Williams	3 trunks sewing silk.	\$213.05
Aug. 17	Schooner "Speedwell"	"	St. Eustatia & Brazil	Glover Broughton	19 casks sugar, 6 casks & 12 pots molasses, 151 bags cocoa, 1 cask rum, 22 casks & bbls. arrow root.	\$947.58
Aug. 20	Sch. "Osprey"	"	St. Petersburg	Sam'l Tishew	200 packages sail cloth, 55 bales ravens duck, 491 cwt. hemp, 736 bars iron, 15 packages half duck, 8 matts sail cloth, 9 sable skins, 4 packages sail cloth, 1 box sheet iron.	\$2653.61
Aug. 21	Brig "Hope"	"	St. Petersburg	John Dixey	100 casks tallow, 75 boxes candles, 903 cwt. hemp, 366 bars iron, 139 packages sail cloth, 40 bales ravens duck, 25 bales brown sheetings, 13 bales diapers, 25 packages sail cloth, 2 bales ravens duck, 1 bale brown sheeting, 2 boxes glass, 2 bales diapers, 1 box candles, 5 packages half duck.	\$4857.17

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
Sept. 7	Schooner "Sarah" from Martinique Wm. & Nat. Hooper, Porter & Green, Geo. Bridgeo, John Johnson, master & others	John Russell	118	hds. molasses, 4 pots tamarinds.	\$545.19
Sept. 21	Sch. "Essex" " Pernambuco W. & N. & R. & J. Hooper, J. H. Gregory, Wm. Reed & master	Nathl. Adams	113	boxes & bbbls. brown sugar.	\$1864.11
Sept. 24	Brig "Hannah" " St. Petersburg Wm. Reed, Mary Patten & master	Pharis Shirley	1086	bars iron, 52 bundles hemp, 120 bales sail cloth, 20 bales ravens duck, 10 bales brown sheeting, 1 bale white do., 8 bales diaper, 1 bale ravens duck, 1 bale white sheeting, 2 bundles hemp, 14 poods feathers, 1 bale brown sheeting.	\$2980.86
Sept. 28	Schooner "William" " Martinique John H. Gregory, Sam. Graves	J. L. Wormstead	122	casks & bbbls. molasses, 14 casks & boxes claret wine, 60 bottles do.	\$553.22
Oct. 1	Brig "Hannah" " Martinique Nat. Hooper, Geo. Barker, Geo. Wil- son, master & others	Wm. Russell Jr.	85	casks molasses.	\$448.45
Oct. 8	Schooner "Caesar" " Bilbao R. & J. Hooper & master	John Broughton	195	sacks merino wool, 12 hams.	\$3773.77
Nov. 5	Brig "Union" " St. Thomas W. & N. Hooper	Ebenezer G. Evans	49	boxes olive oil, 1 bbl. brown sugar.	\$90.01
Nov. 12	Schooner "President" " Bilbao N. & J. Hooper, John Bartlett & master	Ebenezer Graves	95	bags merino wool, 2 do. do., 22 bags cocoa shells.	\$2639.55
Dec. 1	Sch. "Cherub" " Guadaloupe Henry N. Quiner	— Snow	157	casks molasses.	\$545.80

(To be continued.)

WITCHCRAFT.

BY FRED GIBSON ROBBINS, M. D., D. M. D.

Sir Walter Scott, in his "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," says: "It appears then, that the ideas of superstition which the more ignorant converts to the Christian faith borrowed from the wreck of the classical mythology, were so rooted in the minds of their successors that these found corroboration of their faith in demonology in the practice of every pagan nation whose destiny it was to encounter them as enemies, and that as well within the limits of Europe, as in every other part of the globe to which their arms were carried. In a word, it may be safely laid down that the commonly received doctrine of demonology, presenting the same general outlines, though varied according to the fancy of particular nations, existed through all Europe. It seems to have been founded originally on feelings incident to the human heart, or diseases to which the human frame is liable—to have been largely augmented by what classic superstitions survived the ruins of paganism—and to have received new contributions from the opinions collected among the barbarous nations, whether of the east or of the west."

Now, in order that we may get some idea as to the origins of witchcraft, let us go back to the period when Christianity was emerging from paganism, and there observe, if possible, how, with the teaching of a new religion, there arose such confusion of the understanding that instead of wisdom a devouring superstition and the most maniacal fanaticism came to develop.

Amongst the Greeks and Romans magic had a totally different character from that which it assumed in the Judaic-Christian faith, for in this the devil was held to play the chief part. The magical arts were not, in old times, attributed to the influence of the powers of darkness but to people who were in familiar intercourse with the gods and demons. The ancient German and northern elves approximated nearer to those of the Christian world; in fact, it may be said they constitute, to a certain degree, the foundation and underwork of the following witch

period. For here men understood by sorcery, rather the operation of secret powers, which were ascribed to wicked men and fallen beings and not to the gods who performed the higher miracles and who merely worked for good; the original idea of magic being that of enquiring into the secret powers of nature in order to use them to advantage.

Soothsaying women at the period of the diffusion of Christianity were very numerous in parts of Europe, and as they were equally frequent amongst the ancient votaries of the gods and as those gods came to be regarded as demons and evil spirits, consequently the strange doings of these women came to be regarded as produced by the help of demons and the women themselves as witches and the accomplices of devils. In the early days of the church the Fathers did not altogether regard divination in this evil point of view, for Clemens of Alexandria says, "There are among the Germans so-called prophetic women who according to the running of the river and the form of the waves, etc., divine and foretell future events." Later, when the superstitious belief in the devil and evil spirits had increased; when natural phenomena were attributed to the influence of the devil; when the people through a rabid fanaticism came to confess impossibilities and judges and the clergy accepted the confessions of imaginative or, shall we say, deranged persons as true, then the Black Art was in full sway; the devil had reached the summit of his power and the name of witch was a terror to everyone; for then the witch was no longer the prophetic or so-called "wise woman"—the original meaning—but a person who had made an actual, deliberate, formal compact with Satan. By this agreement she was to become his faithful subject and do all in her power to aid him in his rebellion against God and the church, and in return Satan was to grant to her supernatural powers. Thus a witch was considered as a person who had transferred allegiance and worship from God to the devil. This compact was supposed to confer great additional power on the devil as well as on the person, for it was thought that for him to act on men the intervention and co-operation of human beings was necessary. And once the agreement

had been made, the combined powers of the two working together was supposed to be unlimited. A witch was considered as able to afflict any person she would. She could cause them to pine away or to go into convulsions. She could injure persons in various ways, by choking and by causing them to lose their minds, by bringing about disease, pain, torture, and even to cause death. An indefinite amount of supernatural knowledge was attributed to witches as well as knowledge such as no other had. It was believed that those who had made a compact with the devil had been marked by him somewhere on the body, and that this point was callous and without sensation so that if, on examination, any spot was found which was insensible or if there was any excrescence, induration or fixed discoloration, it was looked upon as evidence of guilt.

Witches were believed to assume the shape of any animal they wished, as dog, cat, mouse, toad. Yellow birds in particular were supposed to represent witches. Imps were thought to be under the control of witches and these in the form of insects, particularly spiders, and to obtain nourishment from the witchmark on the body of the suspect. It was believed that a witch could be anywhere at any time and exert her powers through her spirit or apparition. She could also operate by means of an image which was supposed to represent the person she wished to afflict. This image might be of wax or it might be a doll or a simple bundle of rags, and whatever the witch did to this puppet would be suffered by the one represented. When anyone was arrested on the charge of witchcraft, a search was made for these, and if anything could be found that might possibly possess that character—it need be but a simple piece of cloth wrapped up, or a cushion; and particularly if there were any pins in it—it was considered as important and decisive evidence against the accused.

In the fifth century St. Jerome himself was obliged to fight with devils—once he was flogged by them.

The ideas of St. Augustine had a direct tendency to countenance the belief in the intercourse of witches and devils.

John of Damascus speaks of the devils as flying dragons, as burning, long serpents, thick as pine trees, who speed through the air and enter through windows and have communication with those in alliance with them. He also speaks of sorcery by which men and beasts are tormented and by which children are bewitched even during the period of gestation and are destroyed at birth.

The animal metamorphoses are mentioned by the first Bishop of Cremona (Luitprand) at that time imperial ambassador at Constantinople and in the year 963 interpreter at Rome. Pope Sylvester II (999) was declared to have obtained his office by means of the Black Art. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the moral and intellectual horizon grew brighter through increase of knowledge and religious enlightenment. At this period the devil was represented in fables and ballads as a wag who carried on much sport and was easily expelled by the help of a saint or making the sign of the cross.

From the thirteenth century on the belief began to rage again and towards its end many books existed on the subject. By means of these, the fear of the devil, superstition and the belief in the apparition of spirits became universal. It was during this century that a nun named Marcella was persecuted by the devil but the Angel Gabriel brought her a piece of wood out of Paradise, with the smoke of which she drove away the devil. The Archbishop Edmund of Canterbury was greatly persecuted by the devil. How widely diffused witchcraft was then may be judged by the statement "that in Germany and Italy especially such numbers of men were seduced to sorcery that the whole earth was overflowed by it and would have been laid waste by the devil had they not in both countries burnt some thirty thousand heretics." During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the belief rose to its complete height and growth and from this time on heresy and witchcraft were placed in the same category, for seeing or having a vision of the devil was the same as having intercourse with him and was a falling from grace. The black mastery now rested on authority and law, on the spiritual and secular powers.

Superstition and fanaticism persecuted the miserable witches and burnt them as heretics. An accusation made from suspicion or enmity was held to be sufficient; this was followed by a criminal trial and the trial by burning. It was no matter whether the accused confessed or not. If he admitted it he was guilty, if he denied it he was punished as a miserable sinner.

Southern France was regarded as the nursery of heresy and the Black Art, to which its location on the Mediterranean and in the vicinity of Spain contributed. The oldest account of the witch Sabbath lays the scene here. From the south of France the belief in magic diffused itself in two principal directions, the one towards Italy, the other towards Paris, the north of France, and Lorraine. From Italy, where the witch mania raged, and especially in upper Italy, and where Verona was particularly mentioned in a pope's bull the witch fever extended itself into the Tyrol and upper Germany.

Finally, the belief having reached its acme in the fifteenth century, it strengthened itself by diffusion and its dignity was increased by the sacred sanction. The distinction of this period is that from now on they were chiefly women who were accused of witchcraft after some few men and those of high rank had been executed on those charges. Amongst the women burned at this period was Joan of Arc. The prosecution of witches was now formally sanctioned by the sorcery bull of Innocent VIII and finally through the Witch Hammer the Court of Heresy received its full authority; but while Innocent established and promulgated the witch prosecutions through his bull, he was not precisely the originator, for the belief in witchcraft and the executions had preceded this period.

The contents of this bull, dated Dec. 4, 1484, are as follows:

The pope expresses his grief that in many parts of Germany many persons of both sexes, forgetful of their salvation and falling away from the Catholic faith, mingle themselves with demons and paramour devils (Incubi and Succubi) and then by their aid and magical means use devilish arts to torment men and animals, affect unspeak-

ably numerous evils, and destroy the fruits of the earth as vineyards, gardens and meadows; disastrously affect both men and women and perpetrate incalculable crimes. The pope conferred, by virtue of this bull, power on three appointed preachers to expound the word of God, in those countries, to the faithful, to hunt out heretics and to punish them by excommunication, censure and chastisement, by interdict and suspension, and even to hang them without any power of appeal. He commanded the right reverend brother the Bishop of Strasbourg, not by any means, either of himself or by others, to make known publicly to the accused the charge against him; he was not allowed to weaken or restrict the power of the said apostolic letters by any means whatsoever; nor to contradict nor resist the orders of the commissioners, let the rank, office, privileges, nobility, or consideration of the accused be whatsoever they might.

Through this ordinance the inquisitors had an easy time of it, for no one dared to contradict their opinion. Hitherto, the people and the judicial authorities had acknowledged the power of the Pope only in matters of faith and not in matters of this kind. For some centuries men had prosecuted heretics, and many of those so accused were charged with sorcery; for, as has been stated, heresy and sorcery were in the same category; but the witch prosecutions had not been formally recognized and the judge might be summoned to a higher tribunal to answer for his judgment, as happened to the judges in the Arras witch trials in 1459. The secular authorities up to now had been the deciding judgment, but by this bull heresy and sorcery were linked together and the secular authority was placed in subjection to that of the inquisitors.

A few years later (probably 1489) appeared the Witch Hammer, previously spoken of, which ominous work of some six hundred odd pages in quarto, is worthy of examination.

THE WITCH HAMMER.

The complete title of the book is *Malleus Malificarum*; its purpose was to demonstrate by means of the Scripture, and the fathers of the church, and by philosophical writ-

ings, not only the possibility but the actuality of sorcery; in fact, to prove it beyond all doubt. It was the code in which everything which belonged to witchcraft was clearly and fully set forth. The authors were appointed by the Pope and were styled in the sorcery bull *Inquisitors*. These were Jacobus Sprenger, Johannes Gremper, and Henricus, Institor in Germany. To the book was prefixed the papal bull and a testimony of approbation from the theological faculty at Cologne; also they had a diploma from the Emperor Maximilian.

In the *Witch Hammer* the idea of witchcraft is systematically determined. Witches, sorcerers, and sorceresses are people who deny God and renounce him and his grace; who have made a league with the devil; who have given themselves up to him body and soul; who attend his assemblies and sabbaths, and receive from him poison powder and as his subjects receive commands from him to injure and to destroy men and animals; who through devilish arts stir up storms, damage the corn, the meadows and the fields, and confound the powers of nature. As the witches are more especially the object of his attention, and as they carry on more feminine avocations, such as milking the neighbors' cows, making witch butter, fortune telling, etc., they are the more numerous offenders. The book is divided into three principal parts containing various chapters and episodes. The first division contains eighteen queries on everything under the head of sorcery. Some of these we will take up briefly.

"The devil is the chief person through whose aid sorcery takes place by the divine permission. The belief in this is orthodox; the assertion of the contrary is heresy."

On the question how the devil acts in witches it is answered, "The devil, in fact, operates alone, as in the case of Job, but the witches are necessary instruments for his corporal actions because the devil, being a spiritual being, needs a vehicle through which to exercise his power."

A highly important question is whether in the connections with the devil real children are begotten. This question is often asked in the witch trials. The question is answered succinctly in the affirmative; to doubt it were heresy.

One of the most entertaining chapters is the answer to the query as to why women are more given to sorcery than men. It says, "The holy fathers of the church always assert that three things, whether for good or evil, know no bounds, namely the tongue, a priest and a woman. As to the tongues it is quite clear that the Holy Ghost conferred fiery tongues on the apostles; amongst preachers the tongue is like the tongues of the dogs which licked the sores of Lazarus. So there are amongst all men, amongst the clergy as well as others, wicked and unwholesome tongues. As to women it is also very clear, for the wise Solomon gives his experience of them and St. Chrysostom says: "Marriage is a very doubtful thing; for what is a woman but an enemy to friendship, an unavoidable punishment, a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable misfortune, a domestic danger, a perpetual fountain of tears, a mischief of nature overlaid with a glittering varnish?"

Seneca says: "A woman loves or hates; there is no third course. If she weeps there is deceit afloat, for two kinds of tears bedew the eyes of women, the one kind are evidences of their pain, the other of their deceit and cunning. But of good wives the fame is also unbounded and men and indeed whole countries have been saved by them." The Witch Hammer then turns from this subject and draws this conclusion—that women are more addicted to sorcery than men from these causes: First, their easiness of faith; second, from the weakness of their constitutions, by which they become more susceptible to revelations; third, on account of their slippery tongues and their inquisitive wits, by which they tempt the devil and get too far for him to get back again. A number of crimes are enumerated against the female sex, as squabbling, envy, stiffneckedness—this latter because they were made out of Adam's crooked rib.

Another question treats of witch midwives who injure the fruits, produce untimely births, and carry children under the chimneys or into the open air and dedicate them to the devil.

Another: Comparison of the devil's work and witches' works—the witches are worse than the devil.

There are three kinds of men whom witchcraft cannot touch: magistrates, clergymen exercising the pious rites of the church, and saints who are under the immediate protection of the angels. Of course, inquisitors and judges stand first under the protection of God.

An item from the chapter on the ceremonies of abjuration: "A woman in Basle had intercourse with the devil; but God took pity on her poor soul, for very shortly before the completion of this time she was happily discovered by us and burned. She confessed her sins very penitently."

The second part consists of two chief questions, as to how witchcraft is to be done away with. The means are physical and spiritual. Of the first, smoke is a means; of the last, prayers and making the sign of the cross.

The third part contains the criminal code which was to be used, and consists of some thirty-five questions in which the whole process of trial from the arrest to the judgment is fully detailed.

Here are one or two of them:

Should a defence be allowed? And if an advocate defended his client beyond what was reasonable should he too not be considered guilty? No wonder there was no great zeal shown in defending those accused.

On torture: In order to bring the accused to voluntary confession you may promise her life; this promise may afterward be withdrawn.

On the discovery of a witch: Among others it is a damning thing if the accused on being brought up cannot at once shed tears.

By this somewhat rambling outline of the Witch Hammer we have some acquaintance with the conditions, the means, and the aim of the witch prosecutions.

Among the celebrated trials in Europe were the ones at Arras in France in 1459; at Mora in Sweden, 1670; and that of the nun Maria Reuata at Warzburg, Germany, in 1749. This was the last one in that country. Probably the last execution in Europe was at Clarus in Switzerland in 1780.

Among other books treating of witchcraft which may

be mentioned is the *Demonology* of James I who was a firm believer in it. This production is in form and contents similar to the *Witch Hammer*. It is stated that he was instructed in the Black Art by a witch in return for which he gave her her life. Another work which is of especial interest to us is the "Discourse of the damned art of Witchcraft" by William Perkins referred to as "the learned pious and painful preacher of God's word at Cambridge." This work went through several editions and had a wide circulation. It is stated that perhaps he was the writer who had the greatest influence on this subject in England and America during the 17th century. This work was the great authority on the subject and our interest lies in the fact that Mr. Parris who was beyond all others the busiest and most active prosecutor at the witch trials in Salem, had a copy in his possession.

And now let us take up this report of an English trial which is one often referred to in works on this subject:

The most interesting trial is that of the Suffolk witches because Sir Matthew Hale was the Judge and Sir Thomas Browne was the medical expert witness. In this case tried at the assizes at Bury St. Edmunds on March 16, 1664, two widows named Rose Cullender and Amy Duny were accused of bewitching young children. The main points of the evidence were these. There had been a quarrel between the accused and the parents of the children; the accused had uttered threats against them. The children fell into fits and vomited crooked pins, and once one of them vomited a two-penny nail with a broad head; they cried out the names of the accused in their fits; they could not pronounce the names "Lord," "Jesus" or "Christ" in reading but when it came to "Satan" or "devil" they cried, "This bites but makes one speak it right well." One of the children fell into a swoon after being suckled by one of the accused, and out of the child's blanket fell a great toad which exploded in the fire like gunpowder, and immediately afterwards the alleged witch was seen sitting at home maimed and scorched.

Evidence of finding the witch's mark was given, and then evidence of reputation, viz.:— that the accused, be-

sides being themselves accounted as witches, had had some of their kindred condemned as such. A farmer swore that once when his cart had touched Cullender's house it overturned continually and they could not get it home. Sir Thomas Browne testified that the swooning fits were natural, heightened to great excess by the subtlety of the devil co-operating with the witches. Experiments upon the children were then made in Court by bringing them into contact with the witches and others. These were of so unsatisfactory a nature that many present openly declared that they thought the children impostors. The chief baron in his summing-up said that there were such creatures as witches was undoubted, for the Scriptures affirmed it and the wisdom of nations had provided laws against such persons. The report alleges that after conviction of the accused the children immediately recovered.

"The result of this important trial established decisively the interpretation of English law, and the printed report of it was used as an authoritative text-book in the Court at Salem." (Upham).

A report of a Scotch trial is not without interest, for here we have an account of a witch Sabbath:

The confession of Agnes Sympson to King James:

"Item: Fyled and convict for samecle, as she confest before his Majesty that the devil in man's likeness met her going out in the fields, from her own house a Keith betwixt five and six at even being alone and commedit her to be at Northborrick Kirk the next night. And she passed then on horseback, conveyed by her good-son called John Cooper, and lighted at the Kirk-yard or a little before she came to it, about eleven hours at even. They danced along the Kirk-yard, Geilie Duncan plaid to them on a trump, John Fien, mussiled, led all the rest, the said Agnes and her daughter followed next. Besides there were Kate Grey, George Moile's wife, Robert Guerson, Catherine Duncan Buchanan Thomas Barnhill and his wife, Gilbert Macgil, John Macgil, Catherine Macgil with the rest of their complices, above an hundred per

sons, whereof there were six men and all the rest women. The women made first their homage and then the men. The men were turned nine times Widdershins about and the women six times. John Fien blew up the doors and in the lights, which were like mickle black candles sticking round about the pulpit. The devil started up himself in the pulpit, like a mickle black man and everyone answered here. Mr. Robert Guerson being named, they all ran hirdie girdie, and were angry; for it was promised he should be called Robert the Comptroller alias Rob the Rowar for expriming of his name. The first thing he demandit was, as they kept all promise, and been good servants, and what they had done since the last time they convened.

“At his command they opened up three graves, two within and one without the Kirk and took off the joints of their fingers toes and neise, and parted them among them; and the said Agnes Sympson got for her part a winding sheet and two joints. The devil commandit them to keep the joints upon them while they were dry and then to make a powder of them to do evil withal. Then he commandit them to keep his commandments, which were to do all the evil they could. Before they departed they kissed his breech. He (the devil) had on him ane gown and ane hat which were both black; and they that were assembled part stood and part sate; John Fien was ever nearest the devil at his left elbock. Graymarcal kepted the door.¹

We come now to a consideration of Witchcraft in this country. Just when the first case of witchcraft arose in New England is not quite definite. It is stated by Hutchinson that it was in 1645 in Springfield, but it is not certain that he has not confounded the Springfield case of 1651 with this date.

The first execution was that of Margaret Jones at Charlestown in 1648. She was accused, found guilty and hanged. If any records ever existed they were destroyed.

¹ From The Confessions of Certain Scotch Witches, taken out of an authentic copy of their trial at the Assizes held at Paisley in Scotland, Feb. 16, 1678, touching the bewitchment of Sir George Maxwell.—*Demonologia*, by J. S. F., London, 1833.

The journals of Governor Winthrop contain an account—probably the best—of this case.

In 1649 Mary Parsons, wife of Hugh Parsons of Springfield, was found guilty of slander for circulating a report that the Widow Marshfield was practicing Witchcraft; in 1651 Mary Parsons was herself accused of the practice and was tried in Boston that same year and acquitted of the charge. Hugh Parsons, her husband, was tried and acquitted in 1652.

John Bradstreet of Rowley was tried in 1652 on a charge of "familiarity with the devil." On examination it was found he had lied and as this was his second offence he had the choice of paying a fine or being whipped.

Ann Hibbins of Boston in 1655 was found guilty by a jury but the judges refused to receive the verdict. She was then turned over to the General Court who found her guilty and she was sentenced to be hanged by Gov. John Endicott. The sentence was carried out even though she was a sister of Deputy Governor Bellingham.

Ann Cole of Hartford, Conn., in 1662, together with a man and his wife by the name of Greensmith, was concerned in something for which a charge of witchcraft was brought against them. She made some sort of a confession and the Greensmith woman confessed that a demon had had carnal knowledge of her with much seeming delight to herself. Two were executed and one condemned, but probably not hanged.

The case of Elizabeth Knapp of Groton occurred in 1671. She was subject to moods and violent physical reactions, including fits, in which she would cry out, "money, money," offered as an inducement to yield obedience, and "sin and misery," for refusal to obey the wishes of her visitant. She charged the Rev. Samuel Millard, who has left a record of this case, together with some others of his parish, with being her tormentors.

It is of interest to compare the accounts of these cases with those of Upham. He says: "Hutchinson mentions a case of witchcraft in Hartford in 1662, where some women were accused, and after being proceeded against until they were confounded and bewildered, one of them made the

most preposterous confessions, which ought to have satisfied everyone that her reason was overthrown; three of them were condemned and one, certainly—probably all—executed. . . . Another case is mentioned by him as having occurred, in 1671, at Groton, in which the party confessed, and thereby avoided condemnation.”

The first important case in Essex County was that which occurred in the family of William Morse of Newbury in 1679. There were living together, Morse, his wife and a grandson about twelve years of age. Many strange things happened in the house, according to the testimony of Morse. A man by the name of Powell told Morse that he had seen the boy do the things—and it was a fact that they did not happen when the boy was absent. None the less, Morse turned on Powell and charged him with witchcraft, of which charge he was acquitted. Complaint was then made against Mrs. Morse and she was tried and convicted. A reprieve was granted, and in 1681 a new trial was voted by the House of Deputies. The records do not show whether or not she was tried again or how she obtained her freedom, but she was not executed.

In 1688 the four children of the Goodwin family in Boston began to be strangely affected, making noises like animals, being at times deaf, dumb or blind; having their limbs distorted and complaining of being pricked, punched and the like. A pious minister was called in, witchcraft was suspected and an Irish woman—Glover by name—whose daughter was laundress in the family, was taken up on the charge. The laundress had been accused by the oldest child, a girl named Martha, of stealing some linen and there had been words between the Glover woman and the children. Five ministers held a day of fasting and prayer and the woman was tried, found guilty and executed.

Another account of this case is given by Ennemoser:

“Though Increase Mather was absent he had a zealous representative in his son, Cotton Mather, a young minister of five-and-twenty, a prodigy of learning, eloquence and piety, recently settled as colleague with his father over Boston North Church. Cotton Mather had an extraor-

dinary memory, stuffed with all sorts of learning. His application was equal to that of a German professor. His lively imagination, trained in the school of Puritan theology, and nourished on the traditionary legends of New England, of which he was a voracious and indiscriminate collector, was still further stimulated by fasts, vigils, prayers, and meditations, almost equal to those of any Catholic saint. Like the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, he often believed himself, during his devotional exercises, to have direct and personal communication with the Deity. In every piece of good fortune he saw an answer to his prayers; in every calamity or mortification, the especial personal malice of the devil or his agents."

In order to study these cases of witchcraft at his leisure, Cotton Mather took one of the bewitched children to his house and the devil within her flattered his religious vanity to the extreme. After observing her antics, among which were throwing books at his head, he concluded to prepare an account of these extraordinary circumstances. This he did—he preached on the subject—and published it. Richard Baxter wrote the preface to the edition published in London, in which he declared that he who will not be convinced by all the evidence Dr. Mather presents that the child was bewitched "must be a very obdurate Sadducee."

Upham says: "There is reason to believe that it (*i. e.*, this affair) originated the delusion in Salem. It occurred only four years before. Dr. Mather's account of the whole transaction filled the whole country; and it is probable that the children of Mr. Parris's family undertook to re-enact it."

Here is an account of a trial in Pennsylvania, taken from Upham:

"William Penn presided in his judicial character at the trial of two Swedish women for witchcraft; the grand jury acting under instructions from him having found bills against them. They were saved, not in consequence of any reluctance to proceed against them arising out of the alleged crime, but only from some technical defect in the indictment."

Another account, probably of the same trial: "The Swedes who emigrated to the banks of the Delaware took with them all the terrors and superstitions which the wild and gloomy Scandinavian had engrafted upon Christianity, and a woman was accused of witchcraft by them in 1681. The case was brought to trial; William Penn sat as judge; and the jury, composed principally of Quakers, found the woman "guilty of the common fame of being a witch; but not guilty as she stood indicted." There were no more cases of witchcraft in Pennsylvania."

SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

Upham says "The experiment of bringing supernaturalism to operate on human affairs, to become a ground of action in society and to interfere in the relations of life, and the dealings of men with each other, was as well tried upon this people as it ever could or can be anywhere," and again, "As the fullest, most memorable and by the notice it has ever since attracted throughout the world, the pre-eminent instance and demonstration of this supposed iniquity was in the crisis that took place in Salem Village in 1692, it justly claims a place in history." Again, "There was something in the affair as it was developed here that has arrested the notice of mankind and clothed it with an inherent interest, beyond all other events of the kind that have elsewhere or ever occurred."

To attempt to give you any detailed account of the witchcraft trials in Salem would be beyond the limits of this paper; there are, however, some things connected with it that I should like to bring to your attention. The accounts state that in the family of the Rev. Samuel Parris, pastor of the church in Salem Village, were two negroes, John Indian and his wife Tituba, who were slaves brought by him from the West Indies where he had formerly lived. Upham says of them that "They may have originated the Salem witchcraft." During the winter of 1691-92, a group of young girls had been in the habit of meeting at Mr. Parris's house with his daughter and a niece who lived there, for the purpose of telling fortunes and becoming proficient in charms, magic and the like, and these children were willing listeners to the two negroes who

were versed in the folklore and mysteries of the benighted regions from which they had come.

The children, who were all girls, ranged in age from nine to twenty years. Among those who later acquired special notoriety were Ann Putnam, aged twelve, the daughter of Sergeant Thomas Putnam and a mother of unstable mentality, and Mercy Lewis, a servant in the Putnam family. In all, there were some ten of them, and these are known as the "afflicted children." It may be mentioned that there were also some married women who acted with the children, among whom was Mrs. Putnam,² the mother of Ann.

Under the instruction of the Indians, as I have said, they learned about trances, incantations and the like and being interested they were quick to learn what they were taught. It should be borne in mind in connection with this that for some fifty years witchcraft had been a problem with the colonists and it may be readily supposed that the matter was widely discussed and the popular mind much influenced by such discussions and by sermons as well. With this before them, it is very easy to understand how the children might come to absorb a great deal of knowledge concerning the practice of the black art and that with their youth and ignorance their conceptions would be much more distorted than were those of their elders. Thus there was an excellent preparation for the neurotic disturbance which the children were to exhibit later. They began to be moved by "strange caprices," that is to say, all sorts of strange antics, spasms, fits, rolling of the eyes, uttering incoherent sounds, and when these were seen by the older people there was great excitement and much concern. The news spread and the people of the village and the surrounding towns came to see them and to witness their strange behavior. The local physician, Dr. Griggs, whose niece, by the way, was one of the girls afflicted, was called in, and inasmuch as the

² Mrs. Putnam was about thirty years of age. For six months she had been constantly absorbed in what was then, as now, regarded as spiritualism. Her house had been the scene of a perpetual series of wonders, supposed to be disclosures and manifestations of a supernatural character.—*Upham*.

doctors of the time were in profound ignorance of matters pertaining to the mind and were also believers in witchcraft, he pronounced them bewitched. Mr. Parris called a meeting of clergymen from the neighboring parishes for the purpose of investigation and for prayer, and when they saw the strange actions of the girls they agreed with the diagnosis of Dr. Griggs.

At some time in the affair it is stated that Tituba claimed to know how to discover witches and with the assistance of her husband, John Indian, she made a cake out of meal mixed with the urine of the girls for that purpose. Now, as we saw in the *Witch Hammer* that the devil could act only through witches, the girls were beset by the ministers and some of the prominent people to tell who had bewitched them. They named Sarah Good, a melancholy, distracted person; Sarah Osburn, a bed-ridden old woman; and the Indian Tituba. On March 7, all three were sent to the jail at Boston. Sarah Good was later tried and convicted, and was among those hanged on July 19. Sarah Osburn died in the Boston jail. Tituba was never tried; it is stated that after lying thirteen months in jail she was sold to pay her prison fees.

The frenzy increased and accusations spread and in the trials which followed the children occupied a position of unusual distinction. They were repeatedly called upon to fix guilt upon the accused and were the chief witnesses in nearly all the trials. The evidence consisted of fits, convulsive seizures, claims of personal injury, bites and blows, in fact the whole category of hysterical manifestations; this was accepted as conclusive evidence and to the judges of that time could be accounted for by witchcraft alone. There is a similarity in all the trials in that the accused was not allowed to defend himself, the evidence varied little, the outbursts of the children constituting proof of guilt. Many of the accused confessed themselves witches for the reason "that so many people were positive the devil had appeared in their shapes they could not doubt it was true." Persons they did not suspect of falsifying intentionally testified under oath that such things had been done and they themselves could not doubt it.

The safest way, they knew, was to confess. Others, no doubt, did not believe the testimony against them but acknowledged themselves to be witches because those who confessed were discharged and those who did not were eventually convicted and executed.

On June 10, Bridget Bishop, the first one to be executed, was hanged; on July 19, five others; on August 19, five more and on September 22, eight. On September 19, Giles Corey was pressed to death for refusing to plead, a barbarous usage of the English law which was never again followed in the colonies. In all, twenty were put to death, while two, Sarah Osburn and Ann Foster, died in prison. After these convictions the court adjourned. The regular court held a session the following January and found about fifty indictments for witchcraft and twenty-one persons were tried. Three were convicted and sentenced to be hanged. They were never executed. Four were tried in Charlestown, one in Boston and five in Ipswich in May, but there were no more convictions. Finally, in May the governor issued a proclamation releasing all persons held on this charge—about 150 in number.

Only one case occurred thereafter in Massachusetts. This was in 1693. Cotton Mather says, "It was upon the Lord's Day, the 19th of Sept. in 1693, that Margaret Rule, after some hours of previous disturbance in the public assembly, fell into odd fits which caused her friends to carry her home where her fits grew in a few hours into a figure that satisfied the spectators of their being preternatural." He says further that the young woman was assaulted by eight cruel spectres. The afflictions lasted six weeks. At last the spectres flew out of the room and she, returning to herself, gave thanks to God for her deliverance. Calef says that in answer to a question, one of Margaret's friends said, "She does not eat at all, but drinks rum." Fowler says, "She had a bad case of delirium tremens."

Prosecution for witchcraft in the older countries continued after they had been abandoned here; though it soon began to be difficult everywhere to procure the conviction of a person accused of witchcraft. In 1720 an

attempt was made to renew the Salem excitement in Littleton, Massachusetts, but it failed.

There are some items concerning the trials which may be of interest:

An extraordinary case was that of Dorcas Good, the daughter of Sarah, who was between four and five years of age. She was called upon to testify against her mother and stated that her mother had three birds, of which one was black and one yellow and these birds hurt the children and afflicted persons. She was accused of being a witch herself and Ann Putnam, Mary Walcott and Mercy Lewis charged her with biting, pinching and almost choking them. The first two exhibited the customary symptoms in the presence of the witch. The marks of her teeth and the pins which they said she used in pricking them were found on their bodies. This was accompanied by shrieking on the part of the girls. The evidence was considered overwhelming and she was sent to join her mother in jail. The mother was kept in chains and it may be the child was as well.

The case of Nehemiah Abbott is of interest as being, so far as is known, the only person who was released after refusing to confess. He was arrested on April 21 and examined on the following day. At first the accusing girls said he had afflicted them and fell into fits. Others identified him as one who had appeared to them. He was asked to confess and refused. Suddenly, Mercy Lewis said, "He is not the man." Other accusers wavered. The case broke down completely and he was released.

Parris, in his account, says that when Abbott was "brought in again, by reason of much people, and many in the windows, so that the accusers could not have a clear view of him, he was ordered to be abroad and the accusers to go forth to him and view him in the light, which they did in the presence of the magistrates and many others, discoursed quietly with him, one and all acquitting him, but said, 'He was like the man but he had not the wen they saw in his apparition.'"

The only instance there is of relenting on the part of any of the afflicted children is contained in this deposition

of Sarah Ingersoll, aged about thirty years: "Seeing Sarah Churchill after her examination, she came to me crying and wringing her hands, seemingly to be much troubled in spirit. I asked her what she ailed. She answered, she had undone herself. I asked her in what. She said, in belying herself and others in saying she had set her hand to the Devil's Book, whereas she said, she never did. I told her I believed she had set her hand to the book. She answered crying, and said, 'No, no, no, I never did.' I asked her then what made her say she did. She answered because they threatened her, and told her they would put her into the dungeon, and put her along with Mr. Burroughs; and thus several times she followed me up and down, telling me that she had undone herself, in belying herself and others. I asked her why she did not deny she wrote it. She told me, because she had stood out so long in it, that now she durst not. She said also that, if she told Mr. Noyes but once she had set her hand to the book he would believe her; but if she told the truth, and said she had not set her hand to the book a hundred times, he would not believe her."

Winfield S. Nevins in his "Witchcraft in Salem Village" says: "The writer knows of a case in a Salem school within recent years, where a girl of eight or ten years would throw herself full length on the floor, and roll and writhe and pretend to be in the greatest agony. The teacher eventually discovered the imposture, but the girl continued the performances, to the amazement and consternation of other schoolgirls. When told by the teacher to get up, she would do so promptly, and go out to play."

"The reader who begins a tour of witchcraft books with 'The Witch Cult in Western Europe,' by M. A. Murray, is fortified against an error to which many modern readers are prone. Because the phenomena of bewitchment are handily explicable by modern psychiatry, it is often hastily assumed that the whole thing was only wholesale hallucination and hysterics. Now, that men and women, young and old, were ever really witches one may be permitted to doubt, but many men and women certainly thought they were; that witches ever did any damage with

waxen images and incantations one may cheerfully deny, but one must admit that many of them tried to. That they flew through the air to Sabbats we need not credit, but they were going to them on Long Island as late as the forties, when the father of a friend of mine was taken by his nurse to peep through the cracks of a deserted barn and watch a circle of elderly ladies dancing widdershins around the 'head devil,' a masked man in a woman's petticoat, playing the fiddle—to the end of his days the boy could whistle that tune. The dance concluded, they withdrew decorously enough to Connecticut, no doubt to New Haven, for there was a coven nearby—or was it Hartford? I cannot admit the statement of one of his family's servants that they crossed the sound by changing a bone into a boat, though his account of his finding the bone buried in the sand ready for a return trip is quite precise. There certainly was a well-defined ritual of witchcraft, an extraordinary and fascinating survival; the ceremonies of the Sabbat, of the Beltane, are ancient, however dishonorable. They are, according to Prof. Murray, debased forms of the prehistoric earth worship that took to earth when Christianity invaded and conquered Europe. Their fertility rites, come down from a day before agriculture, are celebrated at the turns of the pastoral year."³

The same reviewer says that the statistics of Nicholas Rémy, the witch judge of Lorraine, based his book on 900 cases executed in 15 years; the total number executed in Germany in the 17th century is estimated at 100,000; France somewhat less, though Henry of Navarre had a heavy hand at it; there were 30,000 victims in Great Britain, Scotland being especially given to it.

THE MEDICAL SIDE.

For the medical side of witchcraft, the following is an extract from an article by E. W. Taylor, A.M., M.D., James Jackson Putnam Professor of Neurology, Harvard Medical School, on "Some Medical Aspects of Witchcraft":

To us the matter presents itself essentially as a medical

³From a recent book review in "The Reader's Guide," the *Saturday Review of Literature*, Dec. 15, 1928.

or a medico-social problem of the utmost complexity, involving for its proper comprehension a study of the background upon which witchcraft itself rests, its relations, broadly considered, to the development of scientific thought and to the growth of philosophic and religious ideals. The special dramatic outburst which, through a series of apparently fortuitous circumstances, developed at Salem, serves as an example merely of what, under different conditions, has occurred in every part of the world, and will continue to occur, modified only by what we call the progress of civilization and of liberal thought. To us the scenes at Salem in 1692, especially the mental condition of the "afflicted children," bear the stamps of "group hysteria," in which suggestion, self-protection, a feeling of domination, in an atmosphere of profound belief in the actuality of witchcraft, played a dominant role. The spirit of mischief and maliciousness was certainly subordinate. The elements entering into the composition of so complex a neurosis under conditions so extraordinary are naturally elusive and quite beyond the scope of this paper to discuss except in barest outline. The evidence, even somewhat superficially presented, suffices at least to advance our knowledge to a point from which a new attack may be made on the more fundamental problem, and this must evidently be the task of the future. It is somewhat surprising that commentators and historical writers should have so definitely avoided a frank discussion of the obvious medical problems involved, in view especially of the minute analysis of the actual events. Certain allusions are made to hypnotism, to mental disorder of uncertain character, to hysteria in the popular sense, and to various hallucinatory conditions,⁴ but on the whole, those

⁴ See Wendell, B., *Were the Salem Witches Guileless?* (Hist. Collections Essex Institute, XXIX, 1892.) An ingenious attempt, colored by personal feeling, to place some of the blame on the witches themselves, on the ground that they had given themselves up to what Wendell regards as the pernicious practice of trance-mediumship. The article is further interesting as showing the lay prejudice existing thirty years ago against hypnotism and all that it was supposed to entail. The possibility of the baleful use of hypnotic methods by certain of the executed witches leads him to make the astonishing query "Whether some of the witches may not, after all, in spite of

who have been interested in the history and literature of witchcraft have not, with equal zeal, analysed the important medical bearings of the subject. Kittredge finds such discussion out of his province as indicated by his statement: "As to occult or supernormal powers and practices, we may leave their discussion to the psychologists." And yet just here lies one of the most important questions to be faced and solved if possible. Thanks to men like Charcot, Janet, Freud and Prince, a body of exact knowledge has been accumulated, and has been available for many years, which should throw much light into the dark places of the witchcraft problem. We are, therefore, altogether justified in assuming that the descriptions given of the performances of those bewitched, of the sights seen and the sounds heard and the damage done, will find explanation on the basis of demonstrated laws of mental life, discounting always the perverted imaginations of the chief actors in the play. The appearances of imps and familiars so often described were doubtless actual animals or persons, transformed at times into satanic forms to satisfy the fear or fancy of the observer, an entirely analogous experience to the effect of fear under ordinary conditions, but naturally exaggerated through the emotional abnormality of the time. The children, ignorant, suggestible, important in their own eyes as they were in others, no doubt often fearful lest their disclosures should lead to their own undoing, provided a perfectly normal soil for what appeared to be abnormal reactions. Their acts were purposive in the highest degree and yet involuntarily and often unconsciously performed, call it a splitting of consciousness, or the weakness and falseness of the evidence that hanged them, have deserved their hanging." This, so far as I am aware, is the only modern attempt to place the blame on the victims themselves, a reversion to the attitude of 1692.

Also, Beard, G. M., *The Psychology of the Salem Witchcraft Excitement of 1692, and its Practical Application to our own Time*. (Putnam, New York, 1882.) Beard finds a ready explanation for the persecutions in the conditions of "insanity, trance and hysteria," but he fails to get beneath the words to the ideas which they symbolize. His discussion is vehement but uncritical. The comparison of the state of public feeling which prevailed in the witchcraft trials and in that of Guiteau, the assassin of President Garfield, may be read with much interest in the perspective of the intervening fifty years.

dissociation, subconscious or co-conscious activity, or what one will. Herein lies the secret of the hysterical state, as manifested in the "afflicted children." The defence mechanism naturally lay in the possibility through the fits and other unconventional behavior of diverting attention from themselves and fixing it upon the convenient person of the accused witch. That this was done involuntarily, as the paralysis or convulsion of a soldier under the stress of war is involuntary, in the sense of having no conscious relation to the waking intelligence, must be accepted if we are to gain any insight into the workings of the "bewitched" mind. The children, forced into a position in which they were the arbiters of life and death, were consciously aware of the enormity of the crime of witchcraft, and had an ever-present dread, of which they were largely unaware, of being drawn into the fatal net.⁵ The self-preservative instinct was in conflict with a social situation in which they found themselves chief actors, and the result was the production of symptoms, which effected the usual compromise of saving them from being accusers of innocent persons, and at the same time protected them from their own imminent danger of being regarded as witches themselves. This in no way differs in principle from the hysterical reaction of the neurotic soldier, who faces death on the one hand and disgrace on the other, and, unbearable as both situations are, an hysterical compromise without volition on his part is effected which saves him from both

⁵ It has been generally supposed that, as the excitement grew, many adults in the community, not knowing where the next blow might fall, became accusers as a simple means of self-protection. This presumably was done in many instances with conscious intent, and consequently was not accompanied by hysterical symptoms. The children, on the other hand, according to this view, protected themselves unconsciously from the same danger, through the ordinary mental mechanism of defence, namely, hysterical symptoms, which served to divert suspicion from themselves, at the same time fixing the guilt on another person. Only in this way may be explained the outstanding fact that the elder accusers, with minor exceptions, spread rumors with no manifestations in themselves of violent hysterical symptoms, whereas the children, more impressionable, escaped through the now well-recognized unconscious and involuntary defence brought about through hysterical compromise reactions. The elders described events of supposed supernatural character; the children had fits.

alternatives, but at the expense of pronounced neurotic symptoms. The principle is one of wide application.

It requires no effort of the imagination to picture the scene at a Salem witch trial, the judges, the ministers, and people of all degrees crowding into a room much too small to accommodate all who sought admission, the morbidly curious who thronged outside, the usually mystified victim, trying to protest her own innocence while believing whole-heartedly in the existence of witchcraft in others, and finally the "afflicted children," upon whom the final judgment rested, in a state of intense nervous excitement, prepared, at a word or a sign, to pass into an hysterical state. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a more fitting setting for the development of hysterical reactions, and for this reason it is the more imperative to regard soberly and in the light of recently acquired knowledge, the apparently malicious acts of the children, who are not the least to be pitied among the various actors in the grim tragedy. The worst that may with justice be said of them is that they were ignorant, at the outset perhaps mischievous, like other children, and in the end deluded and overwhelmed by the situation in which they found themselves. The only escape from this dilemma was through hysterical reactions, for which they were in no way responsible. It will be remembered that in 1706, fourteen years later, Ann Putnam, one of the chief actors in 1692, acknowledged that what she supposed true then she had since come to regard as false, and that the devil was her tempter.⁶ Shifting the onus of the proceedings from the accused witches to the devil was apparently to many, at that time and for the succeeding century, a satisfactory explanation, though to our minds a small improvement on the original conception. The devil had lost little of his capacity for evil deeds, but his methods had become more indirect and less concerned with immediate human agents. In this be-

⁶ ". . . though what was said or done by me against any person, I can truly say before God and man, I did it not out of any anger, malice, or ill-will to any person, for I had no such thing against one of them, but what I did was ignorantly, being deluded of Satan." Nevins, *Witchcraft in Salem Village*, Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1892, p. 250.

lief intelligent people continued to live, and, we may surmise, many are still doing so in no small measure.

A psychological analysis of the conduct of those actually responsible, if, in fact, they were responsible for the prosecutions, as conducted in Salem and elsewhere, is a matter as absorbing in interest as that of the "afflicted children." When the reaction came in 1693 it was rather an awakening to the unavailability and fruitlessness of methods employed to suppress witchcraft than a disbelief in its reality. Cotton Mather's half-hearted recantation, and even Judge Sewall's public acknowledgment of his error, was not and could not have been a complete renunciation of their beliefs, since the devil for them was an ever-present reality, after, as before, the year 1692. Chief Justice Stoughton remained obdurate to the end of his life in 1702, and doubtless many others.

The attitude of the victims themselves is a curious commentary on the general state of mind of the period. Probably, without exception, those who were executed believed in the existence of witchcraft. At least, none denied it even at the supreme moments immediately before their violent deaths. They equally believed themselves wholly innocent of the crimes with which they were charged. It is a remarkable and most noteworthy fact, confirmatory of the incredible belief of the time, that not one among them repudiated the doctrine in its entirety, but died apparently with a sense of the deep justice of the cause for which they were dying, but with natural and vehement protestations of personal innocence. Such a strange conflict may hardly be seen in any other type of persecution. They were not martyrs in the ordinary sense, since they personally died for no moral cause, and they had not the slightest conviction that by this sacrifice they were even remotely helping toward the extermination of a pernicious belief.

The attitudes of the judges and others mainly concerned in the prosecutions, also offers a problem of speculative interest. The natural sense of justice which these persons presumably had in other affairs of life was for the time wholly submerged. Evidence was accepted at the trials

which marked them as the most flagrant travesties on the doctrine of individual rights. No defence was allowed. The accused was prejudged and the outcome was assured. The presumption of innocence until guilt be proved beyond reasonable doubt found no place in the procedure. All this, it would have seemed, must have outraged the sense of fairness of men of recognized integrity of character, but such was not the case. That even so powerful a motive as religious fanaticism should have misled men like the Mathers, one of them the President of Harvard College, Judges Sewall, Stoughton, Richards, Winthrop, Danforth, Governor Phips, and Rev. John Hale, when it conflicted so obviously with the recognized rights of men, in an ordered community, must remain one of the perennial riddles, until perchance some medical philosopher of broad vision may find the solution. One must go far below the surface of ethical or religious theory to reach a proper understanding of this strange psychological phenomenon, no less pathological than the performance of the "afflicted children."

We are on somewhat surer ground when we consider the more specific phenomena which witchcraft, at all periods of history, has brought into prominence. It is not difficult to explain most of them on the basis of present-day knowledge. The imagination, the limits of which are beyond accurate computation, is undoubtedly responsible for a very large number of the appearances and facts described apparently in good faith by many observers, such, for example, as animals of strange character, sundry unexplained noises and supposed apparitions. The animated controversy and discussion regarding spectral evidence is not difficult of explanation on the basis of our understanding of hallucinosis under normal and pathological conditions. The often-repeated details of levitation and strange blows delivered by unseen agents are no doubt partly the result of an imagination excited to such a degree as to be no longer controlled, and partly in the case of apparent personal violence, bites and the like, to self-imposed injury, of which the afflicted person may have had no conscious memory. In any event, we may safely assume

that the various acts of witchcraft are ultimately susceptible of natural explanation, however impossible such explanation may be in individual cases, with the facts now available.

The so-called witches' marks are easier of satisfactory understanding. Admitting, as we do, the power of suggestion to produce anæsthetic areas, the tests of pricking without pain or bleeding⁷ find a ready explanation, constantly observable in any modern neurological clinic. Skin excrescences, small epithelial tumors and other localized affections and particularly the not infrequent supernumerary nipples both in men and women,⁸ which the devil or the familiars were supposed to suck, serve to explain the "little teats," which were unequivocal evidence of the guilt of the person on whom they were found. The trial by water which looms large in the various prosecutions need be mentioned merely as a strange vagary, a form of torture, without medical significance. The often-reported vomiting of nails, pins, usually crooked, and various other objects, and the methods by which they were brought to those afflicted is illustrated, for example, in such a statement as the following: "A thing like a bee flew at the face of the younger child; the child fell into a fit; and at last vomited up a two-prong nail with a broad head; affirming that the bee brought this nail and forced it into her

⁷ Tertullian says: "It is the Devil's custom to mark his, and note that this mark is Insensible, and being prick'd it will not Bleed. Sometimes, its like a Teate; sometimes but a blewish spot; sometimes a Red one; and sometimes the flesh Sunk; but the Witches do sometimes cover them." . . . "There was a notorious Witchfinder in Scotland (no doubt, Matthew Hopkins) that undertook by a Pin, to make an infallible Discovery of suspected persons, whether they were Witches or not, if when the Pin was run an Inch or two into the Body of the accused Party no Blood appeared, nor any sense of Pain, then he declared them to be Witches; by means hereof my Author tells me no less than 300 persons were Condemned for Witches in that Kingdom." Cotton Mather, *Wonders of the Invisible World*, pp. 35 and 248, London, 1693 (Reprint, 1862).

⁸ Murray (*The Witch-cult in Western Europe*) quotes Bruce as stating that in 315 of both sexes, taken indiscriminately, 7.6 per cent had supernumerary nipples, and that this abnormality is about twice as frequent in men as in women. The occasional possibility of milk being excreted through such nipples probably accounts for the idea of giving suck to familiars.

mouth.”⁹ Of course, such statements were implicitly believed and have been reported as facts. How far there was collusion with older and designing persons, how far the victims of these incidents were themselves malingers, or the dupes of their own imaginations, cannot now be determined. About this it is fruitless to speculate in detail. In general, however, it may be assumed that superstition, trickery, self-deception, and, above all, complicated hysterical reactions, all played a part in the structure of the astonishing product which has descended to us as the intervention of the devil in the affairs of men.

When the whole subject of witchcraft in its medical aspects has been rationalized to the extent of our present ability, there will still remain the foundation-mystery upon which it is built, namely, what lies beyond the reach of the senses, and what is our relation to the “invisible world,” a belief in which persists in a large portion of the human race. Whatever our personal belief in this matter may be, we cannot refuse to consider the conviction of many thinking persons, who see no reason to doubt the existence of disembodied spirits having relations with those still living and capable of communication with them. [The story of the Witch of Endor has a strangely modern flavor, (*Samuel I*, 18).] In this we clearly see a continuation of the method of thought and belief which now, in more sublimated form, is replacing the enormity of the witchcraft persecutions of the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Upham, writing in 1869, finds little to choose between the days and methods of active witchcraft and the spiritualism of his time.

“Now it is affirmed by those calling themselves spiritualists that by certain rappings, or other incantations, they can summon into immediate but invisible presence the spirits of the departed, hold conferences with them and draw from them information not derivable from any sources of human knowledge. There is no essential distinction between the old and the new belief and practice. The consequences that resulted from the former would be likely to result from the latter, if it should obtain uni-

⁹ Mather, *loc. cit.*, p. 115.

versal or general credence, be allowed to mix with judicial proceedings, or to any extent affect the rights of person, property or character."¹⁰

Kittredge writes:

"Besides, spiritualism and kindred delusions have taken over, under changed names, many of the phenomena, real and pretended, which would have been explained as due to witchcraft in days gone by."¹¹

Witchcraft, including the earlier magic, as before indicated, cannot be dissociated from the fundamental cravings of the human mind, variously manifested in different periods of history, if the subject is to be studied in a wholly liberal spirit. Tolerance, still far from complete, has replaced gross intolerance, but the fundamental craving remains unchanged. The pursuit of the unknown and mysterious is still the most absorbing occupation of the human mind; it is well for us in all modesty to be charitable in our estimate of the past that we may escape in a measure the harsh criticism of the future, which must inevitably be our lot. There is no lack of evidence that beliefs widely held today will be no less abhorrent to our descendants than the fanaticism of witchcraft is to us.

¹⁰ Upham, *History of Witchcraft and Salem Village*, Vol. II, p. 428.

¹¹ Kittredge, *Notes on Witchcraft*, p. 63. See also Wendell, *loc. cit.*

OLD NORFOLK COUNTY RECORDS.

(Continued from Vol. LXIV, page 332.)

Elizabeth Towers of Hingham, Suffolk Co., widow, appoints her truly and well beloved friend Richard Hobart of Salisbury, smith, to collect her debts, etc., etc., and to be her true and lawful attorney. June 20, 1683. Wit: John Hayward, Notary Public, Eliezer Moody, his servt. Signed by Elizabeth [her X mark] Towers.

Mary Ewell of Boston, widow, appoints her Trusty and well beloved Cozen Mr. Richard Hubbard, her attorney to receive such gifts and legacies as hereafter may be due by virtue of my father Richard Goodale's last will, also to receive such legacies as may be bequeathed to me or my children by my mother, Mary Goodale, widow, late of Salisbury, deceased. Also grants authority to sd. Hubbard to satisfy himself for all charges in procuring the same. June 4, 1683. Wit: Isa. Addington, Jno. Allin, Jacob Morrill. Signed by Mary Ewell.

Nehemiah Goodale of Lynn, mariner, being often at sea, whereby I cannot conveniently attend my occasions a shore, appoints my loving kinsman Rich^d Hubbard of Salisbury his true and lawful attorney, to manage his affairs at Salisbury, but more especially the business of ye estate of my deare father and mother, Rich^d and Mary Goodale, deceased, and to take administration if it be needful for the final accomplishing of ye will of my deare father, which remained unaccomplished at my mother's death. Jan. 8, 1683. Wit: Moses Pike, Ann Bradbury. Ack. by Nehemiah Goodale, Jan. 8, 1683, before Robert Pike, assistant.

Henry Blasdell, of Amsbery of Essex Co., on ye north side of Merrimack river, being ye part of ye sd. County which formerly belonged unto Norfolk, in consideration of valuable satisfaction in hand, conveys to John Barnard of ye town and county abovesd, about four acres of fresh meadow in Salisbury at a place commonly called ye peece meadows, bounded by lands of William Osgood, sen., and Barnard, also butting home upon ye upland. May. 19, 1682. Ack. by Henry Blaisdell, wife Mary yielding up

her dower rights, Mar. 17, 1683-4 before Robt. Pike, assistant. Wit. Thos. Wells, William Sargent.

William Barnes, carpenter, of Amsbury, Essex County on ye north side of Merimack River, being ye part of sd. County formerly belonging unto Norfolk, for valuable satisfaction in hand, conveys to John Barnard of sd. town and county planter, land in Amsbury to run from a black *okè* tree by sd. Barnard's fence, in ye range betwixt sd Barnes and Barnard, upon a hill unto a birch tree marked down ye edge, or top of ye banke at ye entering into ye swamp, and to ye southwest corner of Sargent John Hoyt's oarchyard adjoining ye oarchyard of sd Barnard. Dec. 29, 1683. William (his Z mark) Barns. Wit. Thomas Wells, Richard Currier. Ack. by Willi: Barns Mar 17, 1683-4, before Robt. Pike, assistant.

Henry Blasdell, sen. planter, of Amsbury, Essex County, on ye North side of Merimack River, being ye part which formerly belonged to Norfolk, for a valuable sum of good pay in hand, conveys to Thomas Barnard of ye town above named, laborer, about one acre of salt marsh and creek in Salisbury, bounded by ye black rock creeke, marsh lott of Henry True and a marsh of sd. Blaisdells with a narrow neck of about one rod in width. Aug. 22, 1682. Wit: Thomas Wells, Thomas fframe. Ack. by Henry Blaisdell, his wife Mary consenting thereto and yielding up her dower rights, Mar. 17, 1683-4 before Robert Pike, assistant.

The disposall of part of ye lands of Tho: Barnard, sen., late of Salisbury, who died intestate, by a committee appointed by ye county court.

Imp. to his Relict:

The dwelling house, barne and homstead	140: 00
# halfe ye higledee piglede lot of salt marsh	010: 00
# ye whole sweepage lot at ye beach	012. 00
2ly. To Tho: Barnard ye eldest sone	li
Imp. a lot at ye back river	25.
# half ye higle piglee marsh lot	10.
# ye right in comon land	05.
# 10 upland and 2 Acre lot of meadow	14.

March ye 24: 1683-4 Thomas Barnard this day appeared before me and ack. he doe accept of ye land abovesd at ye prices it is here apprized at, and have so received it. Attest, Robt. Pike, assistant.

To William Hacket in land	li
Imp. the land at ye Pauwaus River	20.
# ten acres by ye Pauwaus River	10.
	li
To Tho: Haynes, ye 40 acre lot by ye river or ye river lott.	38.
To Joseph Peasley in land	li
Imp. The lott beyond ye wash of ye pond	16
# ye pond meadow	06
To Benjamin Stevens in land	li
Imp. the childerens land 50 Acres	25

Benjamin Stevens ack. he do accept of ye land received and above mentioned at ye prizes yt it is apprized at, Mar. 24, 1683-4. Robert Pike, Assistant.

To Jno. Barnard in land	li	s	d
Imp. 2 lotts at ye oxe pasture	10.		
It. ye new medow meadow	2.	10.	00
It. ye Bugmore lott	5.	0	0

John Barnard ack. he does accept and have received ye land at ye rates yt is prized at.

before me, Robt. Pike, Assistant.

Widow Mosse in land	li
Imp. two lotts at ye Lyons mouth	10
To Abigaile in land	li
Imp. ye champion land 40 acres	20
	li
To Nath ⁿ Barnard in land 200 acres	40

Nathⁿ Winsly of Salisbury, planter, appoints my trusty and well beloved brother Ephraim Winsley of same place my attorney to act for me in every way, May 20, 1682. Wit: Thomas Eaton, John Paige. Ack. by Nathⁿ Winsley, May 22, 1682, before Nath: Saltonstall, Assistant.

(To be continued)

THE
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VOL. LXV — JULY, 1929

ISSUED QUARTERLY



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CAPTAIN RICHARD DERBY

1712-1783

From a copy by Weir, after the portrait by Col. Henry Sargent

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE

VOL. LXV

JULY, 1929

No. 3

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF RICHARD DERBY
MERCHANT OF SALEM

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

Almost all the books and articles about Salem tell of the founding of the city by the Endicott colony and of the early troubles of the colony. The witchcraft delusion, which came and went in a few short months, is given most disproportionate emphasis. The writers then skip glibly on to the War of the Revolution and the great outburst of commerce which followed, and which made Salem and Massachusetts rich and powerful. What was happening from the time of the witchcraft delusion till Leslie retreated from the North Bridge is largely overlooked, but not for one instant can it be believed that witchcraft prepared for revolution, or that ships and sailors burst forth, fully built and trained for foreign commerce, from the otherwise unfertile soil of New England.

There have been a number of Richard Derbys in the course of Salem's history, but the subject of this paper is the shipmaster, merchant, and patriot, Richard Derby, who was born in 1712 and died in 1783. During these seventy-one years America grew from a scattered group of colonies, clinging precariously to the Atlantic seaboard, to a free and independent nation; from a group of fishing villages and farming plantations to a world-wide sea power not to be despised by European nations then, as in 1918, engaged in a life-and-death struggle for supremacy.

Richard Derby was the son of a Captain Richard, who was the son of Roger, who landed in this country, in Boston, in 1671 and settled in Ipswich. This Roger, born in 1643, came

from Topsham in Devonshire, which is near Exeter, and according to Perley Derby, he may have been the son of a Roger of Somerton, Somersetshire, who was an Oxford graduate and an ordained clergyman, or he might have been the son of Richard Derby and Alice Lackland Derby, as Sidney Perley says.¹ Anyway, he arrived in Boston July 18, 1671, and in January, 1672, Roger and his wife Lucretia Hillman, whom he had married in England, bought a place of two acres on Hill Street, Ipswich, and four acres of farmland, for one hundred pounds, and settled down. One child came with them from England; seven more were born here. He was a soap-boiler and shop-keeper, and he was also a non-conformist of a serious nature, probably a Quaker, for he soon got into trouble. Beginning in November, 1674, he was haled into court again and again for not coming to meeting. At first he was fined fifty shillings, then at the rate of "five shillings per week till they do attend," and then another fifty shillings. In September, 1676, Robert Lord, the marshal, seized his four acres of land to satisfy these fines, and less than two months later he was again fined forty shillings for non-attendance. Whether on account of this persecution or otherwise, he moved to Salem in 1681 and bought a farmhouse, which stood about where the Public Library now stands, from John Darland, for twenty-seven pounds. He carried on the business of a tallow chandler in an old soap-house which stood about where Monroe Street runs through to Federal Street,² and also that of a shop-keeper near the foot of Norman Street. Here he had a stock of Bibles, Testaments, and Psalters.³ The tombstones of Roger and his first wife Lucretia are still to be seen in the old South Danvers Burial Ground on Boston Street.

In his will, which disposed of an estate of four hundred and seventy-six pounds, he gave his house to his widow, who was one of the Haskets (mentioned later). She lived till 1740 and probably occupied the house during the boyhood of our Richard. After her death it descended to the children of the son

¹ *History of Salem*, III, 147.

² Perley Derby, "Genealogy of the Derby Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 155.

³ Perley, *History of Salem*, III, 128.

Samuel, then dead. John received the "warehouse, lentows and warfs,"⁴ and Richard, the father of our Richard, got the "sope house" and twenty pounds when he came of age. It must be remembered that there was a step-mother in the case, and if any of the children "should contend without just cause they are to lose their parts."

Our Richard's grandfather, therefore, tried to make a soap-boiler out of his son, but instead the son became a mariner. He was born in Ipswich in 1679, over two years before the family moved from Ipswich to Salem, where his boyhood was spent.

In 1700, while he was a member of the crew of the brigantine *Beginning*, chartered to Philip English and others for a voyage from New Providence to London with brasiletto wood and molasses, she sprang a leak and had to head for Salem. We should not know this except that the captain, Thomas Marston, and he happened to sign the ship's protest. She seems to have been a pretty rotten old craft. We know nothing further about him except that he was one of the pilots of the Port Royal expedition in 1710, and married Martha Hasket, February 25, 1702-3. They had eight children, four of whom grew up, and he died in 1715 at the age of thirty-six. His young widow was a sister of her step-mother-in-law, and it is a fair guess that, on account of the double relationship, Richard grew up in the old homestead near the corner of Monroe and Essex Streets. The family was probably very poor, as there is no record of any estate being settled after the death of this first Richard.

The step-grandmother was the oldest of seven children and a widow when she married, and the mother was the youngest of the seven, but the mother was married only eleven years after the step-grandmother.

The Haskets were the daughters of Stephen Hasket, who came over in 1664, when thirty years old, from Henstredge in Somersetshire, and was a soap-boiler with a house on what is now Howard Street, down toward North River.⁵ He had been town constable in 1670 and, at the same time, held a license to retail strong waters out of doors, whatever that may

⁴ See Perley, *History of Salem*, II, 357, Corwin's Wharf.

⁵ Perley, *History of Salem*, II, 321.

mean. It would seem to mean the legal predecessor of the present bootlegger. In 1680, he signed the petition for a new and larger meeting house, and in 1683 his county rate was six shillings, when the highest in town, and the only one above a pound, was that of William Browne, who paid three pounds, six shillings. Roger Derby paid only four shillings.

Hasket was evidently a man of definite opinions, like his grandson, for he made certain remarks about Captain George Corwin which so nettled that worthy gentleman that he complained to the General Court. The remarks must have been pretty bad, for on November 3, 1675, the Court, "considering the high reflections and scurrilous imputations cast upon Capt. George Corwin joined with notorious scandal raised upon said court and contemptuous expressions relating to the major general," condemned him to apologize to Corwin in public and pay the heavy fine of fifty pounds. Hasket thereupon humbly submitted himself to the court and the fine was reduced to twenty pounds.⁶

Hasket had five children besides the two girls who married the Derbys, and among them was an Elias Hasket, who was born in 1670, apparently in America, but he was probably a nephew of that Elias Hasket who lived in London and was the governor of Providence in the Bahama Islands in 1701-2. He had the title of Colonel and appears to have been quite a man.⁷

When Richard Derby was born in 1712, his grandfather Hasket had been dead three years and his grandfather Derby about fifteen. His grandmother Hasket soon married again and left Salem, but his combination step-grandmother and aunt Derby continued to live in Salem for many years. His father died when he was three years old, so he evidently grew up largely under the care of his energetic mother, though he had eight or ten uncles and aunts living in the vicinity, some of whom were married before he was born, and others as late as 1718. Among his uncles by marriage on the Derby side were Captain Joseph Flint and Joseph Bolles, of Ipswich, Thomas Palfrey and William Osborn. His bro-

⁶ Perley, *History of Salem*, III, 75.

⁷ See "Notarial Records of Essex County Clerk," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XVI, 102.

thers and sisters were also about his own age, as he was the third child of the family. There were only nine years' difference between the eldest and the youngest, and the sisters came alternately with the brothers. John and Mary were the older ones and only a year apart, while four years later came Richard and Martha about two years apart. It is easy to see that the latter two must have been the playmates, while the older pair rather looked down on them after the manner of older brothers and sisters.

We know little of Richard's early life and training. In fact, he does not appear on the horizon at all till we find him bound for Cadiz in 1736 as the full-fledged captain of the sloop *Ranger* with a cargo of fish, but of the surroundings of his early life we can get a good idea by considering the events which were happening in the world in general and in Salem in particular.

NEW ENGLAND IN DERBY'S BOYHOOD

The seventeenth century was a period of almost constant war in Europe. During the one hundred and twenty-six years from 1689 to 1815, France and England were at war for more than half the time. After four years of peace, the War of the Spanish Succession burst out in Europe in 1701, and that portion of it known in America as Queen Anne's War alternately flared up and flickered down for eleven years till it was brought to a close by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. From Maine to Carolina the Indian raiding parties, urged on by the French, harried the frontier. In 1704, Deerfield was destroyed, and in 1708, Haverhill was surprised and partly destroyed. In 1709, an expedition planned against Acadia, for which the colonists had enlisted troops, was abandoned by the British Government to the great loss of the New England colonies, and the following year Annapolis or Port Royal, as it was then called, in Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was captured by a British fleet. This was the expedition on which Richard Derby, the father of our Richard, was sent by the colony with at least eight or ten other Salem captains to serve as pilots, and the sheriff impressed twenty-seven Salem seamen for the expedition.

Into this atmosphere of war, Richard Derby was born in

1712, and one year later the next intermission was ushered in by the Peace of Utrecht. Nova Scotia had been taken, but not Quebec; and the treaty gave Nova Scotia to England with vague boundaries in New Brunswick, then considered a part of it. This peace lasted for twenty-five years or more, but the seeds of trouble were present in the French hold on Quebec and the doubtful boundary in Maine. In fact, the whole boundary — from some doubtful point near the Gulf of St. Lawrence, vaguely following the height of land between the St. Lawrence and the southward-flowing rivers — was all doubtful, and the Indians were the medium used by both sides to drive the actual frontiers of their enemies backward. Most of the Indians in New England were more friendly to the French than to the English, and hence the contest for the next few years was rather one between the English and the Indians than with the French.

Maine had but a thin fringe of infrequent settlements on the coast, but the settlers were pushing up the Kennebec, and the French viewed with alarm the closing of the gap between the New Hampshire seacoast towns and the New Brunswick settlements which would shut them out from the Atlantic coast.

Sebastian Ralle had been for some years a French Jesuit missionary to the chief Indian settlement at Norridgwock.⁸ He was a politician as well as a priest, and was charged with the duty of seeing to it that the Indians made it difficult for the Kennebec colonists, till, in 1724, Massachusetts lost patience and sent out an expedition against Norridgwock, which cleaned it out with Puritan thoroughness, and the Indians who were left retired to the Chaudière. Ralle was killed, and, though shot with a gun in his hands resisting capture, his death caused a bitter protest from the Governor of Canada. In the same year Dunstable was attacked and pillaged by the Indians and Massachusetts organized the first rangers, who ranged the country from the settlements toward Canada to keep down the Indian raids, on the ground that a good offensive is the best defense. Captain Lovewell, the best known of these rangers, wiped out the fighting strength

⁸ See Governor Shute's letter, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st Series, V, 112, and 2d Series, VIII, 245-58, 266.

of the Pequawket Indians of Conway in a notable fight, where the town of Fryeburg, Maine, now is, but most of his men fell in the fight. A lot of early New England ballads of doubtful literary value commemorate this famous fight, and no doubt Richard Derby, then twelve or thirteen years old, learned them by heart; as, for instance, this one which has a sort of echo of the "Ballad of Chevy Chase" about it:

"Then spake up Captain Lovewell, when first the fight began,
'Fight on, my valiant heroes, you see they fall like rain!'
For, as we are informéd, the Indians were so thick,
A man could scarcely fire a gun, and not some of them hit.

"Our worthy Captain Lovewell among them there did die.
They killed Lieutenant Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,
Who was our English chaplain: he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalpéd, when bullets round him flew."

This "good young Frye" was betrothed to Susanna Rogers, of Boxford, who wrote a lament worthy of Anne Bradstreet, which begins:

"Assist, ye Muses, help my quill
While floods of tears does down distil,
Not from my eyes alone, but all
That hears the sad and doleful fall
Of that young student, Mr. Frye,
Who in his blooming youth did die."⁹

I doubt if any live boy would have learned Susanna's lament, but Richard certainly knew what was going on. It was talked of at home and on the street, and I suspect that the boys, instead of playing Indians, played the game of scalping Indians, which was the popular pastime then.

EDUCATION IN SALEM

It must not be inferred that this youth was permitted to grow up uneducated. Even if Salem had only about twenty-six hundred inhabitants, it was interested in education. In 1712, a school committee was appointed, for the first time in the town's history, "to procure a suitable grammar school master for ye instructing of youth in Grammar learning and to fit them for ye Colledge and also to learn them to write and

⁹ Fiske, *New France and New England*, 248.

cipher and to perfect them in reading.”¹⁰ The old watch-house was voted for a writing school under Nathaniel Higginson, and John Barnard was engaged to teach the Grammar School at fifty pounds a year. All boys who could afford to paid eight shillings per year, and the balance was raised by rent of the islands and other public lands, and by income from the bequests of the Brownes and other early believers in education.

About the time that young Derby first went to school, assuming he went at the age of six, the town, having just bought a stove for the school at an expense of £8-2-1, could not find a teacher, and lest the town be fined, Colonel Browne advanced eighteen shillings to send Mr. Pratt off on horseback to Cambridge to get one; so John Nutting took charge of the fifty-four pupils and the hickory stick on July 23, 1718. It is a fair guess that Richard Derby was one of the youngest of the fifty-four. Eleven years later, the worthy Mr. Nutting had his salary raised twenty pounds, to the princely sum of ninety pounds. I suspect that Derby got all the schooling he ever had from this Mr. Nutting, for he doubtless went to sea by the time he was eighteen years of age, and did not benefit by the very generous gifts to the schools made by Samuel Browne in 1729.¹¹

In 1718, the old court-house, where the witches had been tried, was replaced by a new one on Essex Street, next to and west of the First Church.¹² School was kept in the first story of the old court-house, which stood in the middle of what is now Washington Street, near the head of the north end of the tunnel. After the new court-house was built, the old building was devoted entirely to school purposes, and undoubtedly young Derby went there. The boys, inspired by the judicial setting, once amused themselves reënacting the witchcraft trials on one unfortunate playmate, when the teacher unexpectedly appeared and laid about him right and left, exclaiming, “I’ll teach you how to try witches once for all.”

¹⁰ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 440.

¹¹ See Bentley, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 1st Series, I, 240.

¹² Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 391.

SALEM IN RICHARD DERBY'S YOUTH

The town that young Derby grew up in was a very different place from what it is now, or even what it was in 1800. Just wander down to the back of the Charter Street Burying Ground, or "Burial Point" as it then was. Imagine a little pebbly beach at your feet, with a ten-foot way running parallel with the shore, and some shops and warehouses straggling along it. Then look across to where the land rises on Lafayette Street. All between is water, deep enough in the center for vessels of twelve or fourteen feet draft to lie at anchor; then follow the shore line to your right along to the mouth of the present tunnel. The shore draws back immediately to the line of the present Front Street, which was literally the water-front, with little wharves reaching out to the channel. The Brownes and the Corwins had interests along here, and their boats lay at anchor just about where the flagman stands to-day to flag the trains. Farther along toward where Norman Street ran down to the water was a wharf on which Roger Derby, the original emigrant, probably kept his shop from 1689 till toward the end of his life in 1698. At any rate, George Corwin sold him half the two-story building and wharf on July 13, 1689, and he is recorded as a shopkeeper. Other little wharves lined the edges of the creek, which reached back up Creek Street. There was a wharf about where now is the Doyle house garden and others along the shore beyond the creek around to where the road down Mill Hill now crosses the railroad track. At that point a mill dam had been built in 1664, with the condition that the owner maintain a way across the dam. From there the shore of the south fields extended along the line of New Derby Street to the site of the Naumkeag Mills, and then beyond about as now. It is well to note what a nice basin this made for small ships and for shipbuilding. In fact, the expression "Knocker's Hole," which still hangs around the vicinity of High Street, originated in the pounding of the caulkers' mallets in the old shipyards.

The old town rambled all over the peninsula between the two rivers, narrow streets taking off on either side of the Main Street, now Essex Street, and running down to the water

at irregular intervals. The more thickly settled part was between Essex Street and Derby Street below Central Street. The churches and public buildings were around Washington Street, to be sure, but houses were thickest nearer the wharves. The Roger Williams house was a farm on the outskirts, as was the Pickering house on Broad Street. There was a beacon on the hill where the Broad Street Burying Ground now is. Any one of a dozen little villages out on a peninsula along the Maine coast with a row of old houses on the main street, and smaller houses on the lanes leading down to the old wharves, will give a good idea of Salem as it was in 1720.

If from the original point at the Charter Street Burying Ground, you had looked eastward, you would have seen the wharves of the Higginsons and the Gardners, near the foot of Elm Street, and one belonging to William Bowditch on which he had built a brewery before he sold it to Peter Osgood in 1721. There was, perhaps, a cart track, but no continuous permanent public way along the water-front nearer than Essex Street, nor many lanes leading down till you got to Turner Street. Near the foot of Becket Street, Abraham Purchase owned the wharf in about 1728. He was a blacksmith, and, as his property adjoined that where Becket had his wharf and shipyard, he probably turned out the iron fastenings for Becket. At the foot of English Street was the Hollingsworth Wharf. William Hollingsworth was one of Salem's earliest merchants, and his daughter Mary married Philip English, who carried on the mercantile tradition. The wharf was conveyed to her in February, 1684-5, and it was from there that Philip English undoubtedly sent out his ships. Richard Derby bought it in 1748 and used it; later it became successively Crowninshield's Wharf and Phillips's Wharf.

In 1700, there seem to have been two business centers; one around the basin where the railroad station now stands, and another around the foot of Becket and English Streets. No doubt there were little homes scattered along between, but there was quite a group of houses along English and Becket Streets, including English's "Great House," with the overhanging eaves and many gables. On the northerly side of Essex Street, there was a row of houses between the creek which drained the swamp, which is now the Common, and Essex

Street. The best of these was the Babbidge house, part of which still stands, which was bought by Richard Derby in 1757 and left by him to his daughter Mary Crowninshield in 1783.

The Common had been set aside in 1713 as a training field forever, but it had not then been drained or leveled. In fact, it was a swamp with several small ponds and a creek running down to Collins Cove. Across Essex Street, where the Hawthorne Monument now stands, there was a shipyard which launched its vessels into a little creek that made in from South River. Beyond the Common a road ran down on an irregular line to the landing near where Beverly Bridge now stands, from which the ferry to the Beverly shore left. Somewhere on the point at the foot of March Street, a windmill for grinding grain waved its ungainly arms in the air, no doubt closely resembling those you still see in England, such as that at Headcorn or Tenterden in Kent.

The Neck had a palisade across it, and there was a fort, called then "Fort Anne" or "Queen's Fort," where Fort Pickering stands, over the maintenance of which town and colony constantly quarreled. Winter Island had been set aside wholly for the use of fishermen in 1713, and so continued for many years. There were some wharves on the North River and Pickman's fish flakes were located along that side of the town. They no doubt lent a fragrance to the atmosphere which is perpetuated by the North River of to-day.

Between 1700 and 1714 there were registered in Salem four ships, three barques, nine brigs, twenty-four sloops, and nineteen ketches, which ranged from fifteen to ninety tons burden, fifty-nine in all, of which forty were built in Salem. Ships were also built here for other merchants, notably the *Unity*, of two hundred and seventy tons, for Boston and London people.¹³

We should not take away any idea that even by 1736, when Richard Derby arrived at manhood, the town was a luxurious place with wide paved streets and carriages dashing about. In 1737, when the first carriage tax was assessed in the provinces, out of six coaches, eighteen chariots, three hundred

¹³ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 252.

and thirty-nine chaises, and nine hundred and ninety-two chairs and calashes in all Massachusetts, Salem had but ten chaises and forty chairs, or only fifty vehicles of all sorts for passengers for a population of perhaps one thousand families. There was no regular conveyance to Boston till 1761, when a stage from Portsmouth began to run *via* Salem once a week, and a special stage to Boston did not run till 1766. A post-rider who carried mail from Boston eastward through Salem had probably been established before 1700, but even as late as 1773, mail came from Boston only once a week, arriving Tuesday by rider *en route* to Portsmouth, and returning Friday.¹⁴

Persons could not vote unless they paid a poll tax and owned at least twenty pounds in the town where they voted. It was a sensible provision to require that a man should have some stake in the town which he was helping to govern, and twenty pounds was surely not an excessive sum even for those days.

There were no constables or police in Salem of the early eighteenth century. A bellman walked the town from ten o'clock at night till break of day, armed with a spear and hook, and "did his endeavor to prevent fire or mischief any other way, and to prevent any disorder in ye town." There was a watch-house in the schoolhouse lane surmounted by a figure of the bellman, which was repainted in 1725. The old bellman, John Meacham, received the princely salary of thirty pounds per annum, probably in depreciated currency, and cried the weather and the hour throughout the night.

In 1720, most of the larger houses in Salem were still of the many-gabled variety, such as the Pickering house, and the Deliverance Parkman house, now no longer standing, but well known from its pictures. These were characterized by overhanging stories, small leaded-glass casements, clustered chimneys, and many gables. The so-called gambrel roofs came in twenty years later. The Benjamin Pickman house, erected in 1743, still standing just west of the East India Marine Hall, was an early example of the new type. Few three-story houses were erected before the Revolution. The earliest brick house in Salem was built on the corner of Essex

¹⁴ Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 77.

and Crombie Streets in 1707, and there could not have been many by 1725, as there were only thirty-nine in 1825.¹⁵

With this cursory view of the town of Salem as Richard Derby knew it as a boy, let us turn back to his career once more.

EARLY MANHOOD

Richard rapidly grew to manhood, and no doubt like all the young men he sailed a boat, joined in fishing excursions, and perhaps went off on deep-sea fishing trips, which brought a knowledge of ships and of sailing, and the sturdy self-reliance he was to need so greatly in years to come. We do not know when he first went to sea in a deep-sea ship, nor do we know when or where exactly he got his experience, but he became independent as a very young man. On February 3, 1734-5, he was well enough along, though only twenty-two years old, to take unto himself a wife, and he married Mary Hodges, the granddaughter of George Hodges, a mariner who came to Salem before 1663, and lived there all the rest of his life. Mary was the oldest daughter of his son Gamaliel, and was born in 1713, just a year after her husband. These Hodgeses were noted for their great height, and the story is told that when the shortest of six brothers was captured by a British frigate and his size remarked upon (he was six feet six), he replied that he was the shortest of six brothers. The record does not say how tall Mary was, but she and Richard were cheerful young adventurers of twenty-one and twenty-two to embark on the sea of matrimony together, and their first child Richard was born in 1736.

On September 18, 1735, just a few months after his marriage, Richard Derby purchased from Deacon James Lindall "sixty poles of land containing a dwelling house, bake house, shop, barn and outhouses bounded southerly by the river to low water mark, westerly on a lane, northerly by land of Pickman, and easterly by land of Hasket."¹⁶ It is well to note the abutting land of Pickman and of Hasket, and to remember that Richard's mother was a Hasket. In 1739, Richard bought twenty-two and six tenths poles from Benjamin

¹⁵ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 415.

¹⁶ Registry of Deeds.

Pickman, being some part, and perhaps the whole of the land to the north, and in 1741, he bought of Samuel and Nathaniel Swasey about half an acre more near his dwelling house. This may have been the lot granted to John Swasey in 1652.¹⁷ In 1742, Derby began to buy up the individual interests in the Hasket estate, and by 1748 had nearly all of it. In 1748, he also bought the Philip English property of one and a half acres on English Street, which included a dwelling house, warehouse, and wharf, and ran to the harbor. But his main block of land lay east of Union Street and ran to the water, and contained perhaps two acres. As the so-called Richard Derby house was not built till 1761, he certainly lived about twenty-five years in some other house on the property, and most probably in the James Lindall house.

In 1736, at the age of twenty-four, Richard was sailing as master of the sloop *Ranger* on a voyage to Cadiz. It is very unlikely that he made this trip before going on at least one deep-sea voyage as mate, and perhaps on several fishing voyages as a seaman, so his nautical experience doubtless began at the age of sixteen at least.

The *Ranger* was loaded with fish and manned by four men and a mate besides her youthful skipper. She arrived safely in Spain, exchanged the fish for fruit, oil, and miscellaneous goods, and got back to Salem early in May. She made a similar round trip in the autumn to the same ports, and no doubt with equal success.

The very year that saw the entrance of Derby into commerce saw also the end of the career of Philip English, who was probably the richest man in New England at the close of the seventeenth century. In 1692, English had twenty-one vessels trading with Bilboa, Barbados, St. Christopher, the Isle of Jersey, and the ports of France.¹⁸ He was a man of brains, ability, and energy. As late as 1722, he was shipping goods to Barbados by his sloop *Sarah*, John Touzel, master, and no doubt continued down to Derby's voyage, the year of his death.

It must be remembered that the twenty-seven years of peace which had begun with the Peace of Utrecht were just

¹⁷ See Perley, *History of Salem*, I, 314.

¹⁸ Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, 24.

drawing to a close at this time with the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, which lasted from 1740 to 1748, but for these first few years of Derby's maritime life, the seas were still peaceful, though these voyages were entirely contrary to the technical laws of trade. The *Ranger* was small, however, and her hailing port was very far away from the Lords of Trade, and fish were not specially wanted in England. His Majesty's Government was not especially looking for trouble, as the London merchants regarded the trade of the colonials then as too insignificant to matter much, but let us take a brief review of what the real rules of the game were.

BRITISH LAWS OF TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The general theory of trade with colonies has so entirely changed since our Revolution that it is well to see just what kind of economics our forefathers were laboring under. In 1668, Sir Joshua Child, Chairman of the British East India Company, made a statement which gives the attitude of mind perhaps as clearly as any. Adam Smith¹⁹ and John Stuart Mill had not yet shed the light of reason on the subject of foreign trade, nor had the amateur economists of the twentieth century begun to shade facts with sentimental nonsense; but Child had a point of view of his own which was intended to represent pure selfishness, and failed as pure selfishness usually does. The only way to prosper is to make men around you prosperous, and not to make them poor. Child's statement was this:

Of all the American plantations His Majesty has none so apt for the building of ships as New England, nor none comparably so qualified for the breeding of seamen, not only by reason of the natural industry of the people, but principally by reason of their cod and mackerel fisheries, and in my opinion there is nothing more prejudicial and, in prospect, more dangerous to any mother kingdom than the increase of shipping in her colonies, plantations or provinces.²⁰

It might have been expected that some narrow-minded men should hold such ideas, but the misfortune was that they were held by Parliament and written into the laws of the nation. By the Act of 1660, goods from Asia, Africa, and America

¹⁹ *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV, Chapter 1.

²⁰ Paine, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, 29.

could be brought to England only by English or colonial vessels and must come directly. No foreign vessels could take their own goods to the colonies, and certain products of the colonies, like sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, indigo, and dye woods, could be taken *only* to England or English colonies, regardless of whether the prices to be obtained there were the best or not. Apart from this final restriction, this first Navigation Act of 1660 was not particularly injurious to the colonies, but the second Act of 1663 was more particularly planned to help the English manufacturers. No European goods could be brought to the colonies unless they were first landed in England, except salt, wine from the Azores, servants, horses, and victuals from Scotland and Ireland. The preamble distinctly outlines the reason, which, while well enough from the English point of view, could hardly have pleased the colonies, namely:

For the maintaining of a greater correspondence and kindness between them and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it [i.e., the mother country] and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the farther Employment and Encrease of English Shipping and Seamen, Vent of English Woolen and other Manufactures and Commodities — and making this Kingdom a Staple not onely of the Commodities of those Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countryes and Places.

It will be seen that this Act tied all trade of the colonies to England, as all importations must be transhipped there, and Richard Derby's two trips to Spain were in direct violation of it so far as most of the homeward cargo was concerned.

The third Navigation Act of 1672 prevented trade between the colonies on enumerated articles except on payment of the same duties as were exacted when goods went to England. The surplus of fish in New England was at the root of the trouble with this Act. Refuse and pickled fish brought a good price in the West Indies — it was not so valuable in England — but this Act prevented the acquiring of a return cargo of salable merchandise, except perhaps molasses.

The colonists, it is true, could send their fish or anything else, except the articles enumerated in the first Act, to Spain or other foreign countries, but the return cargo must go to England for reshipment. America was a long way off, how-

ever, and the royal arm was weak from stretching, so little or no attention was paid to the regulations. But Act followed Act pretty frequently after 1672, tightening up the enforcement. Royal governors and naval officers were held to greater responsibility in the enforcement of them, and all the time the restrictions were increased. Rice and molasses were placed on the enumerated list of articles which could be exported only to England, so the colonists took to trading with the Dutch and French West India colonists instead, till the Molasses Act of 1733 was passed to stop them at the request of the West India planters.²¹

This trade was vital to the colonists because it supplied a market for the refuse codfish, and the success of the fisheries depended on the sale of refuse fish as well as on the sale of first-class fish, which could be disposed of in Europe, for both were products of the same trips. The fish for which they had no market was exchanged for molasses, an equally waste product of the West Indies,²² but one which the colonists of New England made of value by distilling it into rum. The penalty for violating the Molasses Act was confiscation of the vessel, but the trade went on without effective interference for thirty years.²³

In 1741, Massachusetts had about three or four hundred ships in the fisheries which brought in about two hundred and thirty thousand quintals of seven hundred thousand dollars' value.²⁴ Three or four thousand men earned their livelihood in this way, and the surplus by-product was a real reason for pushing the molasses trade.

It was very difficult to enforce these laws on the open sea. The Eighteenth Amendment is by no means the first law which has found the open ocean a pitfall. Who was to know if a Gloucester fisherman acquired a cargo of French goods on the Grand Banks instead of fish? And little French or Dutch traders among the leafy islands of the Caribbean, hobnobbing with New England vessels which had discharged their fish

²¹ Robinson, *Development of the British Empire*, 123.

²² Especially of the French West Indies, which were forbidden by their laws to send it to France. McClellan, *Smuggling in the American Colonies*, 38.

²³ Lorenzo Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 135.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

at Barbados and were ostensibly coming home in ballast, were not easily detected.

The increase of manufacturing in the colonies, however, was always watched with jealous eyes in England. In 1708, one of the crown officers wrote to the Board of Trade that one hundred and fifty-five dozen wool cards and many wool combs had entered New England as wrought iron, and the importation of woollen goods had fallen off, "which must proceed from this trade of making their own cloth . . . and if not prevented will increase." "Not one in forty but wears his own carding, spinning, etc. If the growing trade of woollens be no way prevented in its growth, England must lose the woollen export to all this part of America."

In 1742, a petition was laid before the Board of Trade by sixteen master shipbuilders of London against the encouragement of shipbuilding in America, because their journeymen were drawn away to New England and there would not be enough ships for the Royal Navy in case of need.

It was William of Orange who made the first real move to enforce the Navigation Acts. Though passed under the Stuarts, their government was so weak that few results were secured, but under William was organized the Board of Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, commonly known and hated by the colonists as "The Board of Trade," though it accomplished really very little, while the Privy Council, the Secretaries of State, and the Treasury Department, with its auditor-general of the plantation revenues and commissioners of customs, all had a hand. The Treasury ultimately made rather more trouble for the colonists than any of the others. It was the deadly tightening-up of the system that led to the trouble rather than an increase in the severity of the laws themselves. The laws of 1700 were severe enough to make trouble, but nobody paid any attention to them. As we all know, the Volstead Act is the same, but it is getting more expensive to get a drink, or, in other words, harder. That is what is causing the outcry now. The more the law is enforced, the louder the cry that it can't be.

The row over Writs of Assistance or search warrants issued to help the collectors find contraband goods was the result of new efforts in 1761 to enforce the laws of trade. A new ele-

ment at about the same time was interjected by the attempt, not only to regulate trade to benefit the mother country, but to extract revenue to help pay for the expensive wars of the middle of the century, and the Sugar Act of 1764 not only continued the odious but largely obsolete Molasses Act of 1733, but was planned to make it yield a revenue. The Townshend Acts of 1766, which included the Tea Act, were also passed primarily to add to the revenue.

This is a general sketch merely of the quarrel over the laws of trade and should not be confused with the entirely separate quarrel over taxation without representation and personal rights, which involved the constitutional rights of Englishmen, whether at home or abroad, and was brought on by the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act. It is true that the laws of trade, and particularly the Townshend Acts which initiated the "Tea Party," were soon involved in the taxation quarrel, but the dissatisfaction over the trade laws did not have its origin in the dislike of taxation by Parliament, but rather in a wrong use of that power to help the home merchants and the planters of the British West Indies.

Massachusetts and even Salem had their own particular quarrels with the mother country during the eighteenth century, two of the most amusing of which were the attempt of the colony itself to do a little legislating on trade, and the resistance to the Greenwich Hospital Tax. In 1718, the General Court calmly laid a duty on English goods and a tax on English-built ships, which caused the Lords Justices "to express their great displeasure." Governor Shute hoped that it would be repealed at the next session, and it was. It was probably never enforced, but it was certainly an exhibition of most unexampled "nerve." Equally stupid was the attempt to levy the sixpenny Greenwich Hospital Tax on the coastwise fishermen in 1733. No doubt the wording of the Act did make it apply to all British seamen, and there might be a vague excuse to demand it of seamen sailing to London, but to demand it of Salem, Gloucester, and Marblehead fishermen, who would never by any chance use the hospital — in fact, would probably die long before they reached its shelter — was silly enough to penetrate even the phlegmatic British mind, and no further attempt to collect it was made till after 1760.

TRADE TO THE WEST INDIES

In the middle of the eighteenth century, trading with the Spanish, French, Dutch, and Danish islands of the West Indies was prohibited, but a little astute management could secure a registry to suit the occasion, and the colonial vessels became temporarily accredited to the nation they wished to trade with. As the French export duties were one per cent and the English four and a half, they naturally preferred the French.²⁵

Derby's first voyage to the West Indies was in the winter of 1739, when he went as master of the schooner *Ranger* to St. Martin's in the French West Indies and sold his cargo for twenty-one hundred and seventy-eight pounds. His sailing orders clearly recognized that the voyage was likely to be an illegal one, for they clearly stated:

If you should go among the French, Endeavor to get sale at St. Martins but if you should fall as low as Statia [St. Eustatia] and any Frenchman should make you a good offer with good security or by making your vessel a Dutch bottom or any other means practicable in order to your getting among ye French among whom if you should ever arrive, be sure to give strict orders among your men not to sell the least trifle unto them on any terms least they should make your vessel liable to seizure — also secure a permit so as for you to trade there the next voyage which you may undoubtedly do by your Factor and a little greasing some others — also make a proper protest at any port you stop at.

This was duly signed by Benjamin Gerrish, Jr., the owner. This voyage was no doubt a success, for on July 5, 1742, Derby sailed for Barbados in the *Volant*, of which he was a part owner. This time the cargo was lumber, and no cod or mackerel were shipped. The main items were fifty-four thousand feet of boards, thirty-four thousand, five hundred shingles, thirty-five hundred staves, ten barrels of shad, sixteen horses, seventy-eight bags of corn, twenty bags of rye, and thirty-two empty water-casks. The captain was further directed to buy a negro boy seventeen years old for the owner.

During these years, Salem commerce was developing with many parts of the world. Between 1726 and 1743, there

²⁵ Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 6.

are entries at Salem from Cadiz, Oporto, Alicante, Malaga, Bilboa, Portugal, Fayal, Canary Islands, Leghorn, Newfoundland, Canso, St. Martin's, Barbados, Jamaica, Antigua, and Virginia. These were constant occurrences, as is testified by the fact that in 1739 there were twelve entries in one week from such ports, and eight or more were frequently entered in similar periods. The schooner *Ranger*, probably the same boat, but with Derby no longer as master, was cast away in Barnstable Bay on her way back from Holland in November, 1743.

THE FRENCH WAR — LOUISBURG

In 1739, the long period of peace came to an end. War broke out between England and Spain, and soon this conflict merged into the War of the Austrian Succession, which began in 1740. This brought France into line as one of England's enemies, and what affected France was bound to awaken animosity in America. This resulted in a rise in prices of all foodstuffs in Massachusetts. Beef, which was ninepence a pound in 1736, had risen to twenty pence in 1747, as the war dragged to its close. Wheat rose from twelve shillings a bag in 1738 to fifty shillings in 1748, and potatoes from eight shillings sixpence to twenty-five shillings. In 1748, common laborers were getting thirty shillings per day and wood cost four pounds a cord. Milk was eighteen pence a quart compared with sixpence at the beginning of the war. These prices were in the depreciated currency, but the change from year to year is not the equivalent of the depreciation and is only slightly due to it.²⁶

Rates of insurance rose as the war advanced, especially after France came in. For instance, the rate to Antigua was eight per cent in 1743, but was double that in 1745; the London rate rose from seven to twenty-one per cent, and the Lisbon rate from twelve to sixteen per cent. This insurance was written in Boston, as there was not as yet any insurance office in Salem.²⁷

During these years around 1740, Salem was paying about one fortieth of the colony taxes and about one fifth of the

²⁶ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 200.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 376.

county tax, as well as spending about three or four hundred pounds herself. This made about eight hundred pounds in all, which was quite a burden on a town of five thousand persons.

The great event for New England in the war was the expedition against Louisburg in 1745. Governor Shirley was urged by the merchants to take steps toward the reduction of this post, which seriously menaced the fisheries and the trade with the fishermen in Newfoundland.

The French had built up the fisheries with surprising rapidity since their last set-back in 1712, and by 1744 they had about five hundred and sixty ships at work which brought in 1,441,500 quintals, or over five times as much as the Massachusetts fishermen at the same time. They now made a deliberate drive on the colonial fishermen.²⁸ Envy changed rapidly to alarm all along the New England coast. The little port of Canso had just been captured and a fruitless attack made on Port Royal,²⁹ showing that the Frenchmen intended to use Louisburg for a base for further encroachments. The expedition was a wild scheme. William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery, who had been a militia colonel and was a man of energy, good sense, and tact, was selected to command the expedition, and Roger Wolcott, of Connecticut, was made second in command. Massachusetts provided, after considerable hesitation, about three thousand men, about one thousand of whom came from Maine, which supplied over one third of her fighting strength. New Hampshire and Connecticut gave three hundred each and Rhode Island a sloop of war. George Whitfield's motto for one of the flags, "Nil desperandum Christo dux," "There is still room for hope when Christ is the leader," was not a very enthusiastic one, but it put the case pretty fairly well. A little naval force of one twenty-four-gun frigate, two twenty-gun ships, and ten small vessels, mostly eight to sixteen-gun sloops, was got together to escort the expedition, which was loaded onto about ninety transports. Among the captains were Samuel Corwin, Samuel Grant, and Charles King, of Salem, the latter of whom had a company of fifty privates.³⁰

²⁸ Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 68-71.

²⁹ Fiske, *New France and New England*, 250.

³⁰ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 511.

Governor Shirley had sought aid from the British Navy, but Pepperell got off before any word was received, though, as a matter of fact, Commodore Warren, with a line-of-battle ship and two forty-four-gun frigates, had already been ordered to Boston from Antigua in the Leeward Islands. He met a Boston ship on his way up, which advised him that Pepperell had already sailed, so he laid his course direct for Canso, and joined the expedition there, as Canso immediately surrendered on April 5. There they also received the reënforcement of another British ship and three heavy frigates which came in by chance, but came immediately under the command of Warren,³¹ so they had naval force enough for almost any emergency. For three weeks they waited for the ice to break up, while Pepperell and his officers drilled the raw recruits and Parson Moody harangued them on Sunday, for the expedition had a bit the aspect of a religious crusade as well as a military one. On April 28, they reached Louisburg.

One of the understandings when they left actually was that they had not enough guns to capture the place, and that they must capture these weapons first, but they brought the necessary cannon balls to fit the French guns. This is probably the only expedition which ever set off with such an idea, and the most surprising thing is that they did capture the guns.³² Fishing tackle was also carried so that the vessels could help out the food supply by fishing in their odd moments, as feeding the expedition was quite a problem. There were about five hundred and sixty regular French troops in the fortress and perhaps fourteen hundred militia, but on the 16th of June, after various failures and rows, Pepperell's force actually captured the fortress and ran up the British flag.

The War of the Austrian Succession came to a final end, so far as France and England were concerned, in 1748, with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, to the utter wrath of the New England colonists, Louisburg was restored to France. This peace was unpopular even in England, and one opponent of the Ministry remarked that, while the trained armies of Great Britain had been unable to accomplish anything on the

³¹ See Shirley to Pepperell, March 24, 1744-5, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series I, 12.

³² Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict*, II, 95.

Continent, a band of untrained colonists had dealt France a fatal blow in America, and the Ministry had betrayed them by giving back Louisburg for a dishonorable peace in Europe. Even George II had declared Louisburg belonged, not to him, but to the people of Boston, and Dr. Smollett says, "The British Ministers gave up the important island of Cape Breton for a petty factory in the East Indies," meaning Madras.

Salem suffered a good deal during the war from privateers. In 1746, Captain Nathaniel Ingersoll was captured in his sloop *Swallow* bound for the West Indies, and a few months later, Captain Jonathan Webb in the sloop *Lynn* bound for Eustatia, both by French privateers. In 1748, Samuel Carleton was captured by a French frigate, and Captain Ingersoll, this time in the brig *Union*, by a Spanish privateer; but the records do not show that Derby was ever captured during these years of war.

DERBYS'S INCREASING ACTIVITIES

Timothy Orne, Jr., was one of the important Salem merchants in the middle of the eighteenth century and Derby's interests were allied to his. In September, 1743, Derby sailed away to Montserrat, in the Leeward Islands, as master of a sloop that rejoiced in the name of the *Jolly Bacchus*, with horses, hay, oats (presumably for the horses), dry fish and mackerel, empty hogsheads and shingles, returning the following March with cotton, rum, and molasses. Orne's part of the profit of this voyage was £380-5-9. In 1744, Derby was master of the schooner *Dolphin*, of which he and Orne each owned a third, and in 1745-6 he was master of the schooner *Exeter*, of which Orne owned a quarter, in all cases making similar ventures, going out chiefly with fish and returning largely with molasses. It is interesting to note how Derby kept acquiring interests in these ships, and from the above dates it is unlikely that he went on the Louisburg Expedition.³³ No doubt he was coming and going between the West Indies and Salem with longer trips to Spain and Madeira; or even Lon-

³³ See "Vessels owned by T. Orne, Jr.," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVII, 77.

don after the war ended in 1748, though probably not before on account of the risk of capture.

It was during this period, namely, from 1736 to 1747, that all of his children were born. Richard was the eldest, born in 1736; then Mary, who married Captain George Crowninshield; then Elias Hasket; then John; then Martha, who married Dr. John Prince; and finally Sarah, born in 1747, who married Captain John Gardner.³⁴ This was a nice family of three boys and three girls, and no doubt a great pleasure to their father as he came and went on his short voyages; but this family, with its upbringing, is positive evidence that his business prospered, as at the war prices it required money to feed and bring up a family even in those days.

There is an old leather-bound receipt book in the Essex Institute, which begins in June, 1746, and runs to August, 1758, in which everybody to whom Derby paid any money apparently had to sign a receipt, and as early as 1746 he was paying considerable sums of money. No doubt much of this was in the course of trade, but unfortunately the receipts usually read, simply, "payment in full of all money due me"; so it is more of an autograph album than a vital document. In 1749, he owed Thomas Barton eighteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and on November 16, 1750, he gave a note for twelve pounds, eleven shillings, at five per cent interest, payable on demand to Bowen and Freeman, dated at Halifax; but what he was doing there I do not know, probably as captain of a ship.

There was a good deal going on in these years in Salem, for in the year 1748, four ships, twelve snows, twenty-one brigs, sixty-three schooners, and thirty-one sloops from the Salem district cleared at the custom house and carried thirty-two thousand quintals of codfish to Europe and three thousand and seventy hogsheads to the West Indies.³⁵ In 1749, Captain Derby headed a petition with a group of men who were to be excused from all town duties if they would buy a fire engine. They did buy it, and it was approved by the selectmen the next year. The owners left their shares by

³⁴ Perley Derby, "Genealogy of the Derby Family," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 162.

³⁵ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 258.

will, or sold them if they wished, and the old engine was still doing business when Felt published the first volume of his *Annals* in 1845.³⁶ This was apparently the first fire engine in Salem, so Derby was evidently the father of the Salem Fire Department as well as of the Salem East India Trade. The merchants seem to have suddenly realized the danger of fire, or else some enterprising salesman had descended on the vicinity, because Robert Hooper, Jr., the most important merchant of Marblehead, presented that town with an engine the same year. The engines were imported from London.

The time was approaching when the sturdy captain was going to lay aside the arduous duties of skipper and let other men do his sailing for him. In 1755, he was granted a part of Winter Island, which had previously been set aside by the town for the fishermen, to build a wharf and a warehouse. The price was a shilling a year for a thousand years, and about a hundred years later one of his descendants got a clear title for six hundred and forty-five dollars, but I should have thought the previous arrangement cheaper. I do not find that Derby used Winter Island much.

By 1757, he had already begun to relinquish his ships to his son Richard, Jr., who was then only twenty-one years old, but considered quite old enough to take a ship on a foreign voyage. On December 14, 1758, Richard wrote his father from Gibraltar a letter about his adventures, which he sent home in the brigantine *Lydia and Betsy*, another of Derby's ships, commanded by Captain Lambert. He had sold his white sugar at seventeen dollars and fifty cents per hundredweight and tar at eight dollars and fifty cents a barrel, but could not find a good purchaser for his fish, and was buying claret at ten dollars a cask, raisins, soap, and small handkerchiefs. He was trying to get five hundred dozen of these at four dollars a dozen.

There had been trouble evidently about a ship called the *Sally*, which seems to have been seized for some reason. He had got possession again, but decided to sell her, for if he loaded her for Eustatia "with no papers but a pass she would be seized by privateers before she got out of the roads." As a result of his trading he was remitting two hundred to two

³⁶ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 366.

hundred and fifty pounds to Mr. Lane, of the firm of Lane and Booth, which long represented Mr. Derby in London.³⁷

By this time the Seven Years' War had begun in Europe, and the privateers on both sides were on the watch, not only for enemy ships, among which they included those of enemy colonies, but also ships of their own colonies trading with the enemy. Between 1757 and 1764, Derby had the brig *Neptune*, the ship *Antelope*, the brigantine *Lydia and Betsy*, the brig *Ranger*, and the *Mary and Sally* trading to the Spanish peninsula and Madeira. At Bilboa he was represented by Gardoqui and Company. They often paid him with bills on London, which were good merchandise, as they sold at a premium on this side of the water. Or perhaps one of Derby's captains was short of money to buy the return cargo and so paid for it through the English agents, R. Anderson and Company, of Gibraltar, with a bill on London.³⁸

The insurance on the ships was effected frequently by the English agents, Lane and Booth,³⁹ but a good deal was written in Salem, for in the list of policies underwritten by Timothy Orne, Jr., in 1758, are the brig *Neptune*, R. Derby, Jr., captain, in January for Gibraltar, the schooner (not brig if there were two) *Ranger* for St. Eustatia in February, under George Crowninshield. In June, the brig *Salisbury*, of which Derby was half owner, went to Statia also, and in November the *Mary and Sarah*, evidently named for his daughters, sailed for Madeira and Gibraltar.⁴⁰

The brig *Neptune* was a vessel of a hundred and fifty tons, carried a crew of twelve men, and mounted ten guns, probably mostly swivels.⁴¹

TROUBLES WITH BRITISH PRIVATEERS

The trade to the West Indies was carried on in the smaller ships, which, loaded with fish, lumber, and grain and perhaps a deckload of horses and sheep, went peddling their goods from port to port among the islands. The larger ships went

³⁷ Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 21.

³⁸ Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 10.

³⁹ Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 25.

⁴⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXI, 88.

⁴¹ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 259.

anywhere that looked hopeful. Once the *Antelope*, having been to Cadiz, crossed to Tangier, loaded mules, took them to the West Indies, and returned to Salem with sugar and molasses. This was a profitable trip; but with the outbreak of the war, this idea did not work so well. For instance, at Gibraltar, Derby bought a French prize, a ship of three hundred tons, christened her the *Ranger*, and sent George Crowninshield out to take command of her. He loaded her with wines and sailed for the West Indies, where he exchanged his cargo for sugar, probably at Martinique, and sailed for Leghorn. Just clear of the islands, she was seized, for trading between the French islands and America, by four British privateers and carried to New Providence in the Bahamas.

Mr. Derby was very angry. He sent a sloop at once to the Bahamas with his son John to protest. She was condemned by the Admiralty Judge Bradford, and it was approved by Governor Shirley, late of Massachusetts. With the help of able counsel, John Derby protested that you could not register a ship till you got her home, and that she was not trading from a French island to America, but to Leghorn, which was legal. She was nevertheless given up to her captors at a quarter of her value. Derby appealed and filed bonds to prosecute his appeal in England, but the case was pushed through under bonds of the captors, who were mostly bankrupt, and who at once left the island. Derby was furious, and pointed out to his counsel in London, as the case dragged on, that over two hundred vessels had been taken to the Bahamas and not one had escaped condemnation, and that the judge and governor, who arrived as poor men, had retired with thirty thousand pounds apiece. He got no redress, however, in Bahama or in England, but the son of Captain Crowninshield collected this bill several times over with the privateer *America* some fifty years later. For the immediate present Derby had to be content with meager insurance, instead of a profit of seventy thousand dollars, which he claimed was his expectation.⁴²

In July, 1759, the fifty-six-ton schooner *Three Brothers* sailed for St. Martin's in the French West Indies. One day out of Salem, she was captured by a British privateer, which

⁴² Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 26 and 27.

immediately boarded her and removed all the specie, about eight hundred pieces of eight. A prize crew was put on board, and she was sailed down to Spanishtown, where most of the cargo was discharged, and then she was taken to Antigua and condemned. Captain Driver protested, but she had started to trade with the enemy, though the robbery and sale of her cargo before she was legally condemned was a piece of high-handed piracy.

The capturing and condemning of colonial vessels by English privateers rankled in the colonial mind because the colonial vessels were seized by privateers in time of war for technical breaches of laws that were never enforced in time of peace by the Royal Navy. Obvious injustice and unfairness, especially when it is impossible to do anything about it, have always rankled in the Anglo-Saxon mind, and right at this point in his career Richard Derby was being turned into a bitter enemy of England, who, though she did not realize it, was to pay for the injury in due time to the last dollar.

Three years later, Captain Driver was again captured, this time in the *Sally*, by a real enemy, the French privateer *Le Tigre*, but all she did was to hold the first mate as security for the ransom and let the *Sally* go. Derby, to make good the word of his captain, sent the schooner *Mary* as a cartel, a joint venture with two Newburyport merchants who also had a man held for ransom. They headed for Cape François in Hayti, and were grabbed by an English privateer, who removed the specie sent as the ransom, and sent the *Mary* into Nassau for heading for a French port. When the matter was explained, she was released and even the specie returned.⁴³ She sailed on to Cape François, took over the hostages, and paid the ransoms. All now seemed bright, but, as she left the port, a French frigate again seized the hostages and obliged Captain Driver to sail the *Mary* over to Santiago de Cuba, where she was detained for three months and never reached Salem until six months after she had left in June, 1762.⁴⁴

⁴³ Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 15, 16.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

THE CLOSE OF THE WAR

The war was not without incident on land as well as at sea. It opened with Braddock's defeat at Fort DuQuesne, which was not an especially auspicious beginning. Nor was the loss of Fort William Henry, in August, 1757, and the massacre which followed it, in which Colonel Frye's Essex County regiment suffered severely and several men lost their lives. It had been hard to raise the men for this expedition, and Richard Derby's name appears with thirty-three others who subscribed to a fund to give the soldiers the ten pounds promised but never paid by the King. Moreover, Derby, Benjamin Pickman, and Benjamin Lynde Oliver were the three largest subscribers at thirty pounds apiece, and Derby was probably the moving spirit, for the account of receipts and disbursements is on the fly-leaf of his personal ledger.⁴⁵

The fighting along Lake Champlain eventually leaned toward success for the British armies. General Abercrombie was again defeated near Ticonderoga in 1758, and Lord Howe was killed in an Indian ambush as he stood beside our own General Israel Putnam.⁴⁶ But Louisburg was retaken by Lord Jeffrey Amherst and General Wolfe; and the next year Wolfe took Quebec, while Amherst retrieved the defeats on Champlain and captured Ticonderoga.⁴⁷

The Peace of Paris was far more satisfactory than the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had been. France ceded to England Nova Scotia, Acadia, Cape Breton, and all other lands to the north, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon alone excepted, and with them the right to fish, but only off shore. France also gave up all lands in Louisiana east of the Mississippi except New Orleans, and Spain ceded Florida to England. This finally determined that all of North America east of the Mississippi was to be English and not French, and the century-long conflict was ended.

SALEM AFTER 1750

When peace came in 1763, Salem must have been a pleasant place to live in. Large and pleasant houses had taken the

⁴⁵ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, III, 83.

⁴⁶ Fiske, *New France and New England*.

⁴⁷ See Roads, *History and Traditions of Marblehead*, 74.



DERBY HOUSE

Built on Derby Street in 1761 on the order of Richard Derby

place of the earlier homes of fishermen and farmers and of the many-gabled but rather cramped houses of the more well-to-do citizens. Benjamin Pickman had recently built the house, already mentioned, which still stands just west of the East India Marine Hall, in which he glorified the codfish which had made his fortune by placing its image, carved in wood, on every step of his spacious stairway. John Cabot had built the house on Essex Street opposite the corner of Monroe Street, which is still one of the most beautiful in Salem. The fine old Hodges house, near the end of Crombie Street, which disappeared behind the line of shops only a few years ago, was standing, and just one or two brick houses had appeared. Among these was the so-called Richard Derby house, built in 1761 on Derby Street below the custom house.⁴⁸

Where Richard had lived from the time of his marriage is not certain, but we know, as has been stated, that in that very year he bought the nucleus of the property that later became his, lying along the water from the head of where Union Wharf was eastward a few hundred feet and back toward Essex Street a hundred feet or so. For the next fifteen years he was adding to this property by buying out the interests of the Hasket and Pickman heirs in the adjoining property, till he must have had quite a strip. There was a dwelling house on the original property, and there I imagine he lived. Felt says⁴⁹ that the so-called Richard Derby house was built for Elias Hasket on his marriage, and as the two events occurred the same year, it seems probable, and that Richard continued in his regular house even after Elias Hasket moved to the house on Washington Street at the corner of Lynde, as indicated in the notes to the Derby land titles in the second part of this article.

Outside the city the great merchants showed the results of successful trade by the fact that they started to build country places. Judge Lynde built a fine house on Castle Hill, which, alas, and the hill on which it stood, have both disappeared. "King" Hooper, of Marblehead, built the Lindens in Danvers, which still stands as a tribute to good building, good architecture, and good taste.

⁴⁸ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, I, 415.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

In 1759, Derby had bought the place on the Peabody and Danvers Road, known at that time as the Ives Farm, and had started to lay out that fine estate. Benjamin Pickman had his estate on Forest River, not far from Loring Avenue. Colonel William Browne was still building on Folly Hill the sumptuous Hall that gave the hill its name. It has always seemed to me that he was far less foolish than the men who criticized him.⁵⁰

Captain Francis Goelet, who visited Salem in 1750, thus described his trip to Colonel Browne's estate:

About 3 a Clock we Sett out in his Coach for his Country Seat rideing trough a Pleasant Country and fine Rhoads we arived there at 4 a Clock the Situation is very Airy Being upon a Heigh Hill which Over Looks the Country all Round and affords a Pleasant Rural Prospect of a Fine Country with fine woods and Lawns with Brooks water running trough them you have also a Prospect of the Sea on one Part and On Another a Mountain 80 miles distant The House is Built in the Form of a Long Square, with Wings at each End and is about 80 Foot Long, in the middle is a Grand Hall Surrounded above by a Fine Gallery with Neat turned Bannester and the Cealing of the Hall Representing a Large doom Designed for an Assembly or Ball Room, the Gallery for the Mucisians &c. the Building has Four Doors Fronting the N. E. S. & W. Standing in the middle the Great Hall you have a Full View of the Country from the Four Dorcs; at the Ends of the Buildings is 2 upper and 2 lower Rooms with neat Stair Cases Leading to them, in One the Lower Rooms is his Library and Studdy well Stockd with a Noble Colection of Books, the others are all unfurnish'd as yet Nor is the Building yet Compleat — wants a Considerable workman Ship to Compleat it, so as the Design is. But Since the Loss of his first wife who was Governour Burnetts Daughter of New York by whome he has yet 2 Little Daughters Liveing, the Loss of her he took much to heart as he was doateingly fond of her Being a Charming Ladie when married.⁵¹

In Salem itself there were three churches of the Congregational faith and one for the Church of England people, not to mention a Quaker meeting. The Salem Marine Society had already established itself and was compiling useful records of voyages and data about navigation. The Social Library, the predecessor through a long line of changes of the present

⁵⁰ See Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 75.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

Salem Athenæum, was making a small collection of books available to a group of cultured and educated gentlemen. According to Captain Goelet, as mentioned above, Colonel William Browne had an extraordinary library of the best ancient and modern authors.⁵² The town could also boast of a book-shop kept by Samuel Orne.⁵³ In 1768, Captain Derby persuaded Samuel Hall, an excellent printer, who had been the partner of the widow of John Franklin, brother of Benjamin, to remove to Salem and set up an office. He was a staunch patriot and presently started the *Essex Gazette*, the first Salem newspaper.⁵⁴ The Ship Tavern, run by the widow Pratt, had not yet been succeeded by Goodhue's Sun Tavern, which twenty years later was the most popular.⁵⁵

Captain Goelet's full description of the town, written just after he had visited it, is so concise that it is worth quoting as a whole. He says:

Before proceed shall Give a Discription of Salem. Its a Small Sea Port Towne. Consists of abt 450 Houses, Several of which are neat Buildings, but all of wood, and Covers a Great Deal of Ground, being at a Convenient Distance from Each Other, with fine Gardens back their Houses. the Town is Situated on a Neck of Land Navigable on either Side is abt 2½ Miles in Lenght Including the Buildgs Back the Towne, has a main Street runs directly trough, One Curch 3 Presbiterian and One Quakers Meeting. The Situation is Very Prety &c.

This contrasts very sharply with his classic dictum on Marblehead, "It may in Short be Said its a Dirty Erregular Stinking Place."

His comment on the trade of Salem is as follows:

The Trade Consists Chiefly in the Cod Fishery, they have abt 60 or 70 Sail Schooners Employed in that Branch. Saw abt 30 Sail in the Harbr havg then abt 40 at Sea. They Cure all their Own Cod for Markett, Saw there a Vast Number Flakes Cureing, in the Harbour Lay also two Topsail Vessels and three Sloops, on Examg into the Fishery find it a very adventags Branch.

Lest we be too proud of our later anti-slavery proclivities, it is well to remember that during the middle of the eighteenth

⁵² Dow, *Two Centuries of Travel in Essex County, Massachusetts*, 74.

⁵³ Tapley, *Salem Imprints*, 171.

⁵⁴ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VIII.

⁵⁵ Tapley, *Salem Imprints*, 220.

century there were always about eighty slaves owned in Salem, and that these were bought and sold and passed by will like other property, but there was certainly no general trading in slaves as merchandise for profit, at least in the city, whatever the ships may have done.

Salem was still a town very much by itself in 1760. It was off the main line of travel to the eastward, which ran from Lynn through Peabody and Danvers to Ipswich. There were no regular stages running anywhere, and if one wished to journey to Boston, he spent a couple of days about it in his own chaise over pretty rough roads. In 1761, "a large stage chair" began to run for the first time from Portsmouth to Boston through Salem. It was drawn by two horses and made the trip to Boston and return once a week. In 1766, a stage began to run from Salem to Boston, but the conveyances to the eastward gave out because of an epidemic among the horses. But land transportation of a public character had at least begun and it steadily improved.

MR. DERBY'S LATER ACTIVITIES

By 1760, Mr. Derby must have been one of the leading citizens of Salem. All of his six children were growing up, and they must have been a source of pleasure to him, as all six developed into energetic and useful members of the community. We have already seen that his eldest son Richard was a sea-captain of ability and skill. His loyalty to his father and his energy in the shipping industry added to his father's fortune and started his own. Mary, the second child, had already married Captain George Crowninshield in 1757, and he had allied himself to the family business organization as a commander of one of the ships. The next son, Elias Hasket, married Captain Crowninshield's sister Elizabeth in 1761, making a double family alliance. John, the third son, was a capable shipmaster and did his part with the family shipping. He married Lydia, the daughter of Captain Jonathan Gardner. The daughter Martha alone married away from the mercantile tradition, for she married Dr. John Prince, but the youngest daughter Sarah came back to it by marrying Captain John Gardner. Thus, Mr. Derby had in his own family four of the ablest sea-captains out of Salem, and he needed the

assistance of one of his sons at home to attend to the mass of detail which went with the extensive trade and to share the responsibility. This was probably not necessary when the eldest son started out, as he took to the sea, and the place was filled when John came of age, so he went to sea also. It is not unnatural that Elias Hasket became a merchant at an earlier age than most of the Salem merchants who had to begin life at sea, but he thus had more time to consolidate his fortune.

There are few men who have the help of five men of their own family of so much ability and energy in a single business as Richard Derby had, and it is not to be wondered at that the business succeeded. All the documents left indicate that Mr. Derby was a man of thoroughness and painstaking carefulness. If, as has often been said, "Genius is merely the capacity for taking pains," Mr. Derby was undoubtedly a man of genius.

It is difficult to get at the total amount of their transactions or just what they accomplished. Fish, molasses, and rum were undoubtedly the bulk of their transactions before the Revolution, but what they amounted to in dollars, or what percentage they made is not easy to determine, and I doubt if they had any way themselves of determining in advance their profit. I suspect that if a voyage could be completed as planned, with fair luck in markets when the ship arrived at destination, and without accident to the vessel, the profits were huge; that is, a cargo worth eight hundred dollars, after a year's trading in different ports might produce a return cargo worth eight thousand dollars, while the overhead charges for ship and crew would not exceed five hundred dollars. This is guesswork, however, and I doubt if Richard Derby himself, in 1763, could have told you just what he made on a voyage, or even what the outbound cargo cost or the inbound one sold for, although it was all invoiced and priced. If you get thirty-five hundred barrel staves for five barrels of rum made from a few hogsheads of molasses which were exchanged for a dozen quintals of codfish that were bought for some previous barrels of rum, who can tell what the barrel staves cost?

For instance, take this transaction from an attorney who had been trying to collect a bill:

Halifax, Oct. 18, 1763.

This day I have received of Mr. John Blackbury's attorney £93-9-5 being the net proceeds of 8 pipes of wine sold by John Burbridge after deducting out £8-6-0 Freight and Storage of 13 pipes and commission on 2 pipes at Louisburg. I enclose to you amount William Smith's draft on Chas. W. Apthorp, Esq. for 468 Dollars $\frac{2}{3}$ the balance.

I have charged you $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ commission for receiving and remitting this money, which is a small consideration for the Trouble of going after it times innumerable however am glad I am able to get it for you at last & am very sorry you have been so long kept out of it but I could not obtain payment of it till now.

I shall at all times gladly render you any service for I am with respect

Yr most Hum servt

Frank White ⁵⁶

The question naturally arises, What did he get for eight of the thirteen pipes of wine which seem to have been there, regardless of the fact that he seems to have lost three of the other five?

Here is another transaction in fish and rum, and no one can tell what the fish cost or the rum brought, and this gentleman was evidently slow pay, for a little care was taken to check him up:

Gloucester, Dec. 15, 1768.

Capt. Derby

Sir

You gave me encouragement that you could supply me about this time with 15 or 16 barrels of rum which if you could I shall have an opportunity to send for them ye beginning of ye week for which will pay you in ye spring to your satisfaction. I shall find you your balance next week or ye week after who am Sir

Your Humb. Servt.

Nathaniel Allen

We do not know whether he got this lot, but he did get some the following year as per the following entry of December 20, 1769: ⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Derby Manuscripts at Essex Institute.

⁵⁷ Manuscript Book of Rum Deliveries, July 6 to December 20, 1769.

634 3/4 Gals @ 14/
 14 Barrels @ 25
 6 " @ 27

Natl. Allen, Dr. to 20 Bbls. of N.E. Rum to be paid for in good Jamaica Fish in July next, at the last price, delivered in Salem free from any charge, if not paid for then to be paid cash or Jamaica Fish with interest until paid either of which said Derby shall choose.

There is a little book at the Essex Institute which shows the delivery of rum only between July 6 and December 20, 1769, and the amount delivered is astounding. The book is of thirty-two pages, and covers less than six months. I added an average page, which covers only five days, and ten hundred and sixty-eight gallons of rum were delivered to different people.

During these years a good deal of ready cash was being paid out also, according to the little receipt book previously mentioned. The month of December, 1758, shows outpayments of £189-15-0 plus \$104, and the month of January, 1761, of £254-17-10. These payments, therefore, ran at the rate of twelve or fifteen thousand dollars a year, and were evidently minor transactions, as the recipients frequently merely made their marks, though names like William Nichols, Dudley Woodbridge, and Henry Elkins appear also.

The reputation of the Derby house was extending abroad, and merchants who had once had their trade wanted more of it. There is, for instance, still a letter among the Derby manuscripts from a firm of merchants in Madeira, dated May 26, 1766, soliciting a cargo of fish and suggesting August or September as the best date for its arrival. Trade with New England had evidently fallen off, as they suggest an answer *via* New York or Philadelphia, or through their partners in Crown Court, Threadneedle Street, London. They enclosed a list of prices current, but that has disappeared. However, the attempt to drum up trade succeeded, for in February, 1771, they had occasion to refer the adjustment of a difference on the cargo of the schooner *Patty* to their agent in New York, and tendered their services for other ventures.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Derby Manuscripts at Essex Institute.

TROUBLES BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

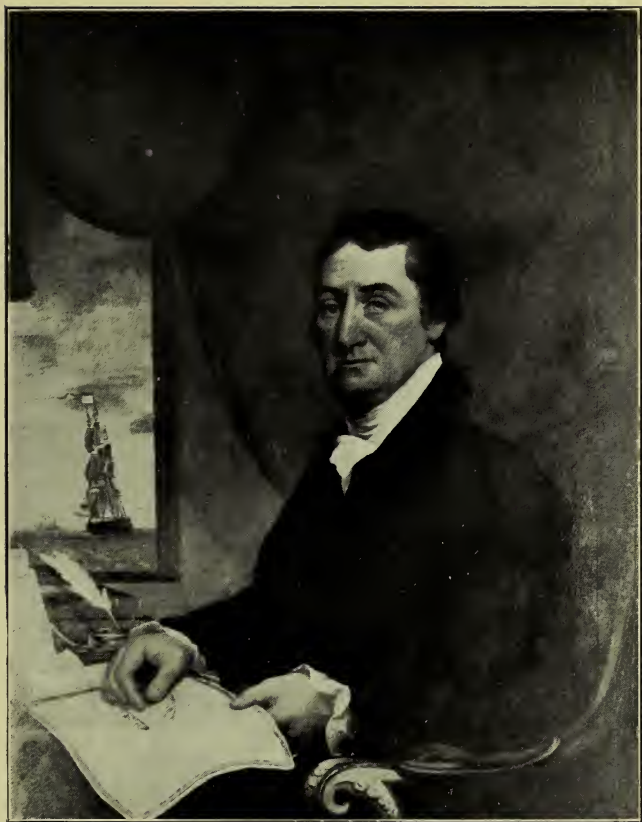
From 1760 on, the trouble over the collection of the Molasses Tax increased steadily. The merchants tried to escape it and the crown officers tried to enforce it. In 1761, the collector in Salem, one Corkle, applied to the Supreme Court for writs of assistance to help him collect these duties, and the merchants of Salem and Boston employed James Otis to try this celebrated case, which originated in Salem, it should be noted. Further tightening of the enforcement of these laws took place in 1763, and in 1766 libels amounting to ten thousand pounds were filed against Salem vessels that had not fully complied, and in 1767, the new duties on paper, tea, etc., were put in force. This increased the tension still more; more men avoided the taxes, and the unpopular informer began to ply his trade, till one Thomas Row, for giving information, was tarred and feathered, carted up Essex Street, and chased out of town, much to the wrath of the crown officers.⁵⁹ The Derbys were strong supporters of the association for the non-importation of goods on which the unpopular duties were to be levied, and letters are still extant in which they instructed their captains not to purchase indigo and other commodities interdicted by this voluntary agreement which they did not intend to break.⁶⁰

By 1770, Richard Derby seems to have turned over the great responsibility of the business to Elias Hasket Derby on shore and to Richard and John, George Crowninshield, and John Gardner, who married the youngest daughter Sarah in 1769. If the girls were as fascinating as their father looks in the portrait by Henry Sargent,⁶¹ with his white wig and his spyglass in his hand, it is no wonder that the Derby interest absorbed the best captains in Salem; and it must always be borne in mind that these captains were far more than mere sailing masters and navigators. They were expected to sail the ship to her alleged destination. They could go elsewhere, and frequently did, if a captain they met at sea reported bad markets at the intended destination. They were in entire charge of the cargo, with power to sell at such places and

⁵⁹ Felt, *Annals of Salem*, II, 260-63.

⁶⁰ Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 40.

⁶¹ See frontispiece, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLIV.



ELIAS HASKETT DERBY
1739-1799

From a portrait by James Frothingham in the Peabody Museum, Salem

prices as they saw fit. They were fighting men also, and had to know how to maneuver a ship in a fight and how to make the crew serve her guns. Finally, they had to know how to careen a ship, paint her and rig her with only the limited facilities of a tropical beach. In short, they had to be navigators, sailors, soldiers, leaders, merchants, bankers, traders, shipwrights and shipbuilders, and I find I have omitted the professions of doctors, surgeons, lawyers, and ministers which came in more often than you would suppose. For these simple duties masters received, between 1760 and 1783, from two pounds, eight shillings, to three pounds, seven shillings, a month, while able seamen got two pounds, eight shillings, to two pounds, fourteen shillings. There was not so wide a distinction between brains and brawn then, but that was because seamen had brains, too, and also loyalty and earnestness in their work. It should, of course, be added that the captains usually had an interest in the cargo and got considerable profit from trading in their own ventures.

If you look at the benevolent picture of Richard Derby and then at that sharp, vigorous portrait of Elias Hasket Derby, you can imagine very easily how the weight of business slipped from one pair of shoulders to the other, and with pride and relief on the part of the older man that the fabric he had constructed was in such capable hands.

In March, 1770, a few days after the Boston Massacre, Mrs. Richard Derby died after thirty-five years of married life. She had lived to see her husband rise from a skipper to the most conspicuous merchant in his city, with an ample fortune at his command. All her sons and daughters were married and had gone to homes of their own, and Richard was therefore much alone at her death, but not for long. Eighteen months later, on October 16, 1771, he married Sarah Langley, widow of Dr. Ezekiel Hersey, of Hingham. She was a most estimable lady of wealth and culture, who after his death, twelve years later, returned to Hingham and founded Derby Academy in that town.

So Richard Derby devoted himself after 1770 largely to receiving the honors which were his due for a long and industrious life. He was a member of the General Court in the years 1769-73, and of the Governor's Council in 1774, 1775,

and 1776, when the province was breaking away from the mother country,⁶² and his name occurs less frequently on the papers in the business. He was the stern patriot and hater of the personal government of George III that he had always been. He resented the Townshend Acts, including the Stamp Act, as much as any other citizen, and was vigorous in his opposition.

FIRST ARMED RESISTANCE IN THE REVOLUTION

On February, 1775, occurred the first armed resistance to the British troops in America. Colonel Leslie was sent by General Gage with a regiment of British troops to Salem, to capture some cannon known to be stored there. The soldiers landed in Marblehead and marched the five miles to Salem. Marblehead's Committee of Public Safety, under Deacon Stephen Phillips, its chairman, sent warning post-haste; the churches closed at once (it was Sunday) and an excited but sullen crowd of citizens gathered in the street near the courthouse, where Leslie had halted. Leslie was a cooler man than Pitcairn, but he demanded to know where the cannon were. Old Richard Derby stepped out to defy him.

"Find them if you can. They will never be surrendered," he said.

Samuel Porter, a young lawyer and a Loyalist who later lived in London, indicated the road to North Salem. Leslie marched on to the North Bridge, where the minute men had raised the draw and stood ready for eventualities on the farther bank. The situation was tense, but old Dr. Barnard, in his position of minister of the Gospel, at once assumed the rôle of peacemaker. Negotiations continued, honor was saved by lowering the bridge, and Leslie returned to Boston, having done nothing. If Leslie had used at North Bridge the historic words, "Disperse, ye rebels!" instead of yielding to the persuasions of Dr. Barnard, the first battle of the Revolution would have laid a bloody trail from Salem North Bridge back to the boats in Marblehead, instead of from Concord to Charlestown, as it did two months later. It was the moderation of the British officer, not a difference in the spirit of the provincial troops, that changed the situation. Here, therefore,

⁶² Hunt, *Lives of American Merchants*, II, 27.

was the first organized armed resistance of the Revolution, and it was evidently not Richard Derby's fault that peace prevailed. Some of the guns belonged to him. Leslie was not turned back by gentle words. It was the companies of minute men with guns in their hands across the bridge that gave force to Dr. Barnard's arguments. The Danvers minute men, six of whom were killed in the retreat from Concord in April, came marching down to North Bridge just as Leslie turned back.

This incident probably strengthened the orders which Gage issued to the Concord expedition. It was not to his advantage to parley while the province organized and armed itself. He would better have pushed the matter at Salem.

SALEM SENDS THE NEWS OF CONCORD AND LEXINGTON TO ENGLAND

But Salem also had its part to do in connection with the fight at Lexington and Concord. When the Provincial Congress met at Concord on Saturday, April 22, three days after the Lexington fight, a committee of eight, headed by Elbridge Gerry, of Marblehead, was appointed "to take depositions *in perpetuum* from which a full account of the transactions of the troops under General Gage in their route to and from Concord, etc. on Wednesday last may be collected to be sent to England by the first ship from Salem."

This was no inconsiderable task, but, as we know from the controversies over who started first in the Great War, the human mind attaches vast importance to the question of who starts a fight. On Tuesday afternoon a letter came from Salem urging the utmost haste,⁶³ and was forwarded to the committee then at work in Lexington. It is not stated who wrote this letter, but the very next day it was "*ordered*, That the copies of the order of the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq. for fitting out his vessel for a Packet be taken and authenticated by the President *pro tempore* and Ordered that the Hon. Richard Derby, Esq.'s orders to the treasury be also authenticated by the President *pro tempore*." ⁶⁴

⁶³ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 767.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 769.

On Thursday, April 27, the Committee of Public Safety⁶⁵ resolved "that Captain Derby be directed and he hereby is directed to make for Dublin or any good port in Ireland and from thence to cross to Scotland or England and hasten to London. This direction is so that he may escape all cruisers that may be in the chops of the channel to stop the communicating of the Provincial Intelligence to the agent."

John Derby, who sailed in the ship, was a son of our Richard, and the papers he carried are in the archives of the Provincial Congress in full⁶⁶ in the shape of a letter, accompanying a declaration supported by affidavits, to Benjamin Franklin, the colony agent in London, as evidently they did not know he was then on the water *en route* to America. After the usual compliments and a request to supply Captain Derby on the credit of the colony, the letter continues:

But we most ardently wish that the several papers herewith enclosed may be immediately printed and dispersed through every town in England and especially communicated to the Lord Mayor, aldermen and councilmen of the city of London that they may take such order thereon as they think proper and we are confident that your fidelity will make such improvement of them as shall convince all who are not determined to be in everlasting blindness, that it is the united efforts of both Englands that must save either. But that whatever price our brethren in the one may be pleased to put on their constitutional liberties, we are authorized to assure you that the inhabitants of the other with the greatest unanimity are inflexibly resolved to sell theirs only at the price of their lives.

Signed by order of the Provincial Congress.

Jos. Warren, President pro tem.

There was enclosed an appeal to the inhabitants of Great Britain, signed by Warren, and twenty affidavits authenticated by notarial certificates in the most legal fashion, all to the effect that the troops fired first and without provocation. Two of these affidavits were from British soldiers, evidently captives; the rest, in some cases signed by fifteen or twenty men, were all by Americans.

When the letters reached Salem on the morning of April 27, the schooner *Quero* of sixty tons, in ballast, with a daring crew, was all ready to leave. John Derby went on board

⁶⁵ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 747.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 488.

with the letters and Captain William Carleton, the sailing master, got up sail. Next morning she had vanished and the sloop of war *Lively*, which had been hanging around off Marblehead, had not seen her go. Four days before, General Gage had sent his despatches by the ship *Sukey*, Captain William Brown, but she was a fully loaded ship of two hundred tons and not so fast.

Haste was essential, however, and Derby took the quickest route to London. The instruction to land in Ireland was probably merely a blind, and Derby was probably put ashore from an open boat on the Isle of Wight, while the *Quero* dropped back to Falmouth before entering in England. Anyway, Derby's expense account shows expenses from the Isle of Wight to London, and Hutchinson's diary says he was supposed to have come that way, though the King's officers could not discover when, or where his ship was.

Anyhow, he got to London Sunday evening, May 28, with his official despatches, which he at once turned over to Arthur Lee, acting provincial agent, and also copies of the *Salem Gazette* of April 21 and April 25, with accounts of Lexington, probably written by Timothy Pickering. Hutchinson somewhat bitterly remarks that "the conduct of the Boston Leaders is much the same as it was after the inhabitants were killed the 5th of March 1770. They hurry away a vessel that their partial account may make the first impression." Arthur Lee, the provincial agent, pressed the advantage by broadcasting his news far and wide. Those who remember the impression made by the first German account of the Jutland naval fight in the Great War can easily see how great the advantage was. The Ministry, still in utter ignorance, tried to discount the news. Lord Dartmouth announced May 30, 1775:⁶⁷

A report having been spread and an account printed and published of a skirmish between some of the people of the province of Massachusetts Bay and a detachment of His Majesty's troops, it is proper to inform the public that no advices have yet been received in the American Department of any such event.

There is reason to believe that there are despatches on board the *Sukey*, Capt. Brown, which though she sailed four days before the vessel that brought the printed accounts is not yet arrived.

⁶⁷ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 6.

Arthur Lee, provincial agent, tartly replied:

London, May 30. As a doubt of the authenticity of the account from Salem touching an engagement between the King's Troops and the Provincials of Massachusetts Bay may arise from a paragraph in the Gazette of this evening, I desire to inform all those who wish to see the original affidavits . . . that they are deposited at the Mansion House with the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor for their inspection.

When the *Sukey* arrived, her news was pretty stale, and, as the newspapers couldn't see much difference, the American point of view prevailed. The main dispute seemed to be whether the British troops retreated or were routed. The London press sarcastically closed their discussion by remarking, "Whether they marched like mutes at a funeral or fled like the relations and friends of the present ministry after Culloden is left entirely to the conjecture of the reader."

Meanwhile it had finally occurred to the Ministry to get hold of Derby and get further details, as he was reported to be *en route* to Spain for ammunition, but now Derby had disappeared, and by the time they learned that the *Quero* was at Falmouth, she had also sailed. In fact, her entry at Falmouth was probably delayed till Derby was about ready to leave. He simply took a seat in the post-chaise, somewhere outside of London, for Portsmouth and changed into another for Falmouth. On July 19, the *Quero* reached Salem and entered from Falmouth in ballast, William Carleton, master, no passengers. All quite true, but her important passenger had nevertheless reported to General Washington⁶⁸ at Cambridge the day before, with secret despatches, and again did not report how or where he got ashore, but probably north of Cape Ann to make sure to avoid the English cruisers. The trip cost £143-9-2½ and was duly paid for August 1, 1775. Derby charged £5-0-8 for his expenses in England, but also includes this entry:

To my time in executing the voyage from hence to London and back Nothing⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Washington's Letter to Congress, *Works*, edited by Jared Sparks, 1834, III, 35.

⁶⁹ Full account, Robert S. Rantoul, "Voyage of the *Quero*," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 1-30.

LAST YEARS

Richard Derby was of the aggressive temperament which enjoys a fight and whose spirits rise with the occasion. On May 9, or a few days after the *Quero* had gone, he wrote an account of Lexington to Daniel Hathorne, captain of his schooner *Polly* in the West Indies, and, after describing the battle and regretting the losses, he adds:

However they got a dire drubbing so they have not played ye Yankee tunes since. . . . We have no Tories save what is now shut up in Boston or gone off. There has not as yet been any stopping of ye trade so I would have you get a load of molasses as good and cheap and as quick as you can and proceed home.⁷⁰

It is evident that there was no weakening of spirit, but merely a desire to get his ship home and out of harm's way. As the year wore on, the wisdom and necessity of this became more and more apparent.

The Derby schooner *Jamaica Packet* under Captain Ingersoll was captured on the way home from Jamaica and carried into Boston, where she was detained till the evacuation and then burned. There were three vessels at Hispaniola under the general charge of Captain Nathaniel Silsbee in February, 1776, and Captain Hallet was sent down in the *Nancy* with instructions. Captain Silsbee got her loaded and headed back so that she arrived in Portland, Maine, with a valuable cargo which sold at a good profit, but two of the other three vessels sent north were captured, and by the summer of 1776 the house of Derby started retaliation. In June, the schooner *Sturdy Beggar*, of sixty tons, with six carriage guns and twenty-five men, was sent out, and in September, the *Revenge* with twelve guns. The latter had a most successful cruise, and she sent in four Jamaica ships with over seven hundred hogsheads of sugar. Gradually the armed ships increased, and of the one hundred and fifty-eight sent out from Salem during the war, the Derbys appeared as owners or part owners of twenty-five and doubtless had shares in many more.⁷¹

As the war progressed, it became evident that these ventures were more and more the work of the younger rather than

⁷⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXVI, 16.

⁷¹ Peabody, *Merchant Venturers of Old Salem*, 45.

the older Derby. He lived, however, to see the first news of the Treaty of Peace at Paris brought into Salem by the Derby ship *Astrea* on March 12, 1783, just as the first news of hostilities had been taken out by the *Quero*. Still, his story was drawing to a close. On October 27, 1783, he made his will, and on November 9, just a fortnight later, he died, and was buried in the big square tomb which stands on the left of the path as you enter the Charter Street Burying Ground.

In his will he divided a property worth at least twenty thousand, eight hundred pounds as he valued it, and, as much of it was in houses and lands at values which seem to us absurd, and as there was an unitemized residue, it certainly amounted to well above one hundred thousand dollars and probably above two hundred thousand dollars. He gave to his widow all the goods and chattels she brought on her marriage, his chariot and chariot horses, his slave child Peggy, and one hundred pounds a year. To each of his living daughters he gave the house she had lived in when first married, household goods, a negro slave, and cash to make a total of thirty-four hundred pounds to each, and to the orphan children of Sarah each one thousand pounds in cash and other things to make their total an equivalent amount. He gave his son, Elias Hasket, certain land whereon "his warehouse stands," and to Richard's children "the mansion house, wharf and buildings thereon which I gave to my son Richard late deceased." These were merely specific items which were assigned to certain heirs out of the residue, which was divided into thirds. There is no mention of ships or merchandise and no statement of the full value. Elias Hasket, John, and John Gardner 3d were made the executors, and the will was probated promptly December 3, 1783.

Thus lived a great Salem merchant of the eighteenth century and the founder of the Derby fortunes. Undoubtedly a man of great energy and ability, he was upright and honorable in all his dealings and a lover of his town and country. The injustice of the British maritime policy made a deep impression on him in his early life as a merchant. He lost heavily through the injustice of the English administrators in the Bahamas and the West Indies, and he bitterly resented an injustice he was powerless to overcome. This point of view

stayed by him, and neither age nor the increasing responsibilities of wealth prevented his staking everything on the liberty of his country. From the beginning to the end of the Revolution, the house of Derby never faltered in its support of the wavering fortunes of the colonies. Though primarily a man of business, rather than a man of public affairs, he was sufficiently committed to have lost everything had the Revolution failed. Though there were noisier and more conspicuous patriots than he and his sons, I doubt if any one in the colonies gave more effective and valuable support to the cause along practical and useful lines. It was the energetic and well-to-do men of his type doing their daily tasks efficiently in a hundred different ways who supplied the sinews of war that made America free.

NOTES

Affidavit of Elizabeth Hasket, Richard Derby's grandmother, as printed in the *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, Vol. 29, p. 110, quoted from the Notarial Records of the Essex County Massachusetts Clerk:

Elizabeth Haskitt's oath and certificate Entered May 30th, 1698. Mrs. Elizabeth Haskitt widow formerly the wife of Stephen Haskitt of Salem personally appeared (before me) ye subscriber and made oath that she hath six children living (viz) one sonne whose name is Elias Haskitt aged about Twenty Eight years and five Daughters Elizabeth Mary Sarah Hannah and Martha all of which she had by her husband ye above said Mr. Stephen Haskitt & were his children by him begotten of her body in Lawfull Wedlock being married to him by Doctor Ceanell in Exeter in ye Kingdom of England & whose sd husband served his time with one Mr. Thomas Oburne a chanceler and sope boiler in sd place & was ye reputed Sonne of — Haskitt of Henstredge (so called) in Summersetshire in sd Kingdom of England and hav often heard my sd husband say that he had but one brother whose name was Elias Hasket & that he lived in said Towne of Henstredge.

Elizabeth Haskitt

Sworne Salem May ye 30th 1698 before me John Hathorne one of ye Councill & Justice pe & Q in ye County of Essex in his Majties province of ye Massachusetts Bay in New England.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY VESSELS

The colonial trading vessels were all small and lent themselves to the small ventures which were the custom of the times. The colonies in New England would have found it difficult to collect the outward cargoes for a large ship or to absorb the merchandise which could have been brought back. Few vessels in the Salem trade exceeded one hundred tons. The earliest picture of a Salem vessel is of the schooner *Baltick* in 1765. The earliest known original painting of a colonial vessel is that of the ship *Bethel* of 1745, in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Both of the above ships, with pictures of the *Quero* and the schooner *Hannah* of 1775, claimed to be the first armed Continental cruiser, are shown in the illustrations of "Colonial Trade and Commerce," by Francis B. C. Bradlee, a very interesting and valuable paper reprinted from the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Volume LXIII.

NON-IMPORTATION AGREEMENT OF THE SALEM
MERCHANTS

Salem, Sept. 6. "The Merchants and Traders in this Town having had several Meetings to consult Measures for the better Regulation of the Trade, which at present labours under great Difficulties and Discouragements; and being convinced that a further Importation of unnecessary Goods from Great-Britain would involve the Importers in still greater Difficulties and render them unable to pay the Debts due to the Merchants in Great-Britain, they unanimously VOTED not to send any further Orders for Goods to be shipped this Fall; and that from the first of January 1769 to the first of January 1770, they will not send for or import, either on their own account or on Commissions, or purchase of any Factor or others, who may import any Kind of Goods or Merchandizes from Great-Britain, except Coal, Salt and some Articles necessary to carry on the Fishery. They likewise agreed not to import any Tea, Glass, Paper or Painters Colours until the Acts imposing Duties on those Articles are repealed." *Essex Gazette*, September 6, 1768.

WORKS CONSULTED

TOWN HISTORIES

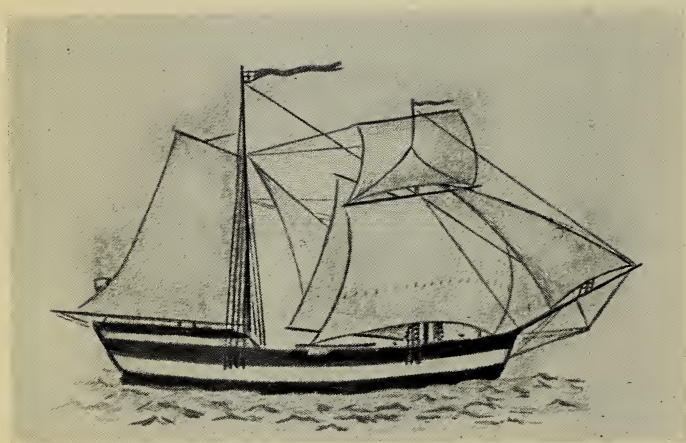
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SCHOONER BALTIC

Type of Pre-revolutionary Salem Vessel

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American Archives, edited by Peter Force, 4th Series.

New England Historical and Genealogical Register.

Note. In all of the above there are many notes, reprints of documents and genealogical comments of great value, but too numerous to list separately.

I am also greatly indebted to Mr. George Francis Dow and to Miss Harriet S. Tapley, who have read the manuscript and helped me with advice and suggestions.

(To be continued)

JOHN HUMFRY

BY MRS. FRANCES ROSE-TROUP

John Humfry¹ has suffered at the hands of his contemporaries, from those of historians and even at those of his modern kindred, to say nothing of having endured a life full of trouble, which he must have considered a punishment sent from on high for his sins.

His connection with Massachusetts was close and of very great importance; as the original treasurer of the Dorchester Company; a Patentee; a Deputy Governor; an Assistant of the Massachusetts Bay Company; an emigrant and a Patentee of the "Say-Brook" grant, he looms largely in early New England history.

He was the son of Michael Humfry, who at the time of the Visitation of Dorset, 1623, was "of Chaldon," now East Chaldon, but his place of residence at the time of his son's birth is uncertain; he was agent for Viscount Bindon and seems to have settled at Chaldon somewhat later. He married Dorothy Bawler and their only (recorded) child was John, born about 1593. In 1615 John was admitted to Lincoln's Inn as the son and heir apparent of Michael Humphry of Corfe Castle, Dorset; it is said that he became an attorney in the Court of Wards where he was in personal contact with John Winthrop, but the evidence for this is not forthcoming.

He must have married at a comparatively early age as his first wife, Isabell, daughter of Brune Williams, son of John Williams of Tynan in Isle of Purbeck, was dead in 1621, in which year he married his second wife. She was Elizabeth, daughter of Herbert Pelham of Compton Valence, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, second Lord de la Warr. She was born 27th April, 1604; they were married 4th September, 1621, and had one son, John, born in 1622 and, it is believed, a daughter Anne², who was of marriageable age in 1641; there may have been another daughter as well.

¹ This is the spelling adopted by John Humfry himself.

² As will be seen, his second wife did not die until 1628, so any child by his third wife would have been under twelve in 1641. Anne does not appear to have been the daughter "who presently ran mad," see p. 304 below.

Humfry's residence at this period seems to have been Dorchester, where he came under the influence of John White. He was made treasurer of the Dorchester Company at the meeting of the "New England Parliament" in 1624; his father who died in London on 3rd April, 1626³, was one of the "Capital Burgesses of Dorchester" at the time and is described as "of Dorchester" in the letters of administration taken out three weeks later by his son. John's wife, Elizabeth, died there on 1st November, 1628.

He was not one of the little company of Dorcestrians who carried on the work at Nahum Keike after the Dorchester Company ceased to function but when White was seeking support from "gentlemen of blood" to whom the Council for New England would issue a grant, John Humfry came to his assistance and was named one of the Patentees thereunder and afterwards was both a Patentee and Assistant under the Charter; he occupied the latter position until elected Deputy Governor on 20th October, 1629, when Winthrop was made Governor, but his tenure of office was brief for he, "in regard hee was to stay behind in England, was discharged of his Deputyshipp, & Mr. Thomas Dudley chosen Deputy in his place" on the eve of the departure of the emigrants.⁴ The reason for his stay in England is not given—certainly he had very much to occupy him on behalf of the Company immediately afterwards in the way of propaganda and collecting of funds for the colony. He was entrusted with the task of having printed Cotton's sermon, to which he wrote an introduction, and the *Planters Plea*.

It has been frequently stated that it was through the influence of Humfry that the Earl of Lincoln became interested in the colonization of New England, but more probably it was "the other way about," that through the Lincoln family's interest in New England Humfry met—and afterwards married—the Lady Susan Fiennes. Before March, 1629, the "Boston men" had approached

³ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 111.

⁴ *Massachusetts Records*, I, p. 70.

the Company who were on the point of despatching the ministers to New England, and Higginson, writing in July of that year, says that Johnson, husband of the Lady Arbella Fiennes, had already sent out servants to New England. As Humfry's wife Elizabeth had died so recently as the previous November there was little time for him to become the brother-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln and influence him and his brother-in-law Johnson. It may have been that he met the Lady Susan six months before he became a widower, when he witnessed Johnson's will on 20th April, 1628, or it may have been that Lady Susan accompanied her sister Arbella to London on her way to embark at Southampton and that their first meeting then took place; Humfry's sudden change of plan may have been in some measure the result of his desire to continue his courtship; at all events, he was married and his wife was expecting to be confined in August, 1631; they were then in London, perhaps at Dr. Dennison's house, near Cree Church, but he had a house at Sandwich, the Dolphin, which he had lent to the younger Winthrop. It was probably at this time his daughter Dorcas was born, as she was reputed to be about ten years old in 1642. It was not until 27th April, 1634⁵, that Humfry and the Lady Susan sailed from Weymouth, for New England.

Meanwhile, he had been working strenuously on behalf of the colony—the two books had passed through the press, and, by 9th December, 1630, he had obtained the promise of more than 500 li, having urged the danger to the unprovided colonists from the French; but the ill-report of the condition of the Winthrop party immediately after landing had cooled the ardour of the subscribers so that, as he says, those who had agreed to befriend the colony forgot brotherly love in the fear of financial loss; besides this another reason checked the flow of funds—the rumor that the colonists were schismatics,—so he urged that “some new and better satisfaction be given to the good people here that we goe not away for separation, the apprehension whereof

⁵ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 201.

(against the best assurance and protestation I can make) takes deep impression here, I hope we shall againe redintegrate both ourselves and the undertaking in the former good opinion which hath been conceaued of us & it."⁶

It is clear that Humfry intended to go to New England in 1632—there are references to his preparations for the voyage⁷ and on 8th May of that year he was elected an Assistant at the General Court held in Boston, in anticipation of his speedy arrival.⁸ However, he attended the Council for New England on 26th June, 1632, accusing Sir Ferdinando Gorges of staying the departure of ships and passengers⁹ and in February, 1633/4 he was one of those before the Privy Council, summoned to take the oaths¹⁰, etc., but soon after he must have gone to Weymouth whence, as has been said, he sailed about two months later.

He arrived in New England in July, bringing with him a good supply of munitions bought with "moneys given for that end; for godly people in England began now to apprehend a special hand of God in raising this plantation, and their hearts were greatly stirred to come over," according to Winthrop¹¹, though the connection with the emigration of the godly and the warlike preparations is not obvious.

Humfry brought also "sixteen heifers, given by Richard Andrews to the plantation, to every of the ministers one and the rest to the poor and half the increase of the ministers' to be reserved for other ministers. . . . By Mr. Humfrey's means much money was procured and divers promised yearly pensions."¹² He also brought "certain propositions from some persons of great quality and estate, (and of especial note for piety) whereby they discovered their intentions to join with us, if they might

⁶ *Winthrop Papers*, I, p. 8.

⁷ *Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections*, 9th series, p. 253.

⁸ *Massachusetts Records*, I, p. 95, and Winthrop, *History of New England*, I, p. 75.

⁹ *Records of the Council for New England*, p. 59.

¹⁰ Whiteway, *Diary*, f. 197.

¹¹ *History of New England*, I, p. 134.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 135.

receive satisfaction therein.”¹³ Savage suggests that these were the propositions sent by Lords Say, Brook and “other persons of quality and condition,” copied by Hutchinson, which were answered by Cotton, though the date 1636 is given. In reply to Demand 10, dealing with the status of freemen, reference is made to the fact that “excepting old planters, i.e. Mr. Humphry, who himself was admitted an assistant at London, and all of them freemen, before the churches here were established, none are admitted freemen of this commonwealth but such as are first admitted members of some church or other in this country, and, of such, none are excluded from the liberty of freemen.”¹⁴ Hutchinson adds a letter from Cotton, seemingly a reply to Lord Say’s comments on the answers received, also dated 1636, containing the remark:—“Mr. Humfrey was chosen for an assistant (as I heare) before the colony came over hither; and though he be not as yet ioyned in church fellowship (by reason of the unsettledness of the congregation where he liveth)¹⁵ yet the commonwealth do continue his magistracy to him, as knowing he waiteth for opportunity of enjoying church fellowship shortly.” It is surprising in face of these two statements that Humfry retained his post as assistant conferred in 1630, to find Winthrop recording on 8th May, 1632 that among the assistants

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 134.

¹⁴ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, I, p. 435.

¹⁵ During the two years since his arrival he might have joined the Salem Church.

Young’s *Chronicles* (p. 106), quotes from John Cotton’s letter to Lord Saye of 1636: “Mr. Humphrey was chosen for an assistant, (as I heard) before the colony came over hither; and though he be not as yet joined into fellowship, (by reason of the unsettledness of the congregation where he liveth), yet the Commonwealth do still continue his magistracy to him, as knowing he waiteth for opportunity of enjoying church fellowship shortly.”

It must have been very shortly if his name is in that list in Judge Appleton’s *Congregationalism*, and quite possibly the “unsettledness of the congregation” was due to Hugh Peter’s reorganization of the Salem church. It is inexplicable why Humphrey did not join the Salem church on his arrival, unless he had been taught by Rev. John White, while residing in Dorchester (England), to distrust these new-fangled “congregations” and preferred the Prayer Book ceremonies.

chosen were "Mr. Humfrey and Mr. Coddington also, because they were daily expected."

At the outset Humfry reported the disapproval by many, apparently himself included, of the selection of Massachusetts for the settlement of the colony; writing to Winthrop on 12th December, 1630, he says:—"For the place of fixing your selves, it is sollicitously agitated by manie good and noble friends even it were best and safest to the South they conclude, as it is warmer & (report gives out) that snow even at Narraganset lies lesse."¹⁶ Emanuel Downing repeats a similar rumor. Humfry suggests that it would be well to shift before they are too deeply engaged in this chilly spot, even if it entailed loss, pointing out that the emigrants might move by degrees in small detachments. With such views implanted in his mind it is not surprising to find he was much taken with the scheme to settle in the place which became Connecticut; he was among those to whom Warwick granted territory there in 1632—later, as will be seen, an even warmer climate attracted him. Although we find him constantly mentioned in the Records, attending Courts as an assistant, engaged in laying out lands, in settling estates, under wills, etc. and that five of his children were baptized between 1636 and 1641 and that considerable grants of land were made to him, he never seems to have settled down contentedly—perhaps his titled wife was restless and discontented in such different surroundings,—making life a burden to him; at all events, when it was proposed to establish a colony in the West Indies at Providence Island, Humfry was particularly eager to join the venture and persuaded between two and three hundred¹⁷ colonists to accompany him—a fact that roused the extreme anger of Winthrop and, as his own writings show, the Governor, when roused, used a biting pen to assail the public and private characters of offenders. No consideration for the noble work accomplished by Humfry in the early days of the colonizing movement; no recognition of the great sums obtained for the project, no thought of the labours and deprivations

¹⁶ *Winthrop Papers*, I, p. 8.

¹⁷ *Manchester Papers*, No. 424.

endured—not even the knowledge that without his help Winthrop might not have found a colony to govern, tempered his bitterness—all was as dust in the balance, with the result that Humfry has gone down in history as an inhuman monster upon whom no punishment inflicted by God or man was undeserved. It is said, but apparently incorrectly,¹⁸ that Humfry was a man of good estate, worth 2000 li, when he arrived in New England—his letters as early as 1630 mention his financial difficulties—a payment of sums due would enable him to go to New England when the ship taking his letter made its next voyage, without that he could not go; it may be assumed that the time spent in colonization work left him little opportunity to make a fortune in his profession; at all events, at the end of a half dozen years in the new world he was financially in a very bad position. Rev. Hugh Peter urged his claim to recognition in a petition to the General Court, which bears a characteristic rider in Winthrop's hand.

“Whereas it pleased the Lord by divers occasions to exercise our honoured brother, Mr. Humphrey so as his condition is generally taken notice of in the country to be such that without some helpe of his friends [they] feare the Gospell may suffer by his sufferings. By the advice of friends I am bold to desire the Counsell, favour and assistance of the Court now assembled in his behalfe, and finding the country so charged already by necessary rates, I have only this way of some succor to present to your wisdomes, viz: that where as hee hath some money in his hands intended to some public use, if that be remitted to his owne being one hundred and odde pounds, and if thereunto you shall advise I shall pay him what Mr. Geere left to some of us to dispose of for the Country,¹⁹ I suppose it may answer some good part

¹⁸ *History of Lynn*, pp. 197-8.

¹⁹ Dennis Geere of “Saugust” on 10 December 1635, after legacies, left the residue of his estate to be “employed to the advancement of such works as in the wisdom of my executors for that purpose shall seem good for the plantation settled within the Patent of Massachusetts.” The executors were, John Winthrop, senior, John Humphry, esq. John Wilson and Hugh Peter, Preachers. [P. C. C. 79 Campbell]

of his necessity, though I perceive lesse than 700 li beside the sale of his estate will not clear him."

Apparently a covering letter was sent with it to Winthrop.

"My sudden and humble request unto you is that you would bee pleased to accompany the deputy in putting your hand and seale to the Testimony that will be presented unto you for Mr. Humfrey, now bound for England with his son only with him, and a very quiet and contented mynd; proposing to returne in the Spring, having left his family and estate in Godly mens hands. I pray you, Sir, faile not herein—I meane the Countrys seale to it. At next meeting I shall give you better satisfaction about himself and his departure. Salem, ult. Sept."²⁰

Winthrop could not have complied with this request for his marginal note runs:—"The Court upon hearing & consideration thereof did declare their tender regard of the gentleman & his condition, & their readynesse to helpe to supporte him: but they are not satisfied that his estate is so lowe as it should call for any such public helpe, & if it should appeare so they would then see a faire way how much helpe may be usefull to him for the intended end."²¹

The date suggested for this is 1638, which seems to be confirmed by the fact that from the date of the next Court after the supposed date, 4th December, 1638 until 22nd May, 1639 Humfry's name does not appear among the assistants present at the meetings—during that period he may have gone to England with his son, now grown to man's estate, and returned in the spring, as intended.

The only result of this petition, we may take it, was the demand that Humfry should "send in the 100^{li} w^{ch} is in his hand to further the colledge,"²² presumably part of the "one hundred odde pounds" intended to some public use, required of him on 6th June, 1639—immediately after his reappearance at the Court. Another

²⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 38, p. 38.

²¹ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 96.

²² *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 263.

petition was presented — by himself, according to Winthrop,—and 250^l was granted to him on 15th May, 1640 “to relieve his necessity” — at which time, it may be noted, Dudley was Governor and Bellingham, Deputy. Immediately before his departure he, who had from the outset taken part in military affairs, entrusted even by the Company in February, 1628 with matters connected with the ordnance, was appointed “serjeant maior generall” and on 7th October, 1641 “To gratify M^r Humfrey at his departure for his publike charges & travell in his place as seriant maior, the suñ of twenty marks imposed on M^r Oatley is freely left to M^r Humfrey his disposal.”²³ Again it may be mentioned that, Bellingham was Governor and Endecott Deputy at this time.

His departure was now at hand—against his name in the list of assistants at this very Court is entered “depted” with a cabalistic sign. It is not surprising that the treatment meted out to him combined with his original desire to seek a more attractive climate had influenced him in his decision to accept the Governorship of the colony intended to be established at Providence Island; added to these reasons, his poverty, his disagreement with some of the notables, possibly a lack of sympathy with the form of Church Government—for his membership of any church is not recorded²⁴—and finally his fresh misfortunes, made him glad to leave the bleak shores of New England to accept a lucrative post. Almost at the end of his stay his barn was maliciously “fired,” by one Henry Stevens, who, in punishment, was ordered to be servant to Mr. Humfry for twenty-one years, “towards recompensing the losse.”²⁵

In the early months of 1640 Winthrop records the movement towards settling in the Carribean Islands and he especially mentions that chief among those who sold their estates to transport themselves to Providence was “John Humfrey, Esq. a gentleman of especial parts of learning and activity and a godly man, who had been

²³ *Ibid.* p. 338.

²⁴ As he had children baptized it is probable that he did join a church.

²⁵ *Massachusetts Records*, I. p. 301.

one of the first beginners in promoting of this plantation, and had laboured very much therein. He, being brought low in his estate, and having many children, and being well known to the lords of Providence, and offering himself to their service, was accepted to be the next governor. Whereupon he laboured much to draw men to join him. This was looked at, both by the general court, and also by the elders, as an unwarrantable course; for though it was thought very needful to further plantation of churches in the West Indies, and all were willing to endeavour the same; yet to do it with disparagement of this country (for they gave out they could not subsist here,) caused us to fear, that the Lord was not with them in the way."²⁶

Not only was Humfry a delinquent but Lord Say had diverted intending emigrants and had disparaged the country; therefore Winthrop wrote what must have been a stinging letter which received an equally stinging reply from his lordship and though Winthrop records that Say did not deny the reports of his conduct, he fails to enter, what appears in the letter, that his lordship gave him an applicable *tu quoque* as to the disparagement of the new venture by slanderous reports of it and its furtherers.

But the conduct of Humfry particularly roused the ire of the Governor. It was disclosed that Humfry was persuading people to accompany him when the proposed visit of Peter to England on a begging expedition for the colony was being discussed. Endecott opposed the scheme as he feared Peter would remain in England or would be persuaded to go to Providence Island, whereupon Humfry "fell fowle" of Endecott in open assembly at Salem. Had it not been that they were both godly men who hearkened to seasonable counsel there would have been a professed breach between them. Winthrop fails to record that Endecott wrote to him that he blessed God that "his honoured brother, Mr. Humphry, had given him full satisfaction in his free acknowledgment of his failing heere as also of his unjust charges layd upon me there" and had expressed his contrition with tears.²⁷

²⁶ *History of New England*, I. p. 311.

²⁷ *Winthrop Papers*, I. 145.

Humfry, buffeted by fortune and finding himself subjected to such humiliating encounters with those in authority, must have rejoiced at the receipt of the offer of the governorship of the Providence Island settlement; his commission was dated 1st March, 1640/1, and was accompanied by a letter that would have brought balm to his wounded heart. The Council wrote that they were encouraged by his integrity and worth to recommend to his acceptance the government of the Island, though they confessed that the employment was below his merit. They hoped he would be accompanied by many good families and persons, that the foundation of a considerable colony might be laid.²⁸ But the sequel was indeed a sad one.

Under date of 27th July, Winthrop enters various acts of vengeance at the hand of God inflicted upon the enemies of the colony. "The Lord shewed his displeasure against others, though godly, who have spoken ill of this country, and so discouraged the hearts of his people; even the Lords and others of Providence having spoken too much in that kind, thinking thereby to further their own plantation [though he does not record the vengeance upon his own plantation for his own reviling of the Providence Island settlement] Mr. Humfrey, who was now for Providence with his company, raised an ill report of this country, were here kept in spite of all their endeavours and means to have gone this winter, and his corn and all his hay to the value of £160 were burnt by his own servants who made a fire in his barn, and by gunpowder, which incidentally took fire, consumed all; himself at the court before having petitioned for some supply of his want, whereupon the court gave him £250."²⁹

Moreover, when Humfry did set sail on 20th November, 1641, in company with four ministers and a schoolmaster, who must needs go against all advice, they had a fair voyage until off the coast of England, during all which time Humfry's five companions "spake reproachfully of the people and of the country," but the wind coming up against them, they were tossed up and down,

²⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, I. p. 320.

²⁹ *History of New England*, II. p. 13.

their provisions ran short and on entering "the Sleeve" a tempest arose at night, but, having humbled themselves to the Lord, they reached the Isle of Wight — yet the Lord followed them ashore. "One had a daughter that presently ran mad, and two other daughters, being under ten years of age, were discovered to have been abused by divers lewd persons, and filthiness in his family."³⁰ This was poor Humfry—the vengeance of the Lord on the blasphemers of the Plantation need not detain us, but his misfortunes require comment.

Winthrop accuses Humfry, without any apparent justification, of neglecting his children, but on the occasion of his previous absence Peter assured the Governor that Humfry had placed his family and estate in godly men's hands; at this time Winthrop himself informs us that the children were in the care of a church-member³¹ "in good esteem for piety and sobriety." Evidently, neither Winthrop nor Humfry had any ground for suspecting that the man so trusted would be guilty of so foul an offence, which, as Winthrop states, was not disclosed until after the father's departure. Another charge of neglect was based on the evidence of the culprits.

The action of the Governor when the matter became known was most reprehensible—even from the point of view of care for the reputation of the colonists (he does not hint that this filthiness was a punishment for their maligning of the Providence emigrants), at least some discretion might have been exercised. Here were two children, little more than babies, scarcely aware of the enormity of the offence committed against them, children of a gentleman who had been instrumental in the establishment of the colony, who had spent his time and his estate on its behalf, a personal friend of the Governor through many years. He had been to some extent driven away by circumstances and it was impossible to take his small children to the settlement not yet firmly established. One would have expected that the sainted Margaret Winthrop would have taken them to her home, or that Endecott, now reconciled with the father, would have had

³⁰ *Ibid.* II. p. 86.

³¹ *Ibid.* II. p. 45.

the children, if not in his own house, at least under his special care; or that some person of assured position would have looked after their welfare. But no, — the father from the outset had preferred a different place of residence than on the bleak shores of New England, he may have sought relief from the persecuting zeal of the Boston Puritans—his point of view on church government may have agreed with that of John White, for, as we have seen, he was in no haste to become a church member; so Winthrop must needs demonstrate the hand of the Lord upon a man who dared to offend the government, therefore took every possible step to blazon abroad the shame, not only so, but even to record every disgusting detail in his Journal, after they had been discussed by the rulers and elders in a more or less public manner — even the punishments inflicted savored of insult, — money fines payable to Humfry, as if the dishonor could be mitigated thereby. After such treatment at the hands of the Governor and the governing body, for whom he had sacrificed so much, Humfry's own conduct was noble and Christian — he wrote from Gravesend in 1646 when in great sorrow and affliction to Winthrop:—
 “Sir, I thank you againe and againe (and that in all sincerity) for any fruites of your goodness to me and mine, and *for anything contrarie* I bless his name, & labour to forget, and desire him to pardon.”³²

As showing his care for his family, mention should be made of a letter to the younger John Winthrop, with whom he had been particularly intimate and who had occupied Humfry's house at Sandwich in 1631; the letter must have been written about the time he heard of the tragedy of his daughters; it is dated from Weymouth. 21st July, 1642. “If you can be helpfull anie way to my poore family I know you need not be intreated. I heare they want monie. I pray speak to my good friend Mr. Waring³³ (to whome, with his, my best respects with all thanks for all manner of kindness) I know he will not see them in miserie that are cast upon them. About

³² *Hutchinson Collections*, p. 28.

³³ Possibly the Rev. John Warham, no doubt well known to Humfry; no Waring can be traced in New England at this time.

six pounds a month I suppose will doe their turne sufficiently, the rest I would gladly should goe to paying of debts except that which you shall neede thereof.”³⁴

The career of Humfry after his return to England was marked by misfortunes. It does not appear that he himself ever went to Providence Island. Winthrop tells the fate of William Pierce, “an expert mariner,” who for some twenty years commanded ships in the service of the Massachusetts settlements; he went to that plantation with two small vessels, in response to the request to the churches in Massachusetts made by a church there, and found the Island in Spanish hands and was killed by “a great shot” from one of the enemies’ guns.³⁵ Winthrop also states that Providence was taken by the Spaniards “and the Lords lost all their care and cost to the value of above £60,000.”³⁶ Thus ended the enterprise in which Humfry was so deeply engaged.

His subsequent history is difficult to trace; he was known as “Colonel Humfry” and so also was his son John. It seems probable that it was the younger John who accepted the doubtful honor of acting as Sword Bearer to Bradshawe at the trial of the King. The “High Court of Justice” issued this order on 20th January, 1648/9:—“that Sir Henry Mildmay be desired to deliver unto John Humphreys, Esq. the sword of state in his custody, which said sword bearer, Mr. Humphreys, is to beare before the lord president of this Court.”³⁷ The intimacy between the Humfrys and Peter, an important person closely associated with the execution of the King, makes this the more probable. On 9th May, 1649, twenty pounds were ordered to be paid to Colonel Humphreys to enable him to go to Mr. Peter with a physician, the Council of State writing a letter to Peter in which they said:—“We are sorry of your sicknesse at Sandwich, and doubting whether you can have there a physician acquainted with your condition, have desired Colonel Humphreys to visit you and bring a physician to consult

³⁴ *Winthrop Papers*, I. p. 17.

³⁵ *History of New England*, II. p. 33.

³⁶ *Ibid.* II. p. 13.

³⁷ Quoted by Savage, see *Ibid.* I. p. 75.

with Dr. Goodman.”³⁸ When it is remembered that the elder John Humfry had lived at Sandwich in 1630 and had lent his house there to the younger Winthrop in 1631, the probability that this Colonel Humphreys was either the emigrant or his son seems strangely confirmed. Moreover, it is said that Pelham Humfry, the musician, was a nephew of the Sword Bearer; as far as we know the only son of John Humfry and Elizabeth Pelham was the younger Colonel John—it is almost incredible that any one bearing the name of “Pelham Humfry” could be other than her grandson; the date of the musician’s birth is given as 1647, when John Humfry the younger would have been twenty-five years old—quite old enough to be father of Pelham. Taken in conjunction, these facts point to the identity of the Sword Bearer with one of our Humfrys and to Pelham as the son of the younger.

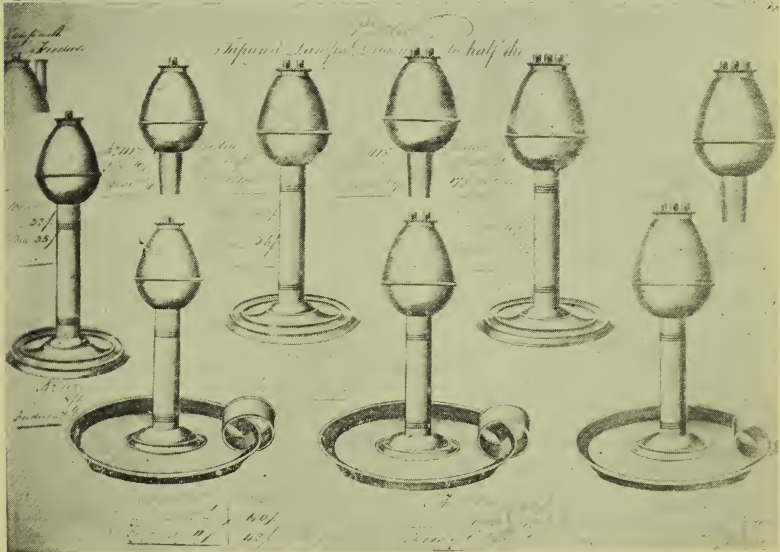
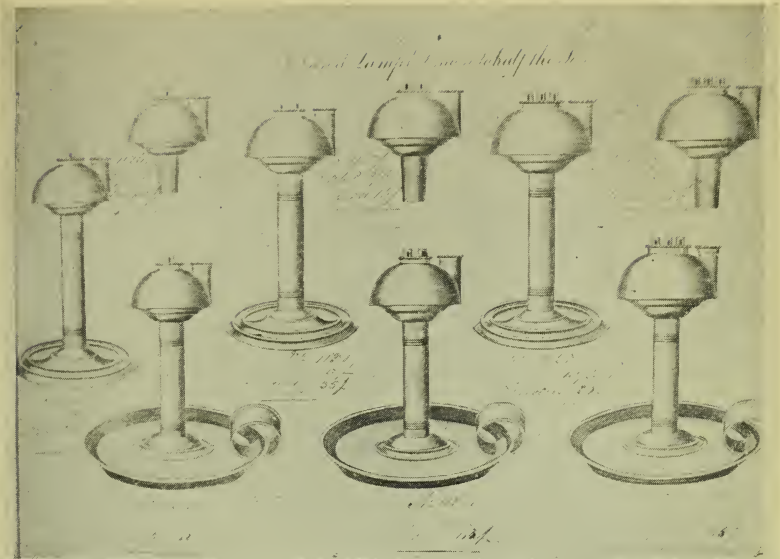
John Humfry himself survived at least until 1651, when on 16th December, “Collonell John humfrey of the city of Westminster deceased being sicke in body but of perfect mind and memory did dispose of his estate declare and say that he did leave all his estate to his sonne John Humfrey to be by him disposed for the education and maintenance of his younger children for that he had ever found him a dutiefull and engenious sonne or the said Collonell humfrey used wordes to the like effecte In the presence and hearinge of diverse credible witnesses.”³⁹ It was not until 4th June, 1653 that letters of administration were issued to “Collonel John humfrey the naturall and lawful sonne of y^e said deceased” to administer the goods chattles and debts of the said deceased. Pope, in his *Pioneers of Massachusetts*, says that the elder Humfry died in 1653 and that letters of administration were granted to his son Joseph in 1661; as the latter was born in 1640 he would have just come of age at that date and would, doubtless, require authority to deal with the property remaining in New England.

So ended, at a comparatively early age—fifty-seven at the most—the life of one who had done so much to estab-

³⁸ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 38, p. 38.

³⁹ *P. C. C.* 297 *Brent*.

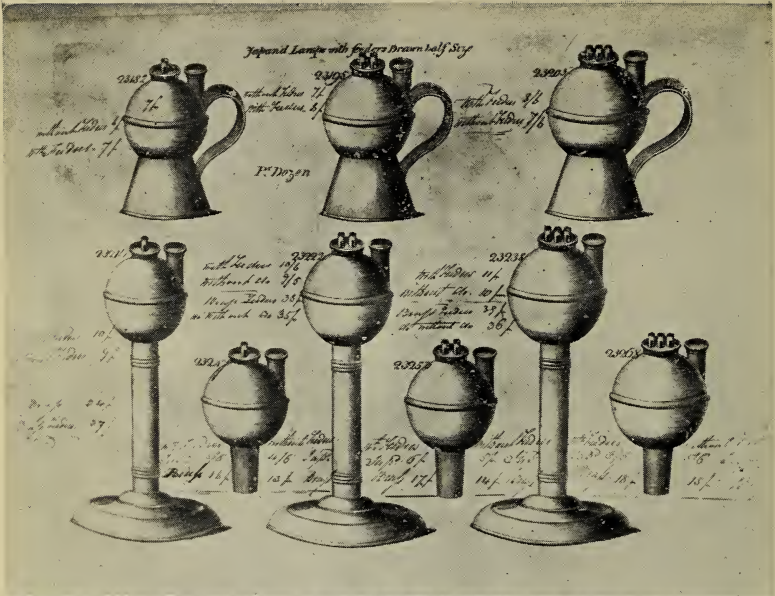
lish and uphold the colony in Massachusetts Bay, and who, at the hands of the successful Governor, has received such unmerited obliquy, the latter being at pains to record his unkind remarks for the perusal of subsequent generations; and that one who, with a noble generosity, had forgiven offences of a serious nature, yet received no quarter, no modifying word, from the man whom he had, in a minor degree, offended.



TWO PAGES FROM AN OLD CATALOG IN THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

Upper—Peg and other lamps, with mushroom type oil fonts.

Lower—Lamps with the acorn type font



Upper—Catalog page showing peg-stand and petticoat lamps of the ball type.
 Lower—Petticoat lamps of the mushroom and acorn types.

PEG LAMPS AND THEIR HOLDERS.

BY EDWARD ALLAN RUSHFORD, M. D.

Peg lamps, one of the most interesting phases of early lighting, have received but little notice from writers on antiques. Possibly this is because of the fact that there is not a great deal to be said about them. However, with their increasing rarity it is felt that they should be given more than a passing reference. The title, peg, is derived from the manner in which they are constructed. True pegs are lamps without bases, simply an oil font and burner, with a projection from the bottom of the font, the peg. This when inserted into the socket of a candlestick converts it, for the time being, into a lamp. Petticoat lamps have pegs, but should not be considered as true peg lamps, because they also possess a skirtlike base, and it is from the resemblance of this base to that now almost obsolete article of feminine wearing apparel, they have obtained their name. This form of lamp was nearly always made of tin. We have seen but one composed of any other metal; that is made of pewter, has a very short peg, and came from Belgium.

In the South, peg lamps are likely to be referred to as *stump* lamps, while in England they would probably be called socket lamps, the origin of both of these titles being quite obvious. Peg lamps were without doubt originated as a matter of economy; less material and labor were required in their construction and it is therefore logical to suppose that they were cheaper. As a matter of fact, we know that tin peg lamps produced about the beginning of 1800 cost approximately one half as much as lamps of similar type, but having a standard and base.

About twenty-five years ago the Essex Institute came into possession of a hundred or more antiquated hardware catalogues, the gift of Col. Henry A. Hale. These catalogues had probably been received from England by the Deans who kept a hardware store in Salem before the Hales in the early eighteen hundreds and perhaps

before. Two of these catalogues, which measure nine and one-half by fourteen and one-half inches, are devoted entirely to lamps and lanterns of japanned tin and brass and contain the earliest information we have been able to find on peg lamps.

One of these contains seventy-five pages with 275 copper-plate illustrations, very finely drawn with much detail. The other catalog contains but twelve pages, with 182 illustrations, much smaller and more crudely designed. The latter is interleaved with thin laid paper on which are printed the names of the various articles illustrated. Several of these sheets bear dated watermarks, IV 1796, IV 1802, IV 1803, J N 1797 and J NIND 1802, while others are marked with a fleur-de-lys.

These books originated in Birmingham, England, and although they are not dated if we may judge by the above watermarks and their other characteristics they made their appearance early in the first decade of the 19th century. The catalogue bearing the dated watermarks is apparently the earlier of the two and will be referred to as Catalogue A. The other which appears to be but slightly later will be spoken of as Catalogue B. There is so much information in these catalogues which is new and different, that a fair-sized book could unquestionably be written about them. In these notes, however, data pertaining to peg lamps and their relatives only will be considered.

Perhaps the most interesting and important feature of these catalogs is the naming of the various types of lamps shown in catalog A, and if, as it is logical to suppose, they are given the names by which they were commonly known at that period, we may consider it advisable to change our present-day titles. This applies particularly to peg lamps, which are termed socket lamps, because of their use in candlestick sockets, and to petticoat lamps, which are named "stand or socket lamps." The "socket" part of this latter title is clear, and plainly shows that this form of lamp was intended for candlestick use if desired. Whether "stand" referred to the fact that these lamps would stand alone, which of course a peg lamp would not do, or indicated that they might be used on

one of those little tables, commonly called a light stand, is difficult to determine.

Two other types of lamps with pegs are shown, one in catalog A, and listed as "Hall Lanthorn Lamps," and the other in catalog B which unfortunately does not give specific names for these lamps. The "Hall Lanthorn Lamp" is an urn-shaped affair with a short standard and a flaring base, and was intended to set in the candle socket of a hall lantern. The writer has been unable to locate an example or other record of either of these types of lamps. The other variety bears no name, but since it functions the same as the stand or socket lamp, it might be considered as a variation of this type. It has a short standard between the oil font and the base, and is without the handle which is a part of most petticoat lamps. One might ask if the hall lantern lamp could not serve also as a stand lamp, but examination of the illustrations indicates that it would be top-heavy, and that the peg extends slightly below the base.

Some of the data gathered from a study of these catalogs follow. Socket and lanthorn lamps were available in both tin and brass, while the stand or socket types were supplied only in tin. Both catalogs correspond in this detail. In catalog A tin lamps were listed as "Japann'd," while in catalog B they were listed as "Japand."

There were a number of variations in these lamps, perhaps the most noticeable being in the shape of the oil font. Three types of fonts are illustrated, and the easiest way to describe them is to say that they resemble an acorn, a mushroom and a ball; the ball type is found in catalog B only. All of these forms were made with whale-oil burners for one, two or three wicks, and apparently the size of the font increased slightly with each additional burner. In catalog B we find that for a very slight additional cost, any of these various types of lamps could be supplied with filling tubes or "feeders."

The prices quoted in the two catalogs show but few slight variations for articles of the same class, and as catalog B is the most complete it is referred to for prices on all except lamps of the hall lanthorn type. The prices given are by the dozen, and no discount is noted, though

in some of the other hardware catalogs discounts of from five to thirty-five per cent are mentioned.

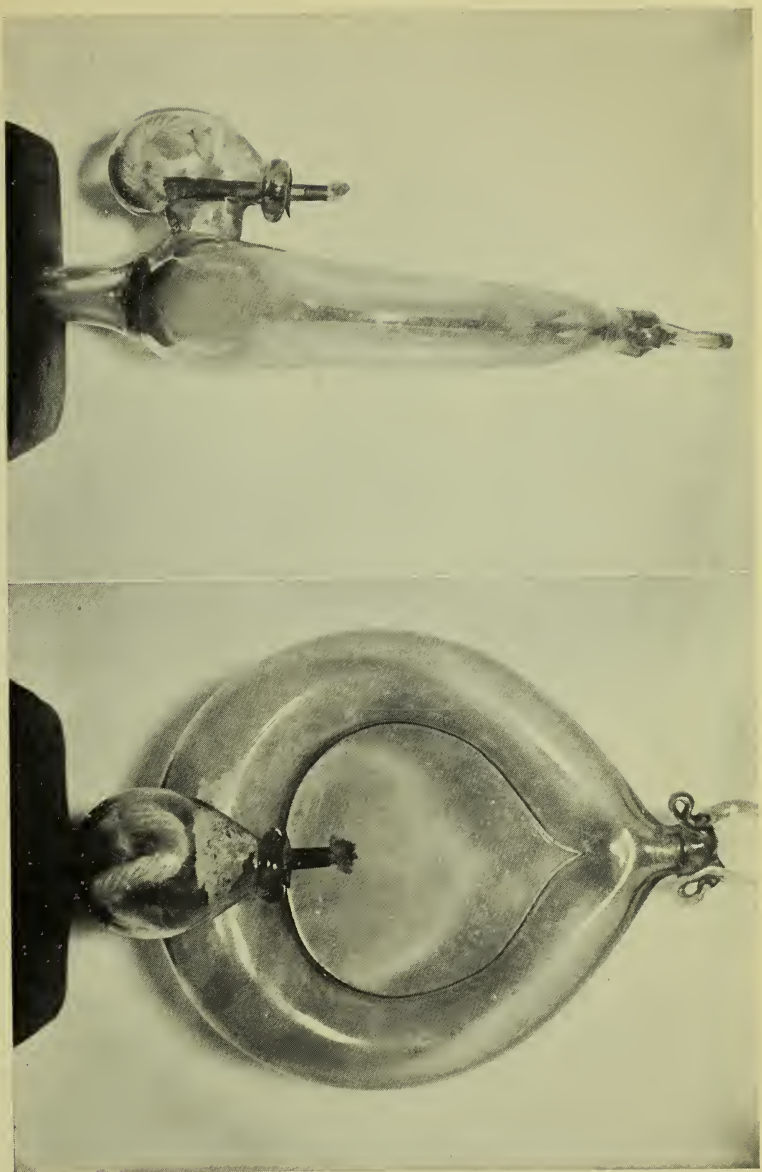
The mushroom socket lamp was the cheapest at four shillings. This is for the simplest form, the single burner, feederless type. The acorn and ball types were four shillings six-pence. For each additional wick tube six-pence was added to the cost per dozen, and the addition of a feeder added one shilling to the dozen price. The simple mushroom socket lamp in brass sold for eleven shillings, six pence, while the most expensive in this metal was the acorn type with three-wick burner and feeder at nineteen shillings, brass socket lamps being approximately three times as costly as their brothers of tin.

Stand or socket (petticoat) lamps, of tin only, were produced in the same forms and variations as were the simpler socket lamp, and considering the additional material and labor, seem very cheap. The prices range from five shillings six pence for the single burner mushroom type, to eight shillings six pence for the three-burner acorn or ball type with feeders. The variation of this type of lamp with standard is illustrated only with two and three burners, which sold for seven shillings and seven shillings six pence with one shilling extra for feeders. Japanned hall lanthorn lamps cost seven shillings for the two-burner type, and seven shillings six pence when the burners numbered three. There are eight varieties of brass hall lanthorn lamps shown in catalog A, the prices ranging from twenty-two shillings to thirty-six shillings.

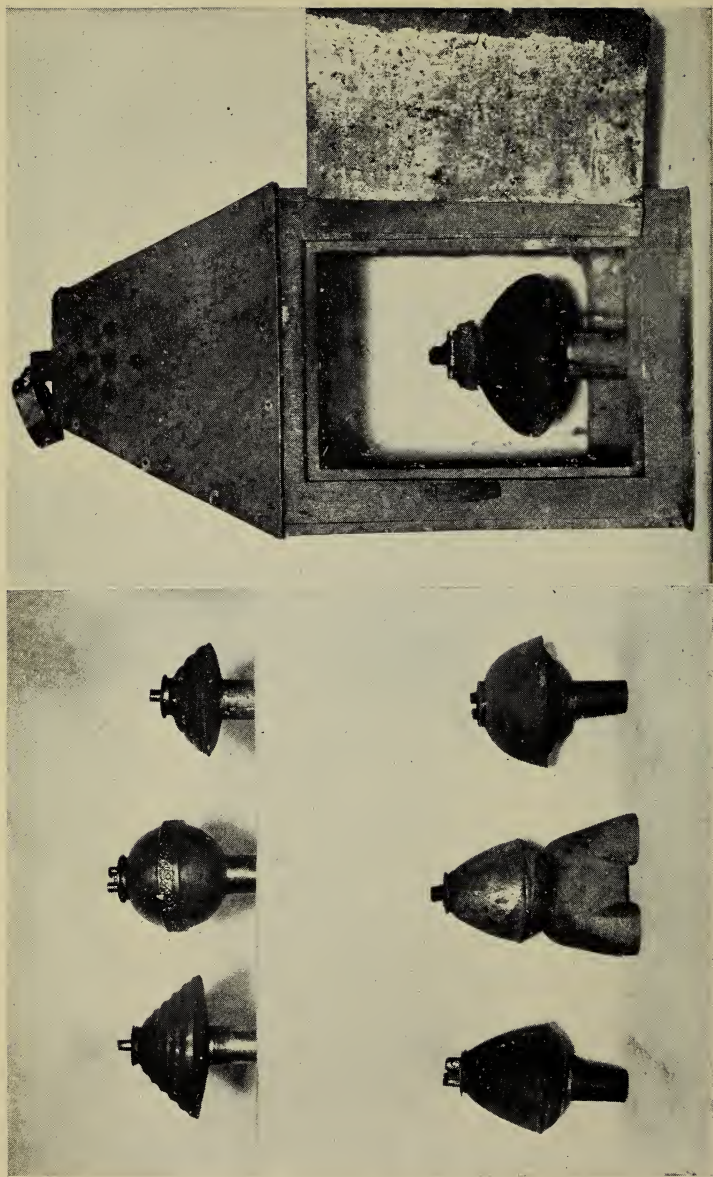
A study of the pages in the catalogues shows that tin peg or socket lamps received as much display space from their manufacturers as other types, and if one may judge from their cost and convenience they should have been very popular, yet they are much more difficult to find today than their larger brothers. It is probable that their small size resulted in the disappearance of many, while their cheapness led to the discarding of many more. We are also led to wonder why three-wick burners are practically extinct today.

VARIETY OF PEG LAMPS.

Metal peg lamps are among the very rare items of early lighting at the present time. The most common



RARE EARLY GLASS WHALE OIL PEG-LAMP, WITH RESERVE OIL RESERVOIR. Essex Institute collection.



Left—METAL PEG-LAMPS OF TIN, BRASS AND SHEFFIELD PLATE.
Essex Institute and Rushford collections.

Right—SAILOR'S LANTERN WITH PEG-LAMP. Essex Institute collection.

of those are tin, while brass peg lamps are quite scarce. Some very beautiful specimens in Sheffield are still to be found. One especially fine example may be seen in the Francis H. Lee collection in the picture gallery of the Essex Institute. Pewter pegs are probably the most rare of all metal peg lamps; the writer knows of but two, one of which he was recently able to add to his own collection after four years of painstaking search. Petticoat lamps are much easier to pick up though they are fast disappearing from circulation.

Among other metal lamps which have been noted are two from old carriage lanterns. They are conical in shape, ribbed and with single whale-oil burners. The larger is entirely of tin, but the upper half of the smaller one is composed of a yellow metal which may be either brass or yellow copper. A round, double burner whale-oil lamp with decorated band about its center, is silver plated apparently on a white metal, though a pair of acorn-shaped lamps which are in the writer's collection are plated over copper. One tin lamp seems to have been made at home by trimming the skirt off a petticoat lamp.

The majority of existing peg lamps are of glass, some of them made very early in the glass lamp period, if we may judge by their characteristics. The advent of glass lamps about the middle of the eighteenth century, found the majority of households abundantly supplied with candlesticks, and as the colonist of that period was a thrifty person, the idea of discarding his supply of perfectly good candlesticks was not especially pleasing. Peg lamps were the happy medium, all the advantages of the new lighting system at a moderate cost. They did, however, have one disadvantage, they slipped very easily from their candlestick holders, and heavy casualties among these little lamps may account in part for their scarcity today.

The production of peg lamps seem to have been limited to the whale oil and camphene periods, and nearly all lamps which are complete will be found either with the short stubby single or double tube whale-oil burner, or the burner with long tapering wick tube which was employed for burning the more dangerous camphene. Now

and again interesting examples may be found to which kerosene burners are attached, but it is very evident that these are adaptations resulting from the march of progress. There is a type of peg lamp which was produced late in the 18th century, and which are quite common at the present time, but have little or no value as antiques. The majority of these lamps were made of plain glass fancifully pressed, or of translucent glass of bright colors, generally yellow or blue. Attached to the peg is a metal band supporting three or more spring clips. On many of these metal attachments will be found the patent date of 1891.

Glass peg lamps were made in many shapes and sizes, small ones holding but two or three ounces of oil, while some of the larger sizes had a capacity of more than a pint. Some are globular, others elliptical. Many are round with flattened tops and bottom, and a few are tapering. Many of them are composed of plain glass, others are pressed into fanciful forms or etched, and among some of the later types are to be found beautiful examples of glass cutting. If one is extremely fortunate he may pick up a peg lamp of colored glass. These are exceedingly rare, but have been found in canary, amethyst and blue, also in Bohemian glass and the various colored overlays. Naturally, many glass peg lamps are of the much-desired Sandwich make. Peg lamps were also made in porcelain, but are rarely to be found now.

The earliest and most interesting glass peg lamp which the writer has seen will be found hanging in the center of the case devoted to lighting in the Essex Institute museum gallery. This lamp is shaped something like an inverted heart, and measures ten and one-half inches from the bottom of its hollow peg to the top of the circular loop of glass by means of which it could be converted into a hanging lamp if desired, or used as a wall sconce. It is made up of two parts fused together, the lamp proper, and a reserve tank for its burning fluid, which was whale oil. The reserve oil reservoir is a sausage-like tube of glass which has been blown around a nearly circular glass plate. This tube is one inch thick at the top and one and three-quarters inches thick at the bot-

tom. Near the bottom of the tube is an opening which connects it with the somewhat pear-shaped lamp part. Filling this lamp and its reserve tank is a decidedly tedious process, but it is probable that the extra light hours which this arrangement gave would compensate for the extra labor. The capacity of the lamp and the reserve tank together is about eleven and one-half ounces, but because of the angle of the lamp, it is impossible to use more than ten ounces of fluid.

The lamp which projects two inches to the front of the reserve tube measures two and one-half inches from top to bottom. There is a roll of glass about the opening in the top of the lamp to support the single tube tin whale oil burner, with the rectangular opening in its side for picking up the wick. The wick tube of this burner is extra long, two and one-quarter inches, and is inserted into a thin plate of tin but three-quarters of an inch in width, and curved slightly upward at the edge. There is no provision for the cork insert generally found on early whale oil burners to secure them in the neck of the lamp, which would indicate that this burner was of the earliest type. It is also probable that the extra length wick tube may have aided in stability by its additional weight.

The glass of which this lamp is made is of the coarse quality and greenish tint so common in many of the early examples of glass blowing. This lamp is supposed to have been made about 1775, and is believed to be of European origin, probably Italian or Spanish. The officials of the Institute are quite anxious to obtain additional information about this lamp, as it is one of the most interesting pieces in their large collection of early lighting equipment.

The type of burner will often be quite an aid in determining the relative age of a peg lamp. The lamp which is thought to be the oldest in the writer's small collection is probably of French origin, and sets in a tall white porcelain base. The burner, composed of tin, and somewhat similar to that previously mentioned, was intended to rest in an opening in the oil font, with no other provision to hold it in place than the weight of the wicks.

Lamps of a little later period were made with a ridged opening in the oil font. This allowed for the insertion of a ring of cork between the glass and the burner and made a fairly secure connection. The burners in this type are practically always of tin, and in most cases the cork bushing was attached to the burner.

These were followed by various types of two-piece threaded burners of tin, pewter and brass, many with their little extinguishers attached by means of a slender chain to the burner's edge. Threaded burners of tin are exceedingly rare. The earliest glass lamps were blown without moulds. Later lamps show the marks of two and three-mould blowing.

The writer has two peg lamps to which have been adapted kerosene burners. One of these is especially interesting as it presents three phases in the progress of illumination—the peg lamp, which was probably intended for whale-oil, rests in the candlestick of an earlier period, and supports the kerosene burner and chimney of a later time. The interesting feature of the other lamp is the roughly-turned wooden base in which it rests. Another lamp in this collection rests in a crude sconce-like arrangement composed of two roughly cut pieces of wood, joined at the proper angle to fit perfectly on the curved sidepiece of an old settle. Peg lamps were often used in sconces, and one of the most attractive ways of displaying a good peg is in a nice old tin sconce hanging on the wall.

Pairs or larger groups of matched peg lamps are to be found in some collections. One of the rarest groups of peg lamps is in a chandelier belonging to the Essex Institute. A heavy metal ring hung on three chains supports a circular concave piece of pressed glass, which is in itself a most beautiful example of early glass making. A number of glass prisms hang from the lower border of the ring, and on the inside is a circle of tin to which are soldered six tin supports for the pegs. Unfortunately one of the six lamps belonging to this chandelier is missing.

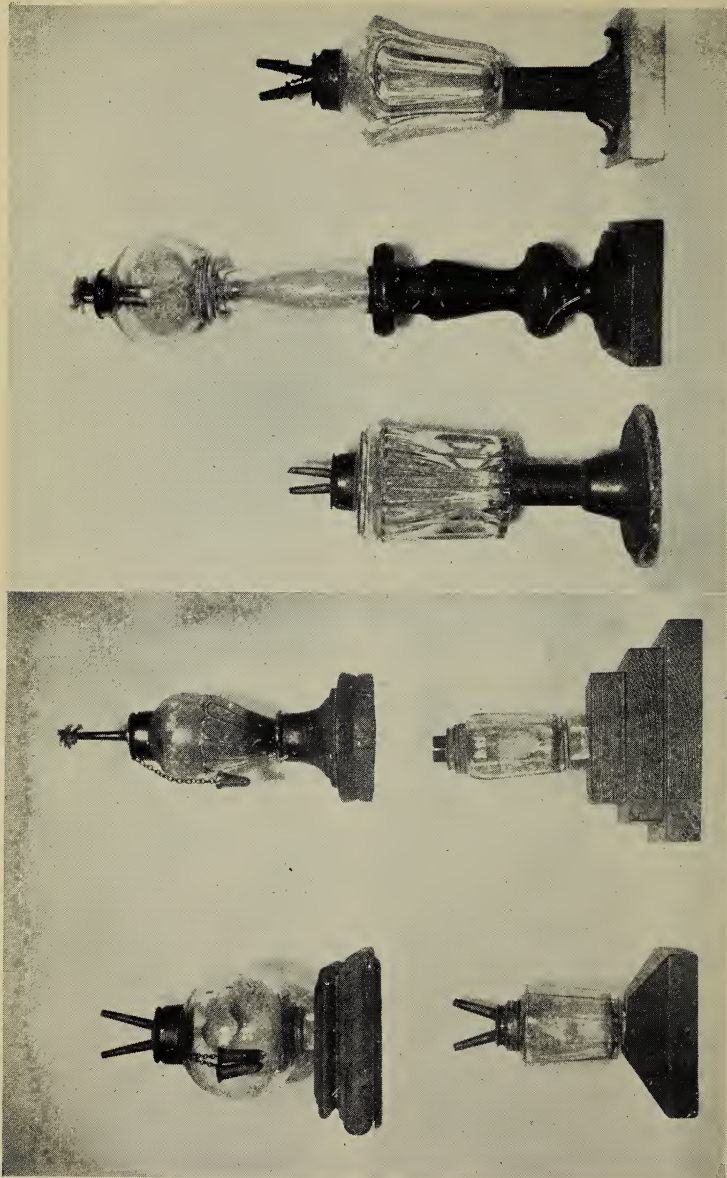
In the collection at the Essex Institute are three examples of peg lamps which are permanently fixed in bases



Upper—PEG-LAMP CHANDELIER. Essex Institute collection.

Lower—SHOEMAKERS' PEG-LAMP HOLDERS.

Lye Shoe Shop in Essex Institute Garden.



Left—PEG-LAMPS AND HOLDERS PROBABLY INTENDED FOR HOUSE OR OFFICE USE. Graham Antique Shop, Salem.
Right—ONE WHALE OIL AND TWO CAMPHENE PEG-LAMPS CEMENTED TO BASES. Essex Institute collection.

apparently originally intended to form a part of the lamp. Two of these have metal standards, one of them has a metal base, but the other has a base of marble. Both of these lamps are of a late type. The other lamp is of early make, and one of the most unusual we have examined. The peg, instead of being short and of solid glass, is nearly five inches in length, bulbous and hollow, and is cemented into a handsomely turned wooden base. There is a pair of these lamps and they stand more than a foot in height. While these lamps unquestionably possess pegs, additional research on this subject may result in classifying this variety as not true pegs. Another interesting example of peg lamp use, also in the Institute collection, is found in a lantern most crudely constructed of wood, tin and glass, by a Marblehead sailor. If one may judge by the heavy coating of whale oil on the lamp, it served him long and faithfully.

In purchasing peg lamps of large size, attention should be given to the sides of the peg. If grooves or gouges are present, the specimen is probably a late lamp which has become separated from its base, and is not a true peg. Grooves were placed in the pegs of late table lamps made with metal or marble bases to give the cementing material a better hold.

PEG LAMP HOLDERS.

Today, when one is lucky enough to find a peg lamp, it is generally without its holder, though now and then one may be found, with the candlestick or sconce in which it formerly did service. More interesting still is the finding of a peg with a wooden stand, which has apparently been fashioned for that particular lamp. The majority of these holders are crude and far from beautiful, but some were skilfully produced and are well turned and finished. They were apparently intended for house or office use, and were unquestionably the result of some individual's need or desire. At present we have no evidence to show that any special type of holder was devised for peg lamp use in the household.

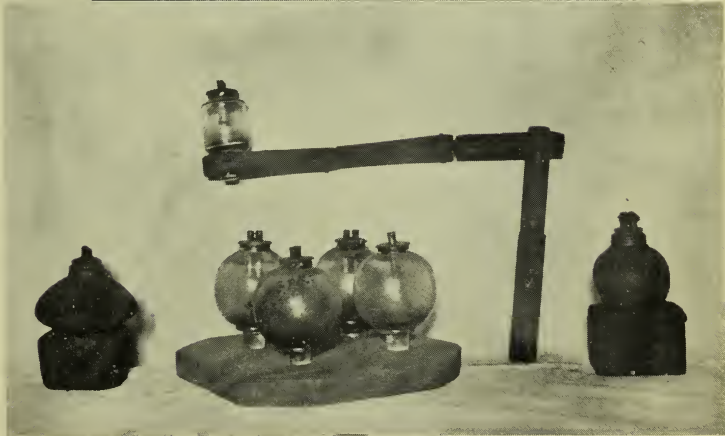
In industry, and particularly in the shoemaking trade, we find forms of lamp holders which came into existence

as a direct result of the invention of the peg lamp, though candle holders of similar principle may have been used to some extent before. Many of these devices are crude of construction, and give evidence of having been "home-made," or at least the product of someone unskilled in the art of woodworking. Others show better workmanship, and may have been produced in quantities, or have had their origin in the local carpenter or cabinet-making shop. The simplest form of these holders is a cubicle block of wood, with a hole bored in the center the proper size to make a snug fit for the peg of the lamp, and some evidence of a desire for refinement, such as tapering sides, rounded corners and beveled edges, may be found even in these crude receptacles.

Two examples of this type of holder, still retaining a thick veneer of grease and dirt from many years of service, were recently found in a mass of rubbish in the old Hilliard tannery located on North Street, in Georgetown, Mass. This tannery was established by Daniel Clark before 1800. Soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century the business was sold to Henry Hilliard, who, followed by his son and grandson of the same name, continued the industry until about 1890. The original tanning building with its great wheel may still be seen, though time and neglect have left it in a sadly dilapidated condition. The finishing building, probably of later origin, is still standing with some of its original equipment, and is in excellent condition.

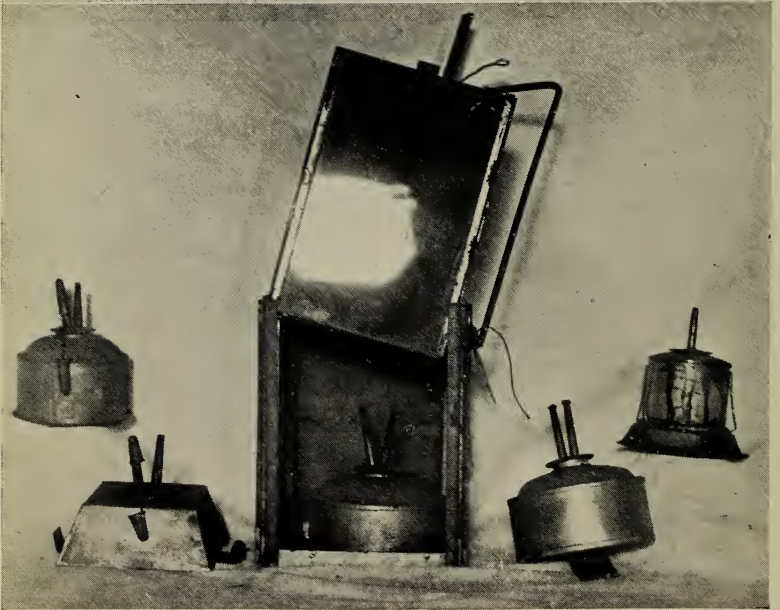
These holders are extremely crude, though their edges do show a rough attempt at beveling. One of them was evidently produced by someone who was at the same time careless and economical, for he cut his block from wood which was one-quarter of an inch thinner than the length of the lamp peg, and saved his block by nailing a square of half-inch wood to the top. The blown, globular glass lamp, with its two-wick, whale-oil pewter burner, shows a decided one-sidedness, and is a fitting companion for its holder. The other holder, but slightly better in construction than the first, contains a pressed glass lamp of the mushroom type, with a similar burner.

Shoemaking of a hundred or more years ago was all



Upper—HANGING PEG-LAMP HOLDERS FROM THE LYE SHOE SHOP
AT THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

Lower—PEG-LAMPS AND HOLDERS FROM SHOE SHOPS AND TANNERY.
Rushford collection.



Upper—PEG-LAMPS, TWO WITH KEROSENE BURNERS ADAPTED IN VARIOUS TYPES OF HOLDERS.

Lower—TYPES OF LAMPS USED IN POLITICAL PARADE LANTERNS

done by hand, the workman occupying a low bench, the seat of which was rarely more than fourteen inches from the floor. In sewing the shoes long pieces of waxed thread were used, and the worker needed plenty of room for a complete extension of his arms in both directions, to pull the thread through the holes his awls had made in the leather. Many a cobbler worked well into the night, making shoes at forty and forty-five cents a pair, and some arrangement was necessary for the proper lighting of his work, without interference with the freedom of his arm movements. Two forms of light holders resulted, a hanging and a folding type, which, while they now appear to have been especially adapted for shoemaking, might very well have been used in other industries.

In the little twelve-by-fourteen-foot shop of Joseph Lye, who plied his trade at Lynn, in the early eighteen hundreds, are four examples of these appliances, two of each type. This shop was built before 1800, and is now preserved with its complete equipment on the grounds of the Essex Institute.

The hanging peg lamp holders appear to be the older—certainly they are the more crudely made and might well be the handiwork of Mr. Lye himself, or one of his workmen. The shorter of these, which measures nearly thirty-two inches when fully extended, was originally composed of three pieces of rough pine. Two of these pieces were cut from inch by half-inch stock and form the hanging and extension part of the holder, while the third piece, two and three-quarters by four and one-half inches, from seven-eighths-inch stock, with a hole bored in its center, acted as the support for the peg lamp. The longer upright, which measures twenty-five and one-half inches, carries a loop of leather at its upper extremity, to slip over some conveniently placed nail, and a wire loop near the lower end to fit into the notches cut in the shorter upright. The latter is eight inches long and contains four notches. It is held in front of its longer brother by means of a leather band, and from its bottom at right angles extends the lamp support. Evidently this arrangement was not entirely satisfactory to its user, as a fourth piece of wood,

containing one notch, has been attached by old-time sole nails to the lower end of the shorter upright. A variation of six inches in the height of the lamp was possible with this holder. The lamp is of late type with a very rare three-wick camphene burner of brass.

The other hanging holder is similar in principle but differs somewhat in construction, and was intended to support a block type holder and its lamp, instead of a peg lamp alone. Extended, it measures nearly thirty-five inches, permits a variation of eight inches in the portion of the lamp; the difference in length of the two uprights is considerably less, and the front one contains fourteen notches which were probably cut with a shoemaker's knife. The lamp on this holder was originally intended for camphene, but a kerosene burner is now attached, on various parts of which are found the words "Fireside," and "Plume and Atwood," and the patent dates of Nov. 26, '72 and Feb. 17, '73.

Folding holders were generally attached to the window-sill near the worker's bench, or if this was not practicable, to some part of the bench itself. Of the two holders of this type in the Lye shop, the simplest is made of three pieces of wood of varied lengths, attached at the ends by means of short screws. Folded, it measures ten and one-half inches and extended, twenty-two and one-quarter inches. The other holder, of cheaper wood and construction, is composed of four pieces, and intended to hold two lamps, the last or lamp section being attached to its fellow at the center, instead of at the end. It measures thirteen and one-quarter inches folded and twenty-five and three-quarters inches extended. In the old Winslow shoe shop located on the grounds of the United Shoe Machinery Co., at Beverly, Mass., is a holder of two sections only, but having an extension of nearly thirty inches.

As time went on many improvements made their appearance in the shoe-making industry. Much of the work formerly done by hand was performed by machines, the cobbler benches grew up, the workmen standing at their labors rather than sitting, but peg lamps still furnished the necessary illumination. Holders of this period were

similar in principle, but were made much shorter than the earlier ones. Two folding holders from the high benches of the Sawyer shop in Beverly, measure, when extended, but twelve and fourteen inches. One of these holders is of two sections, and the other, three. The latter shows considerable labor on the part of the maker, for the sections are joined by a sort of tongue and groove arrangement.

The majority of folding holders are re-enforced at both ends where the holes are bored. This gives greater stability to the lamp, and to the holder itself on its supporting post. This re-enforcement was secured either by cutting this section from a thicker piece of stock, or by the addition of a short piece of wood to the under side. It was apparently a desirable feature. The four-section, two-lamp holder in the Lye shop is not re-enforced, but in one of the lamp holes may still be found a crude leather washer, placed there by some workman to prevent the lamp from falling out.

From some shoemaker's shop in Boston comes another type of peg lamp holder, made for four lamps. Unfortunately neither the name of the owner nor the location of the shop has been handed down with the lamps. This holder is simply a piece of pine boarding, nine inches square, with roughly rounded corners. It is pierced by five holes, four for the lamps and a central hole for the reception of the supporting post. The lamps are very early, of the two-mold globular type, with two-wick, tin burners held in position by means of cock bushings. It is supposed that this holder was intended to furnish light to two workmen, its support being placed between benches.

OLD SALEM BILLS

Boston 16 Jany 1817.

Mr. John Upton

for Salem Alms house

Bt of P. Revere & Son

A Bell

75½ lb. at 50

\$37.75

Rec'd payt.

J. Parker

Paul Revere & Son

for P. Revere & Son

Liberty Square

Salem, April 24, 1849.

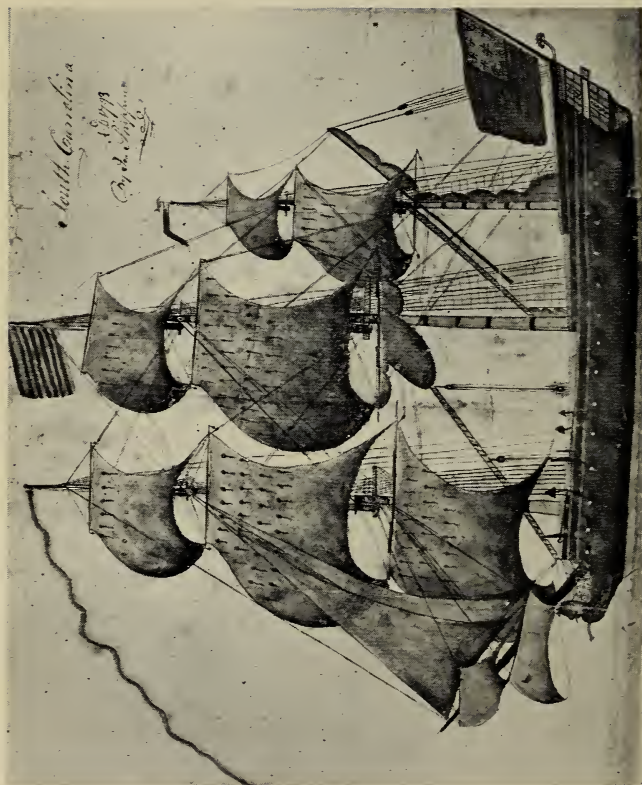
Mr. J. Frances

Bought of Henderson, Allen, & Co.

1 Bureau	10.00
6 Chairs @ 7/	7.00
1 Arm Chair	1.75
1 Card Table	11.00
1 Center Table	7.50
2 Pine Tables	6.00
6 Chairs	2.88
1 Glass	5.50
38 lbs. Feathers @ 2/	12.67
1 Windlass Bed Stead 700 Carstors 50	7.50
1 nourse chair	.85
1 Glass	.75
40 lbs. Hazel @ 5	2.00
	<hr/>
	\$75.40

Recd payt

Henderson & Kimball



U. S. FRIGATE, "SOUTH CAROLINA"

From the original water-color in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

THE FRIGATE "SOUTH CAROLINA."

BY LOUIS F. MIDDLEBROOK.

The Revolutionary War-ship known as the *South Carolina* became famous mostly as an object of intrigue and expense. She was laid down and under construction in the spring of 1777, at Amsterdam, Holland, and had been named *L'Indien*, and originally intended for the French government. The Marine Committee of Congress early in May, 1777, had been advised of this new vessel by way of the newly acquired French Agent Beaumarchais (styled as *Rodrigo Hortalez & Co.*) and of its possibilities as a desirable purchase through our Commissioners in France, Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and the newly acquired third member Arthur Lee; and plans were made for John Paul Jones to command her. Complications at once arose, however, when the Marine Committee formulated their orders to Jones to go to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and take command of a French ship then there—the *Amphitrite*, which was about to return to France and which had brought a large consignment of war material to our shores. Her French Captain refused to be humiliated in that way, and Jones had to relinquish his orders and wait for others, which later gave him the *Ranger*, the history of which vessel is well known. When Jones arrived in France he was still encouraged concerning the command of this new frigate *L'Indien* nearly completed for the American Continental Government, but his hopes were dashed because of what is generally conceded to be the duplicity of Arthur Lee, who had been the American representative at Berlin before being ordered to Paris, and the "loss" of whose papers in Berlin, which has never been fully explained, had provided the British government with enough information to cause the Royal Dutch Government to prevail upon our Commissioners in France to relinquish our new frigate *L'Indien* back to the French, which was done in order to prevent the trouble which seemed impending. This piece of betraying intrigue has by some historians been laid to the many "secretaries" with whom Lee had surrounded himself, including Hezekiah Ford, Major Thornton,

Stephen Sayre, Thomas and George Digges and John Berkenhout (see *Wharton's Diplomatic Correspondence*) all of whom have been referred to as British spies and suspects, and also indirectly responsible for Silas Deane's dismissal, as well as their near success in accomplishing the overthrow of Franklin himself; and it is not entirely unreasonable to presume that the long delay in getting Jones started with his fleet and the final decision to turn over to him the old rotten-hulked French East India, forty-gun ship *Duras* (renamed *Bon Homme Richard*) was a portion of the Lee intrigue that permeated with hindering intent, the American naval program.

In December, 1777, it was decided by Congress to appoint Captain Alexander Gillon of South Carolina as an agent properly empowered to enable him to purchase ships and war material, and to forthwith repair to Europe for that purpose. With this commission accepted and before him, approved by the Continental Congress, Gillon returned to Charleston, where he received from Governor Rutledge of South Carolina an appointment as Commodore of South Carolina's State Navy in February, 1778, and after many delays occasioned by the General Assembly of South Carolina in agreeing upon proper appropriations, and hiring him away, as it were, from the Congress, he set out in the spring of 1779 for France in the endeavor amongst other things, to persuade the French Government to sell two ships at Amsterdam to the State of South Carolina. In Paris he found himself plunged into a swirl of diplomatic intrigue and was unable to achieve his object. Certain "legalizations" were placed athwart his course, one of which was signed at Paris Sept. 29, 1779, by Arthur Lee, and the South Carolina Commodore had more than enough troubles, including the confiscation of his South Carolina estates by the British, the expulsion of Mrs. Gillon from Charleston, by that time a refugee in the North, the arrest of her son and his imprisonment at St. Augustine, all due to a letter the Commodore had written home dated March 1, 1780, addressed to Governor Rutledge, captured by the British, and in which were contained his plans for the purchase of the Dutch frigates

and various naval stores, and other details, and in which he wrote "*that the opposition he met in France convinced him that they meant America should not have a navy, else they certainly would have sold the ships they had lying idle there.*" Undaunted, Commodore Gillon somehow or other became acquainted with the Chevalier Paul Emanuel Sigismund de Montmorency Luxembourg, and through his influence with the King of France, Gillon obtained a three-year lease with privilege of purchase, of the frigate *L'Indien* (which that very day, May 30, 1780, had been granted to Luxembourg by the King), and signed the twelve articles of the Agreement which spelled his own financial ruin and struggle for the State of South Carolina—complications that did not end for many years afterwards.

By Article I, Luxembourg ceded the frigate for three years.

By Article II, Gillon bound himself to get the ship out of Amsterdam in six weeks and out of the Texel in three months, and to maintain her.

By Article III, Gillon was to command, and to be replaced in case of sickness or death by an officer appointed by State of South Carolina.

By Article IV, The ship was to cruise only against the enemies of France and the United States.

By Article V, All prizes to be sent to France consigned to M. Grand, a banker in Paris, etc.

By Article VI, Proceeds of prizes to be divided, one half to crew, one quarter to State of South Carolina, and one quarter to Luxembourg.

By Article VII, If the ship was to be otherwise employed, indemnification to be made to Luxembourg.

By Article VIII, The ship was to be returned at end of three years, with all her guns, at the port of L'Orient.

By Article IX, If the ship should be returned sooner, it should be at the pro rata, at expense of State of South Carolina, and at L'Orient.

By Article X, If the ship should be safely returned, there would be due to Luxembourg one quarter of all prizes; the sum of 100,000 livres; and if not, one quarter

of all prizes and the sum of 400,000 livres, the last 300,000 to be made in specie.

By Article XI, Gillon pledged the public faith of the State of South Carolina and all its property, revenues, etc., as well as his own, personally, for the payment of 300,000 livres.

By Article XII, Gillon pledged that this treaty should be ratified by the State of South Carolina within nine months.

From this time *L'Indien* was called and named *South Carolina*. She did not get out of the Texel and to sea until eleven months later, or August, 1781, which, after the war, in 1784, was the cause of formal demands from the Chevalier Luxembourg upon the State of South Carolina. Gillon, however, was conceded by his own state to have used every effort in his power to get the ship at sea. The vessel, because of her great draft, was unable to cross the shoals until the proper tide season enabled her to get out, after lightering and transferring her guns, ballast, cargo and supplies to lighters. By this time his funds had given out and he was compelled to sell a large portion of the State's supplies, and to borrow on his personal guarantee. He endeavored to arrange for credit in Amsterdam, which was refused. In addition the British Minister, Sir Joseph Yorke, was threatening Holland and finding pretext for violation of neutrality. In desperation he laid the whole story of his action in an appeal to Col. Laurens of South Carolina; and this appeal brought relief in the form of an agreement whereby £10,000 was placed at Gillon's disposal for Amsterdam debts; but Gillon evidently failed to receive this amount because it was stopped by the French government, it seems, by the request of Franklin, the reason being given that the latter did not have sufficient faith in Gillon's conduct or of the safety of the conveyance by any ship under his care, fearing the arrival of that ship in England before she got to America. This of course served to destroy the financial credit of Gillon. Col. Laurens' intended assistance therefore failed, and added to the Commodore's troubles. In order to avoid financial disaster and suits he ran his ship out of the

roads and anchored beyond the jurisdiction of the Dutch courts. His vessel was the finest of her class, mounting 44 guns, 28 of which were long 42 pounders on the main deck and 16 long 12 pounders on the forecastle and quarter decks. Her crew was composed of 550 men. Once on the high seas, Gillon figured he might reap a harvest of prize money which would turn his financial distress into fortune. So after taking on board Colonel John Trumbull of Connecticut, Lieutenant Barney, Doctor Waterhouse, and a number of other American passengers, he headed north by the Orkney Islands around Scotland and Ireland. They captured a privateer, and then proceeded to Corunna in Spain. Here several passengers left her. Col. Trumbull's account of this voyage around the British Isles is somewhat interesting.

Colonel John Trumbull (son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Revolutionary War Governor of Connecticut, known to Washington as "brother Jonathan") was an artist of considerable repute, as shown by his many works of history such as the "Signing of the Declaration of Independence," "Battle of Bunker Hill," "Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown," and various other masterpieces and numerous portraits listed in his autobiography. He had been Aide de Camp on the staff of the commander-in-chief General Washington, but resigned to pursue the study of art under West in London, where he was taken prisoner by the British and confined in the prison there known as Tothill-Fields, Bridewell, for eight months, but by the intercession of his friend Benjamin West, after an interview with the King, he was finally liberated in June, 1781, on condition that he should leave the kingdom within 30 days and not return until after restoration of peace. He therefore proceeded to Amsterdam where he embarked for America in the frigate *South Carolina*. Two opportunities were offered him for America. One was a small fast sailing merchant vessel unarmed and relying entirely upon speed to avoid the British cruisers which she must expect to meet; and the other was the frigate *South Carolina* commanded by Commodore Gillon, a frigate of the first class, too strong to fear anything less than a ship of the line.

Trumbull's friend Mr. Temple wisely chose to go in the small vessel, and arrived in Boston within three weeks. Several other gentlemen were going in the *South Carolina*, and they as well as Gillon urged Trumbull to go with them and so he did, and the story of this frigate seems noteworthy from the time she left the Texel. The want of funds or credit and the dread of those who had advanced money for her outfit occasioned her officers, after she had been permitted to drop down the Texel, to run her out of the roads and to come to anchor outside beyond the jurisdiction of the Port of Amsterdam at a distance of more than a league from land, and it was here that several of the passengers went on board; and on the 12th of August, 1781, soon after sunrise the wind began to blow out of the northwest directly on shore with every appearance of a heavy gale. The proper thing to have done was to have run back into the Texel roads, but the officers dared not, lest the ship be seized, and they dared not run for the English Channel lest they should fall in with British cruisers of superior force. The gale soon increased to such a degree that it would have been madness to remain at anchor on such a lee shore, and the only thing that could be done, therefore, was to lay the ship's head to the northeast and carry sail. A fog soon came on so thick that they could hardly see from stem to stern; the gale increased to a hurricane and soon brought them to close-reefed topsails. The coast of Holland was under their lee and they knew that they were running upon the very edge of the sands which extend so far from the shore that if the ship should touch she must go to pieces before they could even see the land, and all hands must perish. The morning was passed in the deepest anxiety, and in the afternoon it was discovered that they had started several of the bolts of the weather main chain plates. This forced them to take in their close-reefed topsails as the masts would no longer bear the strain of any sail aloft, and they were obliged to rely upon a reefed fore topsail. By this time they knew they must not be far from Heligoland at the mouth of the Elbe River where the coast begins to trend to the northward, which increased their danger. At 10 o'clock at

night a squall struck them heavier still than the gale and threw their only sail aback. The ship became unmanageable, the officers lost their self-possession and the crew all confidence in them, while for a few minutes all was confusion and dismay. Happily for them, however, Commodore Barney (then Lieutenant) was, as herein stated, among the passengers. He had recently escaped from Mill Prison in Plymouth, England, with others. Hearing the increased tumult aloft and feeling the ungoverned motion of the ship, he flew upon deck, saw the danger, assuming the command himself, the men obeyed him, and he soon had the ship again under control. It was found that with the squall the wind had shifted several points, so that on the other tack they could lay a safe course to the westward and thus relieve their mainmast. That their danger was imminent no one doubted when informed that on the following morning the shore of the Texel Island was covered with the wrecks of the ships which were afterwards ascertained to have been Swedish. Among them was a ship of 74 guns convoying twelve merchantmen. All were wrecked, and every soul on board perished. The figure head of the ship of war—a yellow lion—the same as that of the *South Carolina*, was found upon the shore and gave sad cause to their friends for believing for some time that the *South Carolina* had perished.

When the gale subsided they stood to the northward, made the Orkneys, then Shetland, and when off Faro, encountered another gale more furious if possible than that of August 12th; but they now had sea-room and deep water. In the night, however, the ship labored so heavily as to roll the shot out of their troughs. Several of the passengers had their cots slung in the great cabin or berth deck, over the guns, which were 42 pounders and it must have been an unpleasant sight to see several dozens of these enormous shot rolling from side to side of the ship with the roar of thunder and crushing all that stood in their way, whether furniture, trunks or chests, while the crew and passengers hung over them swinging in their hammocks. This difficulty was overcome and the rolling of the shot stopped by heaving hammocks, clothing and other

articles among them. Another danger was also apprehended—that some of the immense guns might break loose, but they were secured by running one of the cables outside forward and aft in front of the open port holes and passing strong lashings around them made fast to the guns. By this added precaution all were held safe until the gale was over.

They had now cleared the land of the British Isles and were off the west coast of Ireland when it was thought to be necessary to examine into the state of their provisions and water. The enormous heavy metal of the ship rendered necessary a very strong crew, and the ship was so constructed that when the men were accommodated, too little space remained for provisions, water and other stores. The examination found that they were short; consequently, instead of continuing their course to America, it was determined to bear away for Corunna in Spain, which was the next friendly port readily at hand. They arrived there in safety in a few days. And it was here that they found the ship *Cicero*, Captain Hill, a fine armed Letter of Marque of 20 guns and 120 men belonging to the Cabots of Beverly, Massachusetts Bay. The *Cicero* was to sail immediately for Bilboa, there to take on board a cargo which awaited her, and then to sail for America. Several of the *South Carolina's* passengers including Col. Trumbull, Major Jackson who had been secretary to Col. Laurens in his late mission to France, Lieutenant Barney, Mr. Bromfield, and Charles Adams, being tired of the management of the *South Carolina* endeavored to get passage to Bilboa in the *Cicero*, and were permitted to go on board their prize—a fine British, Lisbon packet—and they arrived in Beverly, Massachusetts Bay, in January, 1782. Colonel John Trumbull at once set out for his home in Labanon, Connecticut. He had had an unfortunate experience, having thrown away two of the most precious years of his life, encountered many dangers, imprisoned in London, and suffered many inconveniences to no purpose. He finally returned to the Army on the Hudson under Washington, until the peace of 1783, when he returned to London in December, 1783, to continue his study with West.

From Corunna, Spain, the *South Carolina* was headed for Teneriffe and was in the harbor of Vera Cruz November 24, 1781. On the way there she had captured the brig *Venus*, which was sold at Santa Cruz, and her cargo sent to Cadiz and there sold for \$15,000, the proceeds being made payable to the State of South Carolina. The ship then sailed for the West Indies, and arrived at Havana January 13, 1782, having taken three ships and two brigs as prizes, netting \$91,500 more. On May 8th, 1782, the Bahama Islands surrendered to the frigate *South Carolina*, the capitulation being made by the British Governor John Maxwell. (See Charleston Royal Gazette June 5, 1782, for particulars of this capitulation.) The fleet consisted of the frigate *South Carolina* and sixty smaller Spanish vessels including a Spanish corvette, and a few American vessels.

From the Connecticut Gazette of New London, dated June 14, 1782, appears the following: "Monday, came to town by land from Baltimore, Mr. Richard Dayton of Groton, late belonging to the sloop *Nimble-Nine-Pence*, Captain Sistare. He informs that the sloop was driven ashore by a British privateer on one of the keys of the Old Straits of Bahama on the 13th of March, 1782, from whence the crew got to Havana, and about the 21st of April took passage in a fleet of 65 sail with between two and three thousand troops on board for the Island of New Providence. Fifteen sail of the fleet belonged to this Continent. The expedition was commanded by the Governor of Havannah. Commodore Gillon in the *South Carolina* commanded the fleet. They arrived off the bar the 6th day of May and on the 8th, the garrison and town surrendered without opposition. The garrison consisted of three hundred troops—about ninety sail of shipping of different sizes were taken at the above places. Commodore Gillon arrived in the Delaware the 17th ultimo (May 17, 1782) from the expedition at New Providence."

Following, is Commodore Gillon's letter from Philadelphia dated June 4th, 1782, to Governor Matthews of South Carolina giving his report of the capture of the Bahamas.

"On Board the *South Carolina*, May 15, 1782, in Lat. 28° N. Long. 76° 30' West from London. Sir: The letters and papers now transferred to your Excellency will acquaint you with my proceedings relative to the *South Carolina* since I had the honor of writing to you last. My correspondence with His Excellency General Cagigal, Captain General of the Island of Cuba, with several papers accompanying them, will inform you more particularly of the expedition against the Bahama Islands. The assistance the *South Carolina* received in her refits at the Havannah, the aid she had in other Spanish ports with many other reasons now unknown to your Excellency, were among others, powerful reasons for my acceding to General Cagigal's request of taking command of the sea forces destined against these islands, which consisted of fifty-nine Spanish and American vessels, the particular description of which is enclosed. We sailed from the Havannah the 22nd ultimo. A current prevented our taking our departure from thence until the 28th. The 30th, we took our departure from the Matanzas; but the 1st instant made the *Double-headed Shot*. The 2nd, saw the *Biminis*, and at noon were abreast the *Great Isaac Rocks*, our first rendezvous, where we altered our plan of going through the Gulf of Florida, and of making *Egg Island* (which is about 12 leagues to the windward of Providence) our second rendezvous, and determined to attempt the passage between the *Great Island Rocks*, the *Berry Islands*, and the *Great Bahama Island*, in which we succeeded so well, that on the 5th inst. we were before the *Island of Providence* with all the fleet. While some of the American vessels of war blocked up the several outlets at the north side of the island, some others took their stations in the offing, the *South Carolina* keeping off and on till five o'clock when she took her station as near to the bar of the harbor as she could, and within gun-shot of Fort Nassau, their principal fort, with the design to draw the enemy's attention that way while the transports were preparing to land the troops, during which time General Cagigal sent a flag from his ship in a Spanish tender to Governor Maxwell requesting him to mention the terms on

which he would surrender the Bahama Islands to his Catholic Majesty. In the meantime I directed the transports to follow the leading vessel who repeated our signals for anchoring between *Salt Key* and *Hog Island*, that General Cagigal might debark where he deemed proper. The next day at nine o'clock Governor Maxwell sent one of the principal inhabitants on board the *South Carolina* with proposals which were not accepted. I then wrote the Governor a letter a copy of which is enclosed. All the American vessels continued as near their stations as the winds, shoals and circumstances would admit. The Spanish transports with the armed vessels and galleys kept anchoring as ordered, and at three o'clock General Cagigal with all his officers who had a passage in this ship departed with a view of making preparations for debarking his troops as soon as everything could be got ready. At five o'clock Mr. Miranda, an Aide to his Excellency, went with a flag in the schooner *Surprise*, a tender belonging to this ship, to close the capitulation. The next day he returned, having adjusted the business, as your Excellency will observe by the copy of General Cagigal's letter to me thereon, and on the 8th instant his Excellency landed his army and took possession of the forts and town. Although there are not many good harbors amongst these islands, yet when it is considered that they extend from the Latitude of 21° to Latitude $27^{\circ} 30'$ North, and from the Longitude of 70° to about the Longitude of 79° west from London filling up the seas from about opposite the center of the Island of Hispaniola to about one half way down the Island of Cuba, and then stretching from Cape Florida to very near abreast of Cape Canaveral on the Continent of North America, their being in the possession of a friend or an enemy, is of no small consequence to the United States, especially as the different shoals and small islands form a shelter for cruisers; and from the particular turn these people have for privateering, they succeeded so well to capture upwards of 150 vessels during the last twelve months, many of which were American, I cannot but congratulate our state in particular on this conquest as it was from this spot our enemies in Charlestown received

many supplies, and because the southern states have more particularly felt the objections they have caused to a free intercourse westward with the Spanish settlements. I feel myself happy in assisting your Excellency, that the success of this expedition was entirely owing to the great attention which the captains and officers of the American vessels of war paid in convoying such a fleet through such difficult and unfrequented a passage, with a beating wind all the way, whereby we disappointed any plans the enemy might have formed of attacking us in our way through the Gulf of Florida. Their vigilance in blocking up the different outlets and approaching every battery, so as to attack all the batteries whenever the signal was to be made for a general attack, had a proper effect, and would have facilitated the advance of the troops very much, had there been the opposition that was expected, from the intelligence it seems the enemy received of this expedition and its departure, but although they had just received a reinforcement they had not time to erect new batteries or repair the old ones owing to the fleet coming through an unfrequented passage and much sooner than was thought practicable. To these circumstances may be imputed the surrender of all the Bahama Islands without any attack or opposition. Your Excellency will readily conceive the reason why I did not sign a capitulation which was begun and finished under your State colours.

With all due respect and very much esteem I have the honor to be His Excellency's most obedient and humble servant,

A. GILLON.

To *His Excellency John Matthews Esqr. Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the State of South Carolina.*

The Bahamas, however, were again re-captured by the British in the spring of 1783. From the West Indies the frigate *South Carolina* sailed with a convoy for Philadelphia where she arrived about June 1st, 1782. Commodore Gillon found the French minister awaiting him at Philadelphia, armed with many claims and legal proceedings all calculated to cause his detention and arrest as defendant in a civil suit in the Pennsylvania Courts, brought against him by the Chevalier Luxembourg. Gillon then turned

over the command of his ship to Captain Joyner, who in order to avoid detention of his ship, put to sea and was captured December 20, 1782, off the Delaware Capes by the three British Men of War, the *Astrea* of 32 guns, *Diomede* of 44 guns, and the *Quebec* of 32 guns, after a chase of eighteen hours, and after a running fight of four glasses, when Captain Joyner struck his colours to this superior force. The *South Carolina's* keel was about 160 feet long, and she was as strong as a castle. Her tonnage was 1350. She lost about six killed and wounded in the engagement and was carried into New York for libel, the sad and historic details of which recently uncovered and found reposing in the Public Record Office in London, are herein published for the first time to show the disposal of this fine ship, and which afterwards caused many years of legal controversy and expense, and which has been made the subject of an exhaustive article published in the quarterly of the South Carolina Historical Society by Mr. D. E. Huger Smith of Charleston.

PROVINCE OF NEW YORK COURT OF THE VICE ADMIRALTY
*To the Worshipful Robert Bayard Esqr. Judge of the
 Court of Vice Admiralty for the Province of New York,
 or to his lawful Deputy or Surrogate:*

John Tabor Kempe, Esq., His Majesty's Advocate General for the Province of New York, by the relation of Christopher Mason, Esqr., Captain of H. M. Ship of War *Quebec* on behalf of himself & Thos. Lenox Frederick Esq. Captain of H. M. Ship of War *Diomede* & Matthew Squire Esq. Captain of H. M. Ship of War *Astrea* and the other officers and crews of said ships of war—comes here into this Court of Vice Admiralty the 28th December, 1782, and by the relation aforesaid giveth the Court to understand,—that on or about 20th of this instant month of December, on the high seas, the said Christopher Mason, Thos. Lenox Frederick, and Matthew Squire, with said ships then under their command, did seize a certain ship called the *South Carolina* of burthen about 1350 tons with her apparel and furniture, the same vessel being manned with 430 men, officers included, and armed with

40 cannon carrying shot chiefly of 36 pound weight (Swedish measure), under the command of John Joyner and commissioned by persons styling themselves Delegates of the United States of New Hampshire Massachusetts Bay, etc., Rebels against our Lord the King, as a Frigate, have brought the same into this Port of New York to have the same legally adjudged. (The same being first adjudged lawful prize pursuant to the Statute) as granted and vested in His Majesty's Flag Officers commanding in His Fleet in North America, the said Christopher Mason, Thos. Lenox Frederick, Matthew Squire, & the other commissioned officers of said ships of War & the seamen, marines and soldiers on board the same.

J. T. Kempe, Advocate General.

Public Record Office.

High Court of Admiralty Province of New York,
Prize Papers, Bundle #455. Court of Vice Admiralty.

Thomas Tireman, First Lieutenant of H. M. Ship of War *Quebec*, commanded by Christopher Mason Esqr. makes oath that on or about the 20th of December instant off the Delaware, His Majesty's Ship of War *Quebec* in company with H. M. Ships *Astrea & Diomede* met with and seized as prize a certain ship called the *South Carolina* then under the command of John Joyner. That the papers now lodged by the Deponent in the Registry of this Court were found on board the said ship at the time of said capture; that no other papers, books or writings were found on board the said ship or at any time since, and that the said papers are delivered in the same state they were found. (signed) Thos. Tireman.

Sworn 30th Dec. 1782. Before me

S. S. Blowers, Surrogate.

The deposition of *Thomas White*, taken on behalf of our Sovereign Lord the King in the cause of John Tabor Kempe Esqr. His Majesty's Advocate General of the Province of New York at and by the relation of Christopher Mason Esqr. Captain and Commander of H. M. Ship of War the *Quebec*, on behalf of himself and Thos. Lenox

Frederick Esqr. Captain and Commander of the Ship of War *Diomede*, and Matthew Squire Esqr. Captain and Commander of H. M. Ship of War the *Astrea*, and the other officers and crews of said ships of war and all others interested therein, Libellant of a certain ship called the *South Carolina*, her apparel and furniture taken upon the standing interrogatories filed in this Court.

1. This deponent saith that he was born at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay; that he has followed the Seas for 7 years last past & that he is a subject of the United States of America.

2. That he was present at the taking of the armed ship *South Carolina*.

3. The said ship was taken off the Delaware on 21st December instant; that she was taken as prize because she was American property; that she sailed under American colours; that she was seized by His Majesty's ships of War, the *Astrea*, the *Quebec* & *Diomede*; that several broadsides were fired from the *Diomede* and one from the *Quebec* at the said ship the *South Carolina* before she was taken.

4. That John Joyner was the Commander of said ship at the time she was taken; that he was appointed by the Governor of South Carolina; and that his fixed place of residence is in South Carolina.

5. That the said ship is of the burthen of 1300 tons; that there were 430 men on board of her when taken; that they are chiefly Americans and said crew were shipped at Philadelphia.

6. That the said ship was built at Amsterdam; that he has known her 2 years; that he saw her first at Amsterdam, and that he was First Lieutenant on board the same when she was taken.

7. That the name of the said ship was the *South Carolina*; that she had come from Philadelphia and was bound on a cruise (when taken) to seize British property, that the said ship was the property of the State of South Carolina and was armed with 40 carriage guns, 28 of which are 36 pounders (Swedish measurement) & the rest 12

pounders, and that she was commissioned by the Continental Congress to seize and take British property.

(signed) Thos. White

(Taken 28th Dec. 1782. D. Mathews, Reg.)

The deposition of Nathaniel Marston is also included among the papers, the contents of which closely follow the deposition of Lieut. White. Marston was born in Massachusetts Bay and always had residence there. He was Second Lieutenant of the *South Carolina*.

The Commission of John Joyner, mariner, Commander of the *South Carolina*, is a part of the budget, said commission being of the regulation form as issued by Congress, and bears the seal of Congress, and the signatures of Elias Boudinot, President of the United States in Congress assembled at Philadelphia, as well as that of Charles Thomson, Secretary, and is dated November 8, 1782.

If there were other papers belonging to the *South Carolina*, such as the Ship's Log and Journal, Signal book, Articles of Agreement bearing names of crew, etc., they were undoubtedly destroyed or thrown overboard, before capture.

By reference to the Muster Books of the British vessels that captured the *South Carolina* on file in London, the names and fate of the crew are recorded, and given herein. There were doubtless other crew lists, and it is fair to assume that some of the originally entered crew may have been discharged even before the frigate left the Texel, and maybe some deserted in Amsterdam and at Corunna. It is also quite certain that some of the original crew were detailed to the prizes taken by the *South Carolina* and thereby lost track of entirely.

(To be continued)



THE CELEBRATED CLIPPER SHIP "NIGHTINGALE"

Built at Portsmouth, N. H., 1850

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 152.)

During the whole night, lying off and on, before making Van Dieman's Land, we were under one of the grandest displays of the Aurora Australia ever witnessed there.

All the heavens seemed in motion,—a mass of bolting lights. At daybreak, saw the Eddystone Rock, and passing through Storm Bay up the River Derwent, on a peaceful Sunday afternoon, rounded to off Hobart Town. The Red Cross of St. George fluttering everywhere, on shore, fort, and all the shipping, caused many a thought of Albion, our mother isle. Hobart Town, about 10,000 in population, lies at the foot of Mt. Wellington, 4000 feet high, where, from morn till eve, midway to summit, lingering play the fleecy clouds enlivening all the scenery. Van Dieman's Land, now Tasmania, with its perfect salubrity of climate, and diversified by lake and mountain, has justly been called one of the loveliest countries in the world, and exempt from the great droughts of New Holland, is styled its "Granary." Here was mutton equal to the "South Down" of old England, at penny ha-penny per pound.

The markets now in all these colonies were glutted with merchandise, in bond and out. The *Grotius*, had not considerable of her cargo been of perishable nature, would have left at once for China.

Among the attractions while here was a Colonial Regatta, Sir John Franklin, Lieutenant Governor of New South Wales (in his brilliant naval uniform), presiding,—his romantic lady, suite, and captains, on the Pavilion by his side. Everything "that could swim," from an English yacht of the Royal Club, to the most common wherry, competed for the respective prizes, the first of which was a costly, silver mounted gig-boat. We walked a few miles to the beautiful cove to see and hear the

then famous but the still to become more renowned illustrious Arctic explorer.

The races, too, came off, lasting a week,—all in English style, horses of pedigree being there. And a very novel sight was it to a stranger sometimes to see a chained gang of convicts in grey slouched caps and dress passing through the streets, under guard of soldiery, to their labor in the coal mines or on the roads, the latter consequently remarkably fine. Or equally novel was it as occasionally would glide by our quiet anchorage in the river some large ship under easy sail, ending her six months' passage from England, with a load of men or women in mob caps, boys and girls, all under guard and swarming the decks and rigging to behold the land of their usually lifelong exile!

One day a fine, stout looking old man, a prisoner on parole from the country, came on board to be reminded once more of something American! It was said he had carried McKenzie through the woods upon his shoulders, having been engaged in the then recent Canadian rebellion.

Some personal mishaps while here were,—one, that of the Captain and clerk being lost at midnight on a large wharf covered with thousands of casks of oil. This happened from mistaking the way, walking, on return from the merchant's cottage, where he had ridden out a few miles to dine. The weather, beautiful at starting, had changed to pouring rain, with pitchy darkness. The Captain supposed this to be the wharf where he had ordered his boat. There we wandered and stumbled for half an hour in mud and "gurry," unable even close to discern one another, and in constant fear of stepping off the capsill overboard. The Captain having hailed repeatedly for his boat, unanswered, broke out into loud invective, which brought down the cry of the sentry on the distant fort, of "Who goes there?" "A friend!" quickly shouted the Captain, not caring to hear a whistling bullet. This restored him somewhat to his "bearings." Conjecting now our whereabouts, groping, we waded from this oil pool on successively to other wharves,

and at last hailed some merry English sailors just put off, who kindly returned, carrying us out several miles and searching another half hour for our ship, her light being scarcely distinguishable.

Another more serious mishap was that of our ship dragging her anchors, in a sudden furious gust or tornado off Mt. Wellington. This arose from her being hove short with not hands enough on board to pay out chain! Two full-oared whale-boats had just successfully left her to pick up the jolly, in which were the clerk and a young passenger boy (the latter unable to row) adrift down the river, having twice nearly got up to the ship. Their jibes and laughter on first reaching us were soon, however, turned to hard work, as stemming it head to wind all were blown some 12 miles together near to the mouth of Storm Bay. The wind subsiding after putting in to shore, we arrived up to the ship at dark, emerging from the more peaceful margin of the river's seaweed and the bulrushes. An English vessel early seeing her predicament kindly sent a boat to her assistance, probably saving her from going ashore. The Captain being in the town and called to look at his vessel jumped into a wherry and came off, but too late to be of service. Having disposed of several thousand dollars' worth of goods at Hobart Town, we determined to run back and try some of the ports of South and West Australia.

While down the stream, main topsail aback, the port officers respectively were busy on board, especially the convict captain and his gang. After every place capable of secreting, and accessible, had for half an hour been put to test of their ten feet long, sharp-pointed wire ramrods, eliciting no responsive cry, the convict captain be-thought him of one place overlooked, the cabin-run! The mate remonstrated, but notwithstanding up came the table set for dinner, and its lashings, carpet, and the scuttle; but all was dark down there. "A light, if you please!" So a lighted candle was handed him from the head of the companionway stairs.

"Now, be very careful, sir," said the mate, "that you don't set the gases of the hold on fire, for, all loose, two

feet under the floor, lie 300 kegs of gunpowder!" "Gunpowder!" repeated he, and with one bound the convict master was on deck, candle in hand, pale and agitated. "Blow it out, for God's sake,—why didn't you tell me that?" "Thought you had read the ship's papers," replied the mate. "Never thought of it. A mere form, sir; but my duty, you know." The ship's company, all pleased with this little trick, in excellent humor, took leave of them. There, if disposed, could have been stowed away fifty convicts.

The authorities here having previously been long tormented by the American whalers, seeking and conniving at prisoners' escape, and also with many other minor annoyances, these little offenses were passed mostly unheeded. The Captain now on board, the ship filled away Dec. 15, 1841.

The *Grotius*, after beating out of Storm Bay three or four nights and days, stood for King George's Sound. December 22, while in gale, under close-reefed topsails, the wind suddenly shifting several points, she was struck all aback by a heavy squall from the northwest. While dipping her counter under the high seas, her masts being momentarily expected to go over the side, for some time she was in danger of running under stern foremost! But finally she was got off before it. Took in all sail, and lay to, it blowing a hurricane, with much thunder and sharp lightning. Her "big buttocks," a source previously of derisive merriment, probably now had saved her.

January, 1842—Made the land. At 8 A. M., "Mt." Many's Peak bore west northwest. Sunday, Jan. 2. A beautiful day. Went aloft to look at a vessel, top-gallant sails out of water, standing in towards the Sound. At noon, there came down a furious gust with a hard gale from off a distant mountainous bluff or landmark—the "Bald Head" then west northwest, Mt. Gardiner, northeast. This she had for some time; carrying on day and night, trying to weather, making, then losing sight of it, but now, full sure of going round, she was again blown off. Took in nearly all sail. While two-thirds of the crew were reefing the main-topsail, a serious accident of

parting suddenly some of the rigging occurred, liable instantly to jerk the men all off into the sea, but unheard by them aloft. The Captain, however, made out to apprise them of the danger by shouting with his trumpet, to "hold on for their lives!"

Jan. 5. At 2 1-2 P. M. arrived at the Sound, anchoring 1 1-2 miles abreast the town of Albany. The vessel seen on January proved to be H. B. M.'s ship, the *Beagle* (before mentioned). Within about a hundred yards of her, the *Grotius* lay awhile here. Attached to the *Beagle*, but living on shore was the late Darwin, naturalist, now the philosopher of world-wide fame. One day, with others, he came on board to see the Captain! And the clerk was soon after sent on board the *Beagle* with a long-boat of goods, thus having the privilege of looking over the famous little craft.

The aspect at King George's Sound was decidedly primeval, especially when first landing on the beach (no wharves here). A crowd of natives, men, women, and children, all in complete nudity, came dancing, capering around, curious to see the newcomers, with cries of "Gim tic penn!" (give me six pence).

Some of their peculiar ways of living, perhaps from accounts of old voyagers, to many familiar, might, however, be very briefly noticed. Their subsistence was chiefly from spearing the wallaby or third kind of (the rat) kangaroo, or upon "blasted" whale, thrown upon the shores; mode of kindling fire by friction of two pieces of soft wood quickly rubbed together and setting the sparks to the dry leaves; of nursing their young was by stretching over forward from the back of the mother's neck and shoulders (were always carried in a small pouch) their cocoanut-looking little heads; one mode of ornamentation was by scarifying neck, bosom and arms with sharp stones, raising a blister, healing with a smooth surface three or four inches long and nearly one in width—badges of distinction; adorning, by be-daubing themselves with a kind of white pigment obtained from petrified bushes, groves of which abound here.

An instance we saw of mourning, "waking of the dead," was that of a young "squaw." There she was with sullen and dejected looks, said to have stood, at least by day, three months on the same spot upon the beach. A yard-long stick pierced through was poised in the cartilage—"septum narium"—division of the nostrils. And at night, shore and hills around would reverberate with sad screams and cries for her departed love.

We went with a crew, two or three times, at night, out into the bush a few miles, to view their way or accommodations of sleeping. There lay in a semi-circle fifty at least of every age, men, women, and children, all nude, side by side promiscuously, under the lee or shelter of long sticks or poles slightly covered with brush. The second mate stirred up the dying embers of a fire, toward which their feet were pointed, throwing over the wild, grotesque scene a lurid glare. One or two older ones were awake, having had notice of our coming, so not alarmed they slept on.

"Mr. Clerk, what do you think of this?" said the old sailors, confessing that in all parts of the world before, they had never witnessed such apparent degradation. Answer,—"If these are the descendants of our fairest foremother, Eve, the race must have degenerated most damnedly." But it seems that Darwin attributed to them no such origin. In a manner, however, their morals and marital customs were said to be comparatively strict.

Our chief food daily along this coast, was the kangaroo—in quality between mutton and the hare; weight from 75 to 100 pounds, usually. Of the emu's eggs, a few were brought on board, laid in the sand, enough for a strong man's meal. A pair of these rare birds each thirteen feet high may be recollected as standing before Captain Mugford's residence near Bott's Court, Essex Street, Salem, or his mother's, then at Federal Street. They were about the only ones brought, so early at least, to this country on his voyage before in the *Augustus*.

An old whaling ship, the *Maine*, formerly said to be of Salem (belonging to William Gray, Esq.), was here, Magee, master (who afterwards settled at Honolulu).

The *Grotius* bartered her for oil, and also ashore for oil, wool, skins, etc. The Captain was on a survey of the *Maine* while here, as to her seaworthiness.

Jan. 28, 1842, sailed for the Swan River Colony, Jan. 31, at 7 P. M., made Cape Leeuweein, the southwest Cape of New Holland, 15 miles distant, northeast, and Feb. 2, at 7 P. M. Rottenest Isle bore south eight miles, Feb. 3, at 3 p. m. passed the English brig *Fox*, Launceston, V. D. L., bound for L., and while under the pilot's charge the ship thumped, going over some perhaps unknown shoal! The clerk had reason to be very glad of not acceding to his proposition, previously to go down and "splice the main brace!" which was complied with only afterwards when safe at anchor in the Roads off Fremantle. And the Captain, from what was learned on shore, when sailing hence thought it most prudent to pilot the ship out himself.

Perth, the capital of West Australia, is twelve miles up the River Swan, which is barred at entrance almost across by a ledge or reef with sandy shoals. At its mouth, near Fremantle, it is intricate and navigable up only for large sail boats, through a narrow channel. The coast of New Holland for several hundred miles along here is said to be mostly of a sandy nature, and the streets of Perth are ankle deep in a black sand. This locality of the Swan may be recollected, some twelve years since, as where the Irish Fenians broke prison, and were rescued by a whaler expressly fitted out from the United States, using the American flag for protection, when chased by an English revenue vessel.

The settlers at Fremantle nearly all wore goggles for protection against reflection of the white sand in their now summer, steady heat of over 90 degrees; on first arrival, this gave them to us somewhat of the appearance of a set of blind men. The *Grotius* crew were here about a month, engaged in boating goods to the beach, where our commission merchant, an Irish Colonel, with his hospitable wife resided; or, up to Perth, with the Long towed by the seven-oared whale boat, generally starting from the ship at daylight.

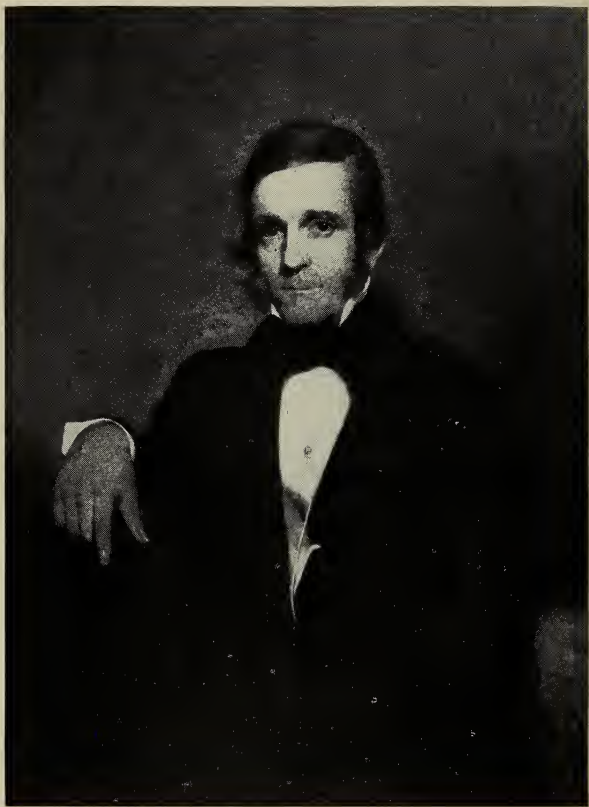
Belated up the river one evening, in a thunder shower, we started to row down. It becoming pitch dark, found it very difficult to keep the winding channel, and finally lost it entirely, getting into the wide river basin somewhere opposite the bar, as judged, on the opposite side of Fremantle, indicated perhaps by a faint, glimmering light, soon, too, lost sight of. This, the second officer, in charge, refused to make for, rashly deciding to go over the bar, the roar of the distant breakers now audible in the dead calm.

“Nox erat,” and all around were “knocks,” as the long oars of the whale boat occasionally struck rock, or the long-boat, 20 feet or more astern in tow, now standing up on one end would come down broad-side to the water’s edge, thumping and pounding on some hidden shoal. The clerk, sole occupant, was obliged for safety to lie down and hold on, and every few minutes “to answer with voice of sputtering brine the cry ahead, ‘All right, aft?’—‘Aye, aye, Sir!’” Fit hour to dream of Acheron and the shades below. The sound of the breakers growing less, more distant, and the smooth swell assured, we were now in the open sea. And some miles further were discerned lights in the *Grotius’s* top-gallant cross-trees.

Our fancy at first had pictured as abounding on this river the black swan, when rowing down at evening, we would catch their plaintive cry while on the distant wing, but none were seen! Here where before the sound of intrusive oar its sedgy banks for generations had settled her darling flocks, the old birds leading out to try their first aquatic gambols.—“Here they have left but the vestige of a name.”

One day up the river, the boats turned aside to land, and visit an arbor of growing fruits. It was 50 to 100 yards in length by 10 to 20 feet high. Approaching, the air became redolent with most delicious perfumes. Here twined the almond, the apricot, citron, fig, grape, pomegranate, peach, lemon, the orange, etc., all in luxuriant profusion.

The grapes, from their prodigious size of berry, might recall the old Bible pictures, — men carrying them on



CAPT. JOHN B. FISK

1804 - 1881

poles upon their shoulders. They are the better remembered by us, from dabbling before and in after years when an invalid with some of these varieties in the graperies round Salem, the Chasselasses, Hamburgs, Brontenacs, Muscats, Syrians, Palestines, etc., or in our own garden here where the first successful experiments of hybridizing these "Vinifera" varieties with the "Lambusca," or American native, were performed by a younger brother, Mr. Edward S. Rogers, an account of which may be found in the *Downing Horticulturist* about 1859.

The grapes at the Swan have been said by good authorities to excel those of Portugal or on the Rhine. The ship laid in there several barrels of luxuries, and also figs for stores at only penny-hapenny per pound.

The 22d of February came round and altogether new here, and not much observed then at home, by the *Grotius'* firing at sunrise, noon and sunset, a gun for each of the "Old Thirteen." This, quickly followed by a large American whaler 20 miles below off Rottenest, with one for each of the then 26 United States, brought early out of bed all settlers on the beach and hill-tops, and the English crews of the shipping around on deck, wondering what could the matter be. Rumors at first went flying to Perth, that America and England were now at war on the Boundary question, and an action going on outside below. And down post haste came a Government express from Perth. But a large 400-ton English whaler (which lent us a big gun) covered like our own ship with bunting and streamers, quieted them down as they noticed peace and amity indicated by the Union and British Jacks flown one by the other ship at the fore.

The *Grotius* having been here more than a month, selling and bartering several thousand dollars' worth of goods, was again ready for sea. Took on board 12 passengers (conveyances being seldom) for Leschenault, Geographe Bay, and Hobart Town. Among them were a fellow of the Royal Society of England, his accomplished son, and a Colonel or Lieutenant of the Royal

Army, and his new married bride, "the belle of the Swan." Of the English Colonel's high connections in the old country, our vivacious, pretty little hostess, the Irish Colonel's wife of the beach, would often remind us.

The going off alongside with the passengers crowded in a seven-oared whale-boat, and with the Captain, his papers, gold sovereigns, treasury bills, etc., to the clerk, obliged to stand on the stern-sheets as steers-man, seemed rather a "titlish business," for the vessel was surging heavily at her anchors in a great swell in the open roads, and the boat simultaneously pitching badly. The safest way of getting the women on board was by tying them in a chair, enveloped with the ensign, and hoisting, one by one, from the ship's yard arm, hauling in, and lowering on deck. It might be here remarked, that in boating on shore almost 800 tons of goods and taking another in, no accident ever happened on this voyage. Sailed March 1, 1842.

Along this coast, on the passage from Swan River, was seen at night, looming at a great distance, the light of the natives' fires. March 3, at 3 A. M., made the land; at 11, anchored at Leschenault, Geographe Bay, in the roads off a small settlement called Bunbury. This bay is 35 miles wide, comprising or bounding on most of Sussex County, West Australia. The Captain at once went on shore in his gig, landing the Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and his son and another passenger, also a few goods.

A Salem man resident here a few years past soon came off on board; he had been a boatsteerer of the *Samuel Wright*, probably Salem's best sperm whaler, about 400 tons, nearly new, wrecked in a remote part of the Bay, having gone ashore on the beach "with everything all standing."

We had climbed her, when a small boy, as well as most of the other square-rigged vessels at the Derby Wharf, and it would remind us of home to see her once more. Besides, the wife and young son of the Captain, a Nantucket man, were passengers with us round the world. He had written to them to come out here to reside at this "land

of the Pomegranate," as he called it. But he had been gone hence some time. So, with part of the crew taking the jolly-boat, we landed some miles away from Bunbury on the hard, smooth and seemingly endless beach. Walking some miles on, the sailors occasionally perceived a singular discolorization of the clear, placid water, and finally discovered a huge ground-shark, 20 feet abreast. Wading in cautiously, with some pieces of driftwood, they made out to give him a few punches, whereat he started seaward, leaving behind him a muddy wake for a hundred yards.

Some miles further we came to the wreck of the noble ship; there she lay sound as ever, except with her back broken—"hogged." The sand had washed away from her bow and stem, leaving under a bar amidships, causing her to settle aft in deeper water. "A shame!" cried all the sailors, as they gazed upon her. Had means and material been nearer, it would well have repaid the underwriters earlier to have repaired and got her off again. On going up the staging some forty feet leading to her deck, over on his back to enable him to swallow any falling victim, his white belly conspicuous, was our un-welcome but forgotten companion of the beach! His eyes were rolling and his jaws (capable of taking in at once half a horse) lined with two rows of two-inch sharp teeth, were gaping and yawning, apparently with voracious hunger. Some of the settlers now regaled us with stories of how these monsters had been known to leap into open boats in the bay and snatch out their victims.

Returning to the jolly-boat, we sat down a few minutes to rest. If at King George's Sound it seemed primeval, here nature looked the more so. All around was silence and solitude profound! In the background rose the deep forests of the yet-to-be-explored Australia; before and on either side stretched the horizon, sweeping with unbroken line the calm azure Bay, save where showed two or three little specks like needles, the royal mastheads of our ship at anchor, beyond,

"Such as Creation's dawn beheld,—the ocean."

On going off, a loud splashing of the oars at times, by

way of frightening, told that the sailors hadn't again forgotten our follower of the beach. A more soothing incident soon occurred. A settler brought on board a pair of black swan goslings recently trapped, which we bought at once for \$10, a mere trifle, for they were rare even here. We had seen but a pair of old grey-headed ones, contrasting with the beauty and grace of these, whose plumage in color was of a deep jet like ebony, and their notes were most sweet and plaintive. On board several months, great favorites, the survivor was left at a brook on a creek in Sydney harbor, where was the residence of the hospitable American Consul for many years, J. H. Williams, Esq., of Maine. This swan we were told a few years since hadn't sung "his dying notes," for sometimes they exceed man's usual longevity.

March 5. Sailed for Van Dieman's land. March 6 at 6 P. M., Cape Naturaliste bore W. by S. 15 miles. On these two passages from and to Hobart Town, along the coast, appeared for several successive nights and in the heavens, sometimes with thunder showers, the most brilliant gorgeous displays of "fireworks" in the shape of lightning. But the pleasure of contemplation was frequently abated when striking a little near it would occasion an uneasy sensation by thoughts of that "villainous saltpetre" in the cabin-run, previously so disturbing to the Convict Master.

A brother, Mr. William Rogers' "Sea Journal," passenger in the owner's barque *Shepherdess*, the year before, mentions her being struck by lightning off Sydney Heads, on the bowsprit, having 10 kegs of gunpowder on board. No other damage, however.

Very few, only scattering, natives were seen elsewhere, except at "King George's Sound" at these settlements. It should have been mentioned that at the Swan, was a Government school, an experiment of teaching native children, but with very little success, it was said; their cranial structure seeming to preclude much present hope of advancement intellectually, or perhaps for generations. Passed along the coast within a day or two sail of the then small Port Adelaide and Port Philip (Melbourne), now great cities, but did not go in as at first intended.

March 23. Made land about Port Davey, N.E., 40 miles distant. The Mew Stone at 10 P. M., north 10 miles. At 6 passed Tasman's Head. March 24, at 6 P. M., took a pilot; first part of the night becalmed; came to anchor at midnight in the Derwent, off Hobart Town, and very violent squalls. The *Grotius* lay at Hobart Town another month, with little trade, uncertain of her destination, probably to China.

April 1, arrived direct from Salem, in December, brig *Gambia*, King, before mentioned, for the Fijis via Sydney. By him was received our first news, 8½ months from home; files of newspapers and letter from the writer's father, senior owner. In them and those afterwards much was gathered of political interest to some of us boys, so recently out of the campaign of 1840. Here were accounts of President Tyler's vetoes of Bank and the Tariff, of his cordial support by those great Secretaries of State, Webster and Calhoun, and Wise and Cushing of the "Corporal's Guard" in Congress, in opposition to their own Whig party generally. Accounts were here, too, of their speeches and letters, and the burning in effigy of "honest John Tyler" (so called before election) near the White House.

Reflecting on and discussing these events in the long night watches, with the late Mr. Thomas Mugford, the Captain's brother (an intelligent man often offered command of China ships) we came to the conclusion that President Tyler had remained true to those principles previously advocated by the Whig stump speakers hereabouts, some of whom now Mr. Webster was pleased to style "the jubilant orators of Massachusetts."

A tariff for revenue with incidental protection, then and long was the well-known doctrine of the Democratic party, and insisted on, too, by those honest Free Soilers as one of the strongest planks in their "Buffalo platform." And later, in a famous speech in New York State, Mr. Webster seems perhaps more wisely to have urged a reciprocity system, instead of high tariff, which high tariff men, it may be recollected, denounced as worse than free trade!

In these New Holland or Australian voyages for fifty years, may plainly be seen the unjust operation of United States high tariffs, under the delusive cry of protection. The *Grotius* sailed from Hobart Town for Sydney, May 1, 1842. "Incidentally we have noticed," wrote the clerk, "the opposition of the United States tariff in regard to Australian wool, as the writer viewed the subject, and its effect upon our manufacturing, mercantile and, to some extent also, our agricultural and producing interests. Let us say further, that this Island Continent, Australia, and adjacent colonies ever have been willing and in their earlier days anxious to sell or barter their only great staple product, wool, the finest in the world, for all of the above.

"These shipments of ours to Australia were profitable enough usually to defray the expenses of a voyage. But whence would come a direct remittance freight of cargo home to remunerate the owner for his trouble? His ship must either look for a great additional expense, delay attending an uncertain trade, toward India, waiting months perhaps for company through the Torres Straits, or by the other route to China. Besides, how could conveniently the ordinary merchant, so long out of remittance, meet notes payable for outward shipments, or if venturing investment in wool, at arrival pay the heavy customs duties, unable as then he was to bond in warehouse and sell at option. Thus clogs of all kinds were imposed on the United States in this Australian trade. Thus poor and rich have been compelled to pay 30 or 40 per cent indirect taxation on all imported fine wool clothing, and the United States statistics long have shown the unnecessary, immense revenue therefrom.

"Investigation will show, of this trite and complicated subject, how incalculable has been the loss of wages for these long years, by this tariff prohibition of Australian wool, to American workmen! For they are, or in a little while can become, as capable of manufacturing finest broadcloths as the English, only give them the proper material instead of masses of shoddy and coarse wool mixed with little of the obliged-to-be-imported fine wool; and which is placed on the market as finest American

cloths. Who, moreover, can tell the benefit that might have thus resulted to the United States from an expert competition in this business.

“It is well known at Salem that, many years ago, mills at either Andover or Framingham, Mass., were in contemplation of erection for manufacture of large cargoes of this Australian wool. But this enterprise was prevented by a succession of high tariff men, lobbyists, etc., all for a few special interests. The American grower would have received ample, reasonable protection for his sorts of wool. But we see that American people, poor or rich, will have the best if they can get it, home or imported.

“If one would consider, too, the loss of our markets in Australia by these United States prohibitory tariffs for American surplus manufactures, together with the incidental loss of wages consequent thereon to American workmen, let him examine one of these invoices for the past fifty years. There will be found an assortment too tedious to specify—carriages, wagons, iron machinery and wares, furniture, all articles of domestic use, etc., of produce, butter, cheese, lard, hams, pork, fish, pickles, syrups, nuts, dried fruits, biscuit, flour, hops, etc.

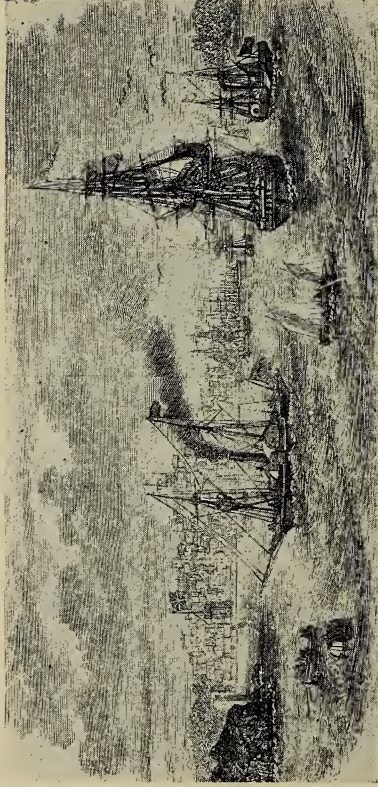
“The same principle holds here in its effects as regards generally this prohibition from abroad on materials for shipbuilding, and seamen’s incidental wages lost to them thereby. What merchant or sailor does not know that for these long years, too, the cost of a three or four-hundred-ton ship has been five or ten thousand dollars more, at least, and so on of larger ones proportionally? The ruinous effects of United States tariffs on our Australian trade as relevant only has been commented upon, although it is lamentable to believe that they are the same in many others.”

But to return to our ship: At 6 A. M., May 10, 1842, the *Grotius* passed in by Sydney Heads. While beating up the harbor, the shipping masts and church spires just coming into view, one or two dozen gigs and boats were spied bearing down for us before the seductive, freshening breeze. But they had ventured a little far; it now increasing to blow, those in the last ones not knowing how

to come alongside, were actually hauled in to keep from swamping. Here all around was decidedly an overbored sensation! There was the Port Officer, the Landlord, the Butcher, the Baker, etc., but all fled terrified to the cabin or forecastle, thinking now more of their lives than cards for the ship's disbursements. In the midst of it the wind shifting, came down a "brickfielder" sort of tornado, striking suddenly the ship all aback, now running "gunnel under" sternforemost, the sea, however, smooth. Both anchors let go were dragged near half a mile, coming to finally with everything clewed up—just abreast of Pinch Gut. In the meantime every man besides some passengers had been sent aloft to save the spars and sails, except the Captain and Clerk, who remained on deck "to let go and belay," both ready with sharp arms to cut adrift if need be the ropes or hawsers attached (a singular sight) to the long line of boats astern, twisting, dangling, nearly out of water in the waves' commotion. Running to and fro the gangway, the piteous voice of a noble-looking Englishman cried out from the cabin stairs, "Do you think, sir, we shall go down?" Inclined to laugh, but recollecting our own first alarm on shipboard, by way of comforting we replied, pretending not to understand the question, "Go down? Why, we shan't be able to go to dine for an hour; the fire is all out in the galley and cook and steward both yet aloft!" "You are jesting," said the Englishman. "No, this is nothing but a common brickfielder, and all the danger is over." The peals of thunder, vivid lightning, and torrents of rain seemed, however, to belie all that we could say. He retired, probably to pray, and the Clerk to duty.

During ten or eleven weeks while here, in their mid-winter climate, resembling that of our beautiful Indian summer, ten thousand cattle perished from drought, upon the plains around. The price was then very cheap, one pound (£1) per head upon the hoof, and sheep four shillings each.

Sydney then was the City of the Antipodes, of about 30,000, now 200,000 inhabitants. This city was then far ahead of us at home in many matters. Twenty years before Salem, her streets were illuminated with gas. Some



SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA, ABOUT 1853

From a print in the *New York Illustrated News*. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem

of her shops, in elegance could vie with Boston's or New York's. And one shop in particular was attractive to ornithologist or stranger, from his display of most of the brilliant plumaged, rare birds of Australia, stuffed, though at costly prices. Here, too, rolled out occasionally some four-horse carriage equipage with four outsiders all in livery.

In her magnificent harbor, lined with natural wharfs, of creeks and coves, floated the finest British shipping from England, China and the Indies. But none so fine as in the years after (of larger vessels) floated there as several of our 1,000 to 1,500-ton American clippers, via Melbourne through Bass Straits, where in our ship's time, merchant vessels seldom ventured through.

One of these, commanded by the late Capt. John B. Fisk of Salem, so he told the writer, so attracted the attention of the Governor Fitzroy (himself a sailor, we believe) that he paid a visit on board, and delighted pronounced her the most graceful craft he had ever seen upon the waters. And the Captain, in return of course, was pleased with the honor of the attention received at his Excellency's mansion.

On the anniversary of the Queen's birthday happening here, two or three among the very best regiments of the Army (with their noted bands) were reviewed by Sir George Gipps, Knight, the Governor of New South Wales, led off by Sir Maurice O'Connell, Commander of the Forces, a noble looking man, on horseback. He was a brother or near relative of the famous Irishman, Daniel O'Connell.

While here, one of these Regiments was sent into India to engage in those "horrida bella," the cruel wars of Afghanistan, where England then lost so much of the flower of her Army. Some of our sailors went to witness the embarkation, and described as heart-rending the parting farewell of these brave troops with their families and friends.

The *Grotius* had laid here about two months, awaiting the arrival of two or three more English vessels, one here already three months, to go through, in company, Torres Straits to the north, to India, none daring to venture alone,

in fear of the reefs and cannibals. The English Nautical Magazines of that period will afford any interested an account of these dangers; particularly in the cruise of the Colonial schooner *Isabella*, late as 1836, in search of the *Charles Eaton*, wrecked there and nearly all hands murdered. It was found that their bodies were left on the beach and heads for some time had hung upon poles,—the Captain's wife's being identified by its long wavy tresses. Another atrocity among these wrecks was that of skinning a fair Englishman's arms, from the elbows, with the hands and fingers, and converting them by some peculiar process into gloves, white and soft as Paris kids. Then they were worn and waved in their war dances, as trophies, badges of distinction, etc., by the warrior's wives and maidens.

An American whaler from the Chatham Island, S. E. of New Zealand, with a cargo of sperm oil, arrived here to heave down for repairs, offering 1,000 barrels freight. And unexpectedly (out of course) an offer was made of several hundred bales of fine wool for England via Boston; these, together with purchase of many thousand salt hides and pelts, besides a wish to settle up some large unfinished business of the owners of N. Z., all entirely changed the ship's intended destination,—now to N. Z., then home around the Horn.

The *Grotius* sailed from Sydney July 31. As we lost sight of the Heads, having circumnavigated about two-thirds of, and now bidding adieu to Australia, thought arose on her future destiny; but, whatever might await her, it was gratifying to know that there broadcast had been sown the seeds of the Anglo-Saxon blended with the Roman or Civil Law.

Aug. 12, 1842, at 6 P. M., the *Grotius*, going up the Bay of Islands, passes the "Ninepin" rock. Steering by line and plummet and the bearings of the cottages on shore, she anchors late at evening in the roads off the village of Kororarika. For many years the Bay had been the principal rendezvous of American whalers in the South Seas for recruiting, and eight were now lying here up the river,—one arriving "trying out," with a hundred-barrel sperm whale alongside. When, about this time, the

United States were said to have afloat 400 sail in this business, some were of opinion that, with our fishermen—whose bounties were withdrawn—they needed full as much protection from Congress as cotton mills and pig-iron.

While the *Grotius* was here for three weeks, her clerk and crew all the while were busy at the bonding warehouses, some miles distant, in gauging, repairing, etc., remaining consignments of the owners there for the last ten years. The British Government, when assuming sovereignty a year before, had seized and placed them in bond. But in a few years they honorably settled all the claims for damages.

The natives since the days of Captain Cook have been well known as a healthy, stout, athletic race and good boatmen, in strong contrast with the puny, feeble ones of South and West Australia, although within two or three days' sail. They were susceptible, too, of acquiring knowledge and practice of the industries of civilized life, as has been noticed by Captain Fitzroy of the *Beagle*. But in the southern part of the island they were yet ferocious and in a state of cannibalism.

One day the writer unexpectedly received a call from the ex-Chief or King. He stood, if we recollect, nearly seven feet in height, and in stepping over the ship's gangway his pride of rank was very evident, taking little notice of the officers (the Captain being in shore). To the Clerk, happening to be an owner's son, he was most gracious. He had long known their merchantmen and a brother, Mr. W. L. Rogers, several months here. In mien and aspect, though not in his war habiliments, he wore the traces of a warrior; was tattooed all over his face, neck, bosom, arms, etc., and semi-clad; unlike his tribe, his features were of Grecian cast, and frame of Herculean mould. We treated him in the cabin with some luxuries to his own taste, as old Black Warrior wine of second-best vintage of Madeira, Spanish cigars unused among our private stores, and plenty of the ship's snuff and tobacco of choice brands.

Pleased, he departed in his boat, and while receding from our vision, it reminded me of the North American Indian one reads of, fast fading before the advancing

civilization of the white man. But though somewhat broken by the vices consequent on its introduction, and the losses of his vast domain—of a 40-million acre island—the poor Chief's spirit was not wholly quenched. "Still in the ashes lived the wonted fires!" For after we left, the English were obliged to send reinforcements from Sydney to keep him quiet. Although deposed, his reception would have been more according to international comity had we been as much acquainted with that subject as afterwards, in 1844-45, under instruction of the great jurists, professors, at Harvard University Law School, Cambridge.

The Bay settlement now was fast, as the resources of the island became known, being supplanted by incipient ones at Auckland below and Wellington to the southward. Our Ship's Instructions by the senior owner ordered the Captain, if convenient on her arrival at Hobart Town, to send the Clerk over to New Zealand to purchase and collect 100 tons of gum copal and mineral ores said to exist there. But as it appeared, uncertainties of the protracted voyage prevented. This enterprise, if accomplished, would have been the first importation of this inferior sort of copal by the owners, who had imported the first to the United States of the Madagascar and Zanzibar kind, as before noticed, to Salem.

Great chances of fortunes here were now talked over for land investments, only of course allowable to British subjects who could hold the fee. One gentleman, G. Mair, Esq., a Scotchman respected for his honesty, a former acting United States Consul awhile at the Bay, went home a few years after, the writer was informed, a millionaire, having come out here a poor man.

At daylight of the 31st of August, the *Grotius* with main and fore stump top-gallant masts rigged (as customary) was all ready for round the Horn to Boston. And a large whaler sending on board her crew to heave up, as usual we parted with a three times three. Going out of the Bay, spoke coming in the English little packet-brig *Bee*, from Auckland, doubtless yet recollected by early settlers there.

The acting American Consul had placed on board two sick seamen as passengers for the United States. One was a Mr. Denison, who had been whaling for several years, last as Chief Officer of the ship *Fanny* of Sag Harbor, L. I. From his vivid narrations of "hairbreadth escapes" one might also have imagined himself to have been a-whaling.

Saturday, Sept. 3, being today on the meridian, long. of 180 degrees east of Greenwich, and having also gained 72 deg. West (the longitude of Boston left), it amounted to 252 degrees. As customary, set the time back one day, thus having two Saturdays in the same week, in order to come out the same in time when we shall arrive, with the time at Boston. Then we shall have gained 108 deg. more Easting, or toward the sun, one hour for every 15 degrees, and thus gained 360 degrees—measurement of the earth's circle, or 24 hours—a day ahead of those at home. The sailors were displeased because it did not happen on Sunday, so they would have had one more day of rest, for our Captain kept the Sabbath strict on board, not believing in the old Sea Catechism:

"Six days shalt thou work and do all thou art able,
And on the seventh holystone the deck and scrub
the cable."

Alluding to time, or longitude East and West from Greenwich, the Captain used two chronometers, and always when chance offered took a lunar observation with his sextant to ascertain it. Now and then we tried our hand successfully, conscious however that merely working out a formula we had but a faint glimmering of the rationale of the problem. Since, we have felt the force of the Latin saying, "Coelum mutant non animus," in not then having studied the continually-changing heavens, wishing that we had paid more attention to trigonometry as taught by our most learned tutor and professor in our only year (a freshman) at Harvard in 1839-40. Some of the lunar stars and constellations, however, were objects in these high south latitudes of nightly contemplation, as Anitares, Fomalhaut, Canopus, the Southern Fishes, Southern Cross, Magellanic Clouds, etc.,—mostly unseen in our Northern Zone at home.

Sept. 5. At 8 A. M., while nearly all hands were close-reefing topsails, in a heavy gale before it, accompanied with snow, sleet and rain, the ship suddenly lurched, with her counter under water. The Clerk being at the lee-wheel, his post usually on such occasions, lost his footing and had a most narrow escape from going overboard. The voyage before, when deep laden, she threw a man over her weather wheel down against the lee bulwarks, killing him instantly. Lat. this noon, 39 deg. 50 min. S. Oct. 3. Along here, nearly down to 60 degrees south latitude, after a succession of fogs and gales, headed off our course, one night, just after a heavy gale, having let out the close reefs of main and foretopsail and setting the furled mizzen topsail. The Clerk at the bow, looking out for ice, it being freezing cold, hearing an unusual noise, ran aft; everything amidships from the maintop was dripping, drenched with water, and the half drowned mate shouting to know if the clerk was safe, supposing we had been washed overboard.

It seems, it suddenly dying away dead calm, or in a lull, the ship had lost steerage way and fell off into the trough. The mate and helmsman quickly seized a rope and lashed themselves to the wheel, the vessel shipping a high sea, wetting the feet of the watch all aloft on the mizzen topsail yard. An accident of this kind, dreaded by seamen, happened to the owner's barque, the *Shepherdess*, previously, sweeping her house, etc., off deck, and doing several hundred dollars damage, which the underwriters paid for. Oct. 3, Lat. 57 deg. 45 min. S. At midnight, after a gale and thick weather, it brightening up to windward, the Clerk saw what at first was supposed to be an iceberg, but in half an hour it proved to be a large ship on same course, shaking out her reefs and bearing down for us; soon, however, hauling up, she went out of sight. Here was a disappointment, having seen nothing except a distant little supposed sealer standing S. since leaving N. Z. We were expecting from the coldness every moment to see ice, it being the Captain's fifth voyage around the Horn, and previously always fallen in with and sailed along it sometimes for several hundred miles.

Oct. 14. Somewhere to the south and east of the Falk-

land Isles, this forenoon, the wind hauls to the southeast, brisk breezes and hazy; all sail, and with studding sails set below and aloft before it. Oct. 16, first part, snow squalls; taking in all sail possible. At 5 P. M. a thick snow storm with a strong wind increasing to a very heavy gale with a high sea running. Carry away crochet yard and the mizzen topsail blows to tatters. Split the fore-topsail hauling out reef-tackles. Luckily had bent the day before a small new maintopsail, it having one reef in, but was afraid to touch it. Kept the ship off before it, the gale continuing to increase through the night, with high and dangerous seas! Had too much sail on,—an officer and three men constantly at the wheel, “conning her,” for she steered so wildly she would sometimes, as Jack says, “turn round and look you in the face.”

All were in fear of liability, at any moment, to broach to and roll over; it being impossible to lie to, she went scudding before it. Another danger was if a sharp ship with so much sail on, of certainly running under head-foremost. Add to this the fear of ice and proximity (if correct as laid down on some charts, but doubted to exist) of the Aurora Islands, right on our track at night, and poor observations or none at all for some days. Oct. 16, the same throughout the day. Next morning, the weather moderating, made sail again. At noon, latitude 44 degrees, 55 minutes south longitude, 41 degrees 58 minutes west. This was a sublime gale! On the Sunday morning, at its height, gathered on the little deck, looking out on all the contending elements, one would seem to need no other sermon to remind of Him “Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of His hand.”

On board ship *Grotius*, Nov. 2, 1842, latitude 23 degrees 25 minutes south. Go aloft to look at three or four sail,—a large ship on the same course occasionally showing her topgallant sails, then out of sight! At 5 P. M. exchanged colors with a large Dutch East Indiaman steering southeast. At 6, dead calm with showers. At 7 a breeze. The mate advised in our watch at night a sharp lookout, as perhaps losing our brisk puffs now and then aft, she might be come up with. So at dusk out on the

bowsprit we went. About 11, right down ahead, 50 yards, there shone a great light. It seemed like dreaming, but involuntarily almost we cried out, "Light ho! dead ahead; hard up your helm!" which, passed along by the watch, "Helm hard up, aye, aye, sir!" was the loud instant answer to the mate's order. He, with others, rushed forward to the bow, and would scarcely have credited it, had not the man there also caught just a glimpse of the light as it suddenly disappeared.

In three or four minutes, scarcely visible amid the clouds on the weather quarter, loomed two or three tall spectral shadows! The Captain and all below, tipped out of their berths by the ship's paying off down on her broadside, came running on deck. He jumped into the quarter-boat and hailed in the direction of the now invisible shadows. One or two only, of all intently listening, were confident they heard an answer of the South Seas. Thereat two little Sydney coach dogs, affrighted at the strange cry over the waters, set up such a howling that it was heard no more. All retired with sad hearts at losing a chance of being reported at home.

Next morning at daylight a sail was on the horizon to windward, and in an hour seemed to be bearing down for us. Set the ensign, and soon her captain boarded us from a whale-boat of the *Roman*, of New Bedford, three years out, with 3,000 barrels of sperm oil, bound home; a new ship, 400 tons, first voyage, from Talcahuano. Sperm oil never so cheap, worth only then 60 cents per gallon. Lowered the jolly boat, went on board and spent the afternoon. They said that on first seeing our ship, it being a little brighter to windward, appeared a cloud of canvas coming down upon them; they supposed her a steamer with sail set, expecting to be run right down as they lay without steerage way, becalmed, with only two men on deck. They sprang with the cabin lantern into the mizzen rigging, and were rejoiced by seeing suddenly our broadside, knowing they were discovered. In two or three minutes their men were all aloft and set sail on her at once, like a man-of-war's man.

(To be continued)

RELATIONS OF SAID BIN SULTAN WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY RUDOLPH SAID-RUETE, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

The following article, published with the consent of the author, is the part of the chapter on *Relations with Foreign Countries* from "SAID BIN SULTAN:¹ An Extensive Biography of the Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar (1791-1856), His Place in the History of Arabia and East Africa," by Rudolph Said-Ruete, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., a grandson of the Sultan. It deals with the United States of America and incidentally with Salem, Mass.

The official visit to Muscat, during the autumn of 1833, of the United States sloop of war *Peacock*, bearing Mr. Edmund Roberts as plenipotentiary for the purpose of negotiations to increase facilities for trade between the United States and Said's Arabian and East African dominions, was a notable event in the life of Said, as it proved to him that the growing importance of Muscat and Zanibar as centres of commerce had not remained unnoticed in the New World.²

As a rule the Customs depots were in the hands of Indians, and this, while affording no grounds of complaint to the English, tended to put other nations in an inferior position.³ The Americans found Said perfectly willing to fall in with their wishes. It was not only that his pride was touched at this sign that he could enter into agreements with civilized nations, but also that his commercial designs were now bearing very obvious fruits. A treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed at Muscat on September 21st, 1833, ratified by the President and Senate of the United States on June 30th, 1834, and the rati-

¹ Published by Alexander-Ouseley, Ltd., Windsor House, Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.1, England.

² Cf. Miles, p. 334; Guillain, II., p. 197.

³ Cf. Rep., 1883-84, p. 30.

fication exchanged during a second mission of Mr. Roberts in October, 1835. It formed the prototype of the treaties with England and France which were subsequently drafted.⁴ The chief terms of the treaty were that the Americans should have liberty to sell without interference as to price, that they should pay a duty of 5 per cent on cargo landed, but not on goods unsold and re-exported, that Omani vessels going to United States ports should receive most-favored-nation treatment, and that the United States should have the power to appoint consuls in East Africa.⁵ A further clause had been inserted in the draft of the treaty by which a rebate was made on the costs of maintaining and repatriating shipwrecked American sailors. As a result, this clause became unnecessary, for Said, whether from natural generosity or from a desire to display the boundlessness of his resources, insisted on a change of Article V, by which he defrayed the whole of these costs himself.⁶

This is merely in keeping with the manner in which he habitually treated his American visitors. A contemporary account is loud in the praises of his hospitality. The *Peacock* had difficulty in making Muscat harbor and was forced to jettison a good deal of its cargo and some of its guns. Said promptly had these salvaged and returned. In addition he set aside a special house for the reception of the mission and did everything in his power to impress them with a due sense of his friendliness and importance.⁷ He went so far as to offer to allow the Americans to build factories wherever they liked on condition that in return they rendered him armed assistance in East Africa. It does not appear that the United States mission ever entertained this proposal, but the mere breath of it was sufficient to alarm Bombay, and early in 1834 Captain Hart was sent out to Zanzibar in H. M. S. *Imogene*. This gentleman gained his object; Said's latest

⁴ Cf. Ruschenberger, I., pp. viii., 146, 155.

⁵ For the full text of the treaty cf. *Treaties*, p. cix.; *Bomb. Sel.*, p. 262; Ruschenberger, I., p. 151; *Journal A. O. S.*, p. 353 (Arabian text, p. 349).

⁶ Cf. Roberts, p. 360.

⁷ Cf. Ruschenberger, I., p. 99.

overtures to the Americans were dropped and Said consented to the negotiation of a similar treaty with England.⁸

It appears that the relations between East Africa and the United States had not begun prior to 1830.⁹ But an American merchantman, the *Essex*, under Captain Orne, had appeared in the Red Sea off the island of Kamaran as early as 1805.¹⁰ She was captured by the celebrated piratical chieftain and wealthy trader, Seyyid Mohammed Akil of Mocha, a descendant of the Prophet. The whole of the crew was massacred with the exception of the cabin boy, then ten years of age. Mohammed Akil took possession of the district of Dhofar in 1806, and Cruttenden, who traveled there about thirty years later (*Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* from 1836 to 1838, p. 184), states that this American had embraced the Mohammedan religion and was residing with wife and family at the village of Sollalla.

By the time that Captain Hart reached Zanzibar the Americans had already set up a practical monopoly, and were extremely jealous of their position. Hart records that between January, 1833, and January, 1834, thirteen foreign ships touched at Zanzibar, of which no less than nine were Americans.¹¹ There were also present at the time two whaling brigs, one from Old Salem and the other from New York. At that period whaling was a very lucrative trade between Zanzibar and Pemba, the former of which two towns proved a convenient station for obtaining refreshments. The remaining staple of trade was chiefly copal gum and ivory, but it may be conjectured without any straining of the facts that there was also a blacker trade which had no small attractions for the in-

⁸ Cf. Rep., 1883-84, p. 30.

⁹ Cf. Grandidier (p. 33) states that the first ship from the United States arrived at Zanzibar in 1830.

¹⁰ Pirate ships fitted out at New York had appeared in the eastern seas already during the eighteenth century. Cf. Wilson, p. 194.

¹¹ Cf. Bomb. Sel., p. 280. Ruschenberger (I., p. 66) asserts that between the 16th of September, 1832 until the 26th of May, 1834, 41 foreign vessels visited Zanzibar, of which 32 were American (20 from Salem).

habitants of a continent as man-hungry as America then was.¹²

Even in America only one or two houses were in the secret of the trade with East Africa, and of those the majority were situated in Old Salem, Mass. It is characteristic that, when Said sent through the captain of one of these Old Salem brigs, a general invitation to the traders of America, the owners set their faces against it with the remark, "If we allow this to be published everybody will hear of the place and we shall lose our trade."¹³ And it was indeed a monopoly which the merchants of Old Salem were in danger of losing. No less than six of the American consuls in Zanzibar had come from Salem; Salem trade with Zanzibar began in 1826, and the last Salem man left there in 1891. It is not surprising to find that the only portrait¹⁴ of Said is owned by the Peabody Museum in Salem, and even this must very probably have been made *sub rosa*, for Said had all the Moslem's horror of portraiture, holding that some of the essential spirit of the man was transferred to the reproduction.¹⁵

In return for the ivory, copal and hides, which they carried away, the Americans spread their cotton goods over the whole continent.¹⁶ In cotton fabrics they established a virtual monopoly. Their stuffs appear to have been more durable, and it was with unconcealed anger that they realized that the English were attempting to filch away their trade by counterfeiting the American stamp on an inferior article.¹⁷ The evidence of a contemporary traveler on this point is not unenlightening. "But our most formidable rivals," he says, "are the Americans, who have only lately entered on this trade. At present they land most of their cargoes on the east coast of Africa, from whence they find their way to Maskat and Persia. Hitherto they have only sent white goods, and with them they have spread an opinion, which was

¹² Cf. Grandidier, p. 33.

¹³ Cf. Bomb. Sel., p. 281; Lyne, p. 33.

¹⁴ Cf. the frontispiece and "Illustrations" of this book.

¹⁵ Guillaïn, III., p. 107; Burton, I., p. 306; Pearce, p. 129.

¹⁶ Cf. Burton, I., p. 295.

¹⁷ Cf. Ruschenberger, I., p. 65.

repeated to me by the Armenian merchants of Ispahan, that their cloths are superior to the British because the cotton is produced in their own country and not injured from pressing. It is said to wash and wear well, and if this cloth were introduced more extensively the merchants assure me it would have a good sale." Burton, when travelling in the years 1857-59, found American cotton goods, the "domestics" from the mills near Salem, largely distributed in Central Africa.¹⁸

There appears, however, to have been trade in another commodity almost inseparable from such relations, for when Colonel Miles visited Bireimi in 1875, he found the fort there protected by guns forming part of a batch of twenty purchased by Said from the United States for his corvette, the *Sultan*.¹⁹

* * * *

Translation of a letter from the Sultan of Muscat to the President of the United States.²⁰

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN.

To the most high and mighty Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, whose name shines with so much splendour throughout the world. I pray most sincerely that on the receipt of this letter it might find his Highness, the President of the United States, in high health, and that his happiness may be constantly on the increase. On a most fortunate day and at a happy hour, I had the honour to receive your Highness's letter, every word of which is clear and distinct as the sun at noonday, and every letter shone forth as brilliantly as the stars in the heavens. Your Highness' letter was received by your faithful and highly honourable representative and ambassador Edmund Roberts, who made me supremely happy in explaining the object of his mission, and I have complied in every respect with the wishes of your honourable ambassador, in concluding a treaty of friendship and

¹⁸ Cf. Burton, *J. R. G. S.*, p. 422.

¹⁹ Cf. Miles-Sohar, p. 55.

²⁰ Cf. Roberts, p. 430.

commerce between our respective countries, which shall be faithfully observed by myself and my successors as long as the world endures. And his Highness may depend that all American vessels resorting to the ports within my dominions shall know no difference, in point of good treatment, between my country and that of his own most happy and fortunate country, where felicity ever dwells. I most fervently hope that his Highness the President may ever consider me as his firm and true friend, and that I will ever hold the President of the United States very near and dear to my heart, and my friendship shall never know any diminution, but shall continue to increase till time is no more. I offer, most sincerely and truly, to his Highness the President, my entire and devoted services, to execute any wishes the President may have within my dominions, or within any ports or places wherein I possess the slightest influence.

This is from your most beloved friend,

SYEED BIN SULTAN.

Written on the twenty-second day of the Moon, Jamada Alawel, in the year Alhajira, 1249 (corresponding to 7th of October, 1833), at the Royal Palace in the city of Muscat.

This letter is to have the address of being presented to the most high and mighty Andrew Jackson, President of the United States of America, whose name shines with so much brilliancy throughout the world.²¹

²¹ Said was very desirous of sending on this occasion to the President of the United States several of his horses, but they were declined because the ship was not of sufficient size to carry them. Cf. Roberts, p. 359.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MARBLEHEAD

COMMUNICATED BY JOHN HENRY EDMONDS

Mr. William Cummins to Joseph Lemmon Dr. 1741.
December 28 To medicines administred with }
attendance and Dressing your head of a }
Large Incised wound } £10.—

Errors Excepted

Marblehead may 18 1742

Per Joseph Lemmon

Petition of William Cummins of Marblehead, mariner, for a special grant of money: "on the Seventh day of April One Thousand Seven hundred and Forty One being on board His Majestys Ship the Squirrel Peter Warren Esquire Commander and then actually in His Majestys Service, while setting up the fore Shrouds, had the Misfortune to have two blocks fall upon his head from the Fore Top, and thereby received a Contusion on the upper part of the left oss , by which the Segaments were separated from the Cranium and obliged to be taken off an Inch and a half Diameter that your Petitioner has a Certificate thereof given by the said Peter Warren Esquire and other Officers of said Ship directed to the Worshipfull the Governours of the Chest at Chatham for Relief of hurt and wounded Seamen and Marines in His Majestys Service, in order to procure the Moneys allowed by Act of Parliament to such wounded Seamen.

"But so it is may it please your Excellency and Honours that your Petitioners wound not being yet cured, but he is daily obliged to Apply to a Surgeon therefor, and not having yet his health or an opportunity to get home to England to Receive the Pension allowed wounded Seamen, he is reduced to very low and distressing Circumstances, having nothing to Subsist upon and knows not what method to take but applying to your Excellency and Honours for Relief."—*Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. 64, p. 185.

Petition of Robert Morton, Herrington, York, coaster, to General Court, that about Nov. 8, 1741, at Boston, your Petitioner's body was attached on a writ of Thomas

Bodkin's of Marblehead, brewer, returnable Dec. 28, in a suit over 65 barrells filled with salt and 130 empty. Petitioner immediately went to Marblehead, saw Bodkin who told him not to bother himself about it, that it would never be entered, &c., upon which knowing no grounds for action he returned to Boston, acquainted his attorney of same and proceeded home. Bodkin taking advantage of his absence entered said suit and obtained a verdict, notwithstanding that Bodkin who was half owner of the Sloop went in her in care of the said barrells and took them to his own use on her arrival at Pemaquid, &c. Asks leave to re-enter said action in March next for trial and that Execution be stayed. Referred to Court of Common Pleas, Dec., 1743.

—*Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 42, p. 198.*

Petition, January 7, 1742, of James Skinner, in behalf of the Town of Marblehead: "That they Labour under the Weight of Sundry Distressing Calamities by Reason of the Present Warr; the Loss of a Number of Vessels and a much greater Number of their Inhabitants and otherways Whereby their Substance is Very much Lessened, their Poor Increased, and the Burthen thereby Daily Growing upon them for which they (in the most Dutifull Manner) would humbly Crave Consideration of the Honourable Court in abating them such part of the Province Tax for such Terms as in Your Great Wisdom and Compassion shall be Judged proper."

In the House of Representatives, April 14th, 1743, Read again and Ordered that "there be granted and allowed to be paid out of the Province Treasury to the Representative of the Town of Marblehead or his Order the sum of twenty five pounds the present tenor in consideration of their Losses and other difficulties herein mentioned." Read and concurred in the Council.

—*Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 115, p. 6.*

(*To be continued*)

DESCENDANTS OF ROGER PRESTON OF
IPSWICH AND SALEM VILLAGE.

BY CHARLES HENRY PRESTON.

(Continued from Vol LXV, page 168.)

VI. 504. LORENZO PERRY PRESTON (Samuel, William, John, Samuel, Roger), born in Calais, Vt., 3 Feb. 1817; died in Nelsonville, Ohio, 17 Sept. 1896; married in Columbus, Ohio, 1844, Elsie Clark of Columbus, who died in Columbus in 1852; married, second, in Montpelier, Vt., 3 Mar. 1853, Laura L., daughter of Leonard and Betsey M. (Sanborn) Dix; born 23 Feb. 1827; living in 1897.

Children by first wife:

958. ELIZABETH, b. 1842, at Columbus; d. 1846.

959. KATHERINE, b. 1845, at Columbus; d. 1852.

Children by second wife:

960. FRED LORENZO, b. 10 Jan. 1854, in Delaware, O.

961. ELSIE CLARK, b. 17 Feb. 1857, in Columbus, O.; d. there
18 Mar. 1860.

962. SAMUEL DECATUR, b. 16 Apr. 1862, in Cambridge, O.; m.
29 Dec. 1888, Harriet Benson of Nelsonville, O.

963. LORENZO PERRY, b. 23 Aug. 1864, at Columbus, O.; d. 16
Nov. 1864.

964. GILBERT DIX, b. 29 July 1866, in Columbus, O.

965. LEONARD SHUBAEL, b. 30 Jan. 1871, in Nelsonville, O.

Lorenzo Perry Preston was a partner with his brother as a dry goods merchant in Columbus, Ohio, until the death of the latter in 1856.

VI. 511. ISAAC PRESTON (Isaac, Isaac, Isaac, Levi, Roger), born in Fairfield, Cumberland Co., N. J., 17 Dec. 1792; died in Lockport, Ill., 4 Jan. 1883; married at Granville, N. Y., 4 Oct. 1815, Lovina Betsey, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Carpenter) Walker of Becket, Mass.; born 8 Feb. 1792 in Granville, N. Y.; died in Lockport, Ill., 2 Dec. 1881.

Children:

965a. JOHN BOWER, b. 11 May 1817.

966. ELIZABETH LOVICE, b. 4 Apr. 1819, at Greene, N. Y.; d. at Elgin, Ill., 24 Aug. 1879; m. Dr. Carlos M. Daniels, b. in Rochester, N. Y. Ch.: 1. George H., General Passenger Agent of N. Y. Central R. R.; 2. Charles; 3. Isaac Preston; 4. Bessie, m. Charles S. Moseley, Lancaster, Pa.; 5. Julia.
967. HANNAH MARIA, b. 23 Nov. 1823, at Rochester, N. Y.; d. 8 Apr. 1884, at Chenoa, Ill.; m. 1st, 25 Mar. 1841, at St. Charles, Ill., Dr. Myron A. Gooding, son of Col. Charles and Ruth (Fisher) Gooding of Bristol, N. Y. Ch.: 1. Charles Fisher, b. 1842, d. in infancy; 2. Mary, b. 1844, d. in infancy; 3. Clarence Fisher, b. 14 Feb. 1847, m. Lizzie M. Deming and has two ch., Clarence Arthur and Winifred; Clarence Fisher Gooding was a lawyer in Chicago in 1899; 4. Charles F., b. Dec. 1848, d. in infancy. Dr. Gooding d. in 1853, and widow m. 13 Nov. 1856, Ichabod Codding; they had four children: 1. Julia Preston, b. 28 Aug. 1857, m. J. Walter Stevens of St. Paul, Minn.; 2. Jessie Preston, b. 5 Sept. 1859, m. James Holder; 3. Mary Preston, b. 3 Sept. 1861, m. Ogden P. Bourland; 4. John Preston, b. 1864, d. 1869. Dr. Myron A. Gooding was an ardent Abolitionist, and assisted many slaves to escape to Canada.
968. JULIA MINERVA, b. 22 Sept. 1826, at Rochester, N. Y.; d. 2 July 1867, at Peoria, Ill.; m. Benjamin L. T. Bourland and had two children.
969. JOSIAH WALKER, b. 31 Aug. 1833, at Warsaw, N. Y.

Isaac Preston was orphaned at the age of six; moved to Vermont at the age of fifteen; apprenticed to the tanning trade. He served in the War of 1812; was deacon of the Congregational Church of Lockport, Ill. He was an Abolitionist, a Prohibitionist, and Anti-Secret Society man. He lived the last twenty years of his life in Lockport, Ill., removing from northern New York.

VI. 512. JOHN PRESTON (Isaac, Isaac, Isaac, Levi, Roger), born at Fairfield, N. J., 6 Feb. 1796; died in Greenwich, N. J., 8 Oct. 1858; married at Millville, N. J., 1 Mar. 1817, Hannah Dennis; born April, 1798; died at Greenwich, Jan., 1880.

Children:

970. JANE DENNIS, b. 23 Aug. 1820; d. Nov. 1820.

971. JOHN HOWARD, b. 17 Mar. 1822, at Philadelphia, Pa.
 972. MARIA, b. 22 Feb. 1824; d. same day.
 973. WILLIAM HORACE, b. 1 July 1825.
 974. LOVICA JANE, b. 11 Mar. 1828; d. 13 Apr. 1882; m. 12 Apr. 1845, Ellwood Smith Bateman. Ch.: 1. Isaac Newton, b. 21 May 1847; 2. Joseph C., b. 20 May 1848; 3. Mary Caroline, b. 14 July 1850, at Bridgeton, N. J., d. there 10 Aug. 1892, m. 12 Apr. 1871, William Burt Cornwell, son of Ananias and Sara Cornwell, descended from William Cornwell of Middletown, Conn., 1632, b. 11 Feb. 1851, at Bridgeton; ch.: (a) John Gibson Cornwell,* b. 12 Feb. 1872; (b) Emma Cornwell, b. 7 Feb. 1874, d. 12 Nov. 1878; 4. Melona, b. Aug. 1853, d. 6 Jan. 1876; 5. Alice, b. 12 July 1857, d. 29 June 1878; 6. Edward Preston, b. 5 Feb. 1865.
 975. MARY ELIZABETH, b. 8 June 1830; d. at Greenwich, 6 May 1894, unmarried.
 976. HANNAH MARIA, b. 2 Nov. 1832; d. in infancy.
 977. ISAAC, b. 2 Sept. 1835; d. in infancy.
 978. ISAAC EDWARD, b. 22 Apr. 1838; d. 13 Jan. 1865.
 979. CHARLES MILLER, b. 21 Oct. 1840(?); d. in infancy.

VI. 515. REV. JOHN BOWER PRESTON (John Bower, Col. Isaac, Isaac, Levi, Roger), born in Rupert, Vt., 29 Dec. 1802; died in Chicago, Ill., 17 Oct. 1877; married, 4 July 1831, Mary Wheadon, who died 4 Aug. 1832; married, second, at Farmington, Conn., 23 June 1833, Clarissa North; born at Farmington, 15 Aug. 1811; living in 1894.

Child of first wife:

980. JOHN BOWEE, b. 7 July 1832.

Children of second wife:

981. MARCUS NORTH, b. 1 July 1835.

982. LEWIS OGDEN, b. 20 Aug. 1837; killed in Union Army at Columbia, S. C., 18 Feb. 1865.

983. EDWARD DWIGHT, b. 7 June 1840.

* John Gibson Cornwell, Ph.D., is a Methodist minister and a lecturer, residing in Philadelphia in 1904; married Nellie Pickersgill; son, John Gibson Cornwell, Jr., born 9 Oct. 1899. Dr. Cornwell has furnished much material for this branch of the family.

984. ANNA MARIA, b. 31 Jan. 1842; m. at Cape Vincent, N. Y., 23 June 1868, E. Carlos Kelsey; res. (1894) Cape Vincent. Ch.: Lewis Preston, b. 19 Mar. 1870; Anna Laura, b. 20 Feb. 1872; Mary Medora, b. 11 Nov. 1873.
985. DEMING HAVEN, b. 2 Dec. 1845.

Rev. John Bower Preston was a Presbyterian minister.

VII. 523. DAVID PRESTON (David, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Bradford, Mass., 25 Sept. 1812; died in Charlestown, Mass., 31 Jan. 1873; married in Charlestown, 24 May 1840, Mary Wiley, daughter of Aaron and Mary (Wiley) Blake; born in Hillsborough N. H., 1821; died in Washington, D. C.

Children born in Charlestown:

986. HERBERT AUGUSTINE, b. 5 Aug. 1840; d. in Washington, D. C., 2 May 1893; m. in Washington 19 Oct. 1869, Annie Eliza, dau. of James and Eliza (Folk) McNabb, b. in Baltimore, Md., 15 Jan. 1840. Ch.: 1. Mary Gertrude, b. 25 Aug. 1870, d. 1 June 1878; 2. Annie, b. 16 Apr. 1872, m. 27 Apr. 1892, John A. Chamberlain of Worcester, Mass.; 3. Herbert Augustine, b. 7 July 1874, d. 28 Dec. 1876; 4. James David, b. 2 Aug. 1876, m. 16 July 1902, Mary E., dau. of Capt. Edward Hoyle and Mary (McNabb) Sanford of Baltimore, Md.; ch.: (a) Edward Herbert, b. 13 July 1904; James David Preston has been for many years a newspaper correspondent in the Senate Press Gallery in Washington; 5. Elizabeth Monica, b. 14 Mar. 1879, m. 8 Sept. 1900, Herbert S. Bryant of Washington; 6. Catherine Agnes, b. 3 Apr. 1881, m. 10 May 1898, Rufus N. Miller who d. in 1900, m. 2nd, 15 June 1904, John W. Gardner; 7. Theodore Christine, b. 27 Aug. 1883, unmarried in 1914. Herbert Augustine Preston saw more than three years' service with the Union Army in the Second Kentucky Infantry. After the close of the war he went to Washington to engage in newspaper work. For twenty-one years he was the Washington correspondent of the New York Herald, and in 1891, after he left the Herald, he continued as a free-lance in that work.
987. MARYETTE M., b. 18 June 1851; d. 17 Mar. 1871, in Charlestown.

David Preston was a builder in Charlestown.

VII. 525. BENJAMIN UPTON PRESTON (David, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 5 Jan. 1820; died, 15 July 1864; married, 8 May 1848, Martha Elizabeth Phillips; born in Chester, N. H., 14 Aug. 1825.

Children, born in Lynnfield, Mass.:

988. ELIZABETH REBECCA, b. 24 July 1849.
 989. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, b. 23 May 1851; d. in Wakefield, Mass., 29 Nov. 1881; m. 10 Mar. 1875. Ch.: Fred Dana, b. Dec. 1875, d. in 10 weeks; Ruth May, b. in Ipswich, Mass., 8 Sept. 1877.
 990. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, b. 13 June 1853; m. 28 Dec. 1881, in Wakefield, Mass., Emma Elizabeth, dau. of A. A. and Mary E. (Gage) Currier, born there 16 May 1859. Children, all born in Wakefield: Robert Franklin, b. 2 Oct. 1882; Alice Gage, b. 18 Oct. 1884; Mary, b. 3 Nov. 1888; Ruth, b. 20 Sept. 1891; Emily Hall, b. 17 Mar. 1895. He was, in 1896, a bookkeeper in Wakefield, Mass.
 991. ARTHUR UPTON, b. 4 Aug. 1854.
 992. RUFUS ALONZO, b. 19 Nov. 1855; d. 28 Mar. 1856.
 993. MARTHA ANN, b. 5 Dec. 1857; d. 2 Aug. 1858.

VII. 526. JOSHUA PUTNAM PRESTON (Joshua, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Boston, Mass., 22 June 1808; died there, 10 Dec. 1876; married Sarah, daughter of Samuel and Lucy (Davis) Somes of Gloucester, Mass.

Children:

994. SAMUEL SOMES, b. 1846; d. unm. 31 Jan. 1872, in Santa Barbara, Cal.
 995. HORATIO WYMAN, b. 1848; m. 1877, Mary Ridgely of Baltimore; d. 1878 at Davos Platz, Switzerland; no children.
 996. CLARENCE JOSHUA, b. 1850; d. aged 5 yrs.

Mr. Preston was a lifelong resident of Boston. He received his education at the Boston Latin School and learned his business at the formerly well known firm of Bartlett and Brewer. He turned his attention to the manufacture of chemicals and soon became one of the best known chemists in New England. He was for many

years senior partner of the house of Preston and Merrill, retiring from it but a few years before his death on account of his health. As a business man he sustained the character of a thoroughly conscientious and upright merchant and manufacturer. To his family he was a thoughtful and devoted husband and father, ever ready to sacrifice his own to others' comfort.

VII. 527. JOHN AUGUSTUS PRESTON (Joshua, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Boston, Mass., 3 Mar. 1810; died there, 14 July 1881; married there, 3 June, 1840, Eliza Fuller Ashton, who died 14 Nov. 1857.

Children:

997. JOHN ASHTON, b. 2 Jan. 1843; unmarried.

998. FRANCIS GREENWOOD, b. 1847; d. young.

999. SARAH ASHTON, b. 28 Feb. 1849; m. in Boston, 28 Feb. 1882, Israel Ludlow Garrard Rice of Cambridge. Ch.: Emma Hunt, b. 12 Mar. 1883; John Preston, b. 22 Feb. 1888; both born in Brookline, Mass.

Mr. Preston lived in Boston.

VII. 528. DR. ALONZO FERDINAND PRESTON (Joshua, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Boston, Mass., 28 Aug. 1811; died there, 9 Sept. 1904; married in Upton, Mass., Oct., 1844, Fanny Ward, daughter of Thomas and Hepsibah (Ward) Macfarland; born there, 18 Sept. 1817.

Child:

1000 FRANK ALONZO, b. 29 Jan. 1846; d. in Boston, 13 May 1900; m. in Boston, 5 June 1878, Marion Winifred, daughter of Josiah Quincy and Christian Wetherston (Renton) Loring, born in Weston, Mass., 24 Aug. 1853. Res. 5 Newbury St., Boston. Ch.: Frank Loring, b. in Boston 9 Mar. 1886.

Alonzo Ferdinand Preston was a dentist at 5 Newbury Street, Boston.

VII. 533. NATHANIEL WHITMORE PRESTON (Ira, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, 7 April 1817; married in Portsmouth, Ohio, 19 Feb.

1850, Mary Ann, daughter of William Russell and Ann Nancy (Ackley) Holmes; born in Lyons, N. Y., 29 Sept. 1824. He was living in 1893 in Wheelersburg, Ohio. No children.

VII. 534. IRA MILLS PRESTON (Ira, John, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 21 April 1818; married in Marietta, Ohio, May, 1848, Jane S. Woodruff, who died Oct., 1890, in Marietta. He was living in 1893. No children.

VII. 536. ABEL PRESTON (Abel N., Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 5 Nov. 1812; died in Lynn, Mass., 25 Feb. 1885; married in Danvers 29 May 1837, Jane, daughter of Nathaniel and Betsey (Merritt) Tuttle; born in Salem, Mass., 4 Nov. 1812; died in Lynn, 10 Feb. 1898.

Children born in Danvers:

1001. EDWARD W., b. 14 May 1838; unm.
1002. JOHN, b. 21 July 1842; d. 20 Sept. 1842.
1003. SARAH ELLEN, b. 20 Jan. 1844; d. 24 Sept. 1849.
1004. SARAH ALICE, b. 9 July 1850; m. 2 Sept. 1875, Edwin F. Rowe of Lynn. Ch.: Fred P., b. 1876; Jessie C., b. 29 Oct. 1877. They reside in Lynn.

Abel Preston was a carpenter and lived in the part of Danvers which is now Peabody. He served the town as Selectman.

VII. 547. LEVI PRESTON (Levi, Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 12 Oct. 1840; married 10 Oct. 1872, Mary Eliza, daughter of Charles E. and Mary P. Brown. No children.

Levi Preston resided in Peabody, Mass. He was engaged in the real estate business for many years. Was a trustee, and on the investment board of the Warren Five Cent Savings Bank of Peabody.

VII. 548. MAJOR DANIEL JOHNSON PRESTON (Daniel, Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 13 Feb. 1817; died there 25 Dec. 1886; married

in Newburyport, 16 Mar. 1843, Elizabeth Coffin Hoyt, who died in Danvers, 3 Oct. 1884.

1005. Had one child which died in infancy.

Col. Daniel Preston, the father of Major Daniel, died when the latter was seven years old, and he lived with his grandfather, Levi Preston. After leaving school he went to work as a shoe cutter in the shop of his uncle, Samuel Preston; he afterward conducted an express business between Danvers and Boston, and later a livery stable. He kept a hotel for several years where the Berry Tavern now stands and later was in the same business in Peabody. He then moved to Marblehead and worked at his trade of shoe cutting and while there was elected captain of the local militia company. He then returned to Danvers and worked at his trade. He was deputy sheriff of Essex County from 1878 until his death and Collector of Taxes of Danvers from 1881.

When first married he lived on Danvers Square in a house which stood where A. W. Beckford's store now stands. Later he lived, up to the time of his death, on Maple Street near Putnam.

He enlisted 19 Aug. 1862 as 1st Lieut. in Co. F., 35th Regt., M. V. M., and left camp at Readville for Washington, 22 Aug. He was in Burnside's command and engaged in the battles of South Mountain and Antietam, where his captain was wounded and the command of the company fell on him; he was promoted captain 28 Sept. 1862. He was at Fredericksburg in December and passed the winter at Falmouth, Va. They were then ordered to Newport News and transferred to Gen. Grant's command. They went down the Mississippi to Vicksburg and while in camp at Big Black river he was prostrated by sickness and sent home; on 1 Dec. 1863 he had so far recovered that he again went to the front, was promoted major 6 Dec. 1863 and assigned to the 36th U. S. colored troops, serving with them until the close of the war, mostly in the Carolinas. He was a member of various fraternal orders.

VII. 552. CHARLES PUTNAM PRESTON (John, Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 24

Sept. 1820; died there 27 Oct. 1887; married in Fremont, N. H., 29 Jan. 1845, Sarah Hubbard, daughter of Moses and Ruth (Stuart) Hooke*; born there 30 Dec. 1820;

* William Hooke, son of Humphrey and Cicely Hooke of Bristol, England, settled in York, Maine. He was born 12 April 1612; married Eleanor, widow of Capt. Walter Norton of York. He moved to Salisbury, Mass., in 1640; he died in 1654 and his widow returned to York. Children:

1. WILLIAM, b. about 1635 in York.
2. JOSIAH, b. about 1637 in York.
3. JACOB, b. 15 Sept. 1640 in Salisbury.

William Hooke, son of William and Eleanor Hooke m. Elizabeth Dyer; children b. in Salisbury:

1. WILLIAM.
2. ELIZABETH, b. 22 Feb. 1671/2; m. Ezekiel Carruth of Boston, 1698.
3. ELEANOR, b. 20 Feb. 1673/4; m. Andrew Greeley, 17 Aug. 1702.
4. HUMPHREY, b. 28 Jan. 1675/6; m. Judith March, 5 May 1700.
5. JACOB, b. 7 Jan. 1677/8; m. Mary March, 17 Apr. 1707.
6. MARTHA, b. 18 June 1681; m. William Buswell, 7 Apr. 1715.
7. JOSIAH, b. 26 Aug. 1683.

William Hooke, son of William and Elizabeth (Dyer) Hooke, m. 1. Mary —; m. 22 Sarah Carr; children born in Salisbury:

1. ELIZABETH, b. 14 Feb., 1692/3; m. John Eaton, 2 July 1728.
2. MARY, b. 31 Jan. 1694/5; m. Stephen Bement of Gloucester, 2 Jan. 1728.
3. ANN, b. 16 Mar. 1696.
4. WILLIAM.
5. JACOB, b. Nov., 1698; d. 7 Sept. 1773.
6. JOSIAH, b. 15 Mar. 1701; m. Anne French, 12 Jan. 1726.
7. FRANCIS, b. 22 Mar. 1705; m. Edith Greeley, dau. of Andrew and Eleanor Greeley.

Jacob Hooke, son of William and Mary Hooke, m. Elizabeth French, 14 Jan. 1719; she b. 5 July 1700; d. 1773; children:

1. DYER, b. 1 Sept. 1720; d. 11 Mar. 1776.
2. HUMPHREY, b. 27 July 1722; m. Hannah Philbrick, Nov., 1747.
3. JACOB, b. 29 Nov. 1724; m. Mary Batchelder, 1749.
4. MARTHA, b. 29 Mar. 1727; m. John Judkins, 21 Nov. 1744.
5. SARAH, b. 8 Oct. 1729; m. Amos Coffin, 10 Jan. 1747.
6. WILLIAM, b. 8 Apr. 1732; d. 11 Oct. 1736.
7. ELISHA, b. 28 Jan. 1734/5; d. 8 Sept. 1736.
8. JOSIAH, b. 25 July 1737; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Josiah and Anne (French) Hooke.
9. ELIZABETH, b. 25 Jan. 1740/1; m. Simon Nudd.
10. FRANCIS, m. Mary Rand of Deerfield, N. H.; lived in Chichester, N. H.

Dyer Hooke, son of Jacob and Elizabeth (French) Hooke, m. 2 Nov. 1744, Hannah, dau. of Benjamin and Sarah (Gove) Brown; b. 3 Nov. 1722; d. 20 Sept. 1800; children:

died in Danvers, 30 May 1908.

Children born in Danvers:

1006. JOHN STUART, b. 3 Apr. 1846; d. 16 July 1872; unm.
 1007. WALTER AUGUSTUS, b. 13 June 1848; d. 23 May 1869; unm.
 1008. CHARLES HENRY, b. 22 Mar. 1863; m. 22 Apr. 1903, Nellie Chapman, d. of Andrew and Elizabeth Perkins (Stanley) Nichols; b. in Danvers, 6 Aug. 1874. Ch.: 1. Ruth Stuart, b. in Danvers, 18 Mar. 1904; m. 8 May 1926, Eliot Gray Goldsmith of Brookline, Mass.; she grad. from Mount Holyoke College in 1925. Ch.: Jack Preston, b. Dec. 8, 1928; 2. Charles Putnam, b. in Danvers, 12 Nov. 1905; Mass. Agricultural College, 1928; 3. Stanley Nichols, b. in Danvers, 8 Nov. 1907; Mass. Agricultural College, 1928.

Charles Henry Preston was educated in the Danvers schools and graduated from the Mass. Agricultural College in 1883. He was a chemist at the Mass. Agricultural Experiment Station until 1884 and chemist in the food and drug laboratory of the Mass. State Board of Health until 1890. He has been a trustee of the Danvers Savings Bank since 1893, president 1910 to 1916 and treasurer since 1916. He has held a number of

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1. ABRAHAM, b. 17 Nov. 1745; m. Rachel Elkins, 22 Nov. 1768.
 2. ELISHA, b. 18 Nov. 1747; d. 22 Feb. 1831.
 3. DYER, b. 21 Jan. 1749; m. Sarah Sleeper and lived in Chichester.
 4. ISRAEL, b. 17 Jan. 1754; m. Dolly Griffin of Sandown, N. H.
 5. HANNAH, b. 24 Oct. 1757; m. Dr. Thomas Stowe Ranney of Brentwood, N. H.
 6. PETER, b. 15 Dec. 1763; m. Hannah Sleeper and lived in Chichester.

Elisha Hooke, son of Dyer and Hannah (Brown) Hooke, m. Sarah, dau. of Daniel and Sarah (Swain) Clark, 25 Mar. 1773; b. 9 Feb. 1754; d. 11 Mar. 1808; children:

1. JACOB, b. 5 Jan. 1774; m. Sarah Brown Elkins, 15 Oct. 1798.
 2. MOSES, b. 19 Apr. 1777; d. 2 Apr. 1872.
 3. SARAH, b. 4 Aug. 1782; m. Reuben Hooke, 16 Apr. 1803.
 Moses Hooke, son of Elisha and Sarah (Clark) Hooke, m. 14 Mar. 1804, Ruth, dau. of Samuel and Hannah (Brown) Stuart; b. 17 Mar. 1783; d. 6 Apr. 1872; children:
 1. MOSES, b. 19 July 1806; m. Mary Brown.
 2. DANIEL CLARK, b. 13 May 1808; d. 28 Oct. 1824.
 3. HORACE HUBBARD, b. 16 Feb. 1810; d. 4 July 1818.
 4. RUTH STUART, b. 20 Jan. 1813; m. Dr. Nathan French of Malden, Mass.
 5. SARAH HUBBARD, b. 30 Dec. 1820; m. Charles P. Preston of Danvers, Mass.

town offices and represented Danvers, Peabody and Topsfield in the Mass. House of Representatives in 1901 and 1902. Since 1887 he has carried on the farm which has been in the family since 1753. He was president of the Essex Agricultural Society several years and is now president of the Danvers Historical Society and a trustee of the Mass. Agricultural College.

Charles Putnam Preston was educated in the Danvers schools and Pembroke, N. H., Academy. For some years he manufactured shoes, but all his life he was a farmer. He also sold agricultural implements for many years and many Essex County farmers bought their first mowing machines of him.

He held many offices in town and state. He served the town as Selectman and member of the School Committee. He was Representative in the Legislature in 1864 and 1865, and was elected to the Board of County Commissioners for six years from 1869 to 1874. He was appointed by Governor John A. Andrew a member of the Massachusetts Cattle Commission and served three years. He was appointed a member of the Board of Trustees of the Danvers Insane Hospital at the time of its opening in 1876 and served until his death in 1887, having been appointed by three governors.

When George Peabody, the London banker, a native of the town, gave money to establish the Peabody Institute of Danvers, he made Mr. Preston a life trustee. He also served as trustee and member of the finance committee of the Danvers Savings Bank for several years. Agriculture, however, received his greatest attention and he was very active in all matters relating to it, serving twenty-five years as secretary of the Essex Agricultural Society and doing much to make its fairs a success.

He was active in the First Congregational Church, serving on the "Standing Committee" and on other committees. In politics he was a Republican, and previous to the formation of that party he was a Whig.

VII. 560. HIRAM PORTER PRESTON (Hiram, Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 3 July 1857; married at Danvers, 4 July 1887, Hannah

E., daughter of Charles and Olive Hall; born in Dover, N. H., 1867.

Child:

1009. LIZZIE S., b. 27 Apr. 1891, in Haverhill, Mass.

Hiram P. Preston was a shoe manufacturer and was in business in Haverhill, Mass., and afterward in St. Louis, Mo., where he died.

VII. 564. WILLIAM HENRY PRESTON (William, Levi, John, John, Thomas, Roger), born in Danvers, Mass., 9 Sept. 1840; died there 16 Jan. 1872; married 14 Feb. 1867, Harriet Endicott, daughter of Elijah and Ruthy (Nourse) Hutchinson; born in Danvers, 20 July 1841; she is living in Danvers (1929).

Child:

1010. LILLIAN ENDICOTT, b. 28 June 1869; m. 28 June 1892
Harry Gardner Johnson. Ch.: Gardner.

Mr. Preston lived in Danvers.

VII. 573. JAMES PRESTON (Othniel, Othniel, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born at Fort Ann, Washington County, N. Y., 3 Apr. 1791; died in South Dansville, Steuben Co. N. Y., 28 June 1847; married Mary, daughter of Josiah Gorham; born at Fort Ann, 7 Feb. 1787; died in South Dansville, 17 Apr. 1852.

Children:

1011. JAMES H., b. 3 June 1820 in Rochester, N. Y.

1012. OTHNIEL, b. 1822, in Brighton, N. Y.

1013. JOSIAH GORHAM, b. 1824, in Penfield, N. Y.

1014. PHOEBE, d. at Fort Ann, N. Y.

1015. MARY, d. in Chicago, 10 Mar. 1881.

1016. EUNICE.

1017. ROXAND, d. in Penfield, N. Y.

James Preston was a farmer and stone and brick mason. He served in the War of 1812 (family rec.).

VII. 581. LEVI PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, N. Y., 12 Oct. 1782; died in Clarendon, Orleans Co., N. Y., 22 Jan.

1857, aged 74 years, 3 mos. and 10 days (G. S.); married, first, Wealthy Lathrup; born, 1778; died in Clarendon, 8 Feb. 1833, aged 55 years (G. S.); married, second, Orilla Thomson; born, 1797; died 30 July 1840, aged 43 years; married, third, Content Robinson, Oct., 1840.

Children by first wife:

1018. CHESTER, b. 9 Apr. 1808.
 1019. JOHN.
 1020. DELIGHT, lived to be over 97 years of age; m. — Austin; lived at Williamston, Mich.
 1021. ANNA.
 1022. CLARISSA.

Children by second wife:

1023. ORILLA A., b. 3 Feb. 1834; m. Edgar J. Waite. Ch.: 1. Eugene D., b. Murray, N. Y., 4 Oct. 1852; 2. Charlie E., b. Barre, N. Y., 23 July 1854; 3. Alice E., b. Murray, N. Y., 14 Jan. 1859; 4. Fred E., b. Murray, N. Y., 9 Oct. 1863; 5. Arthur E., b. Murray, N. Y., 29 Nov. 1866; 6. Lillian J., b. Mount Morris, Mich., 4 Oct. 1873. Mrs. Waite lives (1904) in Flushing, Mich.
 1024. LEVI, b. 2 Nov. 1837, in Clarendon, N. Y.; he enlisted as a private in the 42nd Ill. Volunteers in the Civil War, was promoted Captain, and died Dec., 1863, at Nashville, Tenn.

Children by third wife:

1025. JANE.
 1026. JANETTE.

Levi Preston was a farmer and lived in Clarendon, Orleans Co., N. Y. His gravestone is standing in the cemetery there.

VII. 582. JAMES PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, Otsego Co., N. Y., 26 Oct. 1789 (another record 1788); died in Waterloo, Jackson Co., Mich., 1 Mar. 1858; married in De Ruyter, Madison Co., N. Y., Catherine, daughter of William Scott; born in Washington Co., N. Y.; died in Prairieville, Mich., 1878.

Children :

1027. THANKFUL, b. 7 Mar. 1811; m. Ansel Havens.
 1028. CALVIN, b. 24 May 1813; m. Polly Powell.
 1029. EPHRAIM, b. 11 Oct. 1816.
 1030. CATHERINE, b. 17 June 1821, at Prairieville, Mich.; m. Samuel Hart and resided at Prairieville.
 1031. URSULA, b. 9 Apr. 1826, at Battle Creek, Mich.; m. Erastus Wood; she resided at Battle Creek.

James Preston was a carpenter and joiner; he resided in various places in Pennsylvania, New York and Michigan.

VII. 583. AARON PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born 19 Nov. 1791 (another record 1790), in Springfield, Otsego Co., N. Y.; died in Burlington City, Kansas, Nov., 1871; married in New York State, 1826, Sarah, daughter of Benjamin Hix; born in Cheshire, Mass., 1792; died in Burlington City, Kansas, Oct., 1876.

Children :

1032. LORINDA, b. 6 July 1809, in Springfield, N. Y.; m. John Tefft; son George lives (1899) Garnett, Anderson Co., Kansas.
 1033. MELVERN, b. 20 Mar. 1811, in De Ruyter, N. Y.; married Lorania Morehouse; lived near Ottawa, Kan.; ten children.
 1034. DOLLY S., b. 5 Mar. 1816, in Palmyra, N. Y.; m. David Palmer of Orleans Co., N. Y.
 1035. LYDIA, b. 1818 in Otselic, N. Y.; m. Moses Woods of Orleans Co., N. Y.; son Lemuel, editor, Burlington, Kan.
 1036. AMANDA M., b. 14 Dec. 1822, in Homer, N. Y.; m. Stratton Adams of Marshall, Mich.; d. Osage Co., Kan.
 1037. ALONZO, b. in Carlton, N. Y.; d. aged 1 year.
 1038. AARON, b. 5 May 1827, in Carlton, N. Y.
 1039. SARAH K., b. 3 Apr. 1831, in Gaines, N. Y.; m. Zena Woods of Grass Lake, Mich.; d. in Missouri; he resides (1899) in Oregon.
 1040. HARRIET, b. 25 June 1834, in Grass Lake, Mich.; m. Jeremiah Mickel, a Baptist minister.

Aaron Preston was a millwright; also an Advent preacher or elder. He was a soldier in the War of 1812

(family rec.). He owned a farm at Francisco, Michigan, now (1903) occupied by Emily Powell, daughter of John Preston, brother of Aaron.

VII. 585. PHILIP PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, Otsego Co., N. Y., 1 Mar. 1795; died in Clarendon, N. Y., Dec., 1880; married in De Ruyter, Madison Co., N. Y., 1 Jan. 1818, Sally Rogers; born, 1793; died in Clarendon, N. Y., Nov., 1867, aged 74 years.

Children:

1041. ALMEDA, b. 25 Dec. 1818; d. 17 Apr. 1854; m. William Whipple.
 1042. LYMAN, b. 21 Jan. 1821.
 1043. JANE MALVINA, b. 15 May 1824; d. 18 July 1825.
 1044. LEMUEL, b. 10 May 1826.
 1045. ORILLA, b. 10 Apr. 1828; d. 20 Dec. 1880, in Erie Co., N. Y.; m. — Locke.
 1046. PHILIP, b. 10 Jan. 1831; unm.; drowned in his own reservoir in Julian, San Diego Co., Cal., 20 May 1893, in rescuing someone from drowning.

Philip Preston lived and died in Clarendon, Orleans Co., N. Y. He is buried in the cemetery there with his brother, Levi Preston.

VII. 586. EPHRAIM PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, N. Y., 11 Apr. 1797; died in Battle Creek, Mich., July, 1877; married Lucy Rogers; her mother Betsey (Luther) Rogers lived to be 102 years old.

Children:

1047. JAMES, d. in Battle Creek, Mich., Aug., 1902.
 1048. ALBERT, b. 26 Oct. 1826; res. (1904) Whittier, Cal.; m.; no children.
 1049. EMELINE, m. — Francis.
 1050. ADALINE, m. Alfred Metcalf.
 1051. FANNIE, m. — Kirby.
 1052. ALMON E., b. 15 July 1832.
 1053. MALVINA, b. —; m. — Wright; res. (1904) Port Orchard, Wash. Ch.: 4 daughters.

VII. 587. JOHN PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, Otsego Co., N. Y., 3 May 1799; died in Francisco, Mich., 25 Aug. 1878; married in Clarendon, Orleans Co., N. Y., 14 Apr. 1825, Relief, daughter of Caleb and Marge (Inman) Osgood; born at Fort Ann, N. Y., 12 May 1808; died in Francisco, 3 Feb. 1877.

Children:

1054. ANN ELIZA, b. 30 Jan. 1826, in Clarendon, N. Y.; d. at Grass Lake, Mich., 30 July 1892 (another rec. 19 Jan.); m. — Correll.
1055. HENRY, b. 4 Jan. 1828, in Clarendon, N. Y.; d. there 8 May 1829.
1056. MARGE ANN, b. 15 July 1830, in Clarendon, N. Y.; m. William R. Glover; res. Jackson, Mich. Ch.: 1. Leora Ida, unm., res. Clay Springs, Fla.; 2. Hiram Edward, unm., res. Jackson, Mich.; 3. Lunetta, m. A. Yocum, res. Jackson, Mich.; 4. Mina, unm., lives Clay Springs, Fla.
1057. EMILY, b. 4 Nov. 1832, in Clarendon, N. Y.; m. Ira Powell. Ch.: Francis M.; res. Francisco, Mich.
1058. HIRAM, b. 16 Jan. 1835, in Francisco, Mich.
1059. ZERUIAH, b. 24 Nov. 1837, in Francisco, Mich.; m. Ora McDole. Ch.: George Herbert, res. Grass Lake, Mich.
1060. SARAH MARIA, b. 4 May 1840, in Francisco, Mich.; m. Abernathy Tinker. Ch.: 1. Etta; 2. Ella, twins; res. Jackson, Mich.
1061. MARTHA, b. 15 Dec. 1843, in Francisco, Mich.; d. 17 Sept. 1849.
1062. GEORGE, b. 25 Nov. 1845, in Francisco, Mich.

John Preston moved to Warrensville, Ohio, in 1832, and then to Grass Lake, Jackson Co., Mich., where he afterward resided. He was a cabinet maker and carpenter until 1832, and then a farmer, principally.

VII. 588. LYMAN PRESTON (John, Levi, Levi, Samuel, Samuel, Roger), born in Springfield, Otsego Co., N. Y., 17 Sept. 1801; d. Otselic, Chenango Co., N. Y., 1 June 1889; married, in Lincklaen, Chenango Co., Lucy, daughter of Cary Y. and Katy (Richer) Reynolds; born in Berlin, N. Y.; died in Otselic, N. Y., 1880.

(To be continued)

ENTRY BOOK, IMPOST BOOK, REGISTERS (FOREIGN TRADE),
PORT OF MARBLEHEAD, MASSACHUSETTS.

COMPILED BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE,
FROM THE MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, p. 208)

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	Duties
1821 Dec. 12	Brig "Rolla" John Hooper Jr. & master	John Girdler		26 hhds. brown sugar, 137 casks molasses, 1 bbl. & 1 bag coffee.	\$1735.81
1822 Feb'y. 25	Brig "Hope" Robt. & J. Hooper, Wm. Goodwin & master	John Dixey		224 bags merino wool, 16 bags cocoa shells.	\$3491.03
April 10	Schooner "Teaser" John Johnson, John Pedrick, J. & B. F. Hooper, Geo. Le Master, Geo. Wilson, master & others	Benj. Gardner		154 casks molasses.	\$684.05
April 17	Sch. "Speedwell" Rob't Hooper, Thos. Lyon, Wm. Wooldredge & master	Glover Broughton		64 hhds. & casks brown sugar, 48 hhds. & casks molasses.	\$2172.99
April 19	Brig "Alexander" Henry Kemp	Henry Kemp		11 bags merino wool, 5 work baskets, 2 cases sweet oil, 1 sack feathers, 4 fraills figs, 3440 bu. salt, 46 casks Lisbon white wine, 10 casks red port wine.	\$2318.69
April 19	Schooner "Caesar" R. & J. Hooper	John Broughton		26 hhds. coffee.	\$816.20

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

<i>Date</i>	<i>VESSEL'S NAME</i> <i>Consignees</i>	<i>Master's Name</i>	<i>Tons Men</i>	<i>CARGO</i>	<i>Duties</i>
1822					
April 20	Sch. "Five Sisters" from Martinique Leavitt Kingsbury & master	John Doliber		142 casks molasses, 2 bbls. brown sugar, 8 pots tamarinds.	\$720.11
June 1	Sch. "Midas" from St. Eustatia, Guadaloupe Joshua Prentiss, Asa Hooper, H. Gallison, Wm. Gray, Jesse Blanchard & others	Joshua Prentiss		166 casks molasses, 31 bbls. brown sugar.	\$818.09
June 3	Sch. "William" John H. Gregory	Wm. Wormstead		145 casks molasses, 2 bbls. brown sugar.	\$634.88
June 25	Brig "Rolla" " Marduham(?) (illegible) H. Harbeck & Wm. Reed	Girdler		4054 horns, 40 pigs lead, 3 bales brown sheeting.	\$157.65
The records from 1822 to 1826 are missing.					
1826					
May 20	Schooner "Five Sisters" " Martinique N. Broughton	John Doliber		123 casks molasses.	
June 6	Sch. "Alpha" " Martinique	Bridgeo		153 casks molasses.	
Sept. 30	Sch. "Spring Bird" " Martinique Nicholas Tucker	Tucker		1 cask molasses.	
Sept. 30	Sch. "Echo" " Martinique	Quiner		100 casks molasses.	
Nov. 22	Sch. "Hannah" " St. Thomas John Trail	Kemp		9 casks molasses.	
Dec. 11	Sch. "Alpha" " Martinique & others Nich. Broughton & others	Blackler		100 casks molasses.	

Dec. 14 Ship "Java" " Antwerp Blackler
 1 pipe gin.
 1827
 April 9 Ship "Pactolus" " Pernambuco Girdler
 John Hooper 1 cask wine.
 May 25 Schooner "Friendship" " Gibraltar Bartoll
 Rich'd D. Tucker & others boxes raisins, 257 casks Malaga wine.
 May 31 Sch. "Spring Bird" " Martinique J. Tucker
 Nicholas Tucker 126 casks molasses.
 Aug. 11 Brig "Hope" " Gibraltar Bray
 200 Indian bbls. Malaga wine, 3 casks sherry wine.
 Oct. 17 Ship "Java" " Antwerp Hooper
 Wm. Whipper 1 pipe gin.
 1829
 Jan. 21 Brig "Prudent" " St. Thomas Broughton
 Nicholson Broughton 18 casks olive oil.
 April 25 Schooner "Plough Boy" " Matanzas, Cuba
 " Gibraltar Bessom 111 casks molasses.
 July 2 Ship "Pactolus" " Gibraltar Wilson
 Robert Hooper Jr. 10 casks Malaga wine, 14 cases bottled wine, 120
 jugs linseed oil.
 Aug. Brig "Rover" " Aux Cayes Thompson
 Porter & Green 8 boxes Champagne wine.

2 casks St. Lucar(?) wine, 1 cask Catalonia wine.

No arrivals from foreign ports shown on records until 1831.

1831
 July 6 Ship "Pactolus" " Cadiz Wilson
 No arrivals from foreign ports shown on records until 1838.

ENTRY BOOK, ETC., OF PORT OF MARBLEHEAD.

Date	VESSEL'S NAME <i>Consignees</i>	Master's Name	Tons Men	CARGO	<i>Duties</i>
April 11	Brig "Chase" from Cape of Good Hope arrived at Lynn* H. Chase & Co.	Green		1 box Constantia wine, 88 casks, 26 bbls., 288 skins tallow.	
May 28	British Brig "Elizabeth" arrived at Lynn* Eastern R. R. Co.	Anderson		1681 bars R. R. iron, 6985 R. R. chairs (for track laying purposes).	
Oct. 3	Schooner "John George" (of Salem) "Fishing voyage	Poor		132 hlds., 144 boxes codfish, 43 bbls. flour, 48 bbls. pork, 1 bbl. beef taken from Br. brig "Rob Roy" of Bermuda towed in by Sch. "John George."	
1840	Brig "Pallas"	Aux Cayes		338 bags coffee.	
Dec. 1841	Schooner "Erie"	Aux Cayes		350 bags coffee.	
Feb'y. 11	Sch. "Neponset"	Aux Cayes		199 bags coffee.	
May 1	Brig "Pallas"	Port aux Prince		164 bags coffee.	
1842	Brig "Harriet"	" Cadiz			
April 30	Barque "Mary Kimball"	" Cadiz	7	salt.	
Aug. 2	Barque "Mary Kimball"	Wm. Churchill	372	12 salt.	
1843	Schooner "Bold Runner"	Aux Cayes	72	5 105 bags cocoa, 741 bags coffee.	
March 2	Sch. "Leader"	St. Thomas	84	4 58½ boxes Havannah cigars.	
March 20	Sch. "Clinton"	Aux Cayes	83	5 423 bags coffee—9000 lbs. logwood.	
July 28	Barque "Mary Kimball"	" Cadiz	372	14 ¼ cask red wine—salt.	
Aug. 19	Barque "Sardius"	" Cadiz	267	10 ¼ cask red wine—salt.	

* Marblehead and Lynn were in the same Customs District.

1843	May 17	Schooner "Bold Runner"	Smith Young	72	5
		" Port au Prince			
1844	May 13	Brig "Eolus"	Henry L. Studley	116	5
	Aug. 23	Ship "Nath. Hooper"	Wm. Churchill	427	salt.
	Sept. 4	Ship "Lucy"	Jos. Gould	396	salt.
	" 18	Brig "Margaret"	Francis Houdlette	246	salt.
1845	Aug. 30	Barque "Mary Kimball"	M. Gregory		salt, 1 bbl. Spanish red wine.
1847	Jan'y. 25	Ship "Nath. Hooper"	J. Dixey	427	13 salt, 3¼ casks sherry wine.
1848	Aug. 30	Barque "Kanawha"	A. G. Higgins	260	11 salt.
	Oct. 7	Ship "St. Louis"	Chas. M. Davis	532	14 salt.
1849	March 14	Schooner "Ceres"	C. Merritt	88	5 1250 gals. molasses.
	Aug. 16	Brig "Caroline"	Thos. J. Winchall	156	7
	Sept. 15	Ship "Emperor"	Knott Pedrick	597	17 salt.
	25	Brig "Margaretta"	Jas. Peterson	235	10
1850	Aug. 5	Brig "Gleaner"	Saml. Sawyer	148	6

Note.—After 1850 all foreign arrivals at Marblehead consisted of Nova Scotia schooners bringing wood and coal, which have been omitted.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

FROM THE MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

Date	No. of Register	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen Tons	REMARKS
1789				
Nov. 7	1	Sch. "John"	64 17/95	57 ft. long—17 ft. beam. Vessel built at Newburyport, Mass., 1786. John Dixey, Jr. owner. John Dixey master.
Déc. 11	3	Brigantine "Hannah"	136 12/95	69 ft. long—21 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1789. Israel Foster owner. Nicholas Bartlett master.
1790				
Jan. 8	2	Sloop "Polly"	84 64/95	64 ft. long—20 ft. beam. Built at York, Mass. (now Me.) 1786. Jonathan Glover owner. Corban Barnes master.
Feb. 11	4	Sch. "Swan"	80 63/95	63 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Lynn, Mass., 1773. Israel Foster, owner. Rich'd Cowell, master.
" 21	6	" "Peacock"	64 69/95	58 ft. long—17 ft. beam. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1784. Philip Bessom, owner. P. Bessom Jr. master.
Mch. 4	7	" "Union"	76 31/95	61 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1768. Rob't Hooper Jr. owner. Wm. Hooper master.
Apr. 15	10	" "Hannah"	83 06/95	63 ft. long—19 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1784. Israel Foster owner. John Griste, master.
" 25	12	" "Success"	85	64 ft. long—19 ft. beam. Built at Salem, Mass., 1784. Azor Orne owner. Rich'd Dixey master.
" 30	13	" "Dolphin"	98	67 ft. long—22 ft. beam. Built at Bristol, Mass. (now Me.) 1780. Wm. Blackler owner. J. Union master.
May 18	19	" "Abigail"	73 41/95	61 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1786. John Stevens owner. John Stevens master.

June 10	21	Sch. "Ann"	80 91/95	62 ft. long—18 $\frac{1}{3}$ ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1786. Saml. Sweett Jr. owner. Stephen Sweett master.
July 20	24	Brigantine "Columbus"	129	67 ft. long—21 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1789. Marston Watson owner. Jos. Selman master.
" 22	25	Sch. "William"	65	59 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1789. Wm. R. Lee owner. Wm. Wooldridge master.
Sept. 29	27	" "Industry"	66	58 ft. long—17 ft. beam. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1785. Hon. Azor R. Orne owner. John Bailey master.
1791				
Jany. 14	2	" "Deborah"	68 3/95	57 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1786. John Selman owner. Jonas Dennis master.
Feby. 19	4	" "John"	69	58 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at Broad Bay, Mass., 1785. John Alexander of Boston, owner. Peter Green Jr. master.
Mch. 3	6	" "Betsy"	76	61 ft. long—17 ft. beam. Condemned. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1785. Capt. Wm. Andrews owner. Thos. Barker master.
April 1	7	" "Sea Flower"	66 33/95	60 ft. long. 17 ft. beam. Condemned. Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1786. Ebenezer Graves & Eli Brown owners. Eli Brown master.
" 30	10	Brigantine "Polly"	139	69 ft. long—21 ft. beam. Lost at sea. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1789. Rob't Hooper owner. Rob't Hooper Jr. master.
June 18	12	" "George"	111	65 ft. long—20 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1787. Wm. R. Lee owner. Jacob Lewis master.
July 9	14	" "West Point"	88 14/95	60 ft. long—18 ft. beam. Built at York, Mass. (now Me.) 1786. Marston Watson owner. Thos. Elkins master.
Dec. 12	17	Sch. "Lydia"	58 23/95	57 ft. long—17 ft. beam. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Jos. Wilson owner. Rich'd Cowell master.
" 13	18	" "Charlotte"	52 77/95	53 ft. long—16 ft. beam. Built at Scituate, Mass., 1783. Silvanus Hussey of Lynn, owner. Holton Johnson, master.

Unless otherwise specified the owners' names given herewith and as follows were residents of Marblehead.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

Date	No. of Register	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen Tons	REMARKS
1792				
Feb. 13	1	Sch. "Emma"	71	
" 18	3	" "Sally"	69	03/95
" 21	4	Brigantine "Mary"	116	80/95
" 17	2	Sch. "Patty"	71	
Apr. 21	5	" "Catherine"	69	54/95
" 23	6	Ship "Mary"	182	61/95
" 30	7	Sch. "John & Meriam"	77	
" 30	8	" "Polly"	65	
June 25	9	Ship "Hope"	189	33/95
July 20	10	Sch. "Hawk"	90	
Oct. 26	11	Sch. "Industry"	86	32/95
" 31	12	" "Prudentia"	65	
Nov. 5	13	" "Eagle"	113	18/95
" 27	14	" "Lark"	64	
Dec. 3	15	" "Samuel"	68	
" 24	16	" "Robin"	68	
" 27	17	" "Samuel"	82	19/95
" 31	18	" "Betsey"	70	
1793				
June 10	1	" "Hope"	59	7/95
July 27	2	Brigantine "Ceres"	162	
Sept. 3	3	Sloop "Dispatch"	88	54/95
Nov. 15	4	Sch. "Prudentia"	65	
" 16	5	" "John"	64	17/95
" 18	6	" "Industry"	86	32/95
" 19	7	" "Joanna"	76	
Dec. 3	8	" "Industry 2d"	59	

Taken at Hayti

Taken by Algerines.

New owners.
 New vessel.
 New owners—Reg. at Portland.
 New owners.
 ditto
 ditto
 Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting trade or fisheries).
 ditto

6	9	"Richard & Edward"	64	ditto
13	10	"Edward"	69	ditto
14	11	"Jeremiah"	68	ditto
26	12	"Rebecca"	64	ditto
1794				
Jan. 17	1	Brigantine "Aurora"	97 04/95	New vessel.
20	2	Sch. "John"	69	New owners.
20	3	Brigantine "Hope"	177 15/100	New vessel.
Feb. 8	4	Sch. "Betsey"	71 36/100	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
June 10	5	"Friendship"	52	ditto
16	6	"Success"	67 58/95	ditto
19	7	Ship "Fame"	219 04/95	New owners. Reg. at Philadelphia.
19	8	Sch. "Sally"	62	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
23	9	Sch. "Polly"	63	ditto
27	10	"Industry"	59	New owners.
July 7	11	"Lyon"	33	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
8	12	Brigantine "Diana"	160 29/95	New vessel.
9	13	"Hannah"	136 12/95	New owners.
9	14	Sch. "Betty"	61	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
22	15	Brigantine "Fairy"	110	New vessel.
Aug. 29	16	Sch. "Industry"	86 32/95	New owners.
Sept. 1	17	"Hannah"	74	Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting or fishing trade).*
19	18	"Peacock"	64 69/95	ditto.
25	19	Barque "Ulysses"	163 10/95	New vessel.
Oct. 13	20	Brigantine "George"	111 55/95	New owners.
14	21	Sch. "Ann"	80 91/95	ditto.
Nov. 12	22	Brigantine "Union"	110 49/95	New vessel.
Dec. 2	23	Sch. "Dolphin"	69	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
3	24	"Polly"	50 50/95	ditto.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of Register</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen Tons</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
1794	8	"John"	111 84/95	New owners. Reg. at Salem.
	25	"Catherine"	69 54/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	10	"Exchange"	60	ditto.
	15	"Lydia"	58	New owners.
	16	"Mercury"	119 65/95	New vessel.
	28			
	30			
1795				
Jan'y.	13	Sch. "Hannah"	76 73/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	14	"Jeremiah"	68	ditto.
Feb'y.	4	"Polly"	71 30/95	ditto.
	3	"Richard & Edward"	64	New owners.
	6			
	4	Brigantine "Mercury"	119 65/95	ditto.
	5			
	21	Sch. "William"	58	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	5	"John"	65 44/95	ditto.
Mch.	5			
Apr.	4	Brigantine "Hope"	187 42/95	Short tonnage.
May	28	Sch. "Hannah"	59	New owners. Reg. at Boston.
June	9	"Philanthropist"	92 65/95	New vessel.
	10	Barque "Washington"	135 72/95	ditto.
	12	Sch. "William"	123 21/95	New owners. Reg. at Boston.
July	2	"Phoenix"	92 50/100	ditto.
	10	Brigantine "Margaret"	139	ditto.
	22	"Sally"	176 21/95	Reg. at Portland.
	23	Ship "Hope"	189 33/95	Reg. at Boston.
Aug.	31	Brigantine "Fox"	116	New vessel.
	24	Sch. "Deborah"	68 03/95	Reg. defaced.
	28	Brigantine "Adra"	130 51/95	New vessel.
Oct.	6	Sch. "Raven"	70	New owners.
Dec.	9	Sch. "Exchange"	60	Formerly an enrolled vessel (For coasting or. fishing trade).*
	20			
	21			

15	22	Ship	"Diana"	160	29/95	Formerly a brigantine.
15	23	Sch.	"Jeremiah"	68		Formerly an enrolled vessel.
15	24	Ship	"Ulysses"	163	10/95	Formerly a barque.
16	25	Sch.	"Polly"	65		Register defaced.
17	27	Ship	"Eagle"	218	26/95	New vessel.
1796						
Jan'y.	12	Sch.	"Success"	73	19/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Feb'y.	19	Ship	"Tamerlane"	172	26/95	New vessel.
April	19	Sch.	"Industry"	66	22/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
May	12	Sch.	"Molly"	74	26/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Nov.	1	Brigantine	"Columbia"	149	72/95	Formerly under a temporary register granted at Boston.
	13	Sch.	"Fanny"	92	55/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Dec.	10	Sch.	"Polly"	65		Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	12	Ship	"Washington"	135	72/95	Formerly a barque.
	17	Brigantine	"Aurora"	97	04/95	Exchanged owners.
	17	Sch.	"Polly"	68	37/95	Sold in West Indies. Exchanged owners.
1797						
Jan'y.	13	Sch.	"Deborah"	68	03/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
June	19	Brigantine	"Mary"	116	80/95	Exchanged owners. Condemned.
July	15	Brigantine	"Mercury"	119	65/95	Exchanged owners.
	15	Ship	"Diana"	160	29/95	Exchanged owners.
	18	Brigantine	"Sally"	78	13/95	Exchanged owners. Condemned.
Aug.	13	Sch.	"Success"	73	19/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	29	Sch.	"Hannah"	79	79/95	New vessel.
Sept.	28	Brigantine	"Fairy"	110		Exchanged owners.
	28	Sch.	"Hannah"	101	62/95	New vessel.
	28	Sch.	"William"	123	21/95	Exchanged owners.
Oct.	9	Sch.	"Enterprize"	93	31/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	30	Brigantine	"Philanthropist"	113	14/95	Formerly a brig.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of Register</i>	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	<i>Burthen Tons</i>	REMARKS
Nov. 7	13	Sloop "Dispatch"	84	31/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Dec. 4	14	Ship "Eagle"	218	26/95 Exchanged owners. Condemned.
18	15	Sch. "Exchange"	60	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
19	16	Sch. "Saratoga"	70	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
20	17	Sch. "Hannah"	34	18/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
26	18	Ship "Diana"	160	29/95 Exchanged owners.
1798				
Feb'y. 8	1	Sloop "Abigail"	81	Formerly an enrolled vessel (for coasting or fishing trade).*
Me'h. 12	2	Sch. "Jeremiah"	68	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Sept. 10	3	Sloop "Abigail"	81	Exchanged owners.
Nov. 3	4	Sch. "Germantown"	38	20/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
8	5	Sch. "Hannah"	101	62/95 Taken and condemned in Spain in 1799. Exchanged owners.
12	6	Sch. "Enterprize"	93	31/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
12	7	Sch. "Hannah"	74	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
12	8	Sch. "Rambler"	100	87/95 Formerly temporarily registered at Boston.
28	9	Sch. "Success"	73	19/95 Taken and condemned in W. Indies, 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel.
30	10	Sch. "Richard & Edward"	64	Lost at sea. Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Dec. 17	11	Sch. "William"	58	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
1799				
Jany. 4	1	Sch. "Deborah"	68	03/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
7	2	Sch. "Hannah"	79	70/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
22	3	Sch. "Catherine"	69	54/95 Formerly an enrolled vessel.
24	4	Sch. "Ranger"	57	46/95 Lost at sea. Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Feb'y. 13	5	Sch. "Jeremiah"	68	Exchanged owners.
Me'h. 8	6	Sch. "Harmony"	82	31/95 Exchanged owners; formerly registered at Gloucester, Mass.
8	7	Sch. "Joanna"	76	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
April 22	8	Sch. "Raven"	70	Formerly an enrolled vessel.

29	9	Sch. "Success"	66 65/95	Formerly temporarily registered at Gloucester, Mass.
May	3	Brigantine "Hannah"	136 12/95	Exchanged owners.
June	11	Sch. "Polly"	72 24/95	Lost at sea. Formerly an enrolled vessel.
June	17	Ship "Fox"	116	Formerly a brigantine.
July	9	Sch. "John"	64 17/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Aug.	22	Sch. "Emma"	71	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Sept.	2	Sch. "Hercules"	69 78/95	Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Plymouth, Mass
Sept.	9	Sch. "Rover"	79 78/95	Formerly temporarily registered at Boston, Mass.
Oct.	9	Sch. "Rover"	66	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Dec.	4	Sch. "Hope"	76 39/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	14	Sch. "Hannah"	82 18/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	31	Sch. "Alpha"		
		1800		
Jan'y.	31	Sch. "Catherine"	69 54/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Apr.	21	Sch. "Hawk"	90	Exchanged owners.
	24	Sch. "Sally"	69 69/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
	26	Sch. "Joanna"	76	Exchanged owners.
May	2	Sch. "John"	64 17/95	Lost in W. Indies in 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel (for coasting and fishing trade).*
	22	Sch. "John & Meriam"	77	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
June	17	Sch. "Betsey"	71 36/95	Exchanged owners.
	23	Sch. "Betsey"	70	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Sept.	2	Brigantine "Polly"	139 56/95	Register worn out.
	2	Sch. "Molly"	74 26/95	Register worn out.
	2	Brigantine "James"	136 49/95	New vessel.
	3	Sch. "Chance"	56 12/95	Lost at sea. Exchanged owners.
Nov.	3	Brigantine "Fox"	116	Brig rigged.
	12	Sch. "Bee"	75 56/95	Exchanged owners.
		1801		
Jan'y.	8	Sch. "Alpha"	82 18/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

Date 1801	No. of Register	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen Tons	REMARKS
	31	Sch. "Harriot"	62	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
Feb'y.	27	Sch. "Powderpoint"	82 24/95	Exchanged owners.
May	8	Sch. "Hope"	92 79/95	Temporary register formerly at Salem.
	8	Sch. "Industry"	106 79/95	Formerly temporarily registered at Boston.
	16	Brigantine "Increase"	108 55/95	New vessel.
	19	Sch. "Catherine"	69 54/95	Exchanged owners.
Aug.	22	Sch. "Enterprise"	93 31/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1796. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Blackler owner. John Hammond master.
Oct.	31	Sch. "Emma"	71 tons	60 ft. long. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. John Pedrick and Jos. Girdler owners. Jos. Girdler master.
Nov.	12	Brigantine "Harmony"	147 77/95	59 ft. long. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1801. New vessel. Wm. and Nath. Hooper owners. David Stevenson master.
Dec.	3	Sch. "Sally"	70 tons	58 ft. long. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1787. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rob't Hooper owner. Benj. Gardner master.
	9	Sch. "Sally"	58 9/95	55 ft. long. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rich'd Prince owner. R. Cloutman master.
	16	Sch. "Yarico"	74 83/95	48 ft. long. Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1798. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Lee owner. John Adams master.
	18	Sch. "Susannah"	73 29/95	50 ft. long. Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1798. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Henry and Nicholas Quiner owners. H. Quiner master.
	19	Sch. "Industry"	86 36/95	53 ft. long. Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Sam'l Roundey owner and master.
	21	Sch. "Molly"	77 37/95	52 ft. long. Built at Bradford, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John D. Dennis, owner. J. D. Dennis Jr. master
	23	Sch. "Robin"	71 41/95	59 ft. long. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1793. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Brown owner. Wm. Hammond master.

1802	30	Sch. "Polly"	18	83	29/95	tons	63 ft.	long.	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rob't Hooper Jr. owner. Abraham Morse master.
	Jany. 14	Sch. "Rebecca"	1	77	18/95	tons	64 ft.	long.	Built at Duxbury, Mass., 1798. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Thos. Meek owner. Thos. Wooldredge master.
	18	Sch. "Sally"	2	74	tons		61 ft.	long.	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1793. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Philip Bessom owner. John Prentiss master.
	25	Sch. "Hannah"	3	85	88/95	tons	53 ft.	long.	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Russell owner and master.
	26	Sch. "Abigail"	4	107	60/95		71 ft.	long.	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Geo. Barker owner. John Wooldredge master.
	26	Sch. "Alpha"	5	82	18/95		53 ft.	long.	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1799. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Hooper 4th owner. Eleazer Graves master.
	April 15	Snow "America"	6	157	72/95	tons	71 ft.	long.	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1801. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Newburyport. John Selman owner. Archibald Selman master.
	July 3	Sch. "Cabinet"	7	125	59/95	tons			Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1802. New vessel. Benoice Johnson & Israel Fowler owners. Benoice Johnson master.
	14	Brigantine "Polly"	8	165	14/95				Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1802. New vessel. Rob't Hooper owner. Ebenezer Graves Jr. master.
	Sept. 7	Brigantine "Good Intent"	9	90	56/95				Built at Kittery, Mass. (now Me.), 1799. Exchanged owners. Henry Gallison owner. Joshua Prentiss Jr. master.
	Dec. 2	Sch. "John"	10	91	66/95				Built at Salem, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting and fishing trade).* Capt. Sam'l Hooper owner. Wm. Cole master.
	10	Sch. "Two Brothers"	11	99	6/95				Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. New vessel. Capt. Jos. Lindsey owner. Nath'l Lindsey master.
	11	Sch. "Traveller"	12	86	75/95				Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Lee & John Cross owners. John Cross master.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
28	13	Brigantine "Ruthy"	148 tons	Built at Salem, Mass., 1790. Exchanged owners. Wm. & John C. Blackler owners. John C. Blackler master.
1803 Jan'y. 11	1	Sch. "Mary"	98 02/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Barker owner. John B. Wadden master.
26	2	Sch. "Enterprize"	133 07/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1796. Vessel altered. Wm. Blackler owner. John Hammond master.
Feb'y. 11	3	Sch. "Alpha"	82 18/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1799. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Hooper owner. Sam'l Stinness master.
Mch. 10	4	Sch. "Industry"	69 tons	60 feet long. Built at Searsboro, Mass. (now Me.), 1785. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Ebenezer Parsons of Boston owner. John Collyer master.
April 23	5	Brigantine "Olive Branch"	120 35/95	Built at York, Mass. (now Me.), 1794. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at New York. Knott & Thos. Pedrick owners. Thos. Pedrick master.
30	6	Sch. "Meriam"	66 tons	57 feet long. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1785. Exchanged owners. John Pedrick Jr. & Rob't Girdler owners. Rob't Girdler, master.
July 22	7	Brigantine "Enterprize"	133 07/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1796. Brig rigged. Wm. Blackler owner. John Hammond master.
Sept. 27	8	Brigantine "Mentor"	128 35/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1803. New vessel. Richard Pedrick & R. Pedrick Jr. owners. R. Pedrick Jr. master.
Oct. 24	9	Sch. "Hiram"	97 20/95	Built at Duxbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly temporarily registered at Boston. Henry Gallison & Joshua Prentiss owners. John Hooper master.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

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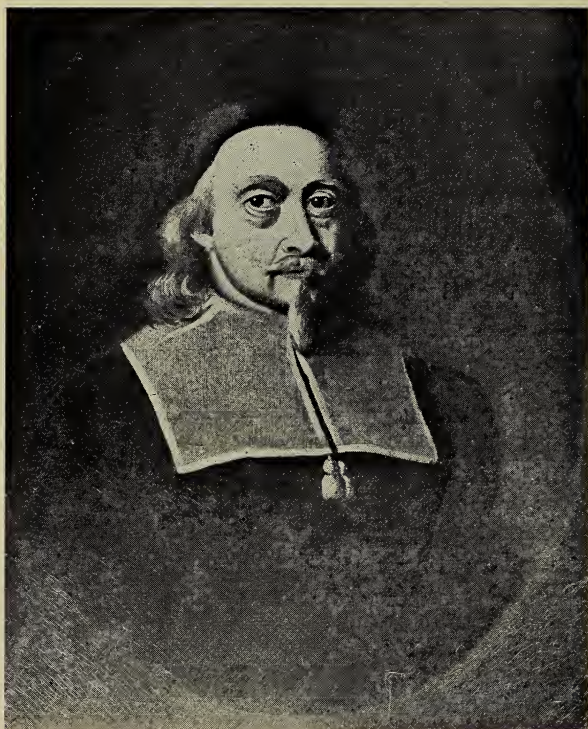
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VOL. LXV

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No. 4

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF JOHN ENDECOTT IN
THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

BY WILLIAM DISMORE CHAPPLE.

By the Great Patent of New England, James I, on the third of November, 1620, granted to "the council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America, and to their successors and assigns forever, all that circuit, continent, precincts and limits in America lying and being in breadth from the fortieth degree of Northerly latitude to the forty-eighth degree of Northerly latitude, (in other words from the Northerly line of Virginia to the Gulf of St. Lawrence) and in breadth through the mainland from sea to sea." One of the attempts made by the Council of New England to give value to its property was by dividing the territory among its individual members. Twenty noblemen and gentlemen in 1622 divided among themselves in severalty the country along the coast from the Bay of Fundy to Narragansett Bay. The region about Cape Ann was awarded to Lord Sheffield. The Patentees resolved that these parts should be counties and the "lords of the counties may of themselves subdivide their said counties into manors and lordships as to them shall seem best." Each shareholder thus became the lawful proprietor of his portion with absolute title thereto, clothed with all the powers of government originally in the king and by him vested in them.

Edward Winslow, a leader of the colonists in Plymouth, was sent by them to England in 1623 to further their interest in the fisheries. Lord Sheffield became interested in Winslow and conveyed his portion of New England to "Robert Cushman and Edward Winslow and their associ-

ates at Plymouth in New England." The original of this Sheffield grant is now preserved in the Essex Institute.

About 1623 the Reverend John White, rector of Trinity Church of Dorchester, England, a most eminent Puritan preacher and who is often called the father of the Massachusetts Colony, became interested in the founding of a settlement in New England, and as some forty to fifty fishing vessels from the West of England were fishing for cod and bartering for furs off the New England coast, he conceived the idea of establishing a settlement there and recounts in the Planters' Plea, written by him in 1630,

That these merchants bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alleging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunity of their fishing trade, in which they are accustomed to double-man their ships, that, by the help of many hands, they might despatch their voyage and lade their ship with fish while the fishing season lasted; which could not be done with a bare sailing company. Now it was conceived that, the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary sailors, might be left behind with provisions for a year; and when that ship returned the next year, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former year; and, in the mean time, might employ themselves in building, and planting corn, which with the provisions of fish, fowl and venison, that the land yielded, would afford them the chief of their food. This proposition of theirs took so well that it drew on divers persons to join with them in this project; the rather because it was conceived that not only their own fishermen, but the rest of our nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not only by fresh victual, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withal and more, by the benefit of their ministers' labors, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise, being usually upon those voyages nine or ten months in the year, they were left all the while without any means of instruction at all. Compassion towards the fishermen, and partly some expectation of gain, prevailed so far that for the planting of a Colony in New-England there was raised a stock of more than £3000, intended to be paid in in five years, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.

Winslow and his associates at Plymouth conveyed to White and his associates a site at Cape Ann for fishing and planting, and the Dorchester Company landed fourteen persons to pass the winter and sent out livestock, erecting a house and stages to dry fish and vats for the manufacture of salt. But everything went amiss; mis-
haps befell the vessels, the price of fish went down and "the land men being ill-chosen and ill-commanded, commenced falling into many disorders and did the company little service." An attempt was made to retrieve the affair by putting the colony under different management. The Dorchester partnership heard of "some religious and well-affected persons who had lately moved out of New Plymouth on account of their dislike of their principals of rigid separation," of which number Mr. Roger Conant was one, "a religious, sober and prudent gentleman," whose brother recommended him to Mr. White with whom he was well acquainted. He was at Nantasket and the Dorchester Partnership engaged Conant to be their superintendent at Cape Ann to have charge of all of their affairs including fishing and planting. The Reverend Mr. Lyford, who was with Conant at Nantasket, agreed to be their minister but the change in management was not followed by the profits which had been hoped for and "the next year the adventurers became so far discouraged that they abandoned the further prosecution of this design and took order for the dissolving of the company on land and sold away their shipping and other provisions." But Mr. White was not discouraged and at his suggestion when most of the land men returned to England, a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behind and take charge of the cattle sent over the year before, and not liking their seat at Cape Ann and finding "a peninsula with good harbors called by the Indians 'Nahumkeike'," Conant and his companions removed there in the fall of 1626. Rev. Mr. Lyford refused to remain and being unable to persuade the others to leave, he and his wife went to Virginia where he shortly died. Conant's wife must have been with him as their fourth child, Roger Conant, Jr., was born in 1626, the first white child born in Salem.

White wrote to Conant asking him "not so to desert the business, faithfully promising that, if himself, with three others, whom he knew to be honest and prudent men, viz: John Woodbury, John Balch and Peter Palfrey, employed by the Adventurers, would stay at Naumkeag, and give timely notice thereof, he would provide a patent for them, and likewise send them whatever they should write for, either men or provision or goods wherewith to trade with the Indians." With difficulty Conant prevailed upon his companions to persevere.

A year elapsing after Mr. White's promise and nothing of importance having been heard from England, John Woodbury was sent there to procure supplies and his appeal aroused the Rev. Mr. White to greater exertions. According to a deposition in the Essex Registry of Deeds, Volume 5, Leaf 108, Humphrey Woodbury, a son of John Woodbury, deposes that his father after three years' absence in New England returned to his home in Somerset, England, where he remained for half a year and that he returned with him to Naumkeag, arriving in June, 1628.

ENDECOTT'S FIRST CONNECTION WITH THE ADVENTURERS

White, in the Planter's Plea, recounts that "Some then of the Adventurers, that still continued their desire to set forward the plantation of a Colony there, conceiving that if some more cattle were sent over to those few men left behind, they might not only be a means of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the country, but of inviting some other of their friends and acquaintances to come over to them, adventured to send over twelve kine and bulls more; and conferring casually with some gentlemen of London moved them to add unto them as many more, by which occasion, the business came to agitation afresh in London, and being at first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar; insomuch that some men showing some good affection to the work and offering the help of their purses if fit men might be procured to go over, inquiry was made whether any would be willing to engage their persons in the voyage. By this inquiry

it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master Endecott, a man well known to divers persons of good note, who manifested much willingness to accept of the offer as soon as it was tendered; which gave great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this work of erecting a new Colony upon the old foundation."

According to a pamphlet published by Sir Roper Lethbridge in 1912 it appears that Endecott was born at Chagford, Devonshire, England in 1589, the son of Thomas and Alice Endecott. Little is known of his early life or occupation but Felt found at the State House a bill which Endecott, in his own writing, presented to the General Court, for the care of a man who had been left in his charge, in which he describes himself as a surgeon. He was of a family of respectable standing and moderate fortune and belonged to that class in England called gentlemen. His letters show that he was a man of liberal education and cultivated mind. He had been a parishioner in Dorchester of the Rev. John White and also of the Rev. Mr. Skelton, who later became pastor of the First Church in Salem. While a resident of London John Endecott married Anna Gower, a lady of influential family and a cousin of Matthew Cradock, the governor of the Massachusetts Company in England. Some of her needlework is still preserved in the Essex Institute. He was in his fortieth year when he emigrated to New England and from the fact that he is from the first referred to as Captain Endecott it is apparent that he must have had some military experience.

The following extract from Johnson's "Wonder Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England," published in 1654, will illustrate the estimation in which he was held at this period:

The much honoured John Indicat came over with them, to governe, a fit instrument to begin this Wildernesse-worke; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerfull spirit, loving and austere, applying himselfe to either as occasion served, and now let no man be offended at the author's rude verse, penned of purpose to keepe in memory

the names of such worthies as Christ made strong for himself in this unwonted work of his.

John Endicat, Twice Governour of the English
inhabiting the Massachusetts Bay in N. England
Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up
station first,

Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of
thy trust;

Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, then plant his
Churches pure,

With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his
procure;

Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast:
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-
beloved's tast.

Then honoured be, the Christ hath thee their Generall
promoted:

To shew their love in place above, his people have thee
voted.

Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the
Earth,

Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for
new birth.

On March 19, 1628, the Plymouth Council granted to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Younger, Thomas Southcott, John Humphrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heirs and assigns, all that part of New England extending from three miles North of every part of the Merrimac River to three miles South of every part of the Charles River, and from the Atlantic to the South Sea, upon condition that one-fifth of all the gold and silver discovered in the granted territory should pass to the crown. Many disputes later arose as to whether the boundary was parallel to the Merrimac River and three miles from it or whether it ran East and West from a point three miles north of the most northerly portion of the Merrimac River.

Endecott was the only one of the six patentees who came over at the time and none of the others ever came excepting John Humphrey, who had married Lady Susan, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln and sister of Lady Arbella Johnson. He came over in 1632 and returned to

England in 1641. Endecott, accompanied by about fifty people, sailed from Weymouth, England, June 20, 1628 in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gaudan, Master, and after a successful voyage of about ten weeks arrived at Naumkeag on September 6, 1628. They were welcomed by Conant and his three sober men who waded into the water and bore their new governor upon their shoulders to the shore.

Naturally the old planters were disappointed that their settlement was to be absorbed and their authority superceded by that of the new government but it appears that the Massachusetts Company treated them with great consideration and kindness, for their letter to Endecott of April 17, 1629 says:— “And that it may appear, as well to all the world, as to the old planters themselves, that we seek not to make them slaves, (as it seems by your letter some of them think themselves to be become by means of our Patent,) we are content they shall be partakers of such privileges as we, from his Majesty’s especial grace, with great cost, favor of personages of note, and much labor, have obtained; and that they shall be incorporated into this Society, and enjoy not only those lands which formerly they have manured, but such a further proportion as by the advice and judgment of yourself, and the rest of the Council, shall be thought fit for them, or any of them.”

They were also granted the right to continue the raising of tobacco, which was greatly desired by them but the growing of which was objected to by the promoters of the Dorchester Company. Conant was a man of great tact and judgment and by his advice the old planters accepted the authority of Endecott and became an efficient part of his colony.

In commemoration of the happy settlement of all disputes between the old planters and John Endecott’s party, the name of the settlement was, a month after Higginson’s arrival, at his suggestion, changed to Salem, meaning “peace.” White, alluding to this controversy between the old planters under Conant and the new comers under Endecott, in speaking of the change of name from Nahumkeik to Salem, says that it was done “upon a fair ground

in remembrance of a peace settled upon a conference at a general meeting between them and their neighbors after expectance of some dangerous jar." In this connection he also refers to the opinion held by some, that the Indians might formerly have had some intercourse with the Jews, observing, "Howsoever it be, it falls out that the name of the place which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, proves to be perfect Hebrew, being called Nahum Keike, by interpretation, The Bosom of Consolation." Cotton Mather also says "Of which place I have somewhere met with an odd observation, that the name of it was rather Hebrew than Indian; for Nahum signifies Comfort and Keik signifies a Haven; and our English not only found it a haven of comfort, but happened also to put a Hebrew name upon it; for they called it Salem, for the peace which they had and hoped in it; and so it is called unto this day." Mather probably derived this whimsical etymology from Scottow, who says, "Its original name was called Naumkek, the Bosom of Consolation, being its signification, as the learned have observed." Captain John Smith spells it Naemkeck, Naemkecke and Naimkeck. Conant in later life said he had no part in naming the town.

It was the policy of the new company to appoint only strong men to office, men whom they knew could be trusted so far removed from headquarters, and John Endecott was known to John White, promoter of the colony, as an efficient business manager whose courage and integrity no one ever questioned. The colonists were also urged to "choose such as are found both in profession and confession men fearing God and hating bribes." Endecott was surely such a one who could govern a weak and striving colony with firm hand, overcoming every obstacle, crushing insubordination and excluding every hostile element which might weaken or divide the colony.

THE FIRST WINTER IN SALEM UNDER ENDECOTT

The new settlers together with the old planters already at Naumkeag, made a colony of about sixty people, and Endecott at once assumed authority and began the building of houses and undertook to prepare the colonists for

the approaching winter. On September 13th, a week after his arrival, he sent back to the Adventurers in Dorchester a letter which gave great encouragement to them. Richard Brackenbury by a deposition recorded in Registry of Deeds, Book 5, Page 107, and made by him on January 20, 1680 at the age of eighty years, deposes that he came over with Endecott and landed on September 6, 1628 and found living at Naumkeag old Goodman Norman and his son, William Allen, Walter Knight and others who were of the Dorchester Company, and that they had sundry houses built at Naumkeag, as also had John Woodbury, Mr. Conant, Peter Palfrey, John Balch and others. According to the deposition Knight told the governor that there was a large house erected by the Dorchester Adventurers near the fishing stage at Cape Ann. Endecott thereupon sent Knight, Brackenbury and others to take down the house and move it to Naumkeag, where it was erected for the governor on what is now Washington Street somewhere between Federal and Church Streets, and which Endecott occupied most of the time as his residence until he removed to Boston in 1655. This house was two stories high, of the prevailing order of architecture of the period called Elizabethan, which was but slightly removed from the Gothic.

Soon after Endecott's arrival he sent Ralph, Richard and William Sprague to explore the country around Mishawaum, now called Charlestown, where they met a tribe of Indians called Aberjinians by reason of whose consent they commenced a plantation. They were followed by other colonists the next year. Endecott's reason for such speedy action was that he anticipated that William Blackstone and William Jeffries, under authority of a son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, would undertake to put John Oldham in possession of this locality, and the next year he was especially instructed by his employer, the Dorchester Company, to hold this territory as against Oldham.

In 1625 Captain Wollaston and a sporting gentleman named Thomas Morton, with a large number of indented white servants, undertook to found a settlement within what is now the City of Quincy calling the place Mount

Wollaston. After a while Wollaston became tired of his venture and carried away many of his servants to Virginia where he sold them at a good profit. Morton thereupon seized the place and persuading the remaining servants to become his partners, proceeded to sell rum and firearms to the Indians, teaching them how to make bullets and to load and fire. The settlers, especially those at Plymouth, were very much disturbed by this action, realizing that this settlement had become the headquarters of all the undesirables who had come to New England, and that the sale of firearms to the Indians would result in great personal danger to themselves. Therefore Miles Standish was sent to capture Morton, which he did, and in June before Endecott's arrival he was shipped back to England. Before Morton's capture he had changed the name of the locality to Merrymount and had erected a May Pole eighty feet high on which he and his associates posted scurrilous notices, attacking the other settlers and those in authority, together with obscene and vulgar jokes and rhymes. When Endecott arrived he visited Merrymount, as the report said, "in the purifying spirit of authority" and had the May Pole cut down, "rebuking the inhabitants for their profaneness and admonishing them to see to it that there should be better walking." Morton returned to New England in August 1629 but was shipped back to old England later under suspicion of being concerned in a murder, and thereafter was a very bitter opponent of the colony, publishing a scurrilous book called "New English Canaan," poking fun at all its various officials and always referring to Endecott as Captain Littleworth.

Speaking of the party who were there with Wollaston, Governor Bradford said:

Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had little respecte amongst them, and was sleghted by ye meanest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wallaston takes a great part of ye sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling

their time to other men; and writs back to one Mr. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchants, to bring another parte of them to Verginia Likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done ye rest. And he, with ye consents of ye said Rasdall, appoyneted one Fitcher to be his Lieutenante, and governe ye remaines of ye plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order thereabout. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petiefogger of Furnefells Inne) in ye others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them) and gott some strong drinck and other junkats, and made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with ye rest. Therefore I would advise you to thruste out this Lieutenante Fitcher; and I, having a parte in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociats; so may you be free from service, and we will converse, trad, plante and live together as equalls and supporte and protecte one another, or to like effecte. This counsell was easily received; so they took oppertunitie, and thrust Lieutenante Fitcher out a dores, and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forct him to seeke bread to eate, and other releefe from his neighbours, till he could gett passages for England. After this they fell to great licenciousnes, and led a dissolute life, powering out them selves into all profanenes. And Morton became lord of misrule and maintained (as it were) a schoole of Athisme. And after they had gott some good into their hands, and gott much by trading with ye Indeans, they spent it as vainly, in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great excess, and, as some reported, 10^{li} worth in a morning. They also set up a May-pole drinking and dancing aboute it many days together, inviting the Indean women, for their consorts, dancing and frisking togither (like so many fairies, or furies rather) and worse practises. As if they had anew revied and celebrated the feasts of ye Roman Goddes Flora, or ye beasly practises of ye madd Bacchinalians. Morton likewise (to show his poetrie) composed sundry rimes and verses, some tending to lasciviousnes, and others to ye detraction and scandall of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idoll May-polle. They chANGED

also the name of their place, and in stead of calling it Mounte Wollaston, they called it Meriemounte, as if this joylity would have lasted ever. But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England (as follows to be declared), shortly after came over that worthy gentlman, Mr. John Indecott, who brought over a patent under ye broad seall, for ye government of ye Massachusetts, who visiting those parts caused yt May-polle to be cutt downe, and rebuked them for their profannes, and admonished them to looke ther should be better walking; so they now, or others, changed ye name of their place again, and called it Mounte-Dagon.

It is therefore evident that the cutting down of the May Pole was not an attempt by Endecott to stop innocent merrymaking, but was the breaking up of a nest of irresponsible persons, which was entirely justified. Morton again returned to New England in December, 1643, and was fined one hundred pounds, which he could not pay and was therefore imprisoned for a year and then went to Agameticus where he died in 1645 or 1646.

The only account which we have of the first winter at Naumkeag is a rather frivolous one given by Edward Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence," who says that the Colonists

Began to build a Town, which is called Salem, after some little space of time having made a tryall of the Sordid spirits of the Neighbouring Indians, the most bold among them began to gather to divers places, which they began to take up for their owne, those that were sent over servants, having itching desires after novelties found a reddier way to make an end of their Masters provision, then they could finde meanes to get more; They that come over their own men had but little left to feed on, and most began to repent when their strong beere and full cups ran as small as water in a large land, but little corne, and the poor Indians so far from relieving them, that they were forced to lengthen out their owne food with Acorns, and that which added to their present distracted thoughts the Ditch betweene England and their new place of abode was so wide, that they could not leap over with a lope-staffe, yet some delighting their eye with the rarity of things present, and feeding their fancies with new discoveries at the Springs approach,

they made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the fire-side, having fuell enough growing at their very doores, turning down many a drop of the botell, and burning tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another of the great progresse they would make after the Summers Sun had changed the Earthe white furr'd gowne into a greene mantell.

But that first winter was a terrible one for the settlers and they suffered greatly from sickness and death; scurvy and fever contracted by some on board ship spread to others so that many of them improperly fed and poorly housed to withstand the inclemencies of a New England winter became ill and died, and there were hardly enough left to nurse the sick and bury the dead. During this terrible sickness they were absolutely without medical assistance. In their distress Governor Endecott sent a messenger to Governor Bradford at Plymouth asking for aid, and Dr. Samuel Fuller, a prominent member and deacon of the Plymouth Church, as well as a man of considerable medical skill, was sent to them and remained at Salem six months. During his visit Endecott suffered a great loss in the death of his wife, by whom he had had no children. She had evidently been in poor health either before starting or during the voyage, for Governor Cradock, head of the company in England, in his reply to the letter that Endecott sent a week after his arrival, expresses the hope that his good cousin, Endecott's wife, shall have fully recovered her health. Endecott appreciated the kindly spirit of the Plymouth authorities in sending Dr. Fuller to them and wrote to Governor Bradford:—

Right Worthy Sr.

It is a thing not usuall that servants to one mr. and of ye same household should be strangers; I assure you that I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and ye same marke, and sealed with one and ye same seale; and have for ye maine, one and ye same harte, guided by one and same spirite of truth, and where this is, there can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie. And ye same request with you I make unto ye Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by a heavenly and unvained

love; bending all our harts and forces in furthering a worke beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyse allways on him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge my selfe much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us, and rejoyce much yet I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of ye outward forme of God's worships. It is, as farr as I can yet gather no other then is warranted by ye evidence of truth, and ye same which I have professed and maintained ever since ye Lord in mercie revealed himself unto me; being farr from you commone reporte that hath been spread of you touching that perticuler. But God's children must not looke for less here below, and it is ye great mercie of God, that he strengthens them to goe through with it. I shall not neede at this time to be tedious unto you, for God willing I purpose to see your face shortly. In ye mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, comiting you to ye Lord's blessed protection and rest.

Your assured loving friend,

John Endecott.

Naumkeag May 11, Ano 1629.

This letter not only is of importance in showing his spirit of appreciation but that Endecott and the colonists at Salem, who up to that time had not been really separatists from the Church of England, were converted by Dr. Fuller to the congregational form of worship.

The Dorchester Company, like that which had preceded it, and like the London Adventurers, concerned in the settlement of Plymouth, was but a voluntary partnership with no corporate powers, but White was at work getting together a more powerful association of those who were disaffected with the affairs of church and state. Charles I on the fourth of March 1629 granted to the six original patentees, including John Endecott, and to twenty other associates, the same territory which was included in the grant from the Plymouth Company of 1628 and constituted them "one body corporate and politique in fact and in name by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in Newe England with full powers of government, authorizing the corporation to name all officers they might find needful for that government and plantation, providing that "Theis our letters patents or the duplicate or exemplification

thereof shalbe to all and everie such chiefe commaunders, captains, governors and other officers and ministers as should be employed by the Governor and company either in the government of the saide inhabitants and plantation, or in the waye by sea thither or from thence, according to the natures and lymitts of their offices and places respectively."

Matthew Craddock was named governor of the company in England and on February 16, 1629 wrote to Endecott that his letter of September 13th had only reached him three days before, that he thanked Endecott for his good report and for the "large advise" contained in his letter and that in behalf of the company which he said had been much enlarged since Endecott had left England, he wished to assure him that "they would not be wanting by all good means to further the plantation." In fulfilment of this promise an expedition of six vessels sailed for Massachusetts in the spring of 1629. Among the passengers were the Reverend Francis Higginson of Leicester and Reverend Samuel Skelton of Lincolnshire, who were to be the ministers at Naumkeag. The six vessels were the *Talbot*, the *George Bonadventure*, *Lion's Whelp*, *Four Sisters*, *Pilgrim* and the *Mayflower*, of sacred memory, and carried as passengers three hundred men, sixty women and twenty-six children, together with one hundred and fifteen neat cattle, some horses, sheep, goats and six cannon for a fort.

There is an itemized record of all the clothing and supplies which were sent over for the colonists, including various kinds of seed for planting, there being a hog's head each of wheat, rye, barley, oats, beans and peas together with stones and seed of all sorts of fruits, such as peaches, plums, cherries, pears, apples, quince and currants.

HIS ELECTION AS GOVERNOR

The first formal election of a governor and council for the colony appears to have been made on the 30th of April 1629 when the Company "thought fitt to settle and establish an absolute government at our plantation in the said Massachusetts Bay in New England" to consist of

thirteen persons, "resydent upon the said plantation," who should "from tyme to tyme, and at all tyme hereafter, have the sole managing and ordering of the government and our affairs there," and "bee entytled by the name of the Governor and Councill of London's Plantation in the Massachusetts Bay in New England" and "chose and elected the said Captain John Endecott to the place of present governor in our said plantation" for one year after he should take his oath of office (which oath was sent to be administered to him in New England) or until the Company should choose a successor, and authorized him and his council, or a majority of them, to fill vacancies in their board, and to elect a deputy governor, secretary and other officers. This order was confirmed on the 18th of May 1629. In the company's letter of May 28th, they say "We have sithence our last and accourding as we then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, elected and established you Captain John Endecott to the place of present Governor in our Plantation." The charter was engrossed in duplicate, each on four sheets of parchment measuring 30 by 24 inches. One was sent to Governor Endecott on the ship *George* in the care of Samuel Sharp and was received by Endecott in June 1629. It was formerly in the possession of the Salem Athenæum but is now on deposit at the Essex Institute. The other copy was brought over by Governor Winthrop and is now at the State House. The company also had a seal made in silver which bore in the center the figure of an Indian, who appears to be speaking the words "come over and help us." This seal was also delivered to Governor Endecott by Samuel Sharp but is not now known to be in existence. The vote of the company after electing the governor goes on to authorize him to make, ordain and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws, etc., not contrary to the laws of England.

The record of a general court holden at London the 30th day of April 1629 by the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, after some general statements, says that

Having taken into due consideration the merit, worth and good desert of Captain John Endecott and others lately gone

over from hence with purpose to reside and continue there, we have, with full consent and authority of this court, and by erection of hands, chosen and elected the said Captain John Endecott to the place of present Governor in our said Plantation. Also, by the same power, and with the like full and free consent, we have chosen and elected Mr. Samuel Skelton, Francis Bright, John Browne, Mr. Francis Higginson, Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. Thomas Graves and Mr. Samuel Sharpe, these seven, to be of the said Council; and do hereby give power and authority to the said Governor and those seven to make choice of three others, such as they, or the greater number of them, in their discretions shall esteem and conceive most fit thereunto, to be also of the said Council. And to the end that the former planters there (Conant and his associates) may have no just occasion of exception, as being excluded out of the privileges of the Company, this Court are content, and do order, by erection of hands, that such of the said former planters as are willing to live within the limits of our Plantation, shall be enabled and are hereby authorized to make choice of two, such as they shall think fit, to supply and make up the number of twelve of the said council; one of which twelve is by the Governor and Council, or the major part of them, to be chosen Deputy to the Governor for the time being.

Two hundred acres of land were to be allotted to each stockholder for each fifty pounds ventured in the common stock of the company. If he settled in the colony, he was to have fifty acres additional for himself and fifty acres more for each member of his family. Each immigrant not a stockholder was to receive fifty acres for himself and the same amount for each member of his family or servant. Transportation was charged at the rate of four pounds for each ton of freight and five pounds for each passenger. Children being at the following reduced rates: Nursing children, free; such as were under four years of age, three children for the price of one adult; under eight years of age, two children for the price of one adult; under twelve years of age, three children for the price of two adults.

No records of Endecott's administration have been preserved, but it appears that he held councils and elections, made laws, granted lands and regulated the civil and reli-

gious affairs of the colony, and a letter of Edward Howes in London in 1633 mentions that twenty-two of Endecott's laws had been laid before the Lords. There can be no doubt, therefore, that he was the first governor of Massachusetts.

Skelton sailed in the *George Bonaventure* about the middle of April, 1629, arriving at Naumkeak June 22d. Higginson and his family were passengers on the *Talbot*, sailing on the 25th of April, 1629, arriving at Cape Ann on Saturday, June 27th and remaining there Sunday. In his journal of the voyage, he says "Monday we came from Cape Ann to go to Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before, that, the planters spying our English colors, the Governor sent a shallop with two men on Saturday to Pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Cape Ann; and this day by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large, spacious harbour of Naumkecke. And as we passed along, it was wonderful to behold so many islands replenished with thick wood and high trees, and many fair, green pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the *George* to our great comfort, there being come on Tuesday, which was seven days before us. We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world. The next morning the Governor came aboard to our ship and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wife to come on shore and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly."

Higginson further says that when he first came to Naumkeik "there were about half a score of houses and a fair house newly built for the governor. We also found an abundance of corn planted by them, very good and well liking. Our governor hath a store of green pease growing in his garden as good as ever I ate in England. Our governor hath also planted a vineyard with great hopes of increase, also mulberries, plums, raspberries, currants, chestnuts, filberts, walnuts, small nuts, hurtleberries and haws of white thorn, near as good as our cherries are in England. They grow in plenty here. We that are

settled in Salem make what effort we can to build houses so that in a short time we shall have a fair town." Skelton by agreement with the Company was to receive 20 pounds in money towards the charges of fitting himself with apparel and other necessities for a voyage, ten pounds more towards providing books and twenty pounds a year salary for three years, and was also to be provided with necessities of diet, housing and firewood, and in convenient time he should have a house and certain lands allotted thereunto. At the end of three years one hundred acres of land were to be assigned to him. He should also have the milk of two kine and half the increase of calves during said three years.

Higginson had the same contract excepting that as he had eight children he was allowed ten pounds a year more salary and ten pounds more towards the expenses of the voyage. Both ministers contracted that they would use their best endeavor in preaching, catechising and in teaching or causing to be taught the company's servants and their children, also the savages and their children.

Shortly after the arrival of Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, who were non-conforming ministers of the Church of England, necessary measures were taken for the immediate organization of the First Church of the Colony, which still exists as the First Church of Salem. The Puritans who founded the colony and their friends who were struggling for their freedom in England, were not separatists as were those in Plymouth, but non-conformists, who remained within the pale of the Church of England but revolted against the ceremonies and discipline, while not objecting to its doctrine. Endecott was apparently converted to the religious belief of those at Plymouth by what he had learned from Bradford and Dr. Fuller as to their outward form of worship.

Charles Gott, in his letter to Governor Bradford, relates that "On the twentieth of July 1629 it pleased God to move the heart of our governor to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher, the former part of the day being spent about the election, every male member having a free voice in the choice of their officers. These two (Higginson and

Skelton) clearing all things by their answers, we saw no reason but that we might freely give our voice for their election after this trial. Their choice was after this manner. Every fit member wrote in a note his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise whom they would have for a teacher. The most voice was for Mr. Skelton to be pastor and Mr. Higginson to be teacher, and they having accepted the trust, Mr. Higginson with three or four more of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton's head using prayers therewith. Then there was an imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson. An informal election of elders and deacons followed. Charles Gott and John Horne were chosen deacons, but their formal election and qualification was delayed "to see if it pleased God to send more able men." The next step was to gather a church or society of communicants. Mr. Higginson drew up a "confession of faith and church covenant according to scripture" of which copies were delivered to thirty persons and an invitation was despatched to the church at Plymouth to send representatives to witness the further proceedings. On the sixth of August 1629, the day appointed for ordination, the two masters prayed and preached. Thirty persons assented to the covenant and associated themselves as a church. Henry Houghton was chosen ruling elder and Gott and Horne were confirmed as deacons. Governor Bradford "and some others with him coming by sea and being hindred by cross winds" could not be there at the beginning of the day, but came into the assembly afterwards and gave them the right hand of fellowship, wishing them all prosperity and a blessed success under such good beginnings.

But this separation from the Church of England gave offence to two of the councillors, John and Samuel Brown, men of standing and influence in the community, who although not stockholders in the enterprise, having come over at their own expense, had been so well thought of by the company that they had been appointed assistants. They felt that the establishment of this church was a secession from the national establishment and with some others of their mind set up a separate worship. The

brothers were brought before Governor Endecott and he "finding those two brothers to be of high spirits and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them that New England was no place for such as they, therefore he sent them back to England at the return of the ships the same year." They were only in Salem five or six weeks. On their return they made complaint to the corporation who submitted to referees the question of compensating them for any loss which they might have sustained. While the action of Endecott may seem arbitrary yet it undoubtedly ended the possibility of the infant colony being split into various religious factions, and as they had left England to avoid the ceremonies of the Established Church of England it was not surprising that they did not wish to see such a church grow in power and influence in the colony. His action was also clearly within his instructions from the the company as they had written him to "suppress a mischief before it had too great a head." "Not," they wrote, "that wee would wrong any man that will leave peaceably within the limitts of our plantacon; but . . . the pservacon of our pruilleges will cheiffly depend (under God) upon the first foundacon of our goumnt."

ENDECOTT SUPERSEDED BY WINTHROP

In the meantime proceedings of great importance were taking place in the General Court of the company in England. Craddock, the governor, advanced the theory that the management of the company should be transferred from England to the colony, and it was accordingly so voted. A large number of influential men of property having agreed to emigrate, John Winthrop was elected governor and John Humphrey deputy governor, but as the latter's departure was delayed, his place was filled by the election of Thomas Dudley. Over a thousand came over in seventeen vessels in 1630 under the leadership of Governor Winthrop, who himself sailed on the ship *Arbella*, formerly the *Eagle*, the name having been changed in compliment to Lady Arbella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, who was one of its most distinguished passengers. The *Arbella* arrived at Salem

on June 12, 1630 and Winthrop says that they were welcomed by Endecott and others and that "we that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck, where we supped with good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind." Their reception was discouraging, however, as more than one quarter of their predecessors at Salem had died during the second winter and many of the survivors were ill and feeble. The faithful Higginson was only able to deliver one sermon after Winthrop's arrival as he was wasting with a hectic fever which proved fatal on the sixth of August, exactly one year from August 6, 1629, the date of his ordination as teacher of the First Church. He left surviving him a widow and eight children. There was a scarcity of all sorts of provisions and not corn or bread enough for a fortnight's supply at the time of the arrival of Winthrop. Of those who came over in 1630 about two hundred died before December of that year, among them being Lady Arbella Johnson, who, coming from a "paradise of plenty and pleasure which she enjoyed in a family of a noble earldom, to a wilderness of wants," survived her arrival at Salem but a month, and her husband died of grief but a few weeks later.

After a few days Winthrop and some of his party went on an exploring expedition for the purpose of locating another settlement, and thereafter he and most of his fellow passengers removed to the neighborhood of Charlestown where they founded various settlements.

On December 28, 1630 the Court of Assistants after several consultations about a suitable place to fortify and for the capital of the Colony, agreed to have it at Newtown, now Cambridge. All the members excepting Captain Endecott, and Thomas Sharpe, who was about to return to England, agreed to build houses and move their military stores there next spring. But Endecott was so attached to Salem that he declined to join with the others in removing to Newtown. This project of building at Newtown and making it the capital was relinquished at the end of the next year to the great damage of Deputy

Governor Dudley and to a disturbance of harmony between him and Governor Winthrop.

Almost the first official act of Governor Winthrop after his arrival, excepting the settlement of a dispute between the captain and passengers of the ship *Mary and John*, was the marriage of John Endecott to Elizabeth Gibson on the 18th of August 1630, in the performance of which ceremony he was assisted by the Rev. John Wilson. Elizabeth Gibson was formerly of Cambridge, England, and probably came over with Governor Winthrop, and while this marriage appears to have been a happy one there was a great disparity of age between them as he was twenty-five or twenty-six years older than his wife, for on April 13, 1674 in a suit of Sanford v Putnam, she deposed that she was then about the age of sixty years, which would indicate that she was born about 1614; so that at the time of her marriage she was only sixteen, while Endecott was about forty-one. By this marriage there were two children, both sons, John Endecott, Jr., born about 1632, and Dr. Zerubbabel Endecott, born about 1635. John Endecott, Jr., married Elizabeth Houchins and died in 1667 without issue. Dr. Zerubbabel Endecott's first wife was Mary Smith, by whom he had thirteen children, from whom all of the present members of the Endecott family are descended. His first wife died in 1677 and he then married Elizabeth, widow of the Reverend Antipas Newman of Wenham and a daughter of John Winthrop, by whom there were no children. He died in 1684. Governor Endecott and his descendants to the third generation spelled their names "Endecott" but thereafter it has been spelled as at present, "Endicott."

The following letter from Endecott to Governor Winthrop will give an idea of the condition of the plantation at this time, the difficulty of intercourse between different parts of it and also some evidence of the courage and pugnacity of Endecott.

Righte Worshipfulle,

I did expect to have been with you in person at the Court and to that end I put to sea yesterday, and was driven back again, the wind being stiffe against us. And there being

no canoe or boate at Sagust, I must have been constrained to go to Mistick, and thence about to Charles-town, which at this time, I durst not to be so bold, my bodie being at this present in an ill condition to wade, or take cole, and, therefore I desire you to pardon me. Though otherwise, I could not desire it by reason of many occasions and businesses. There are at Mr. Hewson's plantation five or six kine verie ill, and in great danger, I fear they will hardly escape it, whereof twoe are mine and all I have; which are worse than any of the rest. I left mine there this winter to do Mr. Skelton a pleasure to keep his for him herein Salem, that he might have the benefit of their milk. And I understand by Wincoll that they have been ill tended, and he saith almost starved. Besides they have fed on acorns, and they cannot digest them, for they vomitt exceedingly and are so bound in their bodies, that he is fain to rake them, and use his skill to maintain life in them. I have willed him to bee there till he can bring them to some health again if possible. And I have given him malt, to make mashes of licoris, and anniseedes, and long pepper, and such other things as I had, to drench them. I could wish when Manning hath recovered his strength that you would free him, for he will never do you or Mr. Hewson service, for when he is well, he was as negligent as the worst of them.

Mr. Skelton, myselfe and the rest of the Congregation desire to be thankful to God and yourselfe, for your benevolence to Mr. Haughton's child. The Lord restore it to you. I have prevailed with much adoe with Sir Richard for an old debt here, which he thought was desperate, to contribute it, which I hope I shall make good for the child. I think Mr. Skelton has written to you whom he thinks stands most in neede of contribution of such provisions as you will be pleased to give amongst us, of that which was sent over. The eel-pots you sent for me are made, which I had in my boate, hoping to have brought them with mee. I caused him to make but two for the present; if you like them and his prices (for he worketh for himselfe) you shall have as many as you desire. He selleth them for four shillings apiece. Sir, I desired the rather to have bene at Court, because I heare I am much complained of by Goodman Dexter for striking him. I acknowledge I was too rash in strikeing him, understanding since, it is not lawfull for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seene the manner of his carriage, with such daring of mee, with his arms akimbo,

etc. It would have provoked a very patient man. But I will write noe more of it, but leave it, till we speak before you face to face. Onely thus farre further, that he hath given out that if I had a purse he would make mee empty it, and if hee cannot have justice here, hee will do wonders in England, and if hee cannot prevail there, hee will try it out with mee here at blowes. Sir, I desire that you will take all into consideration. If it were lawful to try it out at blowes, and hee a fit man for mee to deal with, then you should not hear mee complain—but I hope the Lord hath brought me off from that course.

I thought good further to write what my judgment is for the dismissing of the Court till corne be sett. It will hinder us that are farre off exceedingly, and further you there. Men's labour is precious here in corne setting time, the plantation being yet so weak. I will be with you the Lord assisting me, as soon as conveniently I can. In the meanwhile I comitt you to his protection and safe guard that never fails his children, and rest,

Your unfeigned loving friend to command,

John Endecott.

Salem, 12th April 1631.

On May 3, 1631 the Court of which Endecott was acting at the time as one of the judges, empanelled a jury to inquire concerning an act of assault complained of by Thomas Dexter against John Endecott, and the jury found for the plaintiff, assessing damages against Endecott in the sum of forty shillings. Dexter was one of the original settlers of Lynn and is said to have bought Nahant from an Indian by the name of Black William for a suit of clothes, which occasioned the town an expensive and troublesome law suit in 1657. His general deportment was overbearing and quarrelsome.

It appears that on March 4, 1632, the court ordered that Dexter should be set in the bilbowes, disfranchised and fined forty shillings for speaking reproachful and seditious words against the government herein established and finding fault with the divers acts of the court. On July 3, 1632, Dexter was bound to his good behaviour until the next General Court and fined for his misdemeanors and insolent carriage and speeches to Simon Bradstreet at his own house.

ENDECOTT'S ATTITUDE IN RELIGIOUS MATTERS

After the death of Mr. Higginson the Salem church heard of Roger Williams, who was said to be a man of great ability. They invited him to settle with them as teacher with Mr. Skelton. He accepted the call, but at this point Governor Winthrop and the Assistants interfered and wrote to Endecott in April as the one principally concerned in his possible settlement, that as Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation in Boston for various reasons and especially because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having had communion with the Church of England while they lived there, they hoped he would not be received. This protest held up his ordination in Salem, and he then went to Plymouth where he remained as an assistant to the Reverend Mr. Smith for two years. Roger Williams returned to Salem in November, 1633, and then became assistant to Mr. Skelton, who died the following year and whose wife had died in 1631. By his death Endecott lost one who had been his tried friend and spiritual adviser both in England and in Massachusetts.

The Court of Assistants came into possession of a treatise written by Williams questioning the right of the king to grant the country to the settlers without their first obtaining it from the Indians, also making many discourteous remarks relative to the king, which the colonists were fearful might reach the ears of his majesty, whereupon Governor Winthrop wrote to Endecott asking him to exert his influence with his friend Roger Williams to get him to retract his statements, to which Endecott returned a modest and discreet answer.

Soon Williams again began his disturbance at Salem, attacking the right of the colonists to their land, denying the power of the magistrates to administer an oath to an unregenerate man as they would thereby have religious communion with a wicked person, and as the Salem church would not refuse to have communication and conferences with other New England churches, he declined to act longer as the pastor of the Salem church for he claimed that such conferences with other churches was

anti-Christian. He also would neither pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife or family because they attended Church. The General Court being afraid he would get the colony into trouble with the home government determined to arrest him and send him back to England, notice of which coming to Williams' knowledge he escaped in January, 1636, to the territory of the Narragansetts, where he subsequently founded Rhode Island. During all this time Endecott was his friend, although he did not go so far as to join him in many of his extreme and radical views.

In September, 1634, the colony was thrown into consternation by the news that the king had granted to two archbishops of the Church of England and to ten others of the council, authority to regulate the plantations in New England; to establish and maintain the Episcopal Church there; to recall its Charter; remove and appoint its Governors; make its laws; hear and decide all legal cases and inflict punishments, even death itself. It was also believed that a new royal governor was secretly on his way to Massachusetts. Such was the universal anxiety awakened by this news that the General Court in January, 1635, unanimously agreed that if such a governor should come the Colonists ought by force of arms to resist his authority and maintain their rights.

Orders were adopted for the erection of fortifications on Castle Island, Boston Harbor and at Charlestown and Dorchester. Captains were authorized to train unskilled men so often as they pleased. Dudley, Winthrop, Haines, Humphrey and Endecott were appointed "to consult, direct and give command for the managing and ordering of any war which might befall for the space of a year next ensuing and till further order should be taken therein." Arrangements were made for the collection and custody of arms and ammunition and in order to obtain a supply of musket balls they were made legal tender for all debts at the rate of a farthing apiece.

Craddock sent a copy of the order which had been served on him requiring a return of the charter to England, and the Assistants laid it on the table and declined to act without authority from the General Court. Judg-

ment declaring the Charter forfeited was rendered in England against Sir Henry Roswell and the others of the original patentees, but the General Court disregarded the decree and fortunately for the colony, the government of Charles I was too much concerned with troubles at home to pay much attention to the resistance in Massachusetts. It is very evident, however, that if the English government had persisted in carrying out its demands that resistance to the crown would have begun more than a century before the Revolution.

THE RED CROSS INCIDENT

The excitement occasioned by these attacks upon the rights and privileges of Massachusetts caused Endecott to fear that all of their great sacrifices were to be in vain, and his indignation was aroused. With his sword he cut the red cross from the king's colors which belonged to the Salem military company. The act is generally believed to have been instigated by his minister, Roger Williams. The colonists feared that this bold and daring act would be considered not only an insult to the Church of England but to the king himself and they feared that unless some rebuke was administered to Endecott that his act would call down upon their heads the vengeance of the British authorities. A warrant was therefore issued to Richard Davenport, the ensign and color bearer of the company, directing him to bring the mutilated colors with him to the next Court. A meeting of all the clergymen of the colony, except Mr. Ward of Ipswich, convened at Boston at the request of the governor and assistants to consider the matter and Winthrop says that there were two questions discussed, "first: what ought we to do if a general governor should be sent out of England Second, whether it be lawful for us to carry the cross in our banner. To the first question they all agreed that if a general governor were sent we ought not to accept him but defend our lawful possession (if we are able) otherwise to avoid or protract." For the matter of the cross they were divided and so deferred it to another meeting. The General Court referred the matter to a committee which made the following report:—

“That Endecott had acted in this matter without due authority, that while suspecting such a sign as a mark of idolatry, he should have made exertion for its disuse in other plantations, that he had impliedly charged his associate magistrates with abetting false religion and had exposed the colony to the still greater displeasure of the government of England.” It therefore proposed that he be admonished and disqualified from holding public office for one year but at the same time recommended him to charitable consideration; “that he did it out of tenderness of conscience and not of any evil intention.” State politics rendered it necessary for him to be punished in order to appease the resentment of the court party in London, for such a seeming attack on royal authority, but for this there is reason to believe that he would have received applause from the Puritan Colonists rather than blame. It is interesting to note that the matter of the preparation of colors for the troops was referred to the military commissioners, of whom Endecott was one, and at the next General Court they reported establishing uniform colors for all the military companies, which colors left out the cross concerning which there had been so much commotion. Endecott’s open defiance of the royalty of England would have no doubt cost him his life had it not been for the more serious troubles which were besetting the unfortunate King Charles I. As a consequence of this decision Endecott was left off the Board of Assistants for a year, at the end of which time he was promptly re-elected. The sword, a plain, unornamented rapier, with which this deed was said to have been done, has been preserved and is now in the possession of one of the family.

In 1635 Marblehead was set off as a plantation but the inhabitants of Salem filed a petition in the General Court in which they claimed that they owned certain land at Marblehead Neck. They were refused a hearing upon the ground that they had neglected to consult the Governor and Assistants concerning the selection of Roger Williams as their pastor. Endecott and the people of Salem were aggrieved as they felt that this had nothing whatever to do with the merits of their claim. They

thereupon sent letters from the Salem Church to various other churches asking them to confer with their representatives in the General Court and to persuade them to consider the merits of Salem's claim. At the session of the General Court on the second of September, 1635, the deputies from Salem were sent home with instructions to "fetch satisfaction for their letters sent to the several churches wherein they have exceedingly reproached and villified the magistrates and deputies of the General Court or else the arguments of those who defend the same with the subscription of their names." Endecott was called before the court to answer for the town and defended the act of the Salem Church as regular and just, which displeased the General Court and it was voted by a general erection of hands "That Mr. Endecott should be committed for his contempt in protesting against the proceedings of the Court and upon his submission and full acknowledgment of his offence, he was dismissed."

The deputies from Salem were also forbidden to take their seats and the town was disfranchised until such time as a majority of its freemen should disclaim the letters. Cotton said that the Court viewed the act in the light of treason.

The General Court, however, in March, 1636, decided that it had been proved that Marblehead Neck belonged to Salem. Later, in May, 1636, at a Salem town meeting, the question was considered of dividing Marblehead Neck into lots, and a portion of the land, it appears from Mr. Endecott's argument, had been reserved for the erection of a college. This was six months before the General Court in October voted four hundred pounds towards the establishment of the college, which two years later became Harvard College on the death of the Reverend John Harvard, who bequeathed to it one-half of his fortune of £779 17s. 2p. It is interesting to note that the reason Cambridge was selected was because, according to Shepard, the place had been kept clear from the opinions of Ann Hutchinson.

After the departure of Roger Williams, the Salem church was without a settled pastor until December, 1636, when the Reverend Hugh Peter, commonly spoken of

Hugh Peters, was ordained. He was a most brilliant man, but of rather melancholy disposition and in poor health. His wife died in 1637 and in 1639 he married Mrs. Deliverance Sheffield. For the year prior to her marriage to him she apparently was keeping him in a very uncertain frame of mind, for in 1638 Endecott wrote to Governor Winthrop: "I cannot but acquaint you with my thoughts concerning Mr. Peter, since hee receaved a letter from Mrs. Sheffield, which was yesterday in the eveninge after the fast; she seeming in her letter to abate of her affeccions towards him and dislikinge to come to Salem uppon such terms as hee had written. I finde that shee begins now to play her parte, and if I mistake not, you will see him as greatly in loue with her (if shee will hold a little) as euer shee was with him; but hee conceals it what hee can as yett. The begininge of the next weeke youe will hear further from him."

Later Peter wrote to Governor Winthrop:—"I do not know whether Mrs. Sh. haue sett mee at liberty or not; my conclusion is, that if you find I cannot make an honorable retreat then I shall desire to advance." She eventually married him, however, on January 3, 1639. About 1640, after the birth of their only child, Mrs. Peters became of unsound mind, which deprived him of her society for twenty years.

When the king granted to the parliament additional authority some thought it would be a fine idea for the colony to send representatives to parliament to look after their interest and to try to get further favors. Governor Winthrop wrote to the Salem Church asking them to spare their pastor as one of the delegates for this mission, but Endecott opposed it at church meeting, saying; "It would be conceived we sent them begging"—for which he was viciously attacked by John Humphrey, and with such bitterness as to give great offence. The church was not willing to let their pastor go, nor to give a plain denial to the magistrates, and wrote an answer by way of excuse. Later the application was again renewed and finally the Salem church yielded and permitted Hugh Peter to go to England, where he was extremely prominent under Cromwell, both as preacher, chaplain and mili-

tary leader. Upon the restoration he was arrested and executed, so that it would evidently have been well for the Salem pastor if Endecott had been finally successful in his opposition.

IN COMMAND AGAINST THE INDIANS

While Endecott was so repeatedly in controversies of various kinds, he lost none of the public's confidence, as all knew the energy of his character and the integrity of his motives. In 1636, John Oldham had been murdered by the Block Island Indians while on a trading voyage, and Governor Vane of Massachusetts sent an expedition in three vessels of ninety men and four captains and the whole under command of Endecott. They sailed on the 24th of August and arrived at Block Island before the end of the month, but found some difficulty in landing on account of the surf. They were met by about forty Indians who shot off their arrows at them and fled, but the men being all armed with corslets only one was slightly wounded in the neck. They found two plantations and about sixty wigwams. After searching two days unsuccessfully for the Indians they burnt their wigwams, staved their canoes and left the island. They then went to the mouth of the Connecticut to demand of the Pequots, the most warlike tribe of the Indians; the murderers of Captain Stone of the Plymouth Colony. Here they landed with great difficulty, the shore being high, rugged rock, and they were completely in the power of the Indians, who, however, neglected to use their advantage. Messengers passed back and forth explaining why their chiefs did not appear and finally the Indians fled, shooting at the men from the thicket but without harming any of them. Endecott's men then burned the Indian village and returned to their vessels. On the following day they landed on the west side of the river, meeting more of the enemy. Here they also burned their wigwams and destroyed their canoes. Being unable to find the Indians who were hiding in the thickets, they finally abandoned their search and returned to Boston, having been away a little less than a month. It appears that during the skirmishes they had killed thirteen of

the Pequots and wounded forty. While this expedition was not especially successful as the Indians persisted in hiding in the underbrush and thickets where they could not be fought, Endecott was apparently faced with the alternative of either returning home without accomplishing anything or of doing what damage he could. He chose the latter course, which undoubtedly aroused the Pequots to still further hostility and the following year another expedition in command of Captain Mason almost totally wiped out the tribe.

GRANT OF THE ORCHARD FARM

On the third of July, 1632, the Court of Assistants granted to Endecott three hundred acres of land called by a translation from its Indian name, "Birchwood," afterwards known as the Orchard Farm. This is the well known Endecott farm in Danvers which has remained in the family until the present time. The General Court described it as bounded on the South by Cow House River, on the North by the Duck River, on the East by a river leading up to these rivers and called Woolston's River. It was some distance from the place which was afterwards selected for the seat of town government, yet it was the center of population and very easy of access by water. On this farm he lived in a sort of feudal style surrounded by his servants and retainers and on a hill overlooking the country erected his mansion house. In front of it on a southern slope of the hill he planted his far-famed orchard. His usual method of transporting himself and family was at first by water and he was often visited by his friends in this way. The inlet before the mansion house had nothing to interrupt it, the passage being open to the bay, and the estate must have been beautifully located as the shores on either side were thickly clothed with woods. From the governor's mansion house there was a gentle descent to the inlet in which he kept his shallop. Tradition says that on the easterly side of the orchard and garden was a walk from the house to the landing place with plum trees overrun with grape vines on each side of it, and so thick with foliage in its season that a person might walk in this avenue unob-

served. Near the landing place was a spring of water overshadowed with willows, clear and placid, from which the family was supplied with this cool and refreshing beverage.

While Endecott was not able to spend all of his time at his country home because of his public duties, yet he remained there as much as possible, retiring to this secluded spot for the quiet enjoyment and peaceful cultivation of his farm. The extent of which he devoted himself to the growing of trees is indicated by the fact that in 1648 he sold five hundred apple trees of three years' growth, to William Trask for 250 acres of land; in other words two small apple trees were of equal value to one acre of land. It was at this Orchard Farm that he introduced for medicinal purposes as well as an ornament to his garden, the white weed or field daisy, which while a thing of beauty to city visitors has certainly been a curse to the farmer. For generations this was known in Essex County as "Endecott weed."

In 1639 he was granted 550 acres on the Ipswich River, most of which is now in Topsfield. It was concerning this farm that in 1648 Winthrop wrote to his son that "Mr. Endecott hath found a copper mine in his own ground. Mr. Leader hath tried it." The find was of such importance that Endecott at once petitioned the General Court to establish the bounds of the 550 acre lot, but it was not until 1658 that the bounds were finally established. Endecott's attempt at mining copper was the earliest record of such mining in North America by Europeans although undoubtedly copper had been mined by the Indians in various places.

In 1651 Endecott petitioned for the grant of a wood lot in the neighborhood of the copper mine in order that he might work it with greater ease, and in his petition he states that he had been already to some charge for finding and melting copper ore and was still in prosecution of bringing it to perfection by sending to Sweden and Germany for persons well skilled in the art to assist him. He was accordingly awarded three hundred acres of wood land near Blind Hole where he intended to set up his works, on condition that he set them up within

seven years. There is some doubt as to whether these three hundred acres were ever really assigned to him. Richard Leader of the Lynn Iron Works was arraigned in 1651 for reproaching Governor Endecott, the court and the church in Lynn. In their first excitement the court fined him two hundred pounds, which was later reduced to fifty pounds, and then later, he making acknowledgment, the fine was remitted. Whether this dispute with Endecott was concerning the copper mine is uncertain but at any rate the operation of the mine by Endecott was never sufficiently lucrative to be continued and was finally abandoned. It was said to have been near the properties now owned by Mr. Duncan Phillips and Mr. Thomas Sanders.

In 1655 Endecott was granted Catta Island, of about two acres off Marblehead Harbor, which later became Cat Island and is now known as Children's Island. In 1658 there was an award to John Endecott "for his great service" of one fourth of Block Island, which he had visited in his Indian campaign. This he sold in 1660 to John Alcock. He also owned various other farms and properties, including Broad Fields, so called, lying to the south of Broad Street cemetery and between it and the South River. His will gave the Orchard Farm to his son Zerubabel and most of his remaining property was given to his widow for life and then to the sons, the older son John having a double portion, but because by his will he stated that any property given to his two sons should pass to the longer liver of them unless there were children, his will was contested by the older son, John, Jr., probably through the influence of his wife, as her father, Jeremiah Houchin, appeared for the contestant and showed that as John Endecott, Jr., had no children and was in poor health his wife would have nothing upon his decease. After some litigation the General Court allowed the will but directed that John's wife should enjoy for her life any property in which her husband was to have a life estate under the will of his father. It was further directed that if the personal effects given to the Governor's widow should turn out to be worth more than eighty pounds that the balance should be divided between

the two sons, the older son having a double portion. John Endecott, Jr., willed all of his property to his wife, who he said "hath carryed herself a lovinge, helpfule and painefull wife unto me." Zerrubabel divided most of the Endecott property after the death of his widow among his five sons and five daughters, who grew up to maturity.

From the first, Endecott had always treated the neighboring Indians with the greatest consideration, following his instructions from the company that "if any of the salvages pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their title that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." The Rev. John Higginson said that when he came over with his father in 1629 the Indian Village was on the North side of North River, near "Simonds'." The depositions of Richard Brackenbury and Humphrey Woodbury already referred to, and the deposition of William Dixey especially mention the great kindness of the Salem settlers to the neighboring Indians, especially those of the Agawam tribe, many times protecting them from the attacks of Indian enemies.

In 1660 John Endecott, Jr., desired that the court confirm a deed of land given him by "Old William," an Indian. The court thought it not suitable for them to take such power unto themselves. They remarked, however; "Considering the many kindnesses that were shown to the Indians by our honored Governor (Endecott) in the infancy of these plantations for pacifying the Indians, tending to the common good of the first planters in consideration whereof the Indians were moved to such a gratuity unto his son, we do hereby judge meet to give the petitioner four hundred acres of land."

In 1643 a pinnacle of about thirty tons was blown up near Castle Island in Boston Harbor and five men were killed and three wounded; to which Endecott makes reference in a letter to Governor Winthrop— "I heare you have great sights upon the water, seen between the Castle and the towne, men walking on the water in the night, ever since the shippe was blown up; or fire in the shape of men there are verie few do believe it, yet here is a

great report to it, brought from thence the last day of the week." He does not expressly say whether he believed in these sights or not but it manifests the general superstition of the times.

HIS LATER SERVICE AS GOVERNOR

In 1636 it was provided that certain councillors should be elected for life and Winthrop, Endecott and Dudley were thus honored but such action was unpopular and three years later their authority was cut down and it was provided that they should not have any standing as magistrates unless they were also chosen at the annual election.

In 1645 Endecott was elected Sergeant-Major-General in Massachusetts, the highest military office in the colony. He had previously held a commission of colonel in the first regiment formed in Salem, Saugus, Ipswich and Newbury in 1636. In 1646-1649 he was a Major-General; and in 1646-7-8 he was a Commissioner, and in 1658 President of the United Colonies of New England which included Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven. From 1641 to 1643 he was Deputy Governor under Governors Bellingham and Winthrop. In 1644 Endecott was elected governor and John Winthrop Deputy Governor.

After the meeting of the long parliament in England the Puritans became so strong at home that emigration almost entirely ceased, and while during the ten years after Winthrop arrived up to 1640 about 21,000 English had emigrated in nearly three hundred vessels and at a cost of approximately Two Hundred Thousand pounds sterling, during the next century and a quarter thereafter it is believed that the tide of emigration turned back towards England for, according to Hutchinson, "more had gone from hence to England than had come from thence hither." Nor was there any other emigration of consequence until Boston was almost two hundred years old.

On the death of Governor Winthrop in 1649 Endecott was again chosen Governor, to which office he was annually re-elected until the time of his death in 1665, with

the exception of the years 1650 and 1654 when he held the office of Deputy Governor under Dudley and Bellingham, respectively.

The years of his governorship were eventful years in the history of the colony as well as of the mother country, for the execution of Charles I, the succession of Cromwell and the restoration of Charles II took place while he was at the helm of public affairs, and the difficulties of his office were very great. His constant re-election showed that his people regarded him as the man best qualified to act as governor during this troublesome period. Had he possessed less integrity or courage or had he been of a vacillating mind, the consequences might have been disastrous. The colony with great wisdom acknowledged allegiance to Cromwell and to the parliament only so far as was necessary to keep up appearances and avoid giving offence, but no further, and they were careful to indulge in no marks of disrespect to the memory of the late king.

After Cromwell had conquered Ireland he undertook to devise a scheme of keeping its subjects in subjection with as little expense to the English treasury as possible, and bethought himself of the Puritans across the water who had proved their courage by the strictest tests. He accordingly suggested that the New England Puritans emigrate to Ireland, but his suggestion was not favorably received because Endecott, to whom it was addressed, believed that the people were much better off where they were; yet he was desirous of not giving any offence to Cromwell and therefore wrote him in behalf of the General Court that "while they would not hinder any families or persons removing to any parts of the world where God called them but that they were enjoying health, plenty, peace, the liberty and ordinances of the gospel and an opportunity for spreading the knowledge of it among savages; and that, content with these blessings, they had no desire to change their abode."

Under Endecott's administration in 1652 a mint was established for the coining of shillings, sixpence and three-pence. No other of the American colonies ever presumed to coin metal into money. It was, however, passed over

by Cromwell and parliament and continued after the restoration for more than twenty years, although clearly against the law of England.

In 1655 Endecott removed from Salem to Boston upon the request of the General Court, that he might do so "if his own necessary occasions would permit." Although the reasonableness of this request must have been apparent to him because of the great difficulty and delay occasioned by going from Salem to Boston in those days, yet he severed his connection with Salem with the greatest regret. His residence in Boston was in what is now known as Pemberton Square. Although Endecott moved to Boston in 1655 he and Mrs. Endecott did not dissolve their connection with the Salem Church until November, 1664, but a few months before his death.

HIS ANTAGONISM TO BAPTISTS AND QUAKERS

In 1644 a law was passed punishing by banishment anyone who should openly or secretly speak against the orthodox doctrine regarding baptism, and three Baptists, John Clark, Obadiah Holmes and John Crandall, coming from Rhode Island to visit a member of their Church in Lynn, were arrested. Clark was fined twenty pounds, Holmes thirty pounds and Crandall five pounds, in default of which they were to be whipped. Clark having asked by what law he was punished, the penalty not being that prescribed by the ordinance of 1644, relates that Endecott "stept up to us and told us that we had denied Infants Baptism, and being somewhat transported broke forth, and told me I had deserved death and said he would not have such trash brought into this jurisdiction." Crandall was released on bail and someone paid Clark's fine, but Holmes having refused to pay or allow anyone else to do so for him, was whipped with thirty strokes with a three corded whip on his bare back.

The trouble with the Baptists was of slight consequence compared with that which so shortly followed with the Quakers, whose ideas and acts were such as to be especially repugnant to the leaders in Massachusetts. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, the first two Quakers to arrive in Boston, came from Barbadoes in July, 1656.

Endecott being away at the time, Deputy Governor Bellingham arrested them and kept them confined in jail for four or five weeks and then shipped them back to Barbadoes. A few days after their departure eight more Quakers arrived from London and were accorded similar treatment, Endecott saying to them, "Take heed you break not our Ecclesiastical Laws for then ye are sure to stretch by a halter." After some weeks of confinement they also were shipped back to England. The Massachusetts General Court passed a law fining the Master of any ship who should bring known Quakers to Massachusetts one hundred pounds and directing that the Quakers should be committed to the House of Correction, severely whipped, kept constantly at work and not permitted to speak to anyone. The following year a band of Quakers went to Rhode Island. Massachusetts authorities remonstrated, to which the Rhode Island people replied with great shrewdness that the Quakers did not desire to remain at any place where they were not opposed by the people, "but with all patience and meekness are suffered to say over their pretended revelations and admonitions, nor are they like or able to gain many hereto their way; surely we find that they delight to be persecuted by civill powers, and when they are soe, they are like to gain more adherents by the consent of their patient sufferings, than by consent to their pernicious sayings; and yet we conceive, that their doctrines tend to very absolute cuttinge downe and overturninge relations and civill government among men, if generally received."

The Rhode Islanders were better judges of human nature than those from Massachusetts because as it turned out the Quakers were not anxious to stay in Rhode Island, for they there met with no opposition, but they were extremely desirous of getting a foothold in Massachusetts where their coming was violently opposed. The Massachusetts authorities ordered them banished and to make doubly sure that they would stay away, provided that if they returned after banishment they should suffer death, believing fully that this terrible penalty would keep them from returning. Endecott begged the Quakers to

keep away, saying earnestly that he did not desire their death. They did not know the people with whom they had to contend, for stubborn and persistent as were the Puritans, the Quakers were even more insistent in having their own way. The government was fighting an unequal battle against people who either because of religious emotion or conscientiousness did not fear death. In speaking of Quakers we only think of the quiet and non-resistant people who have been so known in recent years, but those of the seventeenth century were fighters, and the authorities did not know the measure of Quaker pertinacity, for they arose in congregations to denounce the clergy and the methods of their worship and entered courts to attack the magistrates. Thomas Newhouse interrupted the service at the Old South Meeting House by smashing two glass bottles exclaiming "Thus will the Lord break you all in pieces." They hooted at the Governor as he walked the street. One woman appeared on the streets in a gown made of sack cloth. Another exhibited herself with her face smeared with grease and lamp black. Deborah Wilson of Salem and Lydia Wardell of Newbury went through the streets of their towns naked, to indicate their disregard of Puritan law. They disclaimed all allegiance to any government not in the charge of men of their own principles. Many Quakers were whipped, imprisoned or banished, one branded, three had their right ears cut off, and four were put to death.

The sufferings and death of these people created a strong public sentiment in their favor, and in the trial of Christison, who had been banished and threatened with death if he returned, which he did, nevertheless, there was such division among the magistrates that there was great doubt whether they would vote the death penalty. Endecott pounded the table and attacked the other magistrates for what he thought was their lack of courage, saying "I could find it in my heart to go home (meaning to England). You that will not consent, record it," as he put the question a second time to vote. "I thank God I am not afraid to give judgment"; and promptly sentenced Christison to death, but the sentence was never executed. Soon after an order was received from King

Charles, dated September 9, 1661, directing that there should be no further proceeding against the Quakers and that such as were under charges should be sent to England for trial. The message was borne by Samuel Shattuck, a banished Massachusetts Quaker. Upon reading the message Endecott said, "We shall obey his Majesty's command." All that were imprisoned were released. For this act Charles II has always received great credit, yet three years afterwards he wrote to Governor Endecott; "We can not be understood to direct, or wish that *any* indulgence should be granted to persons commonly called Quakers whose principles being inconsistent with *any kind* of government, we have found it necessary, with the advice of our Parliament, to make a sharp law against them here, and we are content that you do the like there."

ORDERED TO PURSUE THE REGICIDES

Charles II sent to Endecott a warrant for the arrest of Colonels Walley and Goffe on the ground that they were regicides and concerned in the execution of his father. Endecott, to whom it was transmitted, could do no less than appear to interest himself in the King's behalf, which he could do with less reluctance because he knew there was small likelihood that his order for their apprehension would be carried out. Two young men recently come from England, Thomas Kellond and Thomas Kirk, received from him a commission to prosecute the search in Massachusetts. That they were zealous Royalists gave evidence to the home government that the search would be made in good faith, but as they were strangers, unacquainted with the roads and with the habits of the country and betrayed themselves by their deportment wherever they went in New England, assured Endecott that they would make their quest in vain. In this Endecott was not mistaken because neither Walley or Goffe were ever apprehended and both lived for many years under assumed names.

In 1660 Charles II was restored to the crown and in 1661 Endecott, fearing that it would not be safe to longer delay proclaiming him King, called the General Court together for the purpose and wrote to the Earl of Clar

endon, at that time Lord High Chancellor, explaining his efforts to capture Colonels Walley and Goffe, and stated that the King had been proclaimed "by our secretary in the best form we were capable of to the great rejoicing of the people, expressed in their loud acclamations; 'God save the King. . .'"—which was no sooner ended, but a troop of horse, four foot companies, then in arms, expressed their joy in their peals; our forts and all our shippes . . . and our Castle . . . thundered out their joy."

In 1664 Charles II sent a couple of ships of war to Boston with about four hundred troops, under Colonel Richard Nichols, together with three commissioners to look after his affairs in the new world. Colonel Nichols took his ships to New Amsterdam and captured that important town. He then returned to Boston where the Commissioners held meetings. The charter and the duplicate seemed to be in danger and were given into the keeping of four trusty persons to be disposed of by them as the safety of the colony required, it being without doubt their intention to preserve the charter at all hazards, but as Endecott and the magistrates handled the matter with great shrewdness months were fretted away to no purpose. Presently the Dutch beginning war against England the matter was forgotten and the charter was saved for a number of years more.

LAST YEARS

In 1664 the King's secretary was instructed to say that as "Mr. Endecott is not a person well affected towards his Majestie's person and government, his Majestie would take it well if the people would leave him out from the place of Governor." It is possible that this request would have been entirely disregarded, but the question did not come to an issue because, in the quaint language of the day we are told, that, "Old age and the infirmities thereof coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord on the 15th of March 1665, at the age of 77, and was with great honor and solemnity interred in Boston on the 23rd of the same month."

The record of the General Court of May 25, 1665, is

as follows: "The Court judgeth it meete in remembrance of the good service of the late John Endecot, Esqr. Gou- nor, and the condition of his relict, to order the Treas- urer of the country to discharge the charge of wine, cakes, toombe, and poudre expended on the late funerall of the late Gounor, & that Mrs. Endecot, his relict, be paid and satisfied out of the country treasury one hundred and sixty pounds by equall proportions, by the Treasurer, in five yeares the whole; sixty pounds whereof was in con- sideration of hir expence of seventy pounds in mourn- ing cloaths for hirself, children and family." In 1670 it appearing that the property of Governor Endecott's widow was not sufficient for her support, her annuity of thirty pounds was continued during her widowhood.

While it is true that Endecott had accumulated con- siderable real estate, most of it was unproductive, and he gave so much of his time to public affairs that his income must have been very limited, for when he was governor his salary was only one hundred pounds a year. Hull's diary, written at the time of his death, says:

"Our honored Governor, Mr. John Endicott, departed this life;—a man of pious and zealous spirit, who had very faith- fully endeavored the suppression of a pestilent generation, the troublers of our peace, civil and ecclesiastical, called Quakers. He died poor, as most of our rulers do, having more attended the public than their own private interests."

His death was greatly lamented and the fact that he had served as Governor sixteen years in all, longer than any other person who ever held that office in Massachu- setts, and five years as Deputy Governor, shows the high esteem in which he was held by the people of his own time. He had been longer on the soil than any other important person, coming as an advance guard of the great Puritan migration and enduring the famine and sickness of the first few winters which so devastated the early inhabitants. Hired in England to begin the planta- tion, he by his energy and efficiency as well as his busi- ness judgment, so laid the foundations that he lived to govern a strong and successful colony.

The period of Endecott's governorship after the death

of Winthrop were years of great growth, prosperity and development for Massachusetts, during which time her trade and population increased and her boundaries were extended to include parts of what are now Rhode Island, New Hampshire and substantially the whole of the State of Maine. Endecott denied the right of Parliament to meddle with the charter, and during Cromwell's administration Massachusetts practically maintained the relations of an independent state. His dealings with Charles II were also handled with great tact, and Palfrey well says: "This energetic pioneer and soldier, trained as he had been by an instructive experience and companionship of more than twenty years, was recognized as the leader required for those stirring times and he was not discharged from the chief magistracy often enough to suggest that it was not intended to be vested for life."

Although he may have been guilty of occasional imprudences, no one ever accused him of deception or cowardice or of managing public affairs to his own private gain. The difficulties of the last part of his public career were great, and while he was unquestionably wrong in his treatment of the Baptists and the Quakers, yet his viewpoint was of the seventeenth century, with that dread of religious dissension which was shared by all those in authority during the age in which he lived, for in those days religious disputes often led to political revolutions. As the governor approached the close of his life how proud must have been his reflections and how his heart must have throbbed with pleasure as he looked back remembering the day of his first landing in Naumkeag with his little band of Puritans, and then viewed with satisfaction the great colony which had arisen upon the foundation of the little settlement which he had established.

He, more than any other leader, typifies Puritanism, and stern and austere though he may have been, yet in those days a strong hand was needed to control the wheel of state. The people knew that under Endecott their affairs would be managed with no other object in view than what he honestly believed was best for their welfare and John Endecott is entitled to be gratefully remembered by the people of Massachusetts.

OLD NORFOLK COUNTY RECORDS.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, p. 242.)

Joseph Eaton of Salisbury in ye County late of Norfolk, house carpenter, hereby acknowledges that he owes Mr. John Stockman of Salisbury 4 li. 10s. of current money of New England, which I borrowed of him, Jan. 10, last past, and I am to pay to sd. Mr. John Stockman at his now dwelling house in Salisbury before Jan. 10 next ensuing. For his security I binde over to John Stockman all my part of ye piece of meadow which I bought of my kinsman Mr. Joseph Rowlonson being in ye great meadow in Salisbury, whereof I have already sold one half to ye sd. Stockman. Failing my payment of this debt, sd. Stockman is to have abovesd meadow. Feb. 7, 1683. Wit: William Carr, Mary Allen. Signed Joseph Eaton.

Whereas Joseph Eaton of Salisbury, Norfolk Co., house carpenter, bought of his kinsman Mr. Joseph Rolonson of Lankaster in New England about 4 acres of meadow in Salisbury as it is laid out and bounded to my Uncle Richard Wells in ye town records of Salisbury and was by him left at his decease to my Aunt Elizabeth Wells and by her will given to Mr. Joseph Rolonson and by him sold to me Said land being in a place commonly called ye great meadow, one end abutting upon ye neck of upland and ye other upon little River, also by meadow of Sam^{ll} French and meadow formly given to Mr. Bily, now in possession of Capt. Tho: Bradbury and John Stevens; therefore, Joseph Eaton for 11 li. 10s conveys to Mr. John Stockman one half part of above meadow. Jan. 9, 1683. Wit: William Carr, Robt. Pike, jun. Ack. by Joseph Eaton before Robt. Pike Assistant. (no date)

Joseph Rolonson of Lankaster, merchant, for 20 li. secured by bill bearing even date, conveys to Sam^{ll} Clough of Salisbury about 20 acres upland in Amsbury, bounded by ye Merrimack river, ye farms or a swamp called Fox Island, by land of Major Robert Pike and that of John Clough, sen. This was ye same 20 acres which was given

me by the last will of my deare Aunt Elizabeth Wells, being formerly ye land of my Uncle Richard Wells. Jan. 10, 1683. Wit: John Stockman, Ann Bradbury. Ack. by Mr. Joseph Rowlonson, Jan. 10, 1683, before Robert Pike, Assistant.

Philip Grele of Salisbury, for 20 li. conveys to Joseph Dow of Salisbury about 20 acres upland in Salisbury near a place called Batt's Hill as it was layd out formerly to Mr ffrancis Doue, bounded by lands of Mr. Bat, Major Robert Pike, other lands of sd ffrancis Doue now in ye hands of Philip Grele, and a highway. Feb. 1, 1683. Wit: Ephraim Severance, Daniel Moodey. Ack. by Philip Grele, wife Sarah consenting thereto and relinquishing her dower rights, April 14, 1684, before Robt. Pike, Assistant.

Danniell Bradley of Haverhill for 12li. conveys to Phillip Easman of ye same place about eight and one quarter acres land in Haverhill, called ox comon land, bounded by ye parsonage farme, a great rock, a white oak which is Thomas Linfurth's marke, downe ye brooke to Saw Mill River, then to a great red oake and thence to a small black oak. Dec. 24, 1673. [Mention of Daniel and wife Mary in deed but latter does not sign, or relinquish her dower rights.] Wit. Henry Kingsbury, Samll. (his s mark) Kingsbury. Ack. by Daniel Bradley Dec. 24, 1673, before Nath: Saltonstall, commissioner.

I, Mehetable Dalton, widow and admx. of Samll. Dalton of Hampton in New Hampshire, who was one of the executors of my much honored father, Henry Palmer of Haverhill, upon ye north of Merymack, who gave legacies to my said husband and also to my son John who is now about fifteen years of age, who by law is barrd ye making of a legal conveyance of land in his own name; I ye sd Mehitable for ye better accommodation of my son John, for 15 li. convey to John Swadock about 5 acres upland in Haverhill, in a field called ye upper playne, which piece my said father by his will gave to my son John; bounded by land of John Swadock, formerly be-

longing to Jno. Ayers and successively to his widow Hannah Ayers of whom he purchased it. Also bounded by land that was in ye possession of John Page sen; and by comon land of Haverhill. When my son John Dalton shall come to full age according to ye law of Massachusetts he shall give further confirmation of ye same. May 21, 1682. Wit: Timothie Ayer, Samuell Dalton. Ack. before Christopher Hussie of ye Councell. Signed by Mehitable Dalton and John Dalton, and ack. by Mehitable jointly with her son Jan. 21, 1683, before Nath. Saltonstall, assistant.

Hannah Ayer, sen., relict of John Ayers, sen., formerly of Haverhill on ye north of Merrimack in New England, (according to causion in my sayde husband's last will with the consent of my sons who have refused and neglected according to ye sd. will to improve and pay rent unto me for land left in ye sd will) conveys for 20 li. part in hand and the rest by bill to John Swadock of ye same place, about 7 acres land in Haverhill at a place (though good), commonly called ye Barren playne, bounded by land of Henry Palmer, ye town comon, and lying near ye east meadow. It being to be understood and known to all that according to my deceased husband's will and a liberty therein granted me in case and my children leaving ye sd land in my hands and not improving ye same and necessitie urging me in my age, I am constrayned to sell ye land and yt with ye knowledge and consent of my children, Aug. 20, 1681. Wit. Ruth Ayer. Ack. by Hannah (her H mark) Ayers, sen, before Nath. Saltonstall, Assistant.

Jotham Hendrick, of Haverhill, for 5 li. conveys to Jno. Swadock of ye same place two cow comons rights in Haverhill which I bought of John Allin of Salisbury as by deed dated May 18, 1677 and recorded Mar. 1, 1682-3, with all rights belonging thereto according to orders of Haverhill town. Dated Mar. 4 1682-3. Wit: John Gile. Ack. by Jotham Hendrick, Mar. —, 1682-3, before Nath. Saltonstall, Assistant.

(To be continued)

DERBY WILLS AND LAND TITLES, WITH
NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

- I. Will of Roger Derby, proved October 24, 1698
- II. Will of Richard Derby, probated December 3, 1783, with the indenture which adjusted the bequests
- III. Will of Elias Hasket Derby, probated October 7, 1799, and Inventory of his Estate
- IV. List of Deeds of land to Richard Derby and to Elias Hasket Derby with notes and comments

Note — I am greatly indebted to Mr. James E. Farley of Salem for examining and copying the wills and deeds included herein and for his intelligent assistance in investigating the purchases of Richard Derby and his son.

WILL OF ROGER DARBY

Probate No. 7591
Filed Oct. 24, 1698

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN

I Roger Darby of Salem make constitute & ordain this my last will & testament in manner & forme as follows revoking all other wils or testaments being now in perfect memory and understanding blessed is ye Lord for it.

viz. I give unto my beloved wife my new [or now?] dweling house garding and yard excepting twenty six feet of front and the sope house running or kept in that bredth next Joseph Neals during her widowhood and if she doe not mary then during her natural life.

2. I give unto my eldest daughter Experince Darby five shillings money to be paid her in one yeare after my decease by my executrix hereafter mentioned she having had more than aproportionabel part alredy.

3. I give unto my eldest son Sam^{el}. Darby my house & land after my wifes widowhood or decease excepting the twenty six foot as above mensioned to him and his heirs forever and if they fail then to my son John and his sons if he have any survivors if not to my son Richard and his sons to be kept in the name of the Darbys also I give unto my son Sam^{el}. Darby ten shillings to be paid him in one yeare after my decease upon demand.

4. I give unto my son John Darby my warehouse lentows and wharf to him & his heirs excepting a convenient roome for my wife if she have any occasion also I give unto him ten shillings to be paid as above upon demand.

5. I give unto my son Richard Darby my sope house with the twenty six foot of land fronting to the street and so going backward across the garding to him and his heirs forever he allowing a covenant roome of going and coming without any intermision or let or hindrance as much as formerly & twenty pounds in goods as mony out of the movables when he come of the age of twenty one years.

6. I give to my beloved wife one third part of what God hath given me in money goods or dept. or anything other ways.

7. My other estate my will is it may be divided in six shares or parts as followoth over leafe. To my daughter Lucratia I give one sheare & half & four shears to my four youngest daughters namely Elisabeth and Margaret Ann and Martha and ye other half sheare three pounds in money to my daughter Lucratia out of it & the brase heads of a pare of andirons not to be in the half sheare but out of the whole the rest of the half sheare I leave towards bringing up my four youngest daughters with my wife I no that I have six pounds mony in my hands and some of thayr fathers houssall goods which thay must be payd I meane John dinnd —

Siven. Lastly I make my wife my executrix to deale uprightly and honestly with my children and if any of them should contend without just cause with my wife they are to

lose thair parts to the next inheritor. Dated in Salem the 26 day of July 1698.

Roger Darby

Signed and sealed in the presence of

Thomas Rucke

Joseph Duglas

Benj. Pickman Jr.

WILL OF RICHARD DERBY

Probate No. 7589

Filed Dec. 3, 1783

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN

I Richard Derby of Salem in the County of Essex in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts Merchant on this 27th day of October in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred eighty-three, do make my last Will and Testament & dispose of my wordly Estate in manner following.

First — I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Wife Sarah Derby her heirs & assigns all and singular the household furniture, goods, chattles & Estate of every kind & sort which she brought to me upon & after our Intermarriage & shall remain at my decease. I also give her my charriot, and my two charriot horses. Also the sum of One hundred pounds lawful money annually & every year while she shall remain my widow. Also my Negro child Peggy.

Item — I give and bequeath to my daughter Mary Crowninshield & to her heirs & assigns forever the house in which she lately dwelt now occupied by Joseph Moses with the land under and adjoining thereto, it being nearly opposite the meeting house in the East Parish in Salem with the appurtenances which I purchased of Christopher Babbages heirs — and I confirm to her all the household furniture & plate which I gave her about the time of her marriage & since, which plate and furniture were estimated at four hundred pounds lawful money — And I give to said Mary & her heirs and assigns forever my house called Ropes House in which she now dwells with all the outbuildings belonging to it, and my land under and adjoining to it & the privileges & appurtenances thereof — Also I give her the Debt of Four hundred pounds lawful money due on book from her husband

Capt. Crowninshield — And I give her my Negro Girl named Cate with her apparel — All which I estimate at Three thousand four hundred pounds lawful money.

Item — I give and bequeath to my daughter Martha Prince wife of Dr. John Prince and to her heirs descended from her body and to her assigns forever the Mansion House wherein she last resided at Salem with the Land under and adjoining to it with the appurtenances which land I purchased of the Widow Elisabeth Higginson — And I confirm to her all the household furniture & plate which I gave her about the time of her marriage — Also I give to her my Negro Man Caesar with his apparel — Also I give her one thousand pounds lawful money in specie to be paid to her within six months after my decease — all which I estimate at Three thousand four hundred pounds lawful money.

Item — I give and bequeath to my grandchildren John Gardner, Sarah Gardner & Richard Gardner the children of my daughter Sarah Gardner deceased to each of them the sum of One thousand pounds lawful money in specie to be paid in one year after my decease which Sum together with the household furniture & plate given to their mother at & since her marriage are estimated at Three thousand four hundred pounds — And in case either of said grandchildren shall die before he or she arrives to the age of twenty-one years without children then what is herein given to him or her (so deceasing) shall be equally divided among the surviving grandchildren, the children of said Sarah.

Item — I give and bequeath to my son Elias Hasket Derby and his heirs forever the land belonging to his warehouse & on which it stands extending from the street by my wharfe about sixty six feet southward be it more or less to the notch in the wharfe with the passageway & dockage westward of it.

Item — I give and bequeath the remainder of my estate both real, personal, & mixed, to my son, Elias Hasket Derby, one third part — to my son John Derby, one third part — and the remaining third part including the Mansion house, wharfe & buildings thereon which I gave to my son Richard, late deceased, I give and bequeath to his sons Richard, Samuel, Jonathan & Charles and to his daughters Lydia, Mary & Betsy and to their respective heirs forever, to be

divided among them in manner and proportion as my said Son Richard devised & ordered his estate to be divided among them — my intention is that the said children of my said son Richard Derby jointly should receive but an equal portion including the said Mansion house wharfe & buildings thereon with either of my said sons Elias Hasket & John Derby.

Item — I hereby appoint and empower my son in law John Gardner the third (who is one of the executors herein named) to join with my said sons Elias Hasket and John Derby or their respective agents or assigns in making a division of the residue aforesaid devising to them and said Children of my son Richard, so that said childrens part may be improved ordered & disposed of for their best advantage, the said John taking the advice of the executors of the testament of my son Richard in his proceedings therein in case he & they shall judge it most for the childrens benefit that their part be sold & in case the said children or any of them shall be then twenty one years of age he is to advise with them also and I hereby empower said John Gardner & his assigns to sell and dispose of the said childrens part of the residue devised as aforesaid accordingly — It is to be understood that the aforesaid Mansion house, wharfe & buildings which I gave to my son Richard are estimated & accounted at Two thousand pounds lawful money.

Item — I appoint and constitute my sons Elias Hasket Derby and John Derby and my son in law John Gardner the third above named the executors of this my Will & Testament and order them to pay my just debts & the legacies given to my wife and daughters as aforesaid, out of what I have given to my said sons Elias Hasket Derby John Derby and the children of my son Richard in equal proportions — And I leave the direction of my Funeral wholly to the discretion of my executors — IN WITNESS WHEREOF I hereto put my hand and seal this 27th day of October aforesaid in the year 1783.

Rich. Derby

Signed, sealed published & declared by the testator as & for his last will & testament in presence of us.

Wm. Browne

Nehemiah Holt

Thomas Saunders

Book 143, Page 30
Jan. 11, 1785

THIS INDENTURE made by and between Elias Hasket Derby of Salem in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, merchant of the one part and John Derby of the same Salem, merchant, of the second part & John Gardner (lately the third) of the same Salem, merchant, of the third part.

Whereas Richard Derby late of the same Salem esqr. deceased & Father to the said Elias Hasket Derby & John Derby did in & by his last will & testament after therein devising several houses & other real estate & giving & bequeathing sundry legacies to certain persons herein named give & bequeath one third part of the remainder of all his estate, whether real, personal or mixt to his said son Elias Hasket Derby and one third part thereof to his said son John Derby and the remaining third part thereof including the Mansion House wharfe & buildings thereon which said Testator gave his son Richard Derby jun. then late deceased to Richard, Samuel, Jonathan, Charles, Lydia, Mary & Betsy, grandchildren of the said Testator & Children of the second named Richard Derby to their respective heirs forever to be divided among said grandchildren as is therein mentioned, the said Testator declaring his Intention to be that his said grandchildren jointly should receive but an equal Portion including said Mansion house wharfe & buildings thereon with either of his said sons Elias Hasket & John Derby & that it was to be understood that the aforesaid Mansion House are to be estimated & accounted at two thousand pounds lawful money.

It is agreed by and between the said Elias Hasket, John Derby for themselves and their heirs & said John Gardner on behalf of said grandchildren & their heirs (he Gardner being authorised as is aforesaid) in manner following that is to say that the said grandchildren & their heirs & assigns shall have hold possess & enjoy in severalty all that lot or piece of land situated in said Salem with all the buildings, outhouses & distill house thereon & all the utensils belonging thereto & bounded as follows, to wit, beginning at the Northwesterly corner thereof by a way leading to the Long Wharfe there so

called at a post there standing from thence runs North 73 degrees & 15 inches East 8 poles & 22 links, butting on land late David Phippen to land lately Jonathan Phelps, thence South 18 degrees East 3 poles & 17 links by said last mentioned land, thence South 72 degrees & 30 inches West 4 poles & 20 links partly by land lately Whitefoot's & partly by land lately Tozier's, thence South 9 degrees East 3 poles & 14 by the last said land, thence South 80 degrees West one pole & 10 links by said way, thence North 34 degrees West 7 poles & 12 links by the said way to the corner first above mentioned, with all the privileges & appurtenances thereto belonging, it being the same which the said Testator bought of one David Phippen by deed recorded B. 110, L. 265.

And also one other piece of land with all the buildings thereon adjoining & contiguous to the foregoing, it being the same which said Phippen conveyed to said Testator by deed dated 1st of Oct. 1770 and recorded B. 137 L. 146 of both which pieces the said Testator died seized which said two pieces together with the Mansion House & mentioned & valued as is above at the sum of two thousand pounds exceed the value of one third part of the residue of the real estate given as afore-said as it was valued & appraised by a committee appointed by the Judge of Probate for said County by the sum of one hundred thirty pounds sixteen shillings & eight pence which sum is to be paid as is hereinafter mentioned for equality of Partition; this is to be called Number one or first division.

And the said Elias Hasket Derby his heirs & assigns shall have hold possess & enjoy in severalty the following lots or pieces of Land with the Buildings thereon, being Number two or Second Division viz the Mansion House of said Testator & the land under the same and thereto adjoining & all the out-houses & buildings thereon, together with the wharfe & flatts fronting & belonging to the same the whole situated in said Salem & bounded as follows, viz Westerly on Derby's lane so called, there measuring 22 poles & 2 links, Northerly on Mansfields & Bates's land, there measuring 6 poles & 5 links, Easterly partly on Ingersolls land & partly on a cart way, there measuring 21 poles & 8 links, Southerly on Water Street so called, 7 poles & 2 links that said wharfe & flatts measuring

Northerly on said Water Street 8 poles & 12 links & continues Southerly the same width to the Channel of the South River there so called & is bounded Westerly by the wharfe & Flatts above mentioned to have been conveyed by said Testator to his said son Richard deceased & Easterly on Ingersolls wharfe & flatts or however otherwise the same may be bounded.

Also a piece of land containing about 9 rods & 2 links lying near the Northeasterly corner of the above described lot part of No. 2 & is commonly called Mannings land, bounded Northerly on Mannings land, 2 poles 18 links, Easterly 3 poles & 11 links on Browns land, Southerly 2 poles 16 links on Ingersolls land & Westerly on a passage way for a cart (which one Ingersoll has a grant off) 3 poles 11 links.

Also another piece or lot of land situated in said Salem with all the houses & buildings thereon & bounded Southerly on a way leading from said long wharfe to Palfry's lane so called, there measuring 79 feet & one half, Easterly on Palfry's land there measuring 226 feet and an half, Northerly partly on Prestons & partly Silsbees land there measuring 79 feet and & one half, Westerly on land belonging to said Elias Hasket & also the flatts & wharfe opposite to said last described lot on the Southerly side of said way, there measuring 79 feet & one half & extends that same width to the Channel of said South River & is bounded Easterly on Palfry's land & is the same land wharfe & flatts which one Timothy Mansfield conveyed to said Testator by deed dated 11th of Dec. 1760 & recorded Book 109, Leaf 78.

Also another piece of land & Flatts bounded Easterly on the last described piece of Flatts & Northerly on said way, there measuring 100 feet & extends that same width to the said channel, with all the wharves warehouses and other buildings thereon, it being the same which Josiah Adee conveyed to said Testator by deed dated 9th day of August A. D. 1762 & recorded Book 112, Leaf 140.

Also another piece of land & flatts bounded Easterly on the last described piece of land & flatts, Northerly on the last said way 88 feet & extends that same width to said Channel & is bounded Westerly on John Whites land & flatts with all the wharves stores warehouses & other buildings thereon, it

being the same which Margaret Silsbee & Mary Renew conveyed to said Testator by deed dated the 9th day of August 1762, recorded Book 112, Leaf 139.

Also the Interest & estate at Winter Island so called, being a lease from the town of Salem to said Testator for a term of years of a small piece of land & flatts on which a wharfe & warehouse now stand he said Elias Hasket to pay & render the rent & services reserved & perform the covenants therein mentioned to be performed.

And also one full right or share in that division of the common lands in said Salem in the Great Pasture so called the whole of the above lying & being in said Salem.

And also an undivided Moiety of all the real estate lying in Gloucester in said County & which were taken by an Execution issuing out of the Clerks Office of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas for said County of Essex on a Judgment recovered by said Testator against one Ephraim Shelden at an Inferiour Court of Common Pleas holden at Ipswich for said County in March A. D. 1773 which last said real estate was assigned in part satisfaction of said Execution as may thereby more fully appear.

The whole of which said pieces & lots of land, with the buildings respectively thereon, the said Testator died seized of & which at the value set on them by said Committee exceed the amount of the appraised value of one third part of the residue of the real estate given as aforesaid to said Elias Hasket by the sum of 1222 pounds 11 shillings & 8 pence, which sum is to be paid as is hereafter mentioned for equality of Division.

And that the said John Derby his heirs & assigns shall have hold possess & enjoy in severalty the following lots of land, with the buildings thereon, being Number three viz Twists farm so called being partly on the Neck & partly on Winter Island so called, containing about forty acres or be the same more or less, it being the same tract of land which one John Ives of Salem aforesaid Tanner conveyed to said Testator by deed dated the 16th day of May A. D. 1758, with all the buildings thereon & the privileges & appurtenances thereto belonging, saveing alwayes and excepting all & everything as is therein saved & excepted.

Also another piece of land wharfe & flatts with the warehouse & buildings thereon called Phippens wharf, bounded as follows viz. Beginning at a stake by the way leading to Long Wharfe so called near the Northeasterly corner of said warehouse & running from thence South 32 degrees 20 minutes East one pole 20 links by said way, then South 40 degrees East one pole & 22 links by the same way, thence South 80 degrees East 2 poles & 6 links by the same way, thence South 9 degrees East to the channel of said South River & thence Westerly by the same River until it comes to where a line running from said Channel North 1 degree & 30 minutes West will strike the Westernmost angle of Phippens wharfe so called and bounds by the same line from said channel to said angle, the said angle being at 10 poles & 19 links distant from the Easternmost angle measuring as the wharfe runs & on the outermost or Southerly part of the wharfe & from said Westernmost angle of said wharfe the line continues North 1 degree & 30 minutes West & runs 3 poles thence East 2 degrees South 2 poles, thence North 5 degrees & 30 minutes East 23 links, thence South 85 degrees & 20 minutes East 3 poles & 2 links to the said way leading to the long wharfe & to the stake afore-said, together with the dock & dockage belonging thereto on the Westerly side thereof & is part of what said Testator bought of said David Phippen by deed recorded Book 110, Leaf 265 & the other part being afore assigned in Division No. 1 to said Grandchildren, with all the privileges and appurtenances thereof saving & excepting always all & whatever is in & by said deed saved & excepted.

And also another piece of land commonly called the Locust field & contains about 2 acres & $\frac{1}{2}$ of an acre or be the same more or less, it being the same which the said Testator bought of Edward Gebut by deed dated the 2nd day of May A. D. 1764 & recorded Book 111, Leaf 253 & of James Butler by deed dated eleven January 1765 & recorded Book 115, Leaf 155 & of others & is bounded Southerly on a lane leading from the training field so called to St. Peters Church there & measuring there not less than 65 feet & $\frac{1}{2}$ of a foot, Easterly partly on land belonging to the heirs of John Crowninshield deceased & partly on land of Henry Williams, Northerly on

the North River so called, thence Westerly on land lately Poyertons partly & partly on Landers land, thence Southerly partly on land of said Lander & partly on land of George Williams, then Westerly by said Georges land to the last said lane, the bounds being as the fences now stand excepting the fence at the Northern bounds.

Also another piece of land commonly called Englishes field & is bounded Southwesterly on Englishes lane so called, Southeasterly on Salem Harbour, Northeasterly on the Widow Mary Whitfords land & Northwesterly on John Touzels land, it being the same land which the said Testator bought of one Philip English by deed recorded Book 93, Leaf 22 & is dated 24th of February A. D. 1748 & of one Mary Browne by deed dated 4th of March A. D. 1761 & recorded Book 107, Leaf 169.

And also three full rights or shares in that division of the Common lands in said Salem in the Great Pasture so called.

Also two pews viz. Number 19 & 24 on the Floor of the Meeting House in the East Parish so called, the whole of the above described assignment to said John Derby and numbered three is situated in Salem.

Also a tract of salt marsh situated in Ipswich aforesaid & contains 8 acres & is the same which one John Manning sold to said Testator by his deed recorded Book 129, Leaf 115 as may appear, reference being had thereto.

And also one undivided Moiety of the real estate of said Testator situated in said Gloucester & which afore described, one undivided Moiety of which is afore assigned to said Elias Hasket, the whole of which pieces & lots of land & buildings respectively thereon & assigned to said John Derby & numbered three being the third Division the said Testator died seized of which at the value set thereon by said Committee with the aforesaid sums of 130 pounds 16 shillings & 8 pence.

WILL OF ELIAS HASKET DERBY

Probate No. 7571
Filed Oct. 7, 1799

This is the last will and testament of me, Elias Hasket Derby of Salem in the County of Essex and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, merchant.

I do in the first place order, that all my just debts and funeral expenses shall be paid by my Executors hereinafter mentioned as soon as may be after my decease.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my son Elias Hasket, his heirs and assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal Estate; such particular parts of my Real Estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to him, to be considered as part of his said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same in particular I do give and devise unto the said Elias Hasket, his Heirs and Assigns forever the Dwelling house in which he now lives, with the Outhouses and the land under and adjoining the same, situate in Court Street so called in Salem aforesaid, which I estimate at six thousand three hundred and thirty four dollars; also One Undivided Seventh Part of my main or Long Wharf situate in Salem aforesaid, the same to be considered as beginning on a line with the front or east and west line of the Wharf herein after given to my Daughter Martha at the south end thereof, together with a Seventh part of all privileges as well of dockage as otherwise, as is hereafter mentioned and under the limitations hereafter expressed, together with this further privilege of placing and building a Store on the eastward side of said Long Wharf similar to and on a line with those already erected and, which I estimate at the sum of One Thousand dollars; and also the Old Store at the Southern end of said Long Wharf, which he, the said Elias Hasket shall within twelve months after my decease remove from where it now stands easterly on a line with the Stores already erected there and also Flats east thereof sufficient for placing the same upon and for the privileges and conveniences which the said other Stores have, which I estimate at the sum of Eight hundred and Thirty four dollars; and I myself direct, and my Will is, that my said son Elias Hasket shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book; And whereas I have discharged and made myself liable to discharge, several large debts owed by my said Son Elias Hasket, I do hereby order and direct, and it is my express Will, that in consideration thereof the sum of Ten thousand dollars shall be deducted from, and taken out of, the said Seventh

Part of my Estate herein given to my said son Elias Hasket, and that the same be given to and equally divided among my other Children; and it is my Will that the said sum of Ten Thousand Dollars shall be in full satisfaction for all sums advanced or to be advanced to my said Son Elias Hasket to discharge his debts as aforesaid, although the sums so advanced considerably exceed the said sum of Ten Thousand dollars, on account of the important Services which he did for me while in the East Indies and the addition which was thereby made to my Estate.

I do hereby give devise and bequeath unto my Son John, his Heirs and Assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal Estate, such particular Parts of my Real Estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to him, to be considered as Part of his said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise unto my said son John, his Heirs and Assigns forever my House and Land under and adjoining the same situate in Salem aforesaid and commonly called the New House bounding Southerly on Derby Street, so called; and also the House and Land which I purchased of the Heirs of Captain John White adjoining to the House and Land last mentioned; both of which I estimate at the sum of Three thousand six hundred and sixty seven dollars; And also my New Store on the Eastward side of the said Main or Long Wharf with the Land under and adjoining the same, with similar Privileges with the other Stores, and as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed; and also One undivided Seventh Part of the said Main Wharf and of all the Privileges as well Dockage as otherwise, as is hereafter mentioned and under the limitations hereafter expressed; both of which I estimate at the sum of Two thousand and Five hundred dollars; And I myself direct and my Will is, that my said Son John shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my Son Ezekiel Hersey his Heirs and Assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal estate, such particular parts of my Real Estate, as are herein expressly and specifically given to him,

to be considered as Part of his said proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise unto my said Son Ezekiel Hersey, his heirs and assigns forever, my Brick Dwelling house with the land under and adjoining thereto and usually improved therewith situate in Salem aforesaid and bounded Southerly by Derby Street aforesaid which I estimate at the sum of Three thousand Three hundred and Thirty Four dollars; Also the house & land in Essex Street so called which I purchased of John Saunders in which said Ezekiel Hersey now lives & which I estimate at the sum of Three Thousand Three hundred & Forty dollars and also the Wharf and Flats in front of said House the West boundary line thereof to be the same as the West line of the Land belonging to the said Brick House which Wharf and Flats I estimate at the sum of Eight hundred and thirty four Dollars; And also One undivided Seventh Part of my said Main Wharf and One Seventh Part of all the Privileges as well of Dockage as otherwise, as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed, together with this further Privilege of placing and Building a Store on the Eastward side of said Main Wharf similar to, and on a line with the Stores already erected there; which I estimate at the sum of One thousand dollars; and also the Wharf and Flats which I purchased of the Heirs of Captain John White with the additions and Repairs made thereunto since I purchased the same, which I estimate at the sum of Sixteen hundred and Sixty Seven Dollars; And it is my express Will and desire, and I do accordingly direct and charge my said son Ezekiel Hersey, that he do not on my account sell the Wharf last mentioned to any person except the owner or owners of the said Main Wharf. And I myself direct and my Will is, that my said son Ezekiel Hersey shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my son Richard his heirs and assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal Estate such particular Parts of my Real Estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to him, to be considered as Part of his said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise

unto my said Son Richard, his Heirs and Assigns forever a lot of land situate in Salem aforesaid and bounded Southerly by Derby Street so called Westerly by land of Simon Forrester and Easterly by Curtis Street so called, which I estimate at the sum of Two thousand dollars; And also the Store in which I now keep my compting house, with the land under and adjoining the same, including the first Birth on the said Main Wharf and extending as far Southerly as the Jog in the Wharf, which is 76 feet South from the Southerly end of said Store, and also the Dock to the Westward of said Store; which I estimate at the sum of Two thousand one hundred and sixty seven dollars; And also one undivided seventh Part of my said Main Wharf and a seventh Part of all the Privileges as well of Dockage as otherwise, as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed, together with this further Privilege of Placing and Building a Store on the Eastward side of said Main Wharf similar to and on a line with the Stores already erected there; which I estimate at the sum of One thousand dollars; and likewise direct, and my will is, that my said son Richard shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Elizabeth, the wife of Nathaniel West, her Heirs and Assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal Estate, such Particular Parts of my Real Estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to her, to be considered as Part of her said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise unto my said Daughter Elizabeth her heirs and assigns forever, One undivided Seventh part of my said Main Wharf and a Seventh Part of all the Privileges as well of Dockage as otherwise, as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed; and also the Land under and adjoining the Store which her said Husband has erected on the East side of said Wharf; which I estimate at the sum of One Thousand Dollars; And also all the Farm situate in Danvers in said County of Essex, which I purchased of John Epes and which I estimate at the sum of Two thousand Six Hundred and Sixty seven dollars; but it is my Will and desire that my said daughter

Elizabeth will not sell or dispose of the same Farm to a Stranger as it may injure such of my Family as may own the Farm which I purchased of Samuel Epes; And I likewise direct and my will is that my said son-in-law Nathaniel West shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book; And I do in addition to the foregoing give and confirm unto my said Daughter Elizabeth all and whatever I gave her at the time of her marriage.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Martha, her Heirs and Assigns forever, One Seventh part of all my Real and Personal estate such particular Parts of my Real estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to her, to be considered as Part of her said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise unto my said Daughter Martha her Heirs and Assigns forever One undivided Seventh Part of my said Main Wharf and a Seventh Part of all the Privileges as well of Dockage as otherwise, as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed, together with this further Privilege of Placing and Building a Store on the Eastward side of said Main Wharf similar to and on a line with the Stores already erected there; which I estimate at the sum of One thousand dollars; And also that Piece of Land and Wharf situate in said Salem which is bounded Northerly by Derby Street, so called, Easterly by the Wharf which I have herein given to my son Ezekiel Hersey, Southerly by the Front of the same as it now runs East and West and Westerly by a line which is to be Forty feet distant from the East side of the Store herein given to my Son Richard and parallel thereto, which said space or distance of forty feet is forever to remain and be kept open for a Way or Passage on to my said Main Wharf which said Piece of land and Wharf I estimate at the sum of Eight hundred and Thirty Four dollars; And also my Lot of land situate in Bridge Street so called in Salem aforesaid, which I estimate at the sum of Eight hundred and thirty four dollars; And in addition to the foregoing I do hereby give and confirm unto my said daughter Martha a certain Promissory note which I have made and passed unto her in lieu of the furniture and other things that I gave to my other Daugh-

ters at the time of their Marriage and I hereby order my executors hereinafter named to pay the contents of said Note to my said daughter Martha or her Assigns as soon after my decease as the same shall be demanded.

I do hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my Daughter Anstis the Wife of Benjamin Pickman Junior her Heirs and Assigns forever, One Seventh Part of all my Real and Personal Estate such particular parts of My Real Estate as are herein expressly and specifically given to her, to be considered as Part of her said Proportion at the value at which I herein estimate the same; in particular I do give and devise unto my said Daughter Anstis her Heirs and Assigns forever, One undivided Seventh Part of my said Main Wharf and A Seventh Part of all the Privileges as well of Dockage as otherwise, as is hereinafter mentioned and under the limitations hereinafter expressed, together with the further privilege of Placing and Building a Store on the Eastward side of said Main Wharf similar to, and on a line with the Stores already erected there; which I estimate at the sum of One thousand dollars; And also the House and Land situate in said Salem and bounded Northerly by Essex Street so called, and Southerly by Charter Street so called, which I purchased of Benjamin Pickman Esquire; which I estimate at the sum of Five thousand dollars; and I myself direct and my Will is, that my said son in law Benjamin Pickman Junior shall stand charged with all such sums of money as at the time of my decease he shall be indebted to me in, either by Note or Book; And I do in addition to the foregoing give and confirm unto my said daughter Anstis all and whatever I gave her at the time of her marriage.

All the rest and residue of the Real Estate of which I shall be seized at the time of my decease whatsoever and wheresoever not herein specifically devised, I do give and devise unto my said Children Elias Hasket, John, Ezekiel Hersey, Richard, Elizabeth, Martha and Anstis, their respective Heirs and Assigns forever, to be equally divided among them, the divisions to be made in such way and manner as they shall mutually agree upon.

And in case any portion or Parcel of any particular Part of my Real Estate hereinbefore described and devised should

happen to be sold, before my decease, it is my will and I hereby direct that the sum for which any such Portion or Parcel shall have been sold, shall be deducted from the sum to which the respective particular Part of my Real Estate to which such Portion or Parcel belonged, is herein before estimated, and that the sum remaining after such deduction made shall be considered as the true and only estimate of such particular Part of my Real Estate instead of the estimate hereinbefore contained.

And in order that my said Main Wharf may be improved in the way and manner most conducive to the benefit and advantage of all the owners thereof, my Will is, and I do hereby order direct, make and establish the following regulations respecting the same, to wit; that each of the several Store Lots herein given to my said Children on the Eastern side of said Wharf is to be ninety three feet long on the Main Wharf North and South, that the Western side of said Stores shall be on a line with those already erected and, similar to them and of equal width with them; that each of said stores shall be placed in the middle of its respective Lot; that each of the Owners of said Stores shall have the privilege of building on the North, East and West sides of said Stores respectively a small Wharf or Platform for the condition of the same but the said small Wharf or Platform on the East side of said Stores shall not be more than ten feet wide; that all goods wares and merchandizes taken on board any vessel from off said Platform on the East side of said Stores, or there landed, shall in no case pay wharfage to the other Owners of said Wharf, nor shall any vessel lying there pay any Dockage; that all the Flats which may be ten feet East of said East sides of said Stores and between that line and the West line of the Flats herein given to my Son Ezekiel Hersey are not to be builded upon, but are to be kept open to and for the use, convenience and accomodation of the Owners of said Long or Main Wharf and of the Lots given to my said Son Ezekiel Hersey and my said Daughter Martha; and the Owners of the said Main Wharf shall be and are hereby restricted from extending the said Wharf further Westward than on a line with the Jogs or Zigzags lately built there; and I do order and it is my Will that the Flats owned by me between the line last mentioned

and the West line of Flats purchased by me of the Heirs of Captain John White are to lie and be kept open forever, and be used in common for the convenience and accomodation of the Owners of said Main Wharf and of the Owners of the Wharves and Stores herein given to my Sons Ezekiel Hersey and Richard; And my Will is, and I do further order and direct that in locating the Lots for said Stores not already erected, on the Eastward side of said Wharf, my said several Children, excepting my son John and my Daughter Elizabeth who have Stores, shall elect their Lots according to their Seniority; and in case any one, whose right it shall be first to elect, shall neglect to make his or her election of a Lot, in writing under his or her hand for the space of twenty days after a demand so to do made by either of the others, he or she shall lose and forfeit his or her priority of election and the next in age may elect in the same manner.

And I do also request and desire my Executors as soon as may be after my decease to appoint some suitable person as a Wharfinger of said Main Wharf, who shall duly and seasonably collect all fees for Wharfage or Dockage and that they be the same as are taken and received at the Union Wharf in Salem aforesaid.

And my Will is and I do order, that if at the time of my decease any of my Vessels should be at sea, their Voyages being unfinished, that the same shall be carried on until their respective Voyages are completed and be considered for the general benefit of my Estate.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto my Brother John Derby of Boston in the County of Suffolk Merchant, in token of affection and good will towards him, my New Coachee, my Two dark colored mares which I imported from Europe, together with the Harness and Furniture belonging to the same.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto my Grandson Henry West, Son of Nathaniel West, a sum of money sufficient to complete his education which I leave to the discretion of my Executors to determine, and also the further sum of Three hundred and fifty dollars over and above what may be necessary to complete his education; the same sums to be paid to the Guardian of said Henry within six months after my decease.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto the widow Hannah Crowninshield the sum of Two hundred dollars.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto Mrs. Mary Elkins, Sister of my late Wife and her Assigns, the sum of Five hundred dollars.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto my Aunt Archer if she be living at the time of my decease, the sum of Three hundred and Thirty dollars, by four annual equal payments, the first payment to be made within thirty days after my decease; the Legacy to cease, if she should decease before all the payments become due, as do all sums then in arrear.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto Mr. James Jeffry, who is now in my Store, if he should there continue until my decease, the sum of Three hundred and thirty dollars in addition to his Salary, he to assist my Executors in making a settlement of my Estate.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto Mr. George Heussler my Gardener the sum of Three hundred and Thirty Dollars in addition to his Salary for his faithful services.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto Joseph Chandler the sum of Three hundred and Thirty dollars in addition to his Salary.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto my Negro Man, Saba, the sum of Two hundred and fifty dollars.

I do hereby give and bequeath unto my young Negro woman Rose, the sum of Two hundred and fifty dollars.

And I order and direct my Executors to pay the two last mentioned Legacies given to the said Saba and Rose unto my said Daughter Martha and my Will is that my said Daughter Martha put out the same on Interest and pay over to the said Saba and Rose the principal sum and Interest in such proportions and at such times, as she may think proper.

And lastly I do hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my Two sons Elias Hasket and John and my Son-in-law Benjamin Pickman Junior the Survivors or Survivor of them, Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making void all former Wills and Testaments at any time heretofore by me made, and declaring this to be my Last Will and Testament.

In Witness whereof I the said Elias Hasket Derby the tes-

tator have to this my Last Will and Testament, contained in this and in the six next preceding Pages consisting of this and one other sheet of Paper, set my Hand and Seal to wit My Hand to the Bottom of the said other Sheet and my hand and seal to this Sheet this Fourth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety nine.

Elias Hasket Derby (seal)

The writing contained in this and the Six next preceding Pages consisting of this and One other Sheet of Paper, was Signed and Sealed by the above named Elias Hasket Derby the Testator and by him published and declared as and for his last Will and Testament in the Presence of us who have hereto subscribed our names as Witnesses in the Presence of the Testator and each other, the words "One" "Seventy" and "Eighty five dollars" being first erased and the words "a Seventh Part of" "three" and "Thirty" being first interlined. Also the words "Also the House & Land in Essex Street so called which I purchased of John Saunders in which the said Ezekiel Hersey now lives & which I estimate at the sum of Three thousand Three Hundred & Forty Dollars" being first interlined.

Jacob Ashton

Jno Norris

Joseph Perkins.

INVENTORY OF ESTATE OF ELIAS HASKET DERBY LATE
OF SALEM ESQR. DECEASED

March 4th, 1805.

Recorded 372-167.

Real Estate

Mansion House & Land with the Buildings Stores, } Wharf & Flats in Essex Street	}	\$28000.
Farm purchas'd of Saml Epes with House Barn } Hot House, Gardens &c 112 Acres	}	12000.
Farm purchased of John Epes 76 Acres		4500.
House, Land & Outbuildings &c occupied by his Son } Hasket, 96 ft. front 100 ft. rear & 240 ft. deep (in Court Street)	}	11000.
House & Land occupied by his son Hersey in Essex Street } 58 ft. front & 284 ft. deep	}	4500.
House & Land by B. Pickman junr Esqr in Essex Street } 67 ft. front & 290 ft. deep	}	10000.

date on each deed is the date it was executed, the second the date of recording. It is noticeable that several of Richard's deeds were recorded after his death.

There were two main blocks of property on Derby Street. One began with the Lindall property, probably at the eastern corner of Derby and Herbert Streets, in 1735, and was extended northward by the Pickman purchase, in 1739, and westward across Herbert Street and to Union Street, in 1741, by the Swasey purchase. The elimination of the other Hasket heirs gave him, in 1742, four-fifths of the next lot to the east till sold in 1747. This was a large piece of property and was all bought while Richard Derby's children were young. It seems a safe assumption that he developed it for himself. When his daughter Mary was married, we know that she was cared for by the Babbidge house, purchased in 1757, the year she married.

The second large property on the residential part of Derby Street was also acquired in pieces and lay farther east, eventually covering most of the space from near Orange Street to Daniels Street. The little brick house was built in 1761, so must have been on the lot bought of Timothy Mansfield in 1760. Elias Hasket bought, in 1769, the Josias Adee lot next west and described it as abutting easterly on his land. In 1771, he also bought the John Elkins piece, and, in 1774, his father acquired the David Ropes property. These all connected and made a block around the little brick house, but we do not know how many dwellings were on these lots.

Connected with these two properties, the elder Derby kept buying flats on the water side of the highway, now Derby Street, till he had most of it from Union Wharf to Daniels Street. This water-front was bought, partly perhaps to retain the view from his houses to the harbor, but more likely for commercial purposes.

In 1748, he began to buy land farther east on Derby Street, with the deed from Philip English in 1748, and the Hilliard, Browne, and Ives deeds produced a very large area in this vicinity running down toward Winter Island.

Various miscellaneous pieces of land were bought both by Richard and Elias Hasket, not connected with the above properties, which are not always easy to locate from the

descriptions. Sundry properties near the Babbidge house were bought at various times and various parcels elsewhere on Essex Street. At least two lots were bought on the North River down Bridge Street, and two lots on Brown Street.

Elias Hasket bought the Pickman house on Washington Street in 1782, to live in after he left the little brick house, and, in 1784, the Browne and Sargent lots on Derby Square, to build his great mansion, and the Williams and Britton properties in South Salem.

The evidence in these deeds that Richard, senior, lived and probably died in the Deacon Lindall house, altered and no doubt enlarged by him, lies in these facts as shown in the deeds:

1. That he bought the Lindall house about the time of his marriage (1735) and immediately bought other land near it.

2. That he did not buy other land of a residential nature for over twenty years unless the English house (bought in 1748) can be so considered.

3. That most of his shipping must have been done from Union Wharf, in which he was a shareholder, which was close by. Derby Wharf appears to have been built by Elias Hasket after 1780.

4. That in the deed to Richard, junior, of 1781, he gave him a house on Long Wharf Lane, which was Union Street and which ran through to a lane east of it, which was Herbert Street, which divided it from "my own Mansion House," and which therefore located Richard's own house in 1781 on Herbert Street.

5. That the indenture which adjusted the titles under Richard's will identified this property as the Phippen property, bought in 1762.

6. That the same indenture also described "the mansion house of said testator" as bounded westerly on Derby's Lane, which was Herbert Street.

The evidence that Richard provided the little brick house for his son Elias Hasket on his marriage lies, so far as the deeds are concerned, in these facts:

1. That on her marriage Richard bought for his daughter Mary the Babbidge house.

2. That he bought the Mansfield lot where the little brick house stands in December, the year before Elias Hasket married, and that Felt says he built the house for Elias Hasket on his marriage.

3. That Elias Hasket bought no house for eight or nine years thereafter.

4. That when Elias Hasket bought of Josias Adee, in 1769, the lot next west of it, Adee describes the property as bounded easterly on land of said Derby, which can be explained only by the fact that Elias Hasket lived in the house, though we know he did not own it.

5. That in his will Richard gave each daughter, except Sarah, the house wherein she had lived, and also to Richard's children the house which he had given to their father. It is reasonable to suppose that the executors set off the little brick house to Elias Hasket because it was the one he had lived in.

6. That Elias Hasket was also given "The Mansion House of the said Testator," which property was described as bounded "westerly on Derby's lane," which was Herbert Street, so Richard must have continued to live in the Lindall house.

7. That Elias Hasket probably moved from the little brick house only when he bought the Pickman house at the corner of Washington and Lynde Streets when his children were coming of age in 1782, and when he needed more room and had acquired the wealth by Revolutionary successes to afford it.

The following classification of the deeds of both Derbys may be made to give a clearer idea of their operations, but the writer cannot be sure he has identified all locations correctly. The names of the conveyors and the dates of the deeds will identify them, as both groups of deeds are arranged chronologically.

<i>Lindall house and vicinity</i>		<i>"Little Brick House" property</i>		<i>English property and Winter Island</i>
Lindall 1735		Mansfield 1760		English 1748
Pickman 1739		Adee 1769		Hilliard 1752
Swasey 1741		Elkins 1771		Ives 1758
Symmes 1742		Ropes 1774		Browne 1761
Pickman 1742		Mansfield 1779		Ives 1771
Phippen 1762				
Phippen 1770				
Ward 1795				
<i>Derby Street water-front</i>		<i>Babbidge house and vicinity</i>		<i>Brown Street property</i>
Union Wharf 1759		Babbidge 1757		Gibaut 1764
Silsbee and Renew 1762		Bradish 1774		Butler 1765
Adee 1762		Crowninshield 1783		
		" 1791		
<i>Bridge Street property</i>		<i>Custom-House site (doubtful)</i>		<i>Essex Street land</i>
Pickman 1783		Brown 1771		Higginson 1763
Woodbridge 1789		Patterson 1771		Fitch 1792
		Clifton 1792		Pickman 1794
		Watson 1793		Sanders 1795
<i>E. H. Derby residences</i>		<i>Miscellaneous</i>		
Williams 1780		Great Pasture		Smith 1740
Pickman 1782		Roger Derby's Estate		Ropes 1773
Browne (confiscated) 1784		Bad Debt		Conant 1774
Sargent 1784		North Salem		Epes 1782
Britton 1785		Turner St. House		Bowditch 1787
		Union Market		Peele 1792

DEEDS TO RICHARD DERBY

Book 74, Page 143
Sept. 18, 1735

James Lindall of Salem
to

Richard Derbe of Salem, mariner

A certain Dwelling House, Bake house, Shop, Barn & Out Houses with the land whereon they stand & thereto adjoining, situate in Salem aforesaid, late the Estate of John Langford, containing 60 poles of land more or less, with the flatts adjoining

ing, bounded Southerly by the river to low water mark, Westerly on a lane, Northerly on land of John Pickman, and Easterly on land of Haskett or however otherwise reputed to be bounded, with all and singular the wayes, easements, creeks, rights, members, privileges & appurtenances to the premises belonging or in any wise appurtaining.

Note — This piece of land was probably that conveyed by John Ingersoll on May 6, 1657, to John Gardner¹ and by him or his son John conveyed on April 30, 1713,² to John Langford or Langsford. On March 11, 1734, Ezekiel Goldthwaite and Paul Mansfield conveyed it to James Lindall,³ stating that it was late of the estate of John Langford. This was probably lot 97 in Sidney Perley's plan,⁴ and then credited to John Ingersoll. It probably lay west of where Orange Street now is and probably at the corner of Herbert Street. Derby bought the place the year he married, and, as he bought no other house for several years, it is safe to assume that he bought it to live in. If we assume that this land was the same width as the piece he bought just north of it next mentioned, it was 60 feet wide on the water-front and about 280 feet long to make up the sixty poles. As the Swasey lot, bought in 1741, was described as near Derby's dwelling house, he undoubtedly dwelt on this site. With the rights acquired from the other Hasket heirs in 1742, he owned the north side of Derby Street from Union Street about to Curtis Street.

Book 78, Page 267
Feb. 7, 1739

Benjamin Pickman, Executor of Estate of John Pickman
to

Richard Derbe of Salem, mariner.

A certain piece or parcel of land aforesaid, containing 22 poles & 6/10, butting Northerly on land now or late of Timothy Mansfield, measuring 3 poles 3 feet seven inches; Easterly on land formerly of Haskett 6½ poles; Southerly on land of said Richard Derbe, 3 poles 11 feet 7 inches; & West-erly on a Lane or Highway there measuring 6½ poles

Note — The above merely enlarged Derby's lot toward Essex Street and away from the water. Captain John Hodges, Derby's brother-in-law, lived on Essex Street at the corner of Herbert Street, which is described in the Miles Ward deed of 1795 as "formerly Derby's lane."

¹ *Essex So. Dist. Deeds*, Bk. 1, p. 35.

² *Ibid.*, Bk. 25, p. 184.

³ *Ibid.*, Bk. 68, p. 57.

⁴ Sidney Perley, *History of Salem*, I, 313.

Book 80, Page 124
Sept. 22, 1740

John Smith, of Salem, shipwright
to

Richard Derbe, of Salem, mariner

One full right or Share in that Division of the Common Land in Salem called the Great Pasture, originally allowed to me for my now Dwelling house, with appurtenances.

Book 80, Page 220
Apr. 7, 1741

Samuel Swasey of Ipswich, shipwright, & Nath'l Swasey, of Salem, cooper
to

Richard Derby of Salem, mariner

About one-half Acre of land in Salem aforesaid near the Dwelling House of the said Richard Derby, butting Northerly on land formerly of Sam Beadey; Easterly on Lane or Highway; Southerly on the Harbour to Low water mark; & Westerly on Union Street (so called) with appurtenances.

Note — This piece of land is puzzling. It is about the size of the two pieces bought of Lindall and Pickman, is west of a lane, and runs to Union Street. While it does not say it is across the lane which bounded westerly the two pieces previously bought, it implies it by saying, "near the dwelling of the said Richard Derby." This would make the lane Herbert Street. If this piece runs from Herbert Street to Union Street, its depth would be comparatively small.

Book 84, Page 116
Jan. 28, 1742
Feb. 7, 1742

Hannah Symmes of Salem, widow, one of said daughters of Stephen Hasket late of said Salem, deceased
to

Richard Derby of Salem aforesaid, mariner

All her right, estate, title, interest, inheritance, property claime & demand whatsoever both in law & equity which she now hath or ever had or may or ought to have as daughter of said Stephen Hasket deceased or by any other ways & means, whatsoever of in & unto his homestead, houseing & land situate in Salem aforesaid, and also of in & unto the whole of said estate real personal & mixt of said Stephen Hasket

deceased; and whereof he died seised & possessed, and also all her right & interest claime & demand of in & unto the whole of said real & personal estate whereof aforesaid, with said rights, members, profits privileges & appurtenances remainder & remainders thereof.

Book 84, Page 117

Jan. 28, 1742

Feb. 1, 1742

Benjamin Pickman of Salem, executor of the last will and testament of John Pickman, late of said Salem, mariner, deceased,

to

Richard Derby of Salem aforesaid, mariner

All the Right, Estate, Title, Interest, Inheritance, Property, Claime and Demand whatsoever, both in Law & Equity which the said John Pickman deceased & his heirs ever had now have or may or ought to have as the said John was one of the grandchildren of Stephen Hasket late of said Salem — deceased, or by any other ways & means whatsoever of in & unto the homestead houseing & land of said Stephen deceased situate in Salem aforesaid, and also of in & unto the whole of the estate Real Personal & Mixt of said Stephen deceased & whereof he died seised & possessed, and also all the Right & Interest, Claim & Demand of said John & his heirs of in & unto the whole of said Estate Real & Personal of Elias Hasket late deceased late uncle of the said John deceased & whereof the said Elias died seised, situate in Salem aforesaid or elsewhere, with the rights, members, profits, privileges & appurtenances to the same belonging or appertaining and of reversion & reversions, remainder & remainders thereof.

Note — Derby already had a claim on the Stephen Hasket property through his mother, his uncle Elias Hasket, and his step-grandmother, all of whom were children of Stephen Hasket. The above deeds of January, 1742, closed out all other claims except the Ingersolls' to the long narrow lot east of the property bought of James Lindall in 1735.⁵ Assuming this to be true, it enlarged his home property as far as he desired, but he sold this property back to the Ingersolls in 1747.

⁵ See map in *Essex Antiquarian*, X, 115.

Book 93, Page 22
Feb. 24, 1748

Phillip English, of Salem, innholder
to
Richard Derby of Salem, mariner

One certain piece or parcel of land, situate in Salem aforesaid, containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres more or less with Dwelling House thereon where I now dwell, with a Ware House & Wharf on said land, being my part of the Est. that belonged to my mother Mary English, alias Hollingsworth, deceased, & set off to me the said Phillip by a lane, bounded Southwesterly on English's Lane, Easterly on the River or Salt Water, Northeasterly & Northwesterly by land of other heirs as set out by commission.

Note — This piece of land had no connection with the earlier purchases. It lay several blocks east, was east of English Street, and ran down to the water and included the wharf near where Phillips's Wharf now stands. The words, "where I now dwell," refer of course to English and not to Derby. This went to John Derby in the division.

Book 98, Page 36
Nov. 20, 1752
Nov. 20, 1752

Edward Hilliard of Salem, Ropemaker, with the consent of Elizabeth my wife
to

Richard Derby of said Salem, merchant

A certain piece of Land in Salem containing about an acre & an half bounded Easterly on Land late of Benj. Ives dec. Southerly on ye South River or harbor to low water mark, Westerly partly on Crowninshield's Land & Westerly on a highway, being all ye homestead land whereof my Hon. Father Joseph Hilliard lately died seized with the dwelling House wharfe & rope walk or Long House thereon, standing & ye Kittle, forelocks, wheels, bolts & all other tools used by ropemakers therein or thereto belonging & which have been there used, also ye liberty of improving ye way or ye back side of said Long House with carts or otherwise from ye highway aforesaid to ye harbour or to Crowninsheld's House and all & singular the ways, rights, members and appurtenances to the premises belonging.

Note — This piece of land was located probably eastward from the

main plot bought of Philip English, in 1748, along the water-front. It should be noted that the Winter Island deed of 1758 (next but one below) mentions Benjamin Ives, so the rope walk probably was on or near the neck. Derby sold it again the next year to Clifford Crowninshield.

Book 105, Page 16
Nov. 8, 1757

Mehetabel Babbidge, of Salem, Spinster, Administratrix of Estate of
Christopher Babbidge, late of Salem,

to

Richard Derby of said Salem

The late Mansion House of said Christopher Babbidge deceased with the land under, adjoining & belonging thereto in Salem aforesaid, bounded as follows: Southerly on the Main Street & there measures 90 feet; Northerly on Common Land or a way 85 feet; Westerly on Land of Nath'l Andrew 136 feet; Easterly on land of Samuel Carlton 147 feet, with the Barn thereon & the appurtenances & privileges thereof.

Note — This house, on the north side of Essex Street and back to the Common, Richard Derby bought for his daughter Mary, who had this year married Captain Crowninshield. There is a picture of it in Perley's *History of Salem* (II, 309). Richard gave it to Mary Crowninshield by will when he died. It was entirely separate and away from the Derby Street water-front property, but near the widow Hannah Crowninshield's house, which Elias Hasket later bought.

Book 144, Page 140
May 16, 1758
June 16, 1785

John Ives of Salem in the County of Essex, tanner, with the consent
of Sarah my wife

to

Richard Derby of said Salem, merchant

A certain tract of land lying partly on the neck & partly on Winter Island so called, in Salem aforesaid now in the occupation of one Jona. Twiss, containing by estimation about forty acres be the same more or less, including all that parcel of land containing about 28 acres be the same more or less which was granted & conveyed to my late father Benja. Ives since dec. by John Higginson since also dec. by his and dated the 8th day of April A. D. 1730 recorded in the office for the

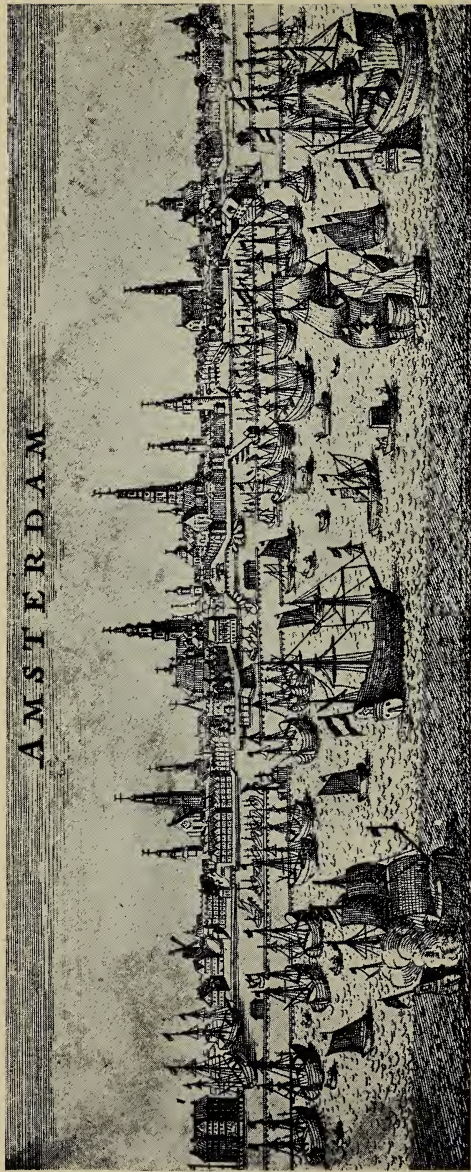
Registry of Deeds for said County, Libro 55, Folio 92, also that parcel of land containing three quarters of an acre more or less which was granted & conveyed to my said father by one John Abbot by his deed dated the 16th day of August 1738 recorded in the said office, Libro 74, Folio 176 & also those two pieces of land one containing about an acre & an half & the other three acres & one hundred & thirty one poles the reversions whereof were given & granted to myself & others by the inhabitants of the town of Salem aforesaid at their meeting on the 15th instant, bounded in the whole as follows viz: Northeasterly & Easterly by the sea & on all other parts by the towns pastures called the Neck & Winter Island & by the causes leading from said neck to said Island as the fences now stand & as the same is enclosed therewith so far as the same fence runs together with the whole of the stone wall & fence on & about the premises, with all the buildings thereon, the appurtenances & privileges thereof. Saving only a small piece of wall on the Westerly or Northwesterly side of the premises belonging to the town of Salem.

Saving as aforesaid & provided also with respect to the two pieces of land granted by the Inhabitants of said Salem as aforesaid that the said Richard Derby & his heirs & assigns shall always maintain & uphold the fences between the same pieces of land & the town land adjoining thereunto & also between the land purchased by my said father Benj. Ives of John Higginson as aforesaid & that upon twelve months neglect thereof after notice given them the said Richard Derby his heirs & assigns or any of them by the Selectmen of said Salem for the time being then this grant of the said two pieces of land granted by the Inhabitants of said Salem as aforesaid as well as the grant of said Inhabitants thereof is to be void.

Note — This purchase is connected with Richard Derby's lease of Palmer's Head, on Winter Island, from the town in 1755 for one thousand years at one shilling a year. For a long time he had a wharf and warehouse there.⁶ It should be noted also that on September 21, 1759, he purchased the Ives farm in Danvers, on the Danvers and Peabody road, which became his country estate, from the sisters of John Ives, who sold this property.

⁶ See Felt's *Annals of Salem*, I, 195.

(To be continued)



From a copperplate engraving by Evans, 1755
In possession of the author

THE FRIGATE "SOUTH CAROLINA."

BY LOUIS F. MIDDLEBROOK.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 338.)

So that the crew Capt. Joyner had when the Bahamas capitulated would probably be unavailable, as, according to depositions of Lieutenants White and Marston, the crew herein given were shipped at Philadelphia. Some of them may and no doubt were in the original crew at Amsterdam; and from the fact that there were over 500, or to be exact 550, when she left the Texel, the difference of 120 men (or a total of 430 on board when taken in December, 1782) would be accounted for by desertions, prize crews, and expirations of terms of service before and after her arrival at Philadelphia. At any rate, the population of the British prison ships in New York Bay was increased by over four hundred, when the frigate *South Carolina* was captured. A few of her officers were delivered ashore on Long Island, for safe keeping; another coterie were "pressed" by the three captors and entered on the ships' books; but the large majority of them were disposed of in the usual way, in the prison hulks, including the *Jersey*, and there appears to be no authentic record of their final whereabouts. Captain Joyner, Lieut. White, Marine Officers, Midshipmen and Secretary, were paroled and finally reached their homes, as presumably did the Surgeon and other officers who were fortunate enough to be ordered to a prison camp on Long Island; but most of the seamen and marines received the customary terrors for which the prison ships in and about the Bay of New York were famous during the latter part of the Revolutionary War.

Whatever finally became of the ship *South Carolina* after capture, is not disclosed. Being practically a new vessel, deep and seaworthy, she was probably taken into the British Navy and renamed and sent out against her adversaries during the few remaining months of the conflict, as many prizes were, and, unless she was captured by the Americans, her identity will have been lost, as it

probably was, by any subsequent reference to her career under a new name. It may be that the "jinx" that enveloped her exploits from the start, still followed her under British ownership, and that she died some horrible death at sea and thereby went forever from the marine picture. The lists of her last American people and their disposal by their British captors, follow, precisely as found:—

Adm. Muster Bk. (P. R. O. London)
Ser 1. 9695.

H. M. S. DIOMEDE.

Prisoners Victualled at 2/3^{ds} Allowance

DEC: 20. 1782. SOUTH CAROLINA

Nath ¹ Mastin 2 ^d Lieut	}	1782	
Peter Devereux		D. 29 Dec. Long Isl ^d	
Peter Fisher		D. 26 Dec. 1782	
Ja ^s Robinson		Prison Ship	
Peter Carborne		D. 31 Dec. 1782	
John Peter			
Php. Vanson			
Geo ^e Mushdollars			
Ph ^p Rider		D. 26 Dec 1782	
Mich ¹ Gilt		Prison Ship	
Jacob Pashon			
Rob ^t Mordeaux			
John Johnson			
John Clark			
Dan ¹ McFarlin		1782	
		D. 26 Dec	Ships Books
John Love	}		
Hen ^y Welks		D. 26 Dec 1782	
Frans ^s Tunney			
James Frazz		1782	
		D. 26 Dec.	Ships Books
Peter Munchieu	}		
John Maxwell		D. 26 Dec 1782	
Law ^{ce} Lowry		Prison Ship	
John Burris		1782	
		D. 26 Dec.	Ships Books
Robert Willis	}		
Geo ^e Wilson			
John Twig			
Moses Sherrard		D. 26 Dec 1782	
Arch ^d Campbell		Prison Ship	
Rob ^b Marshall			
John Jeffreys			

Sam^l Brown
 John Glover
 Mich^l Sexton
 Rob^t Johnson
 Iohn Richey
 Sam^l Hobbs
 In^o McInhenny
 Tho^s Simonton
 W^m Marshall
 Hen^y Clayton
 Obed Shaw
 Tho^s Browster
 Iohn Mahony
 Iohn Steele
 David Poke
 Peter Smith
 David Harmon
 Iohn Lewis
 Iohn Potter
 Iohn Corner
 Iohn Coomb
 Robert Stewart
 Iohn Slover
 Iacob Harman
 Geo^e Hindlind
 Hen^y Waggoner
 Tho^s Henny
 Ia^s Peacock
 Isaac Jerrell
 Iohn Holding
 Iohn Lawler
 Iam^s Braden
 Bryan McDonald
 Iohn Braden
 Tho^s Norris
 Aron Reastons
 Lutwick Harman
 Henry Meyers
 Geo^e Wyburn
 W^m Grim
 Cha^s Shot
 Fred^k Keel
 Needham Dall
 Tho^s Pedru
 Conraught Meylor
 Hend^k Meylor
 Geo^e Stephens
 Mich^l Heifran
 Iames Condran
 Iohn Chapman
 Ambrose Stimmins
 Will^m Taylor
 Geo^e Holt
 Rob^t Brislaw
 Den^s Conolly

D. 26 Dec 1782
 Prison Ship

D. 26 Dec. 1782
 Prison Ship

Mich ^l Knowles		
In ^o McGowan		
Wm Dorrington		
John Rowan		
John Bryan		
Gustavus Henderson 2 ^d Surg ⁿ		1782
In ^o Henderson Lt Marines		D. 28 Dec
John Stoy Vol.		Long Island
David Porter Purser		
Wm McGowar		D. 26 Dec. 1782
Edw ^d Grimes		Prison Ship
Anth ^y Povey	Black	
(South Carolina)		
In ^o Fontaine		26 Dec. 1782
Wm Grimes		Prison Ship
Hector McKenzie		
Daniel Shaddell		
Dublin Gillon	Black	1782
John Miller		31 Dec. Prison ship
Iam ^s Adams		
Mich ^l Cremer		
Robert Iones		
James Burney		
Stout Branston		
Law ^{ce} McCreay		
James White		
James Reed		
Geo ^e Guest		D. 26 Dec. 1782
James Betson		Prison Ship
Matthias Craft		
Thos ^s Singer		
Geo ^e Reel		
Fras ^s La Claire		
Mich ^l Boyer		
Henry Storm		
Augustine Arnou	Boy	
John Craft		
John Heyner		
Wm Devise		
Geo ^e Shoults		
John Deane		
Geo ^e Whitman		
Sam ^l Key		
Abm ^m Hartman		
Henry Leuts		
Thos ^s Karland		
Hen ^y Balty		
Fras ^s Robinson		
H ^y Slapwaugh		
John Smith		
Geo ^e Shindleborough		
Wm Grant		
James Stoner		
Iacob Buccanan		
And ^w Canouse		

Peter Riffard		}	26 Dec. 1782 Prison Ship
Jacob Roiner			
Jacob Power			
Wm Riley			
John Nelson			
John Sneyder			
Ino Conoway			
Jacob Strause			
Wm Binn			
Davd Taylor			
Wm Guile			
Archd Campbell			
Adam Binn			
Chris Kave, <i>Mr at Arms</i>			
Peter Snyoder			
Dens O'Connor			
Michl Spots, <i>Boy</i>			
Henry Wilcox			
Patk Leonard			
John Fox	<i>Boy</i>		
Timy McDonald			
James Hay			
B. S. Henny.	<i>Mid.</i>	}	28 Dec 1782 Long Island
Greenberry Hughes	<i>Mid.</i>		
John Gallad.	<i>Bo's Mate</i>	}	26 Dec. 1782 Prison Ship
Patrick Roy			
Robt Warnon			
Ichabad Rose			
John Randall			
Chas Willow			
John Sharp		}	Thos Lenox Frederick Captain Thos Halliday Master Rt Anderson Purser Danl Parr Boatswain
Isaac Waggoner			
Michl Harvey	<i>Clerk</i>		
John Blair.	<i>Mid</i>		

Adm. Muster Bk. 9655 (P. R. O. London)

H. M. "ASTREA."

SOUTH CAROLINA

20 Dec: 1782 List of Prisoners

Thos Fitzgerald 3rd Lt	}	
Robt Corham 4th Lt		
Gilbert Wall		
Richd Wall		
Augusts Brown		
Ino Blair	}	<i>Mids</i>
Wm Thompson Lt of Marine		
Patk Duffy Vol		

Edwd Scully "	Discharged
Ino Somervill "	1782
Cornelus Mandervil	27 Dec
Sneider	Prison
Ino Rayner	Ship
Ino Davis	New York
Wm White	
Pierce Denney	
Ino Hill	
Wm Wheeler	
Ino Wilson	
Ino McLaughlin	
Hugh Doile	
Wm McMurray	
Wm Miller	
Wm McLaughlan	
Ino Johnstone	
Isaac Salter	
Thos Pitt	
Ino McDaniel	
Thos Brown	
Chrisr Titmore	
Willk Hickmore	
Ino Siler	Discharged
Adam Hindslar	27 Dec 1782
Ino Mungle	Prison Ship
Christr Miller	New York
Henr Beards	
Henr Hemsley	
Fredk Riedley	
Casper Freuture	
Henr Strider	
Wm Soula	
Hendk Tangers	
Henr Shilling	
Henr Miller	
Chas Snatcherbt	
Philip Miller	
Alexr McPherlin	
Danl Davidson	
Iacob Rawer	
Chas Eagen	
Ino Down	
Henr Pegg	
Saml Jennings	
Thos Knapp	
Pompey Grazer	Discharged
Philius Lock	27 Dec '82
Ias Reynolds	Prison Ship
Thos Noble	New York
Thos Hall	
Jno Fenley	
Jno Appleton	
Henr Brown	
Jno Green	

Aron Jester
 Wm Short
 Jno Humphries
 Saml McCowell
 Jno Morrison
 Thos Philpot
 Ino Herber
 Ino Roberts
 Frans Hoskins
 Geoe Jones
 Jenkins Williams
 Luke Scully
 Ias Colvill
 Ino Sulter
 Michl Healey
 Thos Kent
 Wm Sharp
 Ino Hill
 Ino Forbes
 Geoe Jones 2d
 Ino Morris
 Hugh Geary
 Jack Jew
 Fredk Hickpott
 Ino Miller

Discharged
 27 Dec. '82
 Prison Ship
 New York

W. C. Squire Captain
 John Wilkie Master
 Jos McPherson Boatswain
 Wm Mould Purser

Adm. Musr. Bks. Ser. 1. 9209 (P. R. O. London)

H. M. S. QUEBEC.

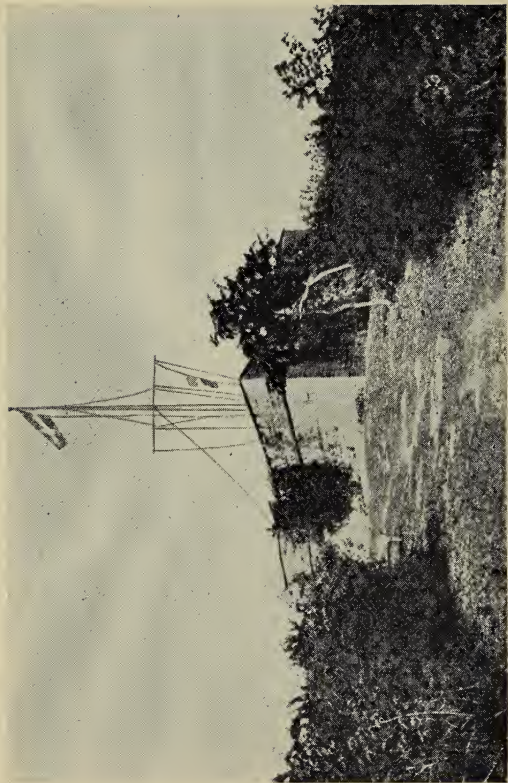
Prisoners borne for Victuals only at 2/3^{ds} Allow^{ce} of all
 Species

20 DEC: 1782. Prize Ship SOUTH CAROLINA.

Ja^s Mason
 Black Barney
 Th^s Howe
 D^d Graham
 Barney Turner
 In^o Smith
 Saml Smith
 Inⁿ Colwell
 Jno Lumsden
 C^s Ristine
 Is Watts
 R^d Skinner
 Th^s Morfett
 Jno McCarty
 In^o Ball
 Pr Ryan
 Henry Shirley

Discharged
 '82
 23 Dec
 [Apparently taken on
 Ship's Book]
 '82
 23 Dec. Jersey
 Prison
 Ship

Roger Matley		
In ^s Willson		
D ^l Swain		
D ^l Elliot		
Henry O'Hara		
Finley Cameron		<i>Discharged</i>
Sam ^l Getchell		
D ^l Mills		
In ^o Oaks		
In ^a Click		
Ed Taylor		
Ia ^s McClune		
In ^o Davis		
In ^o Wallace		
D ^d Wilkinson		23 Dec '82
Corn ^s Hopper		Jersey Prison
Wm Fagon		Ship
Ia ^s McMahone		
Aron Eldridge		
Th ^s Freeman		
In ^o Davis		
In ^o Bradley		
Wm Farrington		
In ⁿ Hotogrove		
In ^o Lemare		
Ia ^s Butler		
In ^o O'Bryan		
Pr Mezeney		<i>Discharged</i>
In ^o Patton		
In ^o Deats		
Wm Willy		23 Dec. '82
In ^o Powlen		Jersey Prison Ship.
Pr Griffin		
Joel Smith		
Henry Helt		
In ^o Joyner	Capt	28 Dec '82
Th ^s White	1 st Lt	On Parole
Ia ^s Carpenter	Lt Marines	27 Dec '82
In ^o Walters	"	On Parole
Hen ^y Roymer	"	26 Dec '82, Head Qrs
Sam ^l White	Mid ⁿ	
Ia ^s Bennet	"	27 Dec '82
Ia ^s Johnson	Secty	On Parole
In ^o Conrade		
Wm Gallagher		
Enoch Allen		
R ^h Bartholemew		
Cs Temmison		
Wm Bellcher		23 Dec '82
Caleb Boyle		Head Qrs
Hug Alerberg	Serg.	
Aug Wee Keelufur	Serg.	
Gole. Pape	Corp.	
Pfiefer Quilge		



OLD FORT MONTAGUE, NASSAU

Schan See Kezoff	}	<i>Discharged</i>		
Christa Bonfok				
Christo Heneke				
Heini Neil				
Dan ^l Niel				
Iului Tittle				
Verd. Lefeke				
Ad. Shelter				
Toh. Brunig				
Welh. Derger				
Goll. Kelin Kerfer			Corp	
Schors Leezor				
Carpr Kitz				
Nic. Horn			}	23 Dec '82 Head Q ^{rs}
Hen ^r Kref				
Geo Lobz				
Paul Goebell				
Ionas Holsmai				
Phili Sterleper				
Christo Lomullar				
Whilhelm Muller				
Henrich Schellig				
Carper Ferder				
Ph ^r Muller				
Vic. Unger				
Henr. Mertz				
Carper Berner				
Adam Zip	}	<i>Discharged</i> 23 Dec. '82 Head Q ^{rs}		
In ^o Smitte				
W ^m Kean				
Arnt Killarman				
In ^o Fillar	}	23 Dec. '82 Head ^{rs}		
In ^a Fillar				
W ^m Morriss	}	13 Dec. '82 Head ^{rs}		
C. Mason Capt		C. Hate Master		
James Esten Purser		W. Trubie Boats ⁿ		

Alexander Gillon was born in Rotterdam, Holland, on the north side of Wine street, August 13, 1741, and began his career as an apprentice in a Dutch mercantile house, and had gained nautical experience at sea at an early age. At the age of 24 he was Master of the brigantine *Surprise* and arrived at the port of Charleston in that vessel in February, 1765. His voyages brought him to Charleston quite regularly, and in July 1766 he was Master of the brig *Free Mason*. While in Charleston at that time he married Mrs. Mary Cripps, the widow of William Cripps of the County of Kent, England, but for some time a resident of South Carolina. Mrs. Cripps was the daughter of Richard Splatt, a Charleston mer-

chant. A few days after his marriage Captain Gillon sailed in his ship for Cowes, Isle of Wight, and returned shortly and settled in Charleston, where he conducted a profitable mercantile trade. He lived in the East Bay section, where he owned land on the water front and a wharf on the river. The location at this writing is still known as Gillon Street. He was a large landowner, for in addition to his residence and wharf properties he owned a plantation of 5,500 acres on the Congaree River. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was an active trader and his credit was probably not surpassed in South Carolina, and perhaps on the Continent. Shortly after the Battle of Lexington, in May 1775 a volunteer military organization was formed called the "German Fusiliers," with Alexander Gillon as Captain, which commission he held until the end of 1777. This organization served creditably during the war, and has existed and held an honorable place in the military history of Charleston ever since. On November 8th, 1775, Gillon was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of South Carolina and entrusted with the arming, fitting out and manning the ship *Prosper* for naval service. In June 1776 Gillon was in Philadelphia, trying to induce Congress to send a naval force to South Carolina to harass the British transports and Clinton's invasion. Because of his business aptitude he was engaged by the Continental Congress and arrangements made to advance to his account a large sum to be expended for commissary stores, to be purchased by him in Europe, but his own State appointed him on its own account to negotiate for purchases and offered him a naval command in the service of South Carolina, this action due perhaps to the refusal of Governor Rutledge to sign the bill enacting the new Constitution. And thus began Gillon's unfortunate career in France and Holland, endeavoring amidst intrigue of one sort or another, to purchase ships and supplies for his State, all of which continued misfortune may have been because of the independent stand taken by South Carolina concerning the Constitution, as well as the espionage work carried on by Britain through Arthur Lee and his

secretaries in France to thwart Gillon's errand. However, as events progressed, the frigate *South Carolina* was leased as shown in the preceding articles, and the vessel, after various vicissitudes, reached the Atlantic seaboard in 1782 under the command of Commodore Alexander Gillon as flag officer of the South Carolina Navy, only to become involved in the same French network which he had finally escaped in Europe. The remainder of his life he spent in public service and in the various discussions of the South Carolina General Assembly concerning the claims against the frigate. He was elected to the House of Representatives, afterwards chosen Lieutenant Governor, elected to Congress, and served in various other public capacities in the South Carolina General Assembly. Mary, his wife, having died October 24, 1787, he again married in February 1789, Ann Purcell, daughter of Rev. Dr. Purcell of St. Michael's Church, Charleston. In 1793 and 1794 he was again a member of Congress, until his death, which occurred at "Gillon's Retreat," on the Congaree River, S. C., October 6, 1794.

Captain John Joyner of the frigate *South Carolina* was a mariner of long standing. As early as 1762, during the last Colonial war against the French, he commanded one of the armed "scout-boats" in the employ of the Province of South Carolina. He is credited with the survey of the St. John River in Florida. During the Revolution, by order of the Secret Committee, he organized the expedition against the British in the Savannah River, and captured the British armed vessel lying there and seized another incoming ship and 16,000 pounds of gunpowder, 5,000 pounds of which were sent to Philadelphia and thence to Boston for Washington's army. In October 1775 he was in command of Fort Lyttleton, and when Gillon sailed for France, Joyner accompanied him in 1778. After his capture in December 1782, he was held on parole as a prisoner of war in New York, until released by the Peace of 1783, when he was sent in a cartel to Charleston, where he arrived in May of that year. In March 1784 he was court-martialled by the State for the loss of his frigate, but finally honorably acquitted. In

1786 he was a member of the South Carolina Legislature, and from time to time thereafter his name is found in the affairs of the public.

Lieutenant Thomas White, according to his deposition, came from Salem, Massachusetts Bay, and had been a privateersman ever since the beginning of the Revolutionary War. He belonged to the Wenham family of Whites, being descended from John White who came to Salem in 1638. He was baptized in Wenham, Sept. 3, 1758, and his brother Samuel, who was a midshipman in the *South Carolina*, was born October 3, 1762. Lieutenant Thomas White had before been captured by the British. In 1778 he was taken in the schooner *Seaflower*, Jacob Clarke, master, from Guadaloupe to Salem, in Buzzards Bay by H. M. S. *Unicorn*, and sent into Halifax. He was exchanged in the summer of 1778 and returned with others, including his brother Samuel, in the cartel *Silver Eel* from Halifax to Boston, and reported by B. Fox, Commissary of Prisoners. He is also recorded as 2nd Mate of the privateer brig *Speedwell*, commanded by Captain John Ingersoll of Salem, and described in the list of officers and crew of that vessel, sworn to May 27, 1780, as twenty years of age, 5 feet 9 inches in stature, light complexion, residence Salem, and reported as rating two shares of prize money. The brig *Speedwell*, according to the Halifax deposition made by Capt. Benjamin Cox in October 1782, hailed from Salem, but was built in Rhode Island about the year 1775. While under the command of Captain Ingersoll, she was captured by the British on first cruise, taken into New York and libelled, and sent out by the British as a privateer under the same name against the Americans. She was again retaken and sent into Salem, where she was purchased by Captain Mason of that port, who refitted the *Speedwell* and sent her out again as an armed trader to the West Indies under the command of Captain Benjamin Cox, who had successfully evaded capture until October 19, 1782, while bound to Hispaniola with a cargo of lumber and fish, when he fell in with the British ship *Renown*. After a chase lasting about "six glasses" the *Speedwell* was compelled to strike,

and was sent into Halifax for libel. Captain Cox in his deposition stated that Captain Mason of Salem owned the brig two years, or ever since she had been retaken by the Americans and sold at Salem, and that he heard she had been taken from the Americans in 1780 while under the command of Ingersoll; that she was square-sterned and had no "head" (meaning figurehead), and was armed when taken in October 1782 with two 4-pounder guns and four swivels and manned by nine men. When taken in 1780 the *Speedwell's* people were mostly delivered to prison ships at New York and the officers sent to Mill Prison in Plymouth, England, as decreed by the British about that time. Lieutenant Thomas White and his brother Samuel, who had there been confined, made their escape and succeeded in making their way to France and thence to Holland as many others were fortunate enough to do, and there entered for service in the frigate *South Carolina*, in which vessel they were again captured December 20, 1782, off the Delaware Capes, and carried into New York, where they remained until the close of hostilities in 1783. An interesting sequel to the history of the brig "*Speedwell*" is, that after having again been sent out by the British in 1783 from Halifax, she was again retaken by the Americans and sent home to her final resting place in Salem. The register of the brig and her clearance from Boston were the only papers found on board, lodged with the Advocate General in Halifax, according to evidence given by William Pough, carpenter in the *Renown* frigate. What finally became of Lieutenant White has not as yet been discovered, but his career and record during the entire seven years of the Revolution were full of many experiences and maritime adventures.

Nicholas Bartlett of Marblehead (born 1750) was First Lieutenant in the frigate *South Carolina* before Thomas White, and must have been sent as prize-master in one of the *South Carolina's* captured prizes, and supplanted by Lieutenant White. Nicholas Bartlett was an officer in the privateer brig *General Glover*, and was taken prisoner and carried into England, where for five months

he was confined, but escaped and succeeded in finding his way to France and to Holland. (Roads' History.)

According to Captain Joyner's evidence concerning the capture of the *South Carolina* in December 1782, her last crew had a smattering of British and Hessian prisoners shipped at Philadelphia, a large majority of whom were not seafaring people and unaccustomed to the handling of a ship or its battery, and it is not surprising under these circumstances that the officers of the *South Carolina* were unwilling to risk combat against the three King's ships encountered off the Delaware Capes at that time. Had the original crew remained with Captain Joyner, which crew was largely made up of seasoned men who had either escaped the British prisons or had been exchanged, the final career of the *South Carolina* might not have been so disastrous, notwithstanding the many claims filed against her by the representatives of the Chevalier Luxembourg. The frigate was practically new, armed with a large battery of powerful guns for those days, and was of sufficient tonnage and construction to have given a good account of herself, if manned with the right crew; but this was evidently an impossibility considering the pressing manner in which it seemed necessary to ship a crew in order to get her into commission and avoid the clutches of the French claimants in Philadelphia; and the only course open to her officers was to fill up the vacancies caused by expiring terms, sicknesses causing many to be left at Teneriffe, and desertions, and to get to sea as soon as practicable and to do the best they could with what there was to do with. While at Philadelphia it became necessary to make some extensive repairs, which also added to an already expensive experience; and there is no doubt but that the British at New York received frequent intelligence about the ship and knew the very day on which she was to sail, and had the three frigates in waiting for her as soon as she left the Delaware.

The final investment of the Bahama Islands by the Americans and their allies was accomplished under the leadership of Commodore Gillon of the frigate *South*

Carolina and his combined Spanish-American fleet; and as he pointed out in his important letter of May 15, 1782, to Governor Matthews of South Carolina, "When it is considered that there are many harbors amongst these isles extending from latitude 21° to $27^{\circ} 30'$ N. and from longitude 70° to about 79° west from London, filling up the seas from about opposite the center of the Island of Hispaniola (Haiti) to about half way down the Island of Cuba and then stretching from Cape Florida to near abreast of Cape Canaveral on the continent of North America,—their being in the possession of a friend or an enemy, is of no small consequence to the United States. * * *" his reasoning and strategy were correct; and had it not been for the embryo state and condition of the newly-born American Republic, and the consequent want of both naval and military material as well as the financial aid to retain those islands, they might now form a valuable adjunct to the United States of America. As it was, however, the weakness of the country from the seven years of conflict, the approaching quasi war with France, Algiers and Tripoli, and the second war with Britain in 1812, left no means at our disposal for the consideration of the absorption of any more territory than that already provided by the Treaty of 1783,—when Lieutenant-Colonel Deveaux, a Loyalist from South Carolina, organized a successful expedition and recaptured the Bahama Islands for the British.

The Bahama Islands, from the outset of hostilities during the American Revolution, had been the target of conquest. Early in the spring of 1776 Commodore Hopkins, with the first fleet of the new American Navy, attacked New Providence and captured an enormous quantity of war material, bringing it to New London, Connecticut, for distribution where it was most needed along the seaboard,—some of which was transported overland for the defences of Boston. And again on the night of the 27th of January, 1778, Captain John Peck Rathburn in the sloop-of-war *Providence* made another daring and successful attack on the same island, where a small British colony had again settled since the first raid. It had

by that time become a favorite rendezvous for British vessels and was bidding fair to become an important British naval station. At the time of Rathburn's exploit the little seaport had accumulated a population of over a thousand. The place was well defended by fortifications of no mean power, and the venture almost bordered upon recklessness, as there were British armed vessels lying in the harbor under the guns of the fort at the time. The descent upon Fort Nassau was made from the landward side, the garrison taken by surprise in the night, and the crew of the *Providence* were victors of a most daring enterprise. American colors were hoisted over the fort, and at daybreak on January 28th, 1778, the captain and the crew of the British vessels in the harbor, together with their captured American privateers, peacefully surrendered to Rathburn, prisoners were properly disposed of within the dungeons of the fort, American prisoners released, and for the next three days all the Americans were busily engaged in transferring to the sloop-of-war *Providence* the ammunition and stores from the fort, freeing their imprisoned countrymen and recapturing the five American vessels that had been sent in for libel by the British sloop-of-war *Grayton* and re-manning them for service with their original crews. This episode was an outstanding one of the exploits of American seamen, achieved by a handful of men mostly from New England, and indicative of what might have been further accomplished had the power of the American Navy been even partially adequate to cope with the occasions that continually presented themselves along the Atlantic seaboard and in the waters of the West Indies.

The capitulation of the islands for the third and last time is graphically set forth in the following Articles agreed to and carried out, and which are given herewith as forming a bit of heretofore unpublished allied-American history that goes along with the history of misfortune attending the once famous frigate *South Carolina*, of the Revolutionary War:

(To be continued)

THOMAS AND ESTHER (MARLOWE) CARTER AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BY CECIL HAMPDEN CUTTS HOWARD.

The various chroniclers of the Carter family in New England assign different dates for the arrival of the progenitor of the family, more especially for that line which was primarily established in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and later made headquarters for years in Newburyport. These two places were the only towns in New England where any considerable number of that name and descent were found. In later years they were more frequently found in the Middle West, not infrequently in the South, and as far away as the Pacific Coast.*

The several manuscripts on the Carter family to which the writer has had access, all commence with Thomas Carter who married Esther Marlowe and it has therefore seemed wise to make this a record of the descendants of those two, of which it is a very full account, as well as the only account ever in print.

A portion of the line appeared several years ago in *The Cutts Genealogy*, from the fact of a son and daughter of Nathaniel Carter having intermarried with that family, but, the same record in this is quite complete to date, as to names, and in most instances as to dates.

Perhaps the most interesting item of the first generation is that Thomas Carter had an aged brother who served in the English navy in their engagements with the Dutch. There is no known record, however, of his marriage, or their ancestry in the old country. The first three generations of the Carter family in New England were universally merchants and ship owners, following the sea for a living, as did so many at that period of our country's history, but today it will be found that a goodly

* Acknowledgments for assistance in compilation are particularly due to Miss Caroline Carter, of Cambridge, Massachusetts; Miss Agnes E. Carter, of Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; Mrs. A. R. Urion, of Chicago; Mrs. Tadlock, of Olympia, Wash.; George T. Cruft, Dr. Charles W. Townsend, and the late Miss Anna Reynolds, of Boston, who has been taken by death since this manuscript was commenced, and was untiring in assistance as long as she was able to attend to the duty of writing. This was also true of the late Miss Ida Edson, of Omaha, who had made a study of all branches of her family.

proportion of the descendants are professional men, merchants in other lines, and artisans.

It will be observed that the descendants did not multiply to any considerable extent until after the marriage of the grandson of the immigrant, Nathaniel Carter of Newburyport. A period of 175 years after coming to America only gives in all a record of a few hundred, and a very small proportion of those are in the Carter name, there being many who are descended in the female lines.

From earliest time until the present it is a notable fact that they have always been allied with the best families of the localities in which they lived.

Thomas Carter, who settled at Charlestown, Massachusetts, before 1675, was accompanied by an older brother, who had served in the English navy, and at that time a man far advanced in years of whom there is no other record known.

After residing in this country for a time he returned to England, and there married Esther Marlowe, a ward of the Rev. Thomas Vincent of London, by whom she had been educated.

No record further than this has been preserved of the family of his wife, and the young people commenced housekeeping in Charlestown, Mass., where their children were born, in their home on Main and Trainingfield streets.

Mrs. Esther Marlowe Carter united by letter with the church in Charlestown, Massachusetts, from the church in London, in March, 1676, of which Rev. Mr. Vincent was pastor. She died December 11, 1709, and was followed twelve years later by her husband who died October 14, 1721. Their graves are to be found in the old Charlestown burying ground.*

Their children were as follows:

1. SAMUEL, b. Sept. 11, 1677; d. June 11, 1678.
2. JOHN, b. January 8, 1679; d. July 20, 1680.
3. ANNA, b. May 8, 1681; d. Oct. 10, 1693.
4. VINCENT, b. 1685; bapt. Jan. 1; m. Aug. 10, 1710, Hannah Gookin; d. Sept. 23, 1718.

* Wyman's Charlestown, Mass.

5. EBENEZER, b. July 24, 1687; d. Aug. 8, 1687.
6. THOMAS, d. prior to 1707.

The Carters were large landed proprietors in Essex County, England, in early days, and many were in army and navy, and it is from this county in England that Thomas Carter is universally recorded as coming.*

4. VINCENT, son of Thomas and Esther Marlowe Carter, the only one of his parents' six children to reach maturity, married, August 10th, 1710, Hannah, the only daughter of Rev. Nathaniel and Hannah Savage Gookin, when she was in her 18th year. Her parents dying in her childhood, she became the ward of Colonel William Brattle of Boston, her only near relative being her brother Nathaniel Gookin, who afterward became a well-known clergyman. She was admitted to the church in Charlestown, June 27, 1714.

Through the Gookins she was allied to well-known families, a direct descendant of Major General Daniel Gookin, of Cambridge in 1647, at various times Major General of the Colonial military forces, Representative, Speaker of the House, Captain of the Cambridge band, confidential agent of Oliver Cromwell, and other important positions. Through her mother she could trace her descent to the families of Tyng, Savage and Hutchinson, being in the third generation from Hon. Thomas Savage, Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, and commander in chief of the early part of King Philip's war. She was a descendant of Anne Hutchinson, and, through her a descendant of the Marburys, Drydens, Copes, and other notable families of England, with near relationship to the poet Dryden. It is evident from the books preserved that she owned, many of which were autographed by her, that she was familiar with the best literature of the day. Traditionally she was a good housekeeper, with more than average skill and judgment.

Three portraits of her are now extant, which were painted at about the same time, after she had reached

* Reynold's notes in Mss.

middle life. Of these, one is owned by William Smith Carter of New York, and the other two in Boston, by the Misses Cruft and Norton. Her wedding gloves, slippers, and other articles of attire are owned by George Wheelwright of Bangor, Maine; her snuff box by Miss Caroline Carter of Cambridge, Mass., and silver presented her by Col. William Brattle, as well as a piece she owned after second marriage, to Colonel Richard Kent, are owned respectively by George Wheelwright, William Smith Carter and Mrs. Robert W. King.

Little is known of her husband, Vincent Carter, which was due in part to the great fire in Newburyport that destroyed so much of historical value, as well as to the fact of his early death. He was a prominent merchant and died at the comparatively early age of 33 years, in 1718. Their children were:

7. THOMAS, b. July 27, 1711; bapt. 1st Ch. Charlestown; d. 1731.
8. HANNAH, Jan. 1, 1713; d. Feb. 10th, 1713.
9. NATHANIEL, b. 1715; m. Mary Beck, Sept. 21, 1742; d. April 13, 1798.
10. HANNAH, b. Mar. 8, 1718; m. Patrick Tracy, Newburyport, s. p. d.

Mrs. Hannah Gookin Carter married, second, Colonel Richard Kent, Sept. 8, 1724, by whom she had six children,* and died March 20, 1758, having outlived her second husband. Both are buried in Newburyport.

9. NATHANIEL CARTER, son of Vincent and Hannah Gookin Carter, married in Newburyport Sept. 21, 1742, Mary Beck, a daughter of Deacon Joshua and Abigail Daniel Beck, of that place. His wife was a descendant of Henry Beck, who came from Hertfordshire, England, in the ship *Angel Gabriel*, which was cast away at Pemaquid, August 15, 1635, and was twice descended in this line from the Frosts of that locality, one of a family of 16 children, only seven of whom lived to marry. One of her

* The children of Colonel and Mrs. Richard Kent were as follows: Mary, b. June 8, 1725; Elizabeth, b. June 6, 1726; m. Samuel Breck; Sarah, b. June 9, 1729; m. Dudley Atkins, May 7, 1742; d. Oct., 1810; John, b. 1731-2; d. unmarried; Joseph and Richard, who died unmarried.

sisters, Sarah, married Edward Bass, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, but has left no descendants.

Their children were:

11. HANNAH, b. 1745; d. Aug. 4, 1750.
12. NATHANIEL, b. July 27, 1746; d. October 7, 1749.
13. ESTHER BECK, b. Feb. 5, 1749; m. Rev. Thomas Carey May 25, 1775; d. May 29, 1779.
14. NATHANIEL, b. Feb. 24, 1757; m. Elizabeth Eppes Cutts May 1, 1788; d. June 12, 1842.
15. THOMAS, b. Nov. 24, 1758; m. Mrs. Mehitable Hackett Oct. 9, 1809; d. July 6, 1828.
16. JOSHUA, b. Dec. 2, 1760; m. Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Thaxter, Aug. 24, 1794; d. Sept. 15, 1849.
17. HANNAH, b. Aug. 11, 1764; m. William Smith June 13, 1787; d. Dec. 25, 1838.
18. MARY, b. June 23, 1766; m. Edward Cutts April 17, 1796; d. Mar. 11, 1840.
19. THOMAS, b. —; died unmarried.

Nathaniel Carter was a successful shipping merchant in Newburyport, and the owner of considerable real estate, as well as vessels, as is evidenced by a paper, now in possession of the writer, dividing the same by mutual consent, among the children and grandchild who survived him. He was also a reader of the best literature of the period, very many of his books being now in the possession of the descendants of his daughter Mary, who married Edward Cutts. In some cases these were translations of the best French authors. He is mentioned in the recently published *Diary of John Quincy Adams*,—"The Story of a New England Town," which is of Adams' residence in Newburyport in 1788, while a law student. Mr. Adams was a frequent visitor at the Carter home, and mentions people that he met there and at other homes in town. He speaks of Mr. Carter as being 73 at that time, and of his being "a great Genealogist." This and other complimentary allusions show the reader how highly he appreciated him, and that he was evidently a good representative of the best men of his time. A letter written by him to his daughter Esther, while at school in Boston, manifests great interest in her mental and physical development, and is filled with tender paternal solicitude for her welfare and deportment.

A table belonging to the family, at which Lafayette is said to have drunk tea when passing through Newburyport, is now in existence, and is described as having a circular ridge and as being about two and a half feet in diameter, with curiously curved legs at the bottom, coming from a round center shaft. This shaft supports a square base with four pillars upholding the top.

13. ESTHER BECK CARTER, eldest daughter of Nathaniel and Mary Beck Carter, as has been mentioned, married May 25, 1775, Rev. Thomas Cary of Newburyport, pastor of the church at that place, and son of Samuel and Margaret Graves Cary of Charlestown. Their memory is preserved in a branch of her brother Thomas's family by portraits of both individuals. That of Rev. Thomas Cary is owned by Miss Caroline Carter of Cambridge, and that of Mrs. Cary, taken when she was but three years of age, is now owned by a namesake, Mrs. Esther Leonard. Mrs. Cary died after four years of married life, in May, 1779, being survived by one son, who did not live to marry. The property he left at his death was willed to various relatives; the silver and books coming down in the line of his aunt, Mrs. Mary Carter Cutts, wife of Edward Cutts, of Portsmouth, as is evidenced by a letter in the writer's possession. Rev. Thomas Cary was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1761, and a descendant on his mother's side of the Sparhawks, Graves, Averys and Newmans of New England, all well-known families.*

14. NATHANIEL CARTER, son of Nathaniel and Mary Beck Carter, of Newburyport, Mass., married Elizabeth Eppes Cutts, daughter of Samuel and Anna Holyoke Cutts, of Portsmouth, N. H., May 1, 1788. His wife was a granddaughter of Rev. Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard college, for 37 years; a descendant of the families of Appleton, Rogers, Denison, and others well known in New England, and the old country. She was also in direct line from Gov. Thomas Dudley, President

* See *Sparhawk Genealogy*, p. 47 and *Diary of John Quincy Adams*.

Rogers of Harvard, and other well-known notables of that time. Her husband is mentioned in a manuscript, penned by a descendant, as being, "a Gentleman of the olden school, short of stature, with blue eyes." Prior to the great fire in Newburyport in 1811, he was a prominent merchant of that place. On account of loss by fire and by his vessels being among those captured on the high seas by the French in the latter part of the eighteenth century, he was reduced from wealth to a small competence. Their children were:

20. NATHANIEL, 3d. b. Mar. 3, 1789; m. Harriet Tyler, Dec. 2, 1819; d. Dec. 7, 1823. .
21. SAMUEL, b. May 8, 1790; d. Feb. 28, 1794.
22. EDWARD, b. Dec. 9, 1791; midshipman U. S. N. —; d. Jan. 13, 1813.
23. ANNA CUTTS, b. May 5, 1793; d. Sept. 28, 1793.
24. ELIZA EPPES, b. Sept. 12, 1795; m. Rev. David Kimball, Aug. 6, 1822; d. June 15, 1885.
25. MARY, b. Oct. 15, 1798; m. George Wheelwright, Dec. 24, 1816; d. Apr., 1871.
26. MARGARET CARY, b. Sept. 14, 1801; m. Rev. M. B. Church, June 11, 1827; d. June 4, 1885.
27. SAMUEL CUTTS, b. Mar. 9, 1803; m. Miss Ayers, Apr. 20, 1824; d. June 9, 1889.
28. HAMPDEN CUTTS, b. Mar. 6, 1805; m. Miss Coles, Apr. 4, 1843; d. Dec. 30, 1889.
29. ANNA SYDNEY, b. Mar. 11, 1809; m. Rev. D. D. Tappan, Sept. 28, 1859; d. May 6, 1885.

It is a somewhat unusual occurrence to note in this family of ten children, of the four sisters who lived to marry, that three died in 1885, within a month of each other, and two of the three brothers died in 1889, within six months of each other.

15. THOMAS CARTER, son of Nathaniel and Mary Beck Carter, married October 9, 1809, Mrs. Mehitable Worthen Hackett, who was born in Amesbury, Mass., Oct. 9, 1771, and died March 31, 1857.

Their children were:

30. THOMAS CHARLES, b. July 13, 1810; m. Mrs. S. A. Davis, May 29, 1836; d. Jan. 11, 1874.

31. CHARLES THOMAS, b. July 13, 1810 (twins); m. Eleanor Luther, Oct. 4, 1848.
32. WILLIAM FREDERICK, b. Mar. 2, 1812; physician; d. Aug. 22, 1866.
33. FREDERICK WILLIAM, b. Mar. 2, 1812; m. Cecelia Young, Sept. 20, 1845; d. Oct. 6, 1871.
34. ISAAC SMITH, b. Sept. 20, 1813; m. Maria Manson, Aug. 6, 1836; d. June 12, 1838.
35. MARY ESTHER, b. Apr. 26, 1817; d. unmarried Amesbury, October, 1903.

16. JOSHUA CARTER, son of Nathaniel and Mary Beck Carter, married August 21, 1794, Mrs. Elizabeth Duncan Thaxter, a daughter of James Duncan, a prominent merchant of Haverhill, Mass. He was for many years a ship owner and merchant in Newburyport, following in the line of those who preceded him in the family.

In 1799 he represented the town in the State legislature, and took an active part in the erection of the new meeting house for the First Parish church.*

Owing to the loss of vessels, seized by the French at that time, he failed in business. He removed to Chelsea and carried on a farm, afterward removing to Boston to live with his daughter, Mrs. Reynolds. His wife died in Boston at the advanced age of 97 years, Oct. 6, 1864.

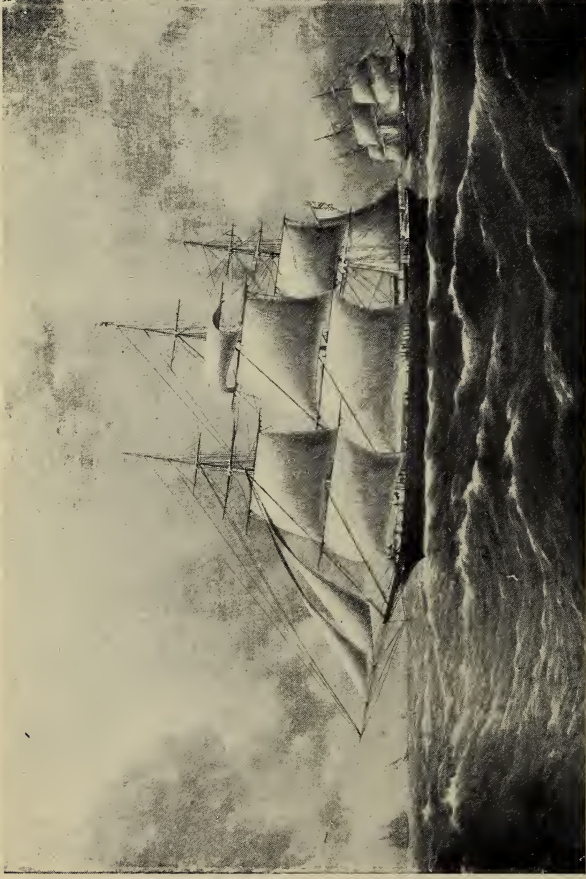
By her first marriage Mrs. Carter had two children, a son and daughter, of whom the latter surviving, married Ebenezer Parsons.

The children of Mr. and Mrs. Carter were:

36. GEORGE DUNCAN, b. June 1, 1795; m. Cath. Schuyler Tillman, June 30, 1840; d. May 2, 1859.
37. THOMAS, b. Mar. 26, 1797; H. C. 1817; sailed from Gibraltar in brig *Harmony* for Boston as supercargo and half owner in 1819, and was never heard from.
38. ELIZABETH MARGARET, b. Apr. 9, 1799; m. Wm. Belcher Reynolds, Apr. 24, 1821; d. Sept. 4, 1866.
39. JAMES DUNCAN, b. Oct. 19, 1801; d. Sept. 27, 1802.
40. CAROLINE, b. Mar. 21, 1804; d. May 4, 1833.
41. JAMES JOHN, b. Sept. 27, 1806; d. May 25, 1816.
42. MARGARET DUNCAN, b. Mar. 27, 1809; d. unm. May 31, 1882.

*Diary John Quincy Adams, "Story of a New England Town." Reynolds Mss. notes.

(To be continued)



SHIP WITCHCRAFT

Pickman & Rogers, owners: William C. Rogers, master.

From painting owned by Francis Peabody.

SALEM VESSELS AND THEIR VOYAGES.

BY GEORGE GRANVILLE PUTNAM.

(Continued from Volume LXV, page 362.)

They heard our shouting and dogs, in the distance, but lost sight of our ship, it was so cloudy, and alarmed, thought it most prudent to luff. On asking the mate, why, sailing now along very slowly a mile apart, the two ships did not keep nearer together, he replied, should it die away calm, they might by attraction (like two chips in a tub of water) come together, lock yards and rigging, and tear one another all to pieces in the swell of the ocean.

November 9. Lay becalmed all night within eight miles of the Isle of Martin Vas and Trinidad. Nov. 11, at daybreak, a low rakish-looking schooner changing her course bore down across, very near our bow, her deck full of men; but pretty soon she sailed away. All the watch below were called up, and afterwards said they felt uncertain how soon they might "walk the plank," for she was either a pirate or a slaver,—easily convertible. The Mate kindly allowed the Clerk to sleep on. He thought, had they known of the sovereigns on board, we should have received an early morning call, but that we had been mistaken for some homeward bound "greasy whaler," just brushed up in the Trades, which our ship resembled with her whaleboat gigs on the quarter, and covered long-boat looking like try-works; or, that the schooner might be in search of some special ship bound home.

November 15. Weather fine. After dark this evening, saw a Catamaran fisherman very near with a lone man in it. Nov. 16, at 3, made the low land of the Brazil coast, and at 7 A. M. came to anchor in the outer roads off Pernambuco. Delightful southeast trades blowing. Go on shore twice, and bring off longboat loads of water, oranges, bananas, plantains, guavas, etc., having visited a large enclosed garden to see them growing. The Recife or Reef, a natural breakwater, is the great curiosity of the place,—where the ocean for some distance throws its

spray over on the out, and the shipping lies securely as at a wharf on the inside.

The old town (we believe the oldest on the Western Continent) is said to resemble a provincial one in Portugal, with its high buildings and narrow streets. Some of them were lined with huge specimens of shining, ebony-lazy, sleek looking Guinea negresses, sitting on the edge-stones, luxuriating on bananas, their complexion and physique in deep contrast with the thin sallow Portuguese inhabitants. Sailed from Pernambuco, Nov. 17, passing four miles thence by Olinda, having a fine view of the Roman Catholic convent, one of the largest in the world.

December 12, winds baffling and squally. Saw a very large waterspout going with great velocity, estimated to be 200 feet high! The Captain, called from below, ordered in all sail, unnecessarily alarmed, but soon made it again. No observation of the sun for two or three days. Latitude by the moon this evening, at 7, 32 degrees 58 minutes north.

December 15. Enter the Gulf Stream this morning, weather squally, with an irregular sea. Thermometer in the air 72 degrees, in the water 74 degrees. At 4 P. M. under main and fore close-reefed topsails, it blowing very hard with a high irregular sea. Though the ship rolled violently, the mate, Mr. Lewis, thought that under the circumstances she behaved remarkably well; most ships would be obliged to lie to; he had seen them sometimes, in less bad weather, roll away their masts. At 8 this evening judge ourselves across the Gulf, in the course of an hour the thermometer falling from 72 degrees down to 44 degrees.

December 16. Wind moderates this afternoon, find soundings in 43 fathoms. At 7 P. M., latitude by the moon 40 degrees 25 minutes north. At daylight saw the Tide Rips; at 8 A. M., Nantucket Island, eastern side, looming 20 miles distant, all out of water. At 11 A. M., Chatham Lighthouse six miles distant northwest. A number of vessels in sight.

December 17 (1842), sea time, running along under the lee of Cape Cod shore all the afternoon with top-gallant sails set; thermometer 40 degrees. Off Race Point

Light at dark, it blowing very hard from the northwest, and thermometer falling nearly to zero; close reef the topsails fore and main, with every prospect of being blown off into the Gulf Stream again—"to thaw out." Large ships flying by us, out the bay.

Go below at 12. The chief officer called us at 4 A. M., and a most impressive sight there was, on stepping upon deck, below, to leeward. "The sea around was black with storms," and just abreast Cape Ann we went about off Thatchers Island, within sound of the roaring Salvages,—the shores of snow, and moon and stars above so bright as to dim the lights completely. Then stood up against a hard Nor'wester for Boston, carrying on very hard, lee bow under water, and forward rigging beginning to be cased with ice, the thermometer nearly at zero. The mate observing it was now of no consequence how many spars or sails we lost, if we could make safe anchorage,—he had two or three times been nearer and blown off again into the Gulf Stream.

Somewhere off Marblehead harbor, took a pilot, who soon left us to go far down the bay for another large ship. He had signalled for another pilot boat to take us, to which the Captain and Clerk were transferred two or three miles more in one of the dories left on purpose. It was no agreeable step, going over the ship's side with our bags of treasure, but we held on tight. On board of one of these clipper boats, she beat up against the Nor'wester, a five-knot current setting down, all the afternoon, to Boston, and arrived just in time for us to take the evening train to Salem. Thus terminated the Clerk's only sea voyage. And in fine, all the rest of the ship's company some time past have terminated with different worldly fates their other "voyage of life."

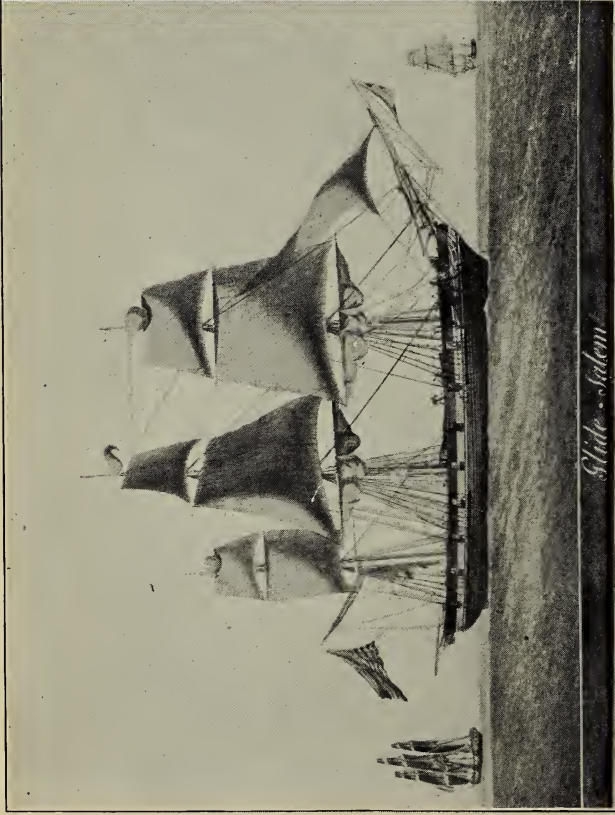
In concluding these notes on the commerce of Messrs. Waite and Pierce and N. L. Rogers and Brothers, it may be observed that during the twenty years partnership of the Messrs. Rogers they had about one hundred and twenty (120) voyages to the East Indies or around the Capes, exclusive of their previous private ones, as well as many to most other commercial quarters of the world.

Some of the Clerks in their counting-room might be

remembered by business men here,—as George A. Ward, Thomas Swett (afterwards supercargo for them at Bombay, etc., and lost at sea); Nathaniel Waite Rogers (eldest son of N. L. Rogers), for whom, then out of health, the *Shepherdess* was bought to sail, but he died previous to her departure, aged eighteen, in 1832, having been three years their Clerk; Henry L. Williams, afterwards in Joseph Peabody, Esq.'s, counting-room, and later a Mayor of Salem, deceased; William B. Swett of Andover, brother of Thomas; Osgood W. Gould, who died in California; John Denison Rogers (only son of J. W. Rogers), Supercargo of ship *Black Warrior*, two or three voyages, to Madeira, Bombay, Ceylon, Holland, North of Europe, New Holland, etc., part owner and Captain of clipper schooner *Petrel* to China, where he died at Shanghai about 1844, at about 24 years; Augustus Dodge Rogers, fifth son of N. L. Rogers; Capt. Richard Denison Rogers, son of R. S. Rogers. All of these, except William Swett, made one or more voyages around the Capes or to the East Indies.

Some of the Rogers's adventures, charters, or vessels, besides those mentioned, were the Barque *Active*, nearly new, Cloutman of Salem, master, to the Pacific; Barque *Cavalier*, new, about 400 tons, to Calcutta, part charter; Ship *Corvo*, chartered new, 400 tons, of Boston, Edwin Gale of Salem, master, two or three voyages to Bombay, etc., Robert Watts King (brother of Capt. H. F. King), clerk and supercargo; Ship *Georgia*, new, 400 tons, of Boston, Thomas M. Saunders of Salem, master, to Calcutta, charter; Ship *Plymouth*, 500 tons, new, chartered, of Boston, to Isle of France, Gibson, master (afterwards lost at sea); Ship *Lydia* of Salem, Cross of Beverly, master, to New Zealand, Valparaiso, Chili, Buenos Aires, etc., Mr. W. L. Rogers, before mentioned, passenger after leaving the *Shepherdess*, to Valparaiso and Buenos Aires, from New Zealand.

Some of the Captains unmentioned were: Emery Johnson of Salem, in Brig *Talent*, at China; Charles Millett of Salem, of *Tybee* to New Holland; Millett of the *Quill*, and Shilaber and Swasey of the same; Francis of the *Shepherdess*, to Bahamas, and Webb of the *Brenda*.



SHIP GLIDE

Joseph Peabody, Owner

From a painting by "Anton Roux fils ainé a Marseille, 1823."

Some of the above vessels each made a dozen voyages more or less, unmentioned in these notes, to the East Indies.

The good old Salem ship *Glide* may well be mentioned at this time, so closely is her story allied to that of the *Augustus*. It would seem to be little short of presumption to write anything today concerning the *Glide*, so well and so thoroughly has the story been told by Curator Lawrence W. Jenkins, in a volume published by the Salem Marine Research Society, entitled "Among the Cannibals in the Fijis, the Narrative of William Endecott, third mate of the *Glide*," also one by William Carey, who shipped on the *Glide* when she was at the Feejee Islands. To omit wholly a reference to the ship in these articles would certainly be out of place.

The *Glide* was built in Salem by Enos Briggs, was launched December 3, 1811, and registered 306 tons. Her first register at the Salem Custom House, dated March 21, 1812, shows that Joseph Peabody and Samuel Tucker were her owners, and Samuel Tucker, master. She was 97 feet and 9 inches long, 26 feet and 8 inches beam, and 13 feet and 4 inches depth of hold, square stern and billet head. She made round voyages to various parts of the world. Samuel Tucker commanded her on the first five voyages; Edward Ford on the sixth and seventh, and Nathan Endicott on the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth voyages. The writer finds no report of any damage received by her, and she probably delivered her cargoes in good order.

On her fourteenth voyage, her owner loaded her and despatched her for a voyage to the Feejees, and he placed in command of her a true and tried man, a faithful, skillful employee, Captain Henry Archer, Jr. In every way a sound craft, she started from Salem, May 21, 1829, but anchored below and remained twelve hours before going to sea. Her company, all told, numbered 22, and for the list of the entire crew the writer is indebted further to Colonel Jenkins, who kindly loaned records containing the crew list of all of Captain Joseph Peabody's ships, for this information.

Where a single town is named, it indicates the place of both birth and residence; where two are mentioned, the first, in parenthesis, is the birthplace, and the second the residence or hailing place at time of shipping; the age, height, complexion, and color of hair, follow in regular order.

Master—Henry Archer, Jr., Salem, 39 years.

Mate—Benjamin Balch, Jr., Salem, 24, 5 feet 11½ inches, light, light.

Second Mate—Samuel Burnham, Salem, 24, 5-9½, light, light.

Third Mate—William Endicott, 20, 5-3¼, light, light.

SEAMEN

Thomas Crowell, Salem, 28, 5-8, light, brown.

Aaron Maides, (Tuftonboro), Salem, 27, dark.

Joseph Noble, Jr., Salem, 21, 5-5, dark, dark.

Henry M. Ramsdell, Salem, 22, ruddy, dark.

Andrew Reed, (Gottenburg), Salem, 5-6½, light, dark.

Antone Johnson, (Genoa), Salem, 45, light, black.

Preston Crafts, Manchester, light, dark.

Joseph H. Morse, Manchester, light, dark.

Joshua B. Derby, Salem, 18, 5-5½, light, light.

Edmund Knight, Salem, 16, 5-4¾, light, light.

Joseph Joslin, Salem, 18, 5-6, light, brown.

William Warner, (Marblehead), Salem, 15, 5-1½, light, brown.

Seth Richardson, Salem, 18, 5-3, dark, dark.

Leonard Poole, Danvers, 22, 5-7¾, light, dark.

Henry Fowler, Danvers, 19, 5-7½, ruddy, dark.

James Oliver, Salem.

Steward.

Joseph Francis, Salem, 21, 5-7½, yellow, woolly.

Cook.

Henry Shaw, (Boston), Salem, 42, 5-2½, yellow, woolly.

The vessel arrived at the Feejees all right, and engaged in trading and the collection of beche-de-mer. She was wrecked as before stated, and for many months her crew lived among the islands, being subject to attacks and cruelties by the natives. Two of their number, Joshua B. Derby, aged 18, and Edmund Knight, 16, when they shipped in Salem, as will be seen by the foregoing, both natives of Salem, were killed and their bodies were shockingly mangled. They were secured by the crew and given

a Christian burial by Captain Archer. Mr. Knight was a brother of Charles Ambrose Knight, who was killed, in 1831, while first officer of the ship *Friendship* of Salem, when she was cut off by Malays at Qualla Battoo, Sumatra, and five of her crew were massacred. The rest of her company providentially escaped and found their way to Salem. The story of this tragedy, as related in a lecture before the Essex Institute by Capt. Moses Endicott, her commander, is printed in volume one of "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages," as the reader will recall.

This story of the *Glide* gives the compiler of these articles an opportunity to speak right here of her talented builder, Enos Briggs, and other splendid ships that he built, which sailed to all ports of the "far east." The writer has before him a list of 52 vessels prepared by a grandson of Mr. Briggs, E. T. B., which were built at the Point, with the exception of the *Grand Turk*, the ship *Henry* and the frigate *Essex*, the last named being built at Winter Island. The list was handed to the *Register's* correspondent by a grandson of Enos Briggs, and was doubtless copied from the records of the ship builder.

Enos Briggs, one of the most noted ship builders of Salem, came from Pembroke, Mass., in 1790 and established a ship yard in South Salem, west of the old Union street bridge, on land now covered by the mills of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton company. He was born in Pembroke, July 29, 1746, and he died in Salem, Oct. 10, 1819. The *Grand Turk* was known as Mr. Derby's "Great Ship," being of 560 tons. She replaced the ship *Grand Turk* of 300 tons, which was sold at the Isle of France in 1788.

"Having built the *Grand Turk*," says Batchelder and Osgood's "Sketch of Salem," "Mr. Briggs returned to Pembroke for his family. They arrived at Salem July 4, 1791, and the sloop in which they came brought also the frame of a dwelling house which he erected on Harbor street, and which for many years after his decease, was occupied by the family of his daughter, Mrs. Nathan Cook."

(The house was destroyed in the Salem conflagration.)

Rev. Dr. Bentley, in his famous diary, published by

the Essex Institute, in four volumes, thus speaks of Mr. Briggs:

"October 11, 1819—Enos Briggs has died, aged 73 in Southfields. He came to Salem from the old colony, 1790; was master builder of the Essex frigate upon Winter island, and established himself in Southfields in which he has kept a building yard. He acquired a good estate but speculations in which his children involved him and perhaps in part his own consent, were not favorable to him. He was an excellent, practical workman and if not independent and original, he built many excellent vessels and died in the public favor.

"Last Saturday, Oct. 4, 1794, we had the launching of a fine ship, the *Belisarius*, copper bottom, pierced for 16 guns, on Stage Point, Briggs' building yard, belonging to G. Crowninshield and Sons. She was launched with all her masts standing. She went off without the least accident or interruption." (This splendid ship made several Sumatra and East India voyages, and, writes Dr. Bentley, "one of the richest ships of our port, the beautiful *Belisarius*, went to pieces in a gale in the Bay of Tunis, in April, 1810.")

From the subjoined list might be drawn many an interesting story, if one had but the time, the disposition and the liking for such literature. Several of the ships mentioned could furnish thrilling experiences of "those who go down to the sea in ships," in escaping wreck by hurricanes or on a lee shore, or death at the hands of pirates, the Jolly Rogers of the sea.

The brig *Caravan* is noted in the list as having carried the first missionaries to India. In front of the Tabernacle church is a large bronze tablet which states that "Adoniram Judson, Gordon Hall, Samuel Nott, Samuel Newell and Luther Rice and their wives were ordained in this church Feb. 6, 1812." This tablet is placed there "to perpetuate the memory of their zealous and successful labors and those of their devoted wives in the service of Our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, as first American Foreign missionaries to the heathen in Asia."

The ship *Perseverance* is noted in the list and that recalls the fact that there were two famous Salem ships



CAPT. THOMAS PERKINS



CAPT. BENJAMIN BALCH



CAPT. WILLIAM DRIVER

named *Perseverance*. The first registered 245 tons, was built in Haverhill in 1794, and was owned by Simon Forrester. She was commanded by Captain Richard Wheatland. In October, 1798, she made the first entrance at Salem from Archangel, Dec. 31, 1799, under command of Capt. Wheatland, she fought gallantly and victoriously a French privateer in the Bahama channel. The French rascals, contrary to the laws of war and of honor fought under false colors, hoisting the English, whilst the eagle, true to his charge, spread his wings on the American flag. The engagement lasted one hour and 20 minutes before the privateer hauled away. The *Perseverance* fired chain bars 10 inches long. The sails of the French were completely riddled and when she hauled off, very few men could be seen on her decks. The *Perseverance* was not much injured, the enemy's shots falling short or going over the ship. The *Perseverance* was not long lived, however, for she went ashore in Tarpaulin Cove, Cape Cod, Jan. 31, 1803. Captain Wheatland was the father of Dr. Henry Wheatland, so long president of the Essex Institute, and of George Wheatland, a prominent member of the Essex bar.

THE LIST

No. 1—March, 1790, began a ship for Elias H. Derby, of 550 tons, a three-decker, and launched her March 10, 1791. (Launched sideways from the Derby wharf and called the *Grand Turk*—was an East Indiaman.)

2—Began a ship June 1, 1792, of 180 tons, for E. H. Derby and launched her May 10, 1793—named *Henry*. (Launched same as No. One and an Indiaman—was built of hard pine, and a very durable ship.)

3—Began a schooner, June 1791, of 92 tons, for Dennis, Spofford & Jones, named *Baltimore*; launched September, 1791. The first built on the Point.

4—Built a brig 1791, of 132 tons, for Samuel Derby; launched in the spring of 1792.

5—Built a schooner for Peirce & Waitt, 98 tons, called *Betsey*; launched in the spring of 1792.

6—Began a ship June 1792, for E. H. Derby, 137 tons,

called *Benjamin*; launched November, 1792. (An East Indiaman.)

7—Began, January, 1793, a schooner for Perkins & Peabody, called *Cynthia*; launched in June 1793, 91 tons.

8—Began December, 1793, a schooner for Nath. West, called *Patty*, of 96 2-3 tons; launched April, 1794. (An Indiaman.)

9—April, 1794, began a vessel called a ketch, for E. H. Derby, 190 tons; launched June, 1794, named *Eliza*. (An Indiaman.)

10—Began a ship for Capt. George Crowninshield, June, 1794, of 197 tons; launched October 1, 1794, called *Belisarius*. (A very fast and successful East Indiaman.)

11—Built a brig, August, 1794, for Benjamin Hodges and Ichabod Nichols, of 110 tons; launched Dec. 11, 1794.

12—Began, December, 1794, a ketch for E. H. Derby, 222 tons; launched April 21, 1795, called *John*. (An Indiaman. Afterwards altered to a ship, fitted out as a privateer by the Crowninshields in the War of 1812, and captured in 1813.)

13—Began, May 13, 1795, a ketch for E. H. Derby, 142 tons, which he gave to his four sons and named it *The Brothers*, launched October, 1795.

14—Began in January, 1796, a ship for E. H. Derby called *Martha*, 322 tons; launched June 4, 1796. (An Indiaman.)

15—August 4, 1796, began a ship for Peirce & Waitt of 327 tons; launched May 23, 1797, called *Friendship*. (An Indiaman.)

16—April, 1797, began a brig for Daniel Sargent & Son of Boston, 120 tons, launched June 28, 1797, called *Atlanta*.

17—August, 1797, began a ship of 338 tons, for Marston Watson of Boston, and launched her May 28, 1798; called the *Amazon*.

18—Began a schooner, December, 1797; launched July, 1798, 5-8 owned by myself (E. B.), 96 tons, called *Sally*.

19—June 1, 1798, began a brig of 140 tons, for Capt. Thomas Perkins and Capt. Joseph Peabody; launched August 29, 1798, called *Neptune*.

20—September, 1798, built a brig for Israel Thorndike of 138 tons, called *Rover*; launched Dec. 4, 1798.

21—Then began a ship of 850 tons, built by subscription by the citizens of Salem as a ship of force, frigate built, *Essex*, carrying 32 guns and was loaned to the United States. She was built on Winter Island, by Fort Pickering, was raised April 13, 1799, and launched Sept. 10, 1799, in the presence of 12,000 spectators. (Frigate *Essex*, Commodore Porter, was captured after severe engagement of two hours by the British frigate *Phoebe*, 36 guns, and sloop-of-war *Cherub*, 20 guns off the harbor of Valparaiso, March 28, 1814, and after one of the most remarkable combats to be found in the history of naval warfare. The *Essex* lay at anchor, mounting short guns, and the enemy chose her position with long guns mostly. Was the first United States vessel-of-war to double Cape Good Hope and Cape Horn. Was finally sold out of the British in 1837.)

22—Jan. 20, 1800, began a ship for Israel Thorndike of Beverly of 277 tons, called *Cyrus*, launched June 8, 1800. (An Indiaman.)

23—June 25, 1800, began a schooner for myself of 103 tons, called *Polly*, launched Sept. 22, 1800.

24—October, 1800, began a ship of 223 tons, for Capt. Nathaniel West, called *Commerce*, launched March 17, 1801. (An Indiaman.)

25—December, 1800, began a ship of 247 tons, for Capt. William B. Rogers of Charlestown, called *Amathyst*, launched June 14, 1801. (A very fast sailer. E. T. B.)

26—June, 1801, began a brig for Capt. Joseph Peabody, of 146 tons, called *Catharine*; launched Oct. 13, 1801. (An Indiaman.)

27—October, 1801, began a brig of 256 tons for Joseph Lee, Jr., called the *Caravan*; launched June 17, 1802. (An Indiaman. Carried out the missionaries, Adoniram Judson and Samuel Newell in 1812.)

28—October, 1802, began a ship of 240 tons for Joseph Peabody and launched her May 10, 1803, called *Mount Vernon*. (An Indiaman.)

29—May, 1803, began a ship of 248 tons, for Benjamin

Pickman, Jr., called the *Derby*; launched Sept. 29, 1803. (An Indiaman.)

30—October 1, 1803, began a fishing schooner for myself, but sold her to William Dolliver; launched April 15, 1804.

31—November, 1839, began a brig of 206 tons for Israel Thorndike of Beverly, called *Argus*; launched May 11, 1804.

32—May, 1804, began a ship of 263 tons for Joseph Peabody, called the *Janus*; launched Sept. 28, 1804. (An Indiaman.)

33—Began December, 1804, a ship for Simon Forrester, of 263 tons, called *Messenger*; launched June 3, 1805. (An Indiaman.)

34—June 25, 1805, began a ship of 227 tons for Capt. Joseph Peabody, called *Augustus*; launched Oct. 19, 1805. (An Indiaman.)

35—November, 1805, began a schooner for myself, Samuel Briggs and Amariah Leland, of 100 tons, named *John Adams*. (Launched May 12, 1806.)

36—December, 1805, began a schooner for Jonathan Neal, of 114 tons, called *Four Sons*; launched May 19, 1806. (Captured during the War of 1812. The following year while sailing under the British flag, was captured by an American privateer. Was again owned in Salem, topped, rigged as a brig and called the *Dawn*.)

37—June 26, 1806, began a ship for William Gray, of 271 tons, called *Pactolus*; launched Nov. 15, 1806. (An Indiaman.)

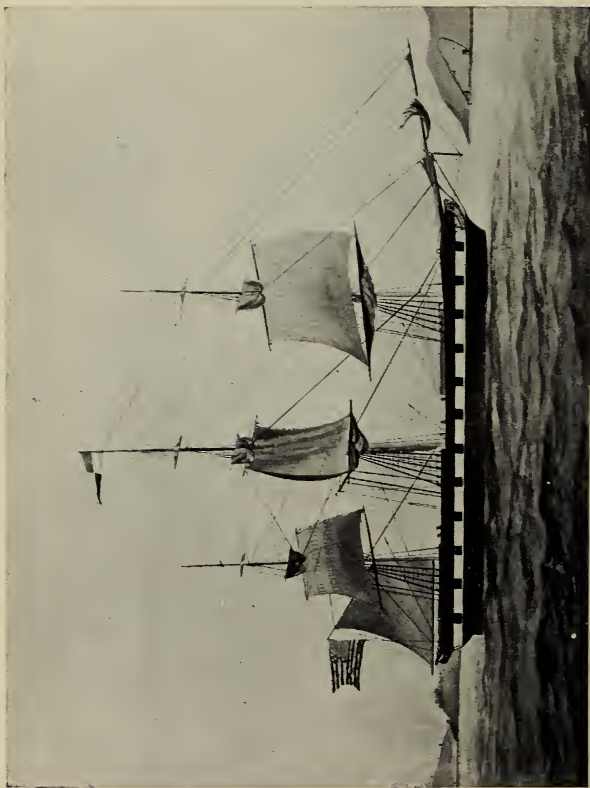
38—December, 1806, began a ship for Jacob Ashton, of 200 tons, called *Mentor*; launched June 6, 1807. (An Indiaman.)

39—June 1, 1807, began a ship for Joseph Peabody, 280 tons, called Francis; launched Oct. 3, 1807. (An Indiaman.)

1808—The embargo.

40—June 12, 1809, a ship for Willard Peele, Capt. Richard Wheatland and James Silver, of 228 tons, called *Perseverance*; launched, Nov. 9, 1809. (An Indiaman.)

41—Jan. 1, 1810, began a ship that I sold to Henry



SHIP THOMAS PERKINS

Pingree & Johnson, owners; William Graves, Jr., master.

Gray, of 300 tons, called *Galatea*, launched May 22, 1810. (An Indiaman.)

42—June 1, 1810, began a brig for John Derby and Capt. John Prince of 315 tons, named *Coromandel*; launched Oct. 15, 1810. (An Indiaman. Captured by the British of 1812, recaptured by Capt. Messervy and his crew, and arrived in safety in Salem.)

43—November, 1810, began a ship for Ebenezer Preble and John Bryant, of 380 tons, named *Foster*; launched April 22, 1811.

44—June 1, 1811, began a ship for Joseph Peabody, 281 tons, called *Glide*; launched Dec. 3, 1811. (An Indiaman.)

45—June 6, 1812, began a brig for Joseph Peabody, of 230 tons, called the *Levant*; launched Sept. 8, 1812.

The War of 1812.

46—During 1812, a schooner of 137 tons which stood upon the stocks through the war, was sold to Stephen Brown and others; launched July 11, 1815, called *Aurora*.

47—July 9, 1815, began a brig for John Andrew, of 134 tons, named *Cuba*; launched Nov. 14, 1815.

48—May 1, 1816, began a schooner for myself, Enos Briggs, Samuel Briggs, Isaac Cushing and Benjamin Dix of 114 tons, called *Plato*, launched June 18, 1816.

49—June 1, 1816, a ship built by a number of subscribers, and owned in company. Ebenezer Seccomb, Benjamin Hawkes and Stephen White, were the committee to contract for her—341½ tons; launched Oct. 19, 1816; a very extraordinary built ship. (Was built for a Liverpool and Salem packet, but became an Indiaman on her first voyage.)

51—May 15, 1816, began a ship for Joseph Peabody of 346½ tons, called *China*, launched Nov. 7, 1816. (An Indiaman.)

52—Dec. 24, 1816, a schooner set up for a market, 117 tons; Isaac Cushing bought out the carpenters who built her; called *Hazard*; launched May 27, 1817.

The foregoing stories of the commercial activities of the Messrs. Rogers should not be closed without appreciative notices of the individual members of the firm and of some of those who used to "hand reef and steer" and

command for them. That of Nathaniel Leverett Rogers has already been given, and others will follow in sequence.

JOHN WHITTINGHAM ROGERS.

The "Salem Register" of December 12, 1872, said: "John W. Rogers, Esq., a former well known citizen and merchant of Salem, died at the Tremont House, Boston, at 1 o'clock on Monday, aged 85 years, 1 month. He was formerly a Representative from Salem in the General Court, and for many years an enterprising merchant here, in connection with his brothers, the late Nathaniel Leverett and Richard S. Rogers. John Whittingham Rogers was born in Ipswich, Mass., Nov. 10, 1787, the second son of Abigail Dodge and Nathaniel Rogers, A. M., named for two ancestral families settled there, one in 1636 descended from him of Smithfield memory, 1555; the other, in 1637-8 (of Southerton near Boston, Old England), from his contemporary, Whittingham, the Marian exile at Geneva.

"The pleasant, kind-hearted, social qualities of our aged friend will long be held here in affectionate remembrance. From early childhood he was brought up among us. Having received a mercantile education and made a few voyages abroad, he married Anstiss Derby, daughter of the late Hon. Col. Benjamin Pickman of this town, a member of Congress. Soon after, removing to Boston, he became associated in business with the late William Rogers, Esq., and his brother-in-law, the late Hon. Benjamin Pickman.

"Returning to Salem, he entered a commercial partnership with his elder brother, the late Nathaniel L., subsequently the firm of N. L. Rogers & Bros., carrying on for something like 20 years a very enterprising and extensive trade to the East Indies, and most other quarters where American commerce unfurled her flag. His decease reminds us, alas, that most of those active, busy, genial merchants, who imparted so much individuality to the maritime town of our boyhood, have nearly all passed away!

"About 1843, he resided at Jamaica Plain, thence again

in Boston, where he has lived for many years, well-known, engaged in varied business. Though his sudden, and to us unexpected loss, is deeply mourned, it seems consoling that he was spared through so long a period the retention of all his faculties, in remarkable equanimity. How pleasant, too, the thought, that his old age was accompanied and soothed by the gentle kindnesses of so many friends. May we be allowed to mingle our sympathies with those of his remaining family; fondly hoping for him that

“As the spirit leaves this sphere,
Love on deathless wings shall wait her
To those she long hath wept for here.”

HON. RICHARD S. ROGERS.

Hon. Richard Saltonstall Rogers died at his residence, 204 Essex Street, in this city, Wednesday morning, June 11, 1873, at the age of eighty-three years and five months. Mr. Rogers was the youngest of the firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers, formerly known the world over for their commercial enterprise, and made several voyages as supercargo to distant ports. They were the pioneers and founders, in the United States, of the Zanzibar and New Holland trades, for many years, down to 1842, were actively engaged in foreign commerce, mainly with the East Indies, and were among the most distinguished merchants of Salem. The deceased became a member of the Salem East India Marine Society in 1819, and was its President from 1836 to 1839. He was a native of Salem and an active and influential Whig in the time of that party's ascendancy, having represented the city in the House of Representatives and the county in the Senate. He was also earnestly interested in municipal affairs, and was a member of the Common Council in 1836-7-8, and the President in 1838. He was a good citizen and an energetic, enterprising and efficient man of business, much respected for his many qualities. The parents of the three brothers were both eminent teachers in Salem. The oldest of the three brothers, Nathaniel Leverett, died in Salem, July 31, 1838, at the age of 73; the second son, John Whittingham, having removed from Salem after

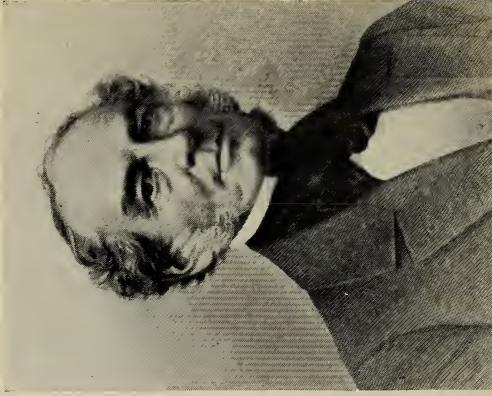
the dissolution of the commercial firm, died in Boston, December 9, 1872, aged 85; and the youngest, Richard Saltonstall, died in Salem, June 11, 1873, aged 83. It was a son of the last named, Dudley Pickman, who died and left to the Salem Fraternity the generous bequest recently announced.—[Editors of *Salem Register*.]

CAPT. WILLIAM C. ROGERS.

In 1888, Hon. Richard S. Rogers met with a great loss in the death of his son, Captain William Crowninshield Rogers, which occurred in London, England, on July 1 of that year. He had, previous to going to sea, been a clerk in the counting room of the firm, which he left to go as supercargo of a ship. In early life he became commander of the ship *Thomas Perkins*, a fine sailor and a lucky ship. In her he made quick passages to San Francisco and other ports. He also commanded the extreme clipper ship *Witchcraft*. Of the latter, Capt. Arthur H. Clark, in his volume, "The Clipper Ship Era," writes as follows:

"The *Witchcraft* was a very beautiful ship, and was commanded by Captain William C. Rogers, a son of one of the owners, for whom she was built, although she never hailed from Salem. Captain Rogers was born in Salem in 1823, and had made several voyages as supercargo on board of different ships to Calcutta and Canton. He was a man of unusual ability, and although he never sailed before the mast, or as officer of a ship, he had acquired a knowledge of seamanship and navigation which enabled him to become one of the most famous among the younger clipper ship captains. He was a rare example of a gentleman who went to sea for the pure love of it, who enjoyed dealing with the useful realities of life, and liked a real ship with real sailors on board of her, and a real voyage of commerce profitable to mankind, in preference to an aimless life of luxury and pleasure.

"During the Civil War, Captain Rogers was one of the twelve naval Commanders appointed by Act of Congress, and he commanded the United States clipper barque *William G. Anderson*, which mounted six 32-pounders and a long rifled gun amidships, and carried a crew of



HON. RICHARD SALTONSTALL ROGERS



JOHN WHITTINGHAM ROGERS



AUGUSTUS DODGE ROGERS

one hundred and ten men. While in command of this vessel, Captain Rogers captured the Confederate privateer *Beauregard*, Captain Gilbert Hayes, one hundred miles east-northeast of Abaco, in the Bahamas, November 12, 1861. He also commanded the United States gunboat *Iuka*, and in her rendered valuable service to his country during the remainder of the war. He subsequently married Mary Ingersoll Bowditch, a granddaughter of Nathaniel Bowditch, the illustrious navigator."

EDWARD S. ROGERS.

Edward S. Rogers, the last survivor of the sons of Captain Nathaniel Leverett Rogers, died at his home, 141 Andover Street, Peabody, March 29, 1899. He was born in Salem, June 28, 1826, in the old Rogers homestead, on Essex Street. He attended Master Ira Cheever's school, and completing his education, he made several voyages to sea as clerk or supercargo in the Rogers' vessels. Finishing his sea life, he entered the counting room of the firm, where he remained several years.

Always interested in flowers, he applied his energies to horticultural pursuits. He devoted himself for fifteen years to the large garden in the rear of his home. While so doing, he became known as the producer of the famous Rogers grape, of which there are several varieties. To him, without any question, belongs the honor of first hybridizing artificially the grape, for which he received the only gold medal ever awarded by the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He also hybridized the V. Vinifera pears.

An authoritative writer says, "We have several varieties of the Rogers grape which occupy a high standard, which is a much desired and luscious fruit. For all his efforts and his devotion, he never received any financial recompense."

He never married and he was the last survivor of this famous commercial family, every one of whom was possessed of remarkable literary, artistic or scientific talent and ability. He lived in Salem all of his life, until a few years before going to Peabody. He was a member

of the old Observatory Club, and when that ceased, he joined the Salem Club, now non-existent.

AUGUSTUS D. ROGERS.

From Salem *Register* of October 6, 1896: "Augustus Dodge Rogers died this morning at his late residence, 437 Lafayette Street, aged about 74 years. Mr. Rogers was a son of Nathaniel L. Rogers, a member of the old and wealthy firm of ship-owners, N. S. Rogers & Brothers. His mother was a member of the old Salem family of Waites, and lived to be over 90 years of age.

"Augustus D. Rogers was a highly-educated man, and possessed a large stock of historical knowledge. He was a graduate of Harvard College, and practised law in Salem in the fifties (50's). He became afflicted with a malady which kept him in the house for a great number of years. He resided until within a year or two in the old Waite home on Essex Street, which was situated on the site of the new Clark house, two houses above the Salem Public library.

"For many years he sat at the open window, dressed in overcoat, hat and gloves, and talked with the school children as they passed up and down past the house. His constant presence at the window made him quite a public character, and he was very much missed by people who passed that way daily when he moved to Lafayette Street, upon the sale of the estate. The house has since been taken down."

THE DERBY-CROWNINSHIELD-ROGERS MANSION.

Hon. Richard Saltonstall Rogers made his home in the old Colonial mansion, 204 Essex Street, nearly opposite Derby Square. Could any of his family return again to "the scenes of earth," they would find difficulty in recognizing the old family home. To be sure, the front, with its beautiful scroll-work remains, also a part of the handsome cornice and the balustrade which surmounts it.

The writer of these lines well remembers seeing the late Richard S. Rogers, the last of the family to live in the house and to pass from it to the great beyond. Mr. Rogers would come out from the porch (shown in

the picture), and turn slowly around, as he looked up and down Essex Street, before he walked away. He was a tall, erect gentleman, about six feet in height, of a dignified appearance, of florid complexion, with hair and whiskers as white as the driven snow. Of a jovial disposition, he would pause to take the hand of a friend, or bow gallantly to a lady.

The interior finish of the house was designed by that famous Salem architect, Samuel McIntire, who enjoyed a national reputation for his splendid work as an architect and wood carver. The building itself is supposed to have been by Bulfinch. McIntire was born in Salem in 1757 and died in 1811, and his body rests in the old Charter Street Cemetery.

The year after the house was built, it was occupied by Ezekiel Hersey Derby, son of Elias Hasket Derby, Salem's great merchant. Not having the family love of adventure at sea, Mr. Derby moved to the family estate in South Salem, where he devoted himself to agriculture.

The house then became the last residence of Benjamin W. Crowninshield, of the famous old Crowninshield family of merchants. He was born in Salem, Dec. 7, 1772. He was Secretary of the Navy under President Madison, from 1814 to 1818, and a member of the Massachusetts Senate from 1811 to 1814, a Representative in Congress 1823 to 1831. He previously built and occupied the house now the Old Ladies' Home on Derby Street. He died in Boston, February 8, 1851.

Mr. Crowninshield sold the house to Richard S. Rogers, who occupied it as a winter residence, and who also had an elegant summer home in Peabody, also designed by McIntire. Mr. Rogers was a member of the old commercial firm of N. L. Rogers & Brothers. He died in Salem, June 11, 1873. He was at the time President of the Salem Common Council.

On the decease of Mr. Rogers, or about 1873, the property was sold to the late William Maynes, who made extensive alterations. The front was torn out to make two stories. An addition was built to the eastward and there were other extensions in the rear of the property to en-

large the stores, while offices occupied the second story, and the old house lost practically all semblance of its original lines.

On the death of Mr. Maynes, who made these alterations, it fell to his son, the late John E. Maynes, who, when he died, bequeathed it to the Salem Hospital, the entire property then consisting of the original Rogers house, the ell attached, also the store occupied by the F. W. Woolworth Company, and several houses in the rear, known as the "Rogers place." The hospital, after the case had passed through the courts, sold the property to the Koen Brothers, theatre proprietors. It is now the property of the Salem Realty Company, and but little remains of the front or the interior finish to recall its original beauty. The whole is considered one of the most valuable pieces of real estate in Salem.

The late Hon. Robert S. Rantoul wrote in the *Salem News*, the following description of the house:

"It may not be known to the rank and file of the men who sit in the chairs of Mr. Stamper's shop, if in their idle moments, as they let their eyes wander about the old room, they will gaze upon the outlines of a structure built in 1800, in the days when the 'richest ports of the far East' turned over millions in revenue to the nation's depleted treasury.

"They will see the identical tracings and frescoing that were wrought by the hands of Samuel McIntire, the renowned architect of Salem, whose plans were among the most popular that were submitted to the government for the erection of the national capitol. For, be it known, the building now known as the Maynes block is the work of Mr. McIntire. There were buildings like it in Newburyport, Portsmouth and Baltimore, but no more. While men will come into the Maynes block and go to their daily work and never give a thought as to where they are, other men will come and study and photograph different parts of the renowned structure.

"Washington Irving, in 'The Alhambra,' says that the more dignified a place is in the day of its glory, the more humble that same place in the day of its decline. This



THE DERBY - CROWNSHIELD - ROGERS HOUSE
204 Essex Street, Salem

is the thought rather than the wording of his opinion. And so, from being the home of the wealthiest of Salem's renowned merchants, the old homestead has become the place of business for many small tradesmen.

"In the room now occupied as a barber shop by Mr. Stamper, Richard S. Rogers lived and died. The Rogers clan has a notable genealogy. The Rogers family blended with the Pickerings and the presidential Adamses, and William C. Endicott and Charles Adams are both members of the genealogy. It is no rash statement to say that Salem's families and their wealth were a great factor in the formation of that Boston institution that is known as Beacon Street.

"The old dwelling was at one time the habitation of Benjamin Crowninshield, in the days when the Common was Democratic and Federal Street Republican, or perhaps better, the Common was Whig or Liberal and Federal Street was Tory or Federalistic. In fact, the names Common and Federal are sufficiently suggestive of the political bent of the inhabitants or the people in the vicinity of these places. Crowninshield sold his Salem possessions when the younger Crowninshield and the Knapps were indicted for the murder of Captain White in the historic White mansion down Essex Street.

"The tragic end of young Crowninshield and the more tragic fate of his accomplices, the Knapps, and the worldwide fame given the case by the presence in court as prosecuting attorney of United States Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, were too much for the elder Crowninshield, and he left the city. To this historic case was added a touch of romance with the coming here of Fletcher Webster. Fletcher Webster came here with his illustrious father, and married the daughter of Stephen White, at whose home the Websters were guests during their stay in Salem. Nineteen years of age at the time, Charles Sumner, later United States Senator, was a spectator at the trial.

"And so the old building has a history that causes the 'glamour of old-time memories' to live again amidst the prosaic dust of the old frescoes. And, as one sits per-

sively in a chair in the old house, he may, if he will, ponder over the olden days when the Maynes block stood apart and was the scene of much Colonial gaiety and grandeur. For, within a short distance of this spot, the Storys, Hawthorne, Pickerings, Bowditch, and a host of illustrious others, whose renown has made the name of Salem remembered in all places for all time, kept their habitations. It is, therefore, amidst such historic environment that the customers of the shop spend their occasional half-hour, for the most part, probably, unconscious of pristine greatness of the busy Stamper parlor."

The foregoing story of the transactions by the Messrs. Rogers, so admirably reproduced from the preserved records by Augustus D. Rogers, was not the only commercial business conducted by the Rogers Brothers. They owned in other ships and traded with still more of "the rich ports of the far east." Their flag was known all over the world. Notably may be mentioned the ship *Augustus*, 247 tons register, built at Salem in 1805. The vessel was owned in 1833 by Joseph Peabody, who sold it to the Messrs. Rogers, November 30, 1839. Charles D. Mugford then became master, and while Captain Peabody owned her, George W. Lamson, Thomas Cheever and Samuel Rea, grandfather of President Charles S. Rea of the Salem Savings Bank, also commanded the craft. The *Augustus* was broken up in the 40's.

OTHER MERCHANTS.

But the Australian and Feejee trades did not end with the Rogerses. Other merchants followed the trade, among them Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, Benjamin A. West, Joseph Peabody, Samuel Chamberlain & Co., and Robert Brookhouse, and frequent voyages were made by their vessels.

The curing of beche-de-mer brought out the following correspondence. The first is from Captain William Driver:

Nashville, Tenn., June 10, 1883.

To the Editors of the Salem Register:

An article in the Register of June 4, 1883, respecting the opening of trade with Australia, etc., seems to call for notice

and correction at my hands. I write this with my old log book before me:

1831—Sunday, June 5. Anchored the hermaphrodite brig *Charles Doggett*, of Salem, Mass., owned by Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers (whose energy of character and undoubted perseverance seemed never fully appreciated by their surroundings), in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. I learned there from Gilbert Marr, merchant, and Mr. Williams of the mission at "The Pai," that the port of Sydney, N. S. W., was open, and that "a good trade might be done there by us," in staves, oars, pitch, rosin, flour, tobacco, and a sprinkling of New England rum, &c., &c., i. e., and a general trade in naval stores. Thought a ship bound to Manila or China, during the Northeast monsoon, could save some thumping and would lose but little time by bringing such "traps" here and selling or consigning them, and then away for Sunda or Timour Straits, as seemed expedient, and bowl along to her final port before the South-west monsoon. I was bound for Tahiti, Pitcairn, and elsewhere.

I wrote all this to the Messrs. Rogers, and on the strength of this letter, bearing date of June 16, 1831, they fitted and sent the ship *Tybee*, Charles Millett, master, to Sydney, N. S. W. She was the first American vessel, after the war of 1812-15, to enter that port. I returned in the spring of 1832, after an eventful voyage in the *Charles Doggett*, with a full cargo of sugar—sugar bought contrary to my orders, at \$3.25 per picul of 137 2-3 lbs., landed and sold on Derby Wharf at 7½ cents per pound cash, and sixteen hundred pounds (1600) of tortoise shell, worth then \$14 per pound, all bought for "traps."

I was patted on the back. Took their ship *Black Warrior*, with a naval stores cargo, immediately for Sydney, N. S. W. On arriving, found almost a famine there. Landed my cargo, and sold a cargo of flour, to arrive at a given time, to Messrs. Aspinwall & Co., for seventy shilling per barrel, free of all charges. Sent the ship home by my mate—Joseph Rogers—a true sailor. She filled the contract to time. The sixteen hundred barrels (1600) of flour, "scratched fine," cost \$4.64 per barrel in New York.

Loaded her again for Sydney, N. S. W., via Hobart Town. This was in the time of our French troubles. Ships abroad, particularly whalers, were uneasy. I believe I was the last insured against "French Spoilation." Met at Hobart Town the ship *Navy*, Neal, master, owned by Micajah Lunt & Co., of Newburyport, a whaler with privilege of selling, &c., and bought her cargo of 178 casks of black oil, equal to 24,946 gallons, at

32 cents, payable in drafts on the house at 30, 60 and 90 days sight. Brought the long draft home myself; the others travelled around and got home and were paid at maturity. Sold out my traps and returned to Salem in 1837, and sold the oil on the wharf at 52 cents cash per gallon. My wife, with three children, she being sick and dying, I remained at home, to close her eyes, as well as my mother's. They sleep with you.

I came out here, for God knows what, except to defy Rebellion and die poor—away from the moaning sound of old ocean as she pillows on the beach, or dashes in wild fury on the ledges and iron headlands. Alone at eighty! No one to cheer me. My children all away. No one to answer me when I ask, in doubt, "Would you do that?" This is the end of a life of untiring toil, after raising eight children. 'Tis sad, sad, oh how sad!

Strangers will hear my throbbing heart, their tears will mingle with Death's cold dewdrops on my brow; strangers will moisten my parched lips; will close my eyes, and will lay me where no hand will scatter flowers. The poor and the stranger will do this, for God has enabled me at times to cast a ray of light over their dark paths. 'Tis well; yet how my soul clings to the home of my childhood; it sighs and flutters like the unmarked dove. Thank God, Salem has no cause to blush for her boy from the old framed West school, the Plebeian wanderer.

Your friend,

WILLIAM DRIVER.

From Salem *Register* of June 25, 1883:

A COMMERCIAL REMINISCENCE. Captain William Driver of Salem, now of Nashville, Tenn., who had the honor of christening our starry flag "Old Glory,"—cured, after buying, the first four cargoes of beche-de-mer ever cured by white men—two in the *Clay*, Vanderford, sailing master; one in the *Quill*, Capt. Joshua Kinsman; and one in the *Charles Doggett*, commanded by himself. All these vessels were owned by Nathaniel L. Rogers & Brothers, who were among the foremost merchants of their time in commercial enterprises. Capt. Driver and his comrades learned how to cure the sea slugs from a set of Manila pirates, who had murdered their captain, Hosea Boyes, and all his officers, destroyed his brig, the *Conception*, and were living at Ambow. His party bought and used their sugar boilers, and but for them the first trip would have been worse than a failure, as they had nothing larger than a dinner pot on board to cure these snails after stripping the reefs of them. Never was a voyage so dependent on good luck and so successful.

(To be continued)

IMMIGRANTS TO NEW ENGLAND, 1700-1775.

BY ETHEL STANWOOD BOLTON.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 128.)

- KILLICUTT, Thomas, of Dunstable, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1744; m. Mary —; Children: Submit, Reuben, Jonathan, Thomas, Charity, Othniel.—*Bolton's Shirley Uplands and Intervales*, p. 344.
- KILPATRICK, Thomas, of Wells, Maine; from Coleraine, Ireland, 1718-19; m. Margaret —; Children: John, James, Joseph, William, Thomas, Christopher, Jeremiah, Isaac, Joshua, Mary, Sarah; d. 1762, aet 88.—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 767.
- KINCAID, see also Kinkhead.
- KINCAID, John, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Waterford, Ireland, before 1718; m. Martha Churchill, Nov. 13, 1718.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 23, p. 395.
- KINCAID, John, Boothbay, Maine; came in May, 1764, with John Leishman, who was b. in Falkirk, Scotland.—*Greene's Boothbay*, p. 478.
- KINCAID, Patrick, of Brunswick, Maine; from Scotland, cir. 1760; b. cir. 1748; m. Mary Stanwood, daughter of David and Mary (Hunt) Stanwood; d. Dec. 25, 1821; Children: James, David, Patrick, Jeanette, Nellie, Mary; d. Dec. 27, 1817, aet 74.—*Patrick Kincaid and his descendants*, MS by Rev. Chas. N. Sinnett, in the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.*, *Bolton's Stanwood Family*, p. 73.
- KING, James, of Providence, R. I.; from Dublin, Ireland, cir. 1775. — *Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 34.
- KING, William, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1721; int. m. Mary Howard, Feb. 22, 1721. — *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 99.
- KINGSTON, Elias, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1711; int. m. Martha Brown of Charlestown, May 2, 1711; Children: Elias, Martha, William, Mary, Mary, William, John. — *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 91, Vol. 24, pp. 84, 114, 137, 145, 161, 176, 187.

KINKHEAD, see also Kincaid.

KINKEAD, Rev. John, of Windham, N. H.; from Ireland, where he was born; perhaps related to Samuel Kinkead of Windham, N. H.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 613.

KINSEL, Bernhard, of Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany; he went to North Carolina, after 1770.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 67.

KIRKPATRICK, John, of Stirling, Maine; from Scotland, 1753; b. 1734; m. Anne Bradbury; Children: Elizabeth, Ann, William, Roland, Thomas, Mary, Daniel, John, Jabez, Abigail, James; d. 1817, aged 82.—*Eaton's Warren*, pp. 85, 122, 405.

KIRLEY, Nathan, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1711; mariner; int. m. Elizabeth Nicholson, April 7, 1711.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 91.

KNOX, Adam, of Blandford, Mass.; from the north of Ireland, before 1730; son of William Knox; m. 1. Eleanor —, d. Dec. 21, 1760; Children: Oliver, Elizabeth, David; m. 2. Mollie Campbell; Children: Jane, Eleanor, Mary, William, John.—*Knox Genealogy*, Foote, pp. 6, 7.

KNOX, Adam, Boston, Mass.; from Ulster, Ireland, 1737; b. 1719; m. Martha King, in Boston, March 12, 1740; Children: Thomas, Adam, Adam, Robert.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, p. 246, 249, 270, 282, Vol. 28, p. 235.

KNOX, John, of Blandford, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1730; son of William Knox; b. cir. 1720; m. Rachel Freeland, Sept. 28, 1741; Children: William, Jane, John, Elizabeth, Rachel, Mary, Sarah, James, Hannah, Eleanor, Elijah; d. cir. 1800, will.—*Knox Genealogy*, Foote, p. 4; *Hopkinton Vital Records*, p. 314.

KNOX, Timothy, of Lancaster, Mass., and Pembroke, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1730; Children: John, William, Margaret, Timothy, David, Mary; d. 1748.—*Lancaster Vital Records*, pp. 57, 279, 280, 282.

KNOX, William, of Hopkinton, Mass.; from the north of Ireland, before 1730; m. Elizabeth —, alive 1774; Children: John, William, Adam, Griswold (a daughter), Agnes, Elizabeth; d. cir. 1774 (will).—*Knox*

Genealogy, Foote, pp. 1-3, Hopkinton Vital Records, p. 123.

- KNOX, William, of Blandford, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1730; son of William Knox; b. cir. 1721; m. Isabel Ferguson, Dec. 21, 1749, d. Aug. 25, 1808, aet 76; Children: William, Eleanor, Samuel, Elizabeth, John, Nathan, Mary, David, James, Eunice; d. March 9, 1802.—*Knox Genealogy, Foote, pp. 5, 6.*
- KNOX, William, of Boston, Mass.; parents of General Henry Knox.—*Eaton's Thomaston, p. 303.*
- KOCH, Conrad, of Braintree, Mass.; "Germantown," from Germany, before 1753 (see also Hoch).—*State Archives, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-242, Pattee's Braintree, p. 480.*
- KOCH, John Walter, of Braintree, Mass. (or Roach?); "Germantown," from Germany, before 1761.—*State Archives, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-242, Pattee's Braintree, p. 481.*
- KROEHN, Peter, of Broad Bay, Maine; from Germany, before 1764; m. Elizabeth —; three children; they moved North Carolina in 1769. — *Miller's Waldoboro, p. 64.*
- KUHN, George, of Broad Bay, Maine; from Germany, before 1760.—*Miller's Waldoboro, p. 51.*
- KYE, Robert, of Warren, Maine; from Scotland, 1753; killed at Mill River by Indians.—*Eaton's Warren, pp. 85, 122.*
- LACORE, John, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1727; m. Margaret Crawford, May 20, 1731; Children: Sarah, Rosanna. — *Reed's Rutland, pp. 82, 155, Rutland Vital Records, pp. 61, 62, 161.*
- LA CROIX, Frederick, of Medway, Mass.; from Guadeloupe, in 1775; m. Elizabeth Cobb, of Wrentham; Children: William, Millie, Frederick. — *Jameson's Medway, p. 166.*
- LAKE, Dr. Lancelot, of Boston, Mass.; graduate physician from Cambridge, England; d. Sept. 17, 1715, aet 63 years.—*King's Chapel Burying Ground.*
- LAMB, Elizabeth, wife of William Lamb; Sally, a daughter; Betty, Nancy, Nellie, Beckie, sisters of William Lamb; from Ireland, with Captain John Carrell,

- 1736; admitted inhabitants Sept. 18, 1736.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 3.
- LAMMONT, see Lemon.
- LANE, Henry, Boston, Mass.; from Barbadoes, 1706, with Capt. Flint; warned out of Boston, 1706.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, p. 50.
- LANG, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Scotland, cir. 1760; m. Margaret —; Children: William, James; d. 1775.—*Thomas's History of Printing*, Vol. 2, p. 228, *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 24, pp. 302, 304.
- LANGDELL, Livermore, of New Boston, N. H.; from England, before 1746; m. Mary Whitridge, of Beverly, Mass., Nov. 10, 1746; Children: Joseph, Livermore, John, Thomas, William; d. 1799.—*Cogswell's New Boston*, p. 435, *Secomb's Amherst*, p. 666, *Beverly Vital Records*, Vol. I, p. 197, Vol. II, p. 182.
- LANGLASERIE, Mr. Louis, of Boston, Mass.; from France, before 1730; admitted an inhabitant, with liberty to keep a school to teach French, Oct. 21, 1730.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, 201.
- LANMAN, James, Boston, Mass.; from London, England, 1692-1714; son of Thomas and Mary (Elton) Lanman; m. Joanna Boyleston, July 5, 1716; Children: Peter, James, Mary, Samuel.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 619, *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 65, Vol. 24, pp. 127, 134, 151.
- LARMAN, Robert, Boston, Mass.; from the Canary Islands, with several others, in the sloop "William," Oct., 1720; held up at Spectacle Island with small pox on board; allowed to land, Oct. 28, 1720; a Robert Larman m. Sarah Tyley, Oct. 24, 1715, in Boston.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 76, Vol. 28, p. 59.
- LARRY, Dennis, of Gorham, Maine; from Ireland, during the Indian Wars; m. 1. Margaret Brown; Children: John, James; m. 2. Patience Wooster; Child: Stephen; d. Dec., 1796, aged 102.—*McLellan's Gorham*, p. 610.
- LARYE, John, Portsmouth, N. H.; from County Cork, Ireland, before 1723; m. Sarah Tout, June 16, 1723.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 16.

- LATALE, Thomas, Boston, Mass.; [Lataile]; from the Barbadoes, cir. 1714; int. m. Katherine Beauchamp, Oct. 16, 1714; Child: Margaret.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 94, Vol. 24, p. 126.
- LATHOG, Robert, of Worcester, Mass.; from Londonderry, Ireland, 1718.—*Wall's Reminiscences of Worcester*, p. 128.
- LATTANIRE, Lazurus, Boston, Mass.; from New York, with Captain DeWose, cir. July, 1708, with wife and children; warned out, 1708.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 11, p. 80.
- LAUCHLEN, Thomas, Boston, Mass.; in Boston, before 1723; m. Ann Albee, June 5, 1723.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 114.
- LAUR, Jacob, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany, before 1752.—*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-2.
- LAUSSON, John, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, with Captain Dennis, Nov., 1719; a farmer.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 64.
- LAWRENCE, John, Boston, Mass.; from "Jersie," before 1713; int. m. Marian Beauchamp, Aug. 28, 1713; Children: Marian, John; m. 2. perhaps Dorothy Sastero, Oct. 1, 1720; Children: Mary, Benjamin.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, pp. 93, 127, Vol. 24, pp. 122, 137, 177, 187.
- LAYDON, John, Boston, Mass.; from New York, 1723; warned out of Boston, Feb. 19, 1723.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 110.
- LAYOR, John Henry, of Dresden, Maine; from France.—*Allin's Huguenots in Dresden*, p. 18.
- LECHMERE, Thomas, of Boston, Mass.; son of ——— Lechmere, and brother of Lord Lechmere; m. Anne Winthrop, Nov. 17, 1709; Children: Lucy, Thomas, Nicholas Winthrop, Anne, Anne, Margaret, Nicholas, Anthony; d. July 4, 1766 —*Mass. Hist. Soc.*, *Winthrop Ms.*, *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 24, pp. 69, 84, 99, 122, 130, 141, 156, 166.
- LEDIYARD, John, of Groton, Conn.; from Bristol, England; b. 1700; m. 1. Deborah Young; m. 2. Mrs.

- Mary Ellery; Children: Young, William; d. Sept. 3, 1771.—*Amer. Ances.*, Vol. 3, p. 33.
- LEE, George, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1710; int. m. Marg Soyle, Nov. 9, 1710; "forbid by Mr. Hancock by Soyles order."—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 33.
- LEEKY, Matthew, Boston, Mass.; from London in the "New England Galley," Capt. Stephen Hall, 1737; wool comber; he had liberty to open a shop in Boston.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 59.
- LEGG, John, Boston, Mass.; from London, May 6, 1727; warned out July 11, 1727; m. perhaps Sarah Prindle, May 1, 1728; admitted a citizen on £100 security; a house-wright.—*Suffolk Court File* 20510, *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 163-167, Vol. 24, p. 144.
- LEIGHT, Peter, of Broad Bay, Maine; from Germany, before 1760; a wheelwright.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 51.
- LEISHMAN, John, of Boothbay, Me.; from Scotland, 1764; b. Falkirk, Scotland, 1739; m. Sarah McCulloch, widow of Henry Reed, in 1760, d. 1780; Children: Thomas, John, Jennett; d. 1814.—*Greene's Boothbay*, p. 478.
- LA FRANCE, Peter, of Marblehead, Mass.; from France, before 1753; m. Alice Meek, in Marblehead, Mary 10, 1753.—*Marblehead Vital Records*, Vol. II, p. 261.
- LE GALLAIS, David, Marblehead, Mass.; from France, before 1727; m. Hannah Browne, in Marblehead, July 30, 1727, d. 7:12:1750-1; Children: John, Hannah, and probably David and Sarah; d. March 1, 1755.—*Marblehead Vital Records*, Vol. I, p. 316, Vol. II, p. 261, 603.
- LE LEFLEURIE, Charles, of Marblehead, Mass.; (afterward Flowers, Florence &c), from France, before 1725; m. Mary Handcock, in Marblehead, Jan. 25, 1725; Children: John, Charles, Jane, and a nameless daughter, and probably Henry and David.—*Marblehead Vital Records*, Vol. I, pp. 177, 178, Vol. II, pp. 147, 261, 546, 547.

- LEITCH or Litch, James, of Lunenburg, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1746; m. Janet —; Children: Thomas, Manasses, John?—*Lunenburg Vital Records*, p. 310.
- LE MERCIER, The Rev. André, of Boston, Mass.; from Caen, Normandy, in 1715; Minister of the French Church in Boston; m. Margaret —; Children: Andrew, James, Andrew, Margaret, Peter, Zachariah, Jane, Stephen Bartholomew; d. March 31, 1764, in Roxbury (will). — *Boston Gazette*, April 2, 1764, *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 24, pp. 138, 145, 151, 161, 166, 177, 182, *N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.*, Vol. 13, pp. 315-324, *Colonial Society of Mass.*, Feb., 1926, pp. 343-348.
- LEMON, James, of Palmer and Ware, Mass.; from Ireland, in 1727; son of James and Polly Lemon; m. Mary —; Children: James, Francis, Jane, William, Mary.—*Temple's Palmer*, p. 502, *Chase's Ware*, p. 265.
- LEMON, Samuel, of Palmer and Ware, Mass.; from Ireland, in 1727; son of James and Polly Lemon; m. Jane —; Children: Mary, Samuel, Margaret. — *Temple's Palmer*, p. 502, *Chase's Ware*, p. 265.
- LEMONT, John, of Bath, Me.; from Ireland, in 1722; b. County Londonderry, 1704; settled in "Dromore," part of Phippsburg, anciently Georgetown, Maine, between Dromore and the New Meadows River; Child: John; d. at Bath, 1827, aet 86.—*Reed's Bath*, p. 314.
- LEND, Martyn, Boston, Mass.; from Newfoundland, Oct., 1716; a sailmaker; he came with a wife and children, intending to settle in Arrowsic, Maine, in the spring.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 14.
- LENDSEY, Margaret, see Adam Templeton.
- LENNOX, Patrick, of Newcastle, Maine; from Scotland, before 1785; a sea captain; b. at Port Patrick, Scotland, April, 1750; m. Margaret McNear at Newcastle, 1785, d. May 17, 1844; Children: Robert, Thomas, Patrick; d. April 17, 1831. — *Cushman's Ancient Sheepscott and Newcastle*, p. 399.

- LE REGLE, John, of Boston; from the Parish of Toin, Jersey, before 1752; a mariner.—*Goldthwaite Record ms., Boston Athenaeum.*
- LERMOND, —, of Milton, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1719; Children: Ann, John, William, Alexander.—*Eaton's Warren, p. 74, 407, New Ed., p. 571.*
- LERMOND, Alexander, of Warren, Maine; from Londonderry, cir. 1719; b. cir. 1707; m. Mary Harkness, in Warren, in 1735, d. April 1, 1790; Children: John, Margaret, Alexander, William, Mary, James, Elizabeth; d. December, 1790.—*Eaton's Warren, Me., 571.*
- LESLIE, The Rev. George, of Ipswich, Mass.; from Ireland, with his father, who d. May 12, 1763; b. cir. 1728; educated at Harvard; m. Hepsibah Burpee, Oct. 26, 1756, d. 1814; Children: George, David, James, William, Hepsibah, Joseph, Jonathan, Mehitable, Elizabeth; d. Sept. 11, 1800.—*Childs' Cornish, Vol. 2, pp. 256-7, Ipswich Vital Records, Vol. 1, p. 238, Vol. 2, pp. 276, 615.*
- LESLIE, James, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before 1722; m. Mary —, d. April 8, 1722.—*Parker's Londonderry, p. 90.*
- LESLIE, James, of Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, before March 17, 1730; m. Mary —; Children: Janet, Sarah, Barber, Daniel, James.—*Documentary History of Maine, p. 20, Londonderry Vital Records, p. 78.*
- LEVERIT, Simon, Portsmouth, N. H.; from the Parish of Santua, Jersey, before 174—; m. Elizabeth Hepworth, April 27, 174—.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 27, p. 8.*
- LEVIT, George, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1720; int. m. Anie Paden, Dec. 3, 1720.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 28, p. 99.*
- LEWIN, William, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1712; int. m. Sarah Simons, Jan. 7, 1712.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 28, p. 92.*
- LEWIS, Jacob, of Braintree, Mass.; "Germantown," from Germany, before 1743.—*State Archives, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-242, Pattee's Braintree, p. 481.*

- LEWIS, Lucy, see John Handley.
- LEWIS, Mr. Nathaniel, of Boston, Mass.; from Great Yarmouth, County Norfolk, England; merchant; d. May 12, 1778, aet. 42.—*Copp's Hill Burying Ground*.
- LEWIS, Maudlin, to New England; from Carmarthen, Wales, 1699, in the "Virginia"; fifteen years old, with seven years to serve.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 64, p. 260*.
- LINCH, Eugin, Boston, Mass.; from Virginia to Beverly, Mass., and then to Boston, Nov. 20, 1714; m. Martha Elliott, int. Oct. 17, 1714, in Beverly, Mass.; warned out of Boston, Jan. 25, 1715; Children: Elizabeth, Eugene.—*Boston Rec. Com., Vol. 11, p. 221, Beverly Vital Records, Vol. 1, p. 207*.
- LINDSEY, Alexander, Portsmouth, N. H.; from "fforfaine," County Aungus, Scotland, before 1719; m. Lydia Cross, Dec. 3, 1719.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 24, p. 13*.
- LINDSEY, Margaret, see Templeton, Adam.
- LINSY, Martha, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, on the ship "Elizabeth"; warned out of Boston, Nov. 3, 1719.—*Boston Record Com., Vol. 13, p. 63*.
- LITCH, see also Leitch.
- LITCH, Thomas, of Londonderry, N. H., and Winchendon, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1750; b. 1720, the son of James and Janet Litch; m. Jane Kennedy, Sept. 19, 1750, in Lunenburg, Mass.; Children: John, Samuel, Sarah? Jane? Elizabeth?; d. Feb. 28, 1792, in Winchendon, Mass.—*Stearns' Ashburnham, p. 799; Winchendon Vital Records, pp. 49, 139, 202, Lunenburg Records, p. 254*.
- LITHGOW, Robert, of Topsham, Maine; from Glendermoth, County Derry, Ireland, 1719, in ship "Olive"; m. Jane McCurdy; Children: Martha, Margaret, Mary, Janet, William, [Susan]; Robert Lithgow, with Susan, William, Jean, and Susan were warned from Boston August 12, 1722, having come from the "East ward."—*Ms. of the Lithgow Family in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc.*
- LITTLE, Alexander, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1769.—*Deed of Belfast, Maine, 1769*.

- LITTLE, Archibald, Newcastle, Maine; from Ireland, cir. 1731; Children: James, John, Henry, Alexander, Samuel, and two daughters.—*Cushman's Ancient Sheepscot and Newcastle*, p. 401.
- LITTLE, Edward, Newbury, Mass.; from Jamaica, before 1727; b. cir. 1705; m. Elizabeth Gurney, of New York (b. 1708), September 21, 1727, in New Hampshire.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 189.
- LITTLE, Thomas, of Shirley, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1737; b. 1688; m. Jean, d. Sept. 29, 1783, aet 81; Children: William, Peggy, Thomas, Jean, Elizabeth, Martha, Mary; d. Jan. 2, 1767, "supposed to be in the 79th year of his age."—*Chandler's Shirley*, p. 501, *Shirley Vital Records*, p. 198, *Cochran's Antrim*, p. 573, *Smith's Peterborough*, pt. 2, p. 133.
- LITTLE, Thomas, of Shirley, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1737; b. 1727; son of Thomas and Jean Little; m. Susanna Wallace, of Peterborough, d. Mar. 6, 1822; Children: William, Esther, Elizabeth, Susanna, Joseph, Thomas, John, Walter; d. June 6, 1808.—*Chandler's Shirley*, p. 507 et seq., *Shirley Vital Records*, pp. 61, 62, 198.
- LITTLE, William, of Shirley, Mass.; from Ireland, cir. 1737; b. July 19, 1730; son of Thomas and Jean Little; m. Elizabeth Wallis, daughter of Matthias Wallis of Worcester, Dec. 1, 1748, d. August 3, 1802, aet 84; Children: Wallis, William, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Thomas; d. July 20, 1797, aet 77.—*Chandler's Shirley*, p. 502 et seq., *Shirley Vital Records*, pp. 61, 62, 198, *Lunenburg Records*, p. 261.
- LIVENSTON, Elizabeth, of Boston, Mass.; from North Carolina, 1725, on the sloop "Adventure."—*Court of Sessions of the Peace*, 1725-32, p. 10.
- LLOYD, Andrew, from Ireland; m. Mary Lawless; Child: Frances Maria, mother of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Liberator*.—*Amer. Ances.*, Vol. 3, p. 83.
- LLOYD, Thomas, Boston, Mass.; in Boston, before 1724; m. Isabella Ayres, Aug. 16, 1724.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 121.
- LOBDEN, John, Portsmouth, N. H.; from "ye parish of Harly," Devonshire, before 1716; m. Ann Hetton of

London, England, in Portsmouth, N. H., Nov. 8, 1716.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 23, p. 393.

LOCHENER, George and Frederick, of Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany; they moved to North Carolina, after 1770.—*Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 67.

LOCK, see also Overlock.

LOCK, Richard, Boston, Mass.; from England with Captain Bond, June 13, 1715; warned out of Boston.—*Suffolk Court Files* 12413.

LOCKYER, John, from England, to "Rhode Island near New York," 1751; "clerk."—*Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 41.

LOGAN, James, from London to Boston on the "Adventurer," 1774; a gentleman's servant, aged 27, "go to his master."—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 63, p. 343.

LORTHERIDGE, Robert, of Worcester, Mass.; from Ireland, in 1718.—*Lincoln's Worcester*, p. 49, *Parmenter's Pelham*, p. 17.

LOSCH, Casimer, of Broad Bay, Waldoboro, Maine; from Germany, before 1752.—*Mass. Archives*, Vol. 15A, pp. 240-2.

LOVERIDGE, Benjamin, Boston, Mass.; from Newfoundland, Oct. 1716; butcher; warned out Oct. 31, 1716; m. Mary Mugeridge, Aug. 27, 1720, in Boston.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 13, p. 13, Vol. 28, p. 88.

LOWDEN, Thomas, of Leicester, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1738; he had a family and was alive as late as 1764.—*Parmenter's Pelham*, pp. 17, 99, 102, 118.

LOWTHAIN, Dr. Thomas, of Medfield, Mass.; from Pereth, Cumberlandshire, England; b. in Cumberlandshire; d. Medfield, 1749.—*Tilden's Medfield*, p. 427; *Medfield Vital Records*, p. 221.

LOWTHER, John, of "New Falmouth in Casco Bay," Maine; from England, before 1768; he was a brother of Dr. George Lowther of Savana La Marr, Jamaica; a surgeon.—*Misc. Mss. in the Boston Athenaeum*.

LUCAS, George, Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, with Captain Carrell, 1736; he brought a wife and child; they lodged with Mr. James Wimble in 1736.—*Boston*

- Rec. Com.*, Vol. 15, p. 3, *Cullen's Irish in Boston*, p. 56.
- LUCAS, William, Boston, Mass.; from Great Britain, before 1713; int. m. Ruth Pitman, Feb. 23, 1714.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 93.
- LUCY, John, of Cornish, N. H.; from France, before 1750; m. Eleanor Yuran, cir. 1750, bapt. 1726; Children: William, John, George, Polly, Samuel, Hosmer, Betsy, Sarah.—*Childs' Cornish*, Vol. 2, pp. 262-3.
- LUDWIG, Jacob, of Waldoboro, Maine; from Wendemal-
hae, Nassau-Dillenburg, 1753; b. 1730; son of John
Joseph Ludwig; m. Margaret Hilt, 1755; Children:
Catherine Elizabeth, Eliza, Eve Catherine, Joseph
Henry, Catherine, Jane, Katy, Jacob; d. January 1
1826, aged 91 years.—*Eaton's Warren*, p. 82, *Eaton's
Thomaston*, p. 314, *Miller's Waldoboro*, p. 236.
- LUDWIG, Joseph, of Warren, Maine; from Wendemal-
hae, Nassau-Dillenburg, 1753; son of John Joseph Lud-
wig; m. Catherine Elizabeth Kaler; Children: Ja-
cob, Joseph Henry. — *Eaton's Warren*, p. 82, 143,
Eaton's Thomaston, p. 314, *Miller's Waldoboro*, pp.
51, 236.
- LUNT, John, of Newbury, Mass.; from Poolton, Parish
of Wallasy, Cheshire, before 1747; m. Mrs. Hannah
Moodey, Aug. 17, 1747, in Newbury, Mass.—*New-
bury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, p. 333.
- LUSK, John, Thomas, William, of Newington, Conn.;
from Ireland early in the 18th century.—*Ancient
Wethersfield*, p. 490.
- LYLE, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Belfast, Ireland,
before 1731; m. Mrs. Hannah Newton, of Boston,
in Newbury, June 29, 1731.—*Newbury Vital Rec-
ords*, Vol. 2, p. 352.
- LYNCH, Maurice, of New Boston, N. H.; from Ireland;
b. 1738; m. Catherine Sheehan; Children: John, a
child, Mary Ann; d. 1779, aged 40.—*Cochran's
Antrim*, p. 579.
- LYNDLEY, Thomas, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Stoke New-
ington, Middlesex, before 1722; m. Sarah Whiden,

March 17, 1723.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 24, p. 16.

- LYON, The Rev. John, from England to New England, 1764; son of Matthew Lyon of Warrington, Lancashire; matriculated, 1743. — *Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 41.
- LYONS, James, from England to New England, 1743.— *Emigrant Ministers to America*, p. 41.
- MCAADAMS, Samuel, of Windham, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, cir. 1740; b. cir. 1716; m. Mary —, d. Feb. 21, 1791, aet 58; Children: Jane, John, Margaret, James, Samuel, Robert, Gawin, Mary, Sarah; d. Jan., 1790, aged 74.—*Morrison's Windham*, pp. 625, 626.
- MCAADAMS, William, of Pelham, Mass., Windham and Londonderry, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, cir. 1740; Children: Samuel, William.—*Morrison's Windham*, p. 625.
- MACANNIS, John, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1719; m. —; Children: four.—*Cullen's Irish in Boston*, p. 51.
- MCAFFERTY, Charles, of Bristol, R. I.; from Londonderry, Ireland, cir. 1777; b. cir. 1748.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 51.
- MCAALISTER, Randall, of Peterborough, N. H.; British soldier and deserter, 1775; b. 1744, in Scotland; m. Mary Blair, b. 1749, d. 1833; Child: Mary; d. 1819, aged 75.—*Smith's Peterborough*, pt. 2, p. 140.
- MCALLISTER, Angus, of Lancaster, Mass., and Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, in 1718; m. Margaret Boyle; Children: William, David, John, Mary Ann and four others.—*Cochran's Antrim*, p. 581; *N. H. Genealogies*, p. 473, *Hadley's Goffstown*, Vol. 2, p. 294, *Londonderry Vital Records*, p. 85.
- MCALLISTER, Archibald, of Wiscasset, Maine; from Ireland, 1738/9; son of Richard and Anne (Miller) McAllister.—*Woodbury's Bedford*, p. 971.
- MCALLISTER, David, of Londonderry, N. H.; son of Angus and Margaret (Boyle) McAllister; m. Eleanor Wilson, of Charlestown, Mass., daughter of Alexander Wilson; Children: Alexander, John, Archi-

- bald, George, Janette, Margaret; d. 1750, aet 46.—*N. H. Genealogies*, p. 473, *Londonderry Vital Records*, p. 83.
- MCALLISTER, John, of New Boston, N. H.; from Ireland, in 1748; Children: Archibald, Angus, Daniel, Mary; d. in Francestown.—*Cogswell's New Boston*, p. 386.
- MCALLISTER, Richard, of Bedford, N. H.; from Ireland, 1738-9; m. Anne Miller, in Ireland, d. March 12, 1776, in her 67th year; Children: "Archy," John, William, Mary, Ann, Susannah, Richard, James, Benjamin.—*Cochran's Antrim*, p. 582, *Woodbury's Bedford*, p. 97.
- MCALLISTER, William, of Lancaster, Mass., and Londonderry, N. H.; from Ireland, 1718; son of Angus and Margaret (Boyle) McAllister; m. Janette Cameron; Children: Margaret, John, David, William, Peter, Hugh, Thomas; d. 1755, aet 55.—*Lancaster Vital Records*, pp. 279, 281.
- MCALPINE, Walter, of Boston, Mass.; from Scotland, cir. 1743; removed to Connecticut.—*Thomas's History of Printing*, Vol. 2, p. 226.
- MCALPINE, William, of Boston, Mass.; from Scotland, cir. 1753; d. 1788, in Glasgow, Scotland.—*Thomas's History of Printing*, Vol. 1, p. 150.
- MCALVIN, see McIlvaine.
- MCAPHEE, Martha, of Rutland, Mass.; m. William Gordin, October 12, 1745.—*Rutland Vital Records*, p. 163.
- MCARTHUR, John, of Limington, Me.; from Perth, Scotland; m. Mary Miller; Children: John, Peter, Arthur, James, Margaret, Eleanor, Catherine?; d. 1816, aet 71.—*Saco Valley Families*, p. 897.
- MCBRIDE, Alexander, of Concord, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1725; m. Mary —; Children: William, John, James, Mary.—*Lancaster Vital Records*, p. 284, *Concord Vital Records*, pp. 122, 123, 130.
- MCBRIDE, Edmund, Portsmouth, N. H.; from Danfenihana, County Donegal, before 1731; m. Sarah Devett, widow, Oct. 28, 1731.—*N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, Vol. 25, p. 118.

- McBRIDE, James, of Brunswick, Maine; from Ireland, before 1723; soldier, 1723-4, under Capt. John Giles.—*Wheeler's Brunswick*, p. 875.
- McCALLUM, John, of Warren, Maine; from Scotland; b. 1767; m. Mary Miller; Children: John, Rebecca, Archibald, Andrew, Mary, Rebecca, Alexander, Duncan, William and Elizabeth, twins; d. September 23, 1837, aet 80.—*Eaton's Warren*, p. 578.
- McCARTER, Sarah, of Rutland, Vt.; from Ireland, before 1729; m. Jonas Buckingham, Dec. 10, 1729; she was probably a sister of Mrs. Malcam Hendery, and William McCarter.—*Reed's Rutland*, pp. 82, 154, *Rutland Vital Records*, p. 163.
- McCARTER, William, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland, before June, 1720; m. Elizabeth ———; he and wife were church members in Rutland; Children: Andrew, Sarah, William.—*Rutland Vital Records*, p. 62, *Reed's Rutland*, p. 82.
- McCARTHY, William, of Newbury, Mass.; from Kinsale, Ireland, before 1729; m. Margaret Pulsafer, of Boston, in Newbury, June 25, 1729.—*Newbury Vital Records*, Vol. 2, pp. 311, 412.
- McCASE, James, of Newport, R. I.; from "Ireland," in ———.—*Murray's Irish Rhode Islanders*, p. 42.
- McCAULEY, Alexander, of Hillsborough, N. H.; from Ireland, cir. 1741; b. 1707; m. Mary Pinkerton, b. Ireland, 1712, d. Jan. 20, 1791; Children: James, Robert, Sarah; d. Oct. 11, 1788, in Merrimac, N. H.—*Cochran's Antrim*, p. 589, 590.
- McCAULEY, James, of Hillsborough, N. H.; from Ulster, Ireland, cir. 1741.—*Cochran's Antrim*, p. 590.
- MACLAIN, John, Boston, Mass.; in Boston, before 1721; m. Patience Norcott, April 12, 1721.—*Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 102.
- McCLANATHAN, John, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland, with Edward Savage, cir. 1720; m. Martha Shaw; Children: Mary, Martha, Elizabeth, John, Sarah, Eleanor, Thomas, William; he was probably son of Thomas McClanathan (C. K. Bolton); bondsman, 1746, for Duncan McFarland.—*Reed's Rutland*, pp. 155, 156, *Rutland Vital Records*, p. 62.

- McCLANATHAN, Deacon Thomas, of Palmer, Mass.; from —, brother of William; grantee, 1733; b. 1685; Children: Thomas, William; d. Jan. 30, 1764, aet 78. — *Temple's Palmer*, p. 510, *Palmer Vital Records*, p. 223.
- McCLANATHAN, Thomas, of Rutland, Mass.; from Ireland, before 1729; m. —; Children: William, Anne, Eleanor, and perhaps John and Thomas. — *Reed's Rutland*, p. 82, *Rutland Vital Records*, p. 62.
- McCLANATHAN, William, of Palmer, Mass.; from —; brother of Thomas; he lived on the east side of Pottoquattuck Mountain; m. Jane —, d. July 22, 1783; Children: Samuel, Robert, Thomas, William. — *Temple's Palmer*, p. 510, *Palmer Vital Records*, p. 223, 224.
- McCLENACHAN, The Rev. William; from Ireland, in 1734; minister at Georgetown and Cape Elizabeth, Maine, and Chelsea, Mass.; was a convert to the Church of England, and was a missionary of the "Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts"; 1758 moved to Pennsylvania. — *Chamberlain's History of Chelsea*, Vol. 2, pp. 254-257, notes, *Greene's Boothbay*, p. 176, *Emigrant Ministers to New England*, p. 42.
- MACLANNON, John, Boston, Mass.; in Boston, before 1721; m. Susanna Norton, March 22, 1721. — *Boston Rec. Com.*, Vol. 28, p. 101.
- McCLARY, Andrew, of Nottingham and Epsom, N. H.; from Londonderry, Ireland, sailing from Port Rush to Boston, arriving Oct. 8, 1727; m. Ele —; Children: John, Andrew, Margaret, Jane, Ann; a selectman of Nottingham, N. H., 1733/4. — *Curtis's Epsom, N. H.*, *Cogswell's Nottingham*, pp. 212, 217, *Lyford's Canterbury, N. H.*, p. 236, *The McClary Family*, pp. 11-13.
- McCLARY, David, of Boston, Mass.; from Ireland, 1751; m. Rachel Strathearn; Children: David, Thomas, John, Molly, Sally, Betty, William; d. in Bedford, N. H. — *Cochran's Antrim*, p. 591, *Brown's Hillsborough, N. H.*, p. 379.

(To be continued)



Upper—Parade Lanterns probably used in the 1860 and earlier campaigns.

Lower—Bell and Everett Lanterns of the campaign of 1860, in the centre a Lincoln and Johnson Lantern of the 1864 campaign.



Upper—Two Lincoln and Johnson Lanterns of the 1860 campaign and a Triangular Lantern used in the interests of Bell and Everett in 1860.

Essex Institute Collection.

Lower—A Flambeau, an early square lantern and torches.

Rushford Collection.

TORCHLIGHT PARADES AND THEIR LIGHTS

BY EDWARD ALLAN RUSHFORD, M. D.

Political torchlight parades, so popular before the Civil War, and again in the late eighties and nineties, played an extremely small part in the last campaign, and with the rapid strides civilization is making, it is doubtful if they will ever again be of value in winning a presidential election. The extensive adoption of the radio by both the important political parties in the campaign, and the possibilities of television and talking moving pictures, will, without question, result in the complete elimination of the old-fashioned torchlight parade.

In the old days, marching clubs composed of members of the various political groups, aided in party demonstrations, in their own and nearby communities. Nearly all of these clubs were uniformed, and many were as well drilled as a military organization. As most of these parades were held after dark, many of them in fact not breaking up until the early morning hours, portable illumination in the form of fireworks, transparencies, torches and lanterns was an important part of each club's equipment.

The great majority of the early clubs were quite simply uniformed. As a rule capes and caps of various colors were considered sufficient, though some of the Minute Men Clubs organized to aid the candidacies of Bell and Everett, in the campaign of 1860, wore uniforms resembling those of the soldiers of the Continental Army. In the later revival of this form of political activity, many extensive and expensive uniforms were adopted, such as the Uncle Sam costume of the Haverhill Club, the oilskins of the Gloucester Fishermen, and the formal clothes with tall hat of the Democratic 400 of Salem. Female apparel became popular and practically every city of any size had at least one club costumed as "flappers," though they were not so-called in those days. Among the most popular of these were the Liberty Belles of Lowell, the Naval Queens of Lawrence and the widely-famous Salem Witches.

But to one interested in the old fashioned, and especially to the student and collector of early lighting, the illumination of these parades presents a feature even more interesting than their political significance or the beauty of their display. In fact, an assembly of the torches and lanterns used in these demonstrations, has been found by some to be a very bright and interesting side group of their collection. As is the case with many other obsolete articles, the early torchlight is extremely difficult to find, and even those of the later revival are scarce. The fireworks have entirely disappeared, while few collectors would be interested in the transparencies, as many of them were so large that several bearers were required to transport them. What collections we find, are limited to torches and lanterns, and the latter will be found to be the most difficult to collect, and the most interesting to study.

There is not a great deal to say about the torch group. They were practically always made of tin, and attached to a pole or handle in such a way as to swing with each step of the bearer. In place of poles, guns, brooms, canes or some other form of staff was often substituted, the better to conform with the uniform of the carrier. Some considerable variation was shown in the size and shape of the torch, and many fanciful forms, such as bells and tall hats, are to be found. The wicks were generally single, of large size, burned with a smutty, smoky flame, and usually with a disagreeable odor, rendering curbstone positions not particularly desirable during the passage of one of these parades.

A type of torch adopted by some of the later marching clubs was the flambeau. This was a hollow, horn-shaped affair of tin, twenty inches long. In the center of the four-inch top was a compartment containing a tightly packed wick two inches in width, and the balance of the top was covered with a fine metal mesh. When the body of the torch was filled with sulphur, and the wick saturated with alcohol, a swing of the torch caused the sulphur to escape through the mesh, the burning alcohol ignited it and the result was a brilliant streak of flame. The most spectacular feature of any parade was the passage

of a well-drilled Flambeau Club, marching with military precision and swinging its torches in unison.

More interesting than the torches are the lanterns, and especially those of the early campaigns. Difficulties are encountered in the proper classification of the earlier types because the newspapers of the period, while giving glowing accounts of the various parades, the number of men and lanterns appearing in each group, as well as a fair idea of the uniforms worn, rarely described the lanterns carried. As a rule this most interesting detail of the equipment was passed by with a simple statement that a certain club carried red lanterns, another tri-colored lanterns and a third blue swing lanterns.

Among a group of about a dozen parade lanterns in the Essex Institute are several of interest. Only one of these is dated. It is shaped like a trainman's lantern but is without the protecting side wires. Its glass globe is a beautiful shade of deep blue. The lamp is round and of tin, with a single tube camphene burner, and is inserted through a circular hole in the bottom of the lantern, being held in place by two thumb clips. On the bottom of the lamp is stamped, "H. & J. Sangster. Patented 10 June 1851."

Similar lanterns with globes of red and white glass are in other collections, and it is quite logical to presume that this lantern was first used during the campaign of 1852. In newspaper advertisements appearing during the first Lincoln campaign in 1860 we find cuts of lanterns of the same type but with longer and less bulbous globes. In another variety of globe lantern, evidently of later manufacture, if we may judge by the kerosene burner, the globes are of plain glass decorated with various designs in enamel.

Another lantern in the Institute collection is believed to be older than the globe type. It is a tin cube, each section measuring five inches, with a small circular opening in the top surmounted by a pierced, circular "cupola" for ventilation. In each of the four sides is cut a round opening four inches in diameter. The openings are covered with a red, a blue and two white glasses, held in position on the inside by tin clamps. In this type of

lanterns the white lights are generally of ground glass, etched with various designs similar to the glass found in old hall lanterns. One of the sides is held in grooves and is removable, thus affording access to the lamp, which is of tin, square, with a two-wick camphene burner.

Two methods of holding the lamp stationary are found in these lanterns. In one form an oblong piece of tin, soldered at one end to the bottom of the lamp, slips under a tin "bridge" on the floor of the lantern. In the other a spring arrangement of tin soldered to the base of the lamp and extending beyond on both sides, presses against the sides of the lantern and prevents displacement.

Another type of lantern consists of a circular top and bottom of tin held in position by four wire supports in such a manner as to leave an opening five inches high entirely around the lantern. About the opening are fitted fifteen strips of red, white and blue glass, one inch in width, being arranged perpendicularly. The round, two-burner, camphene lamp is inserted through a circular opening in the bottom and is held in position by two clips.

On October 16, 1860, a monster torchlight parade was held in Boston in the interest of Lincoln and Hamlin. This was the greatest demonstration in New England of that campaign; nearly ten thousand lanterns were in line, it required an hour and a half to pass a given point, and some of the clubs were still marching at two o'clock the next morning. From a newspaper report of the event we learn that among the clubs in the parade was the Lincoln Guard of Salem, numbering one hundred and thirty-eight men. "They wore drab capes and caps, the latter with red bands, and carried beautiful octagon lanterns of varied colors. This company was frequently cheered on the route of the procession, which they acknowledged in a graceful manner." From a distance the tri-colored lantern appears many-sided due to the arrangement of the glasses, and while it may be a stretch of the imagination, it is very probable that this was the type of lantern adopted by the Salem Lincoln Guards of 1860.

Another pair of lanterns in the same collection were probably used by the Bell—Everett partisans in the campaign of 1860. They are square, and light was obtained

from a round lamp with a two-wick camphene burner. They have a red, a blue and two white glass sides. One of the white glasses is decorated with a bell painted in red and black, and the other side has the word Salem in black letters. Records of two Fusion marching clubs from Salem have been found, the Everett Guard and the Bell and Everett Club. The Guard carried bell-shaped lanterns, according to the newspapers of the day, and as no report to the contrary has been found it is supposed that these lanterns were carried by the members of the Bell and Everett Club.

Perhaps the most curious of all these lanterns is one which, its label informs us, was "carried by John Hodge, Jr., in the Bell—Everett procession," when or where the procession took place not being stated. This lantern is of tin and triangular in shape. In one side is an oval opening, with a purple glass, another has a circular opening with white glass, and in the remaining side a crude hand has been cut, with index finger extended, and backed by a red glass. The hand with extended forefinger was one of the symbols of the Fusion party in the 1860 campaign, and from the newspapers we learn that the Everett Guard of Ward 1, Boston, had lanterns "ornamented with the figure of a hand with index finger upraised." Perhaps Mr. Hodge was a member of this club. Unfortunately the lamp which belonged to this lantern is missing.

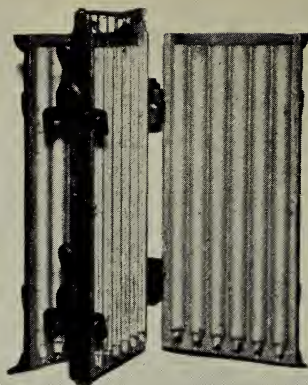
In 1864 the Civil War was at its height, and military campaigns were being given much more attention in the minds of the people, and much more space in the columns of the newspapers, than political campaigns. Torchlight parades were held, but they were infrequent, composed of fewer and smaller clubs, and lacked the enthusiasm of the hectic campaign of 1860. The membership of the torchlight clubs was made up largely of men too old or too young to be in the army, with a few soldiers home on furlough or because of disability.

The remaining pair of lanterns in the Institute's collection was used in this campaign, in the interest of Lincoln and Johnson. These lanterns are of the square type, and it is greatly to be regretted that both lamps are miss-

ing. On three of the plain glass sides are pasted lithographs, printed on thin, semi-transparent paper, and the fourth side is undecorated. One of the lithographs is a fine portrait of President Lincoln. Another bears the words "Lincoln and Johnson" in letters of red and blue, and on the third is a party emblem, in colors. This consists of a shield bearing the word Union across its center, and with national flags draped on either side. It is surmounted by an eagle with widely spread wings, and is supported by two cannon, in front of which is a pyramid of cannon balls entwined with laurel leaves. Printed in small letters at the bottom of this emblem is the following notation: "Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1864 by Francis Morand in the clerk's office of the District of Mass."

Present-day authorities on early lighting tell us that the camphene period was from 1830 to 1850, some going so far as to state that because this fluid was so volatile and explosive, it was entirely abandoned by the latter date. They also inform us that lamp fluid from petroleum was developed in the decade between 1860 and 1870, but they are inclined to leave the period between 1850 and 1860 to our imagination. In this collection we find one lamp dated 1851, and several which are known to have been used in 1860, and all of them possess the typical camphene burner, with long wick tubes. To make the diagnosis more positive, many of them still retain their little fluid saving extinguishers, attached by chains to the circular base from which the wick tubes arise. So we may safely assume that camphene was still the popular burning liquid between 1850 and 1860, at least as far as parade lanterns were concerned.

Camphene was a product secured by the distillation of turpentine, and when sold for illuminating purposes was generally mixed with alcohol. We are told that it was extremely explosive, and that many grave, and even fatal accidents have resulted from its use. No reports of such accidents were noted in perusing the old newspapers, in connection with torchlight parades, hence it is probable that the use of camphene in the open air was less dangerous than indoors.



Upper—A fifteen tube candle mold and a hinged three-piece iron mold for twelve candles.

Lower—Candle mold containing seventy-two tubes

Rushford Collection.

CANDLE MOLDS—TYPES AND MATERIALS.

To many, the subject of candle molds may seem uninteresting, and their value hardly worth considering, yet, among the various accessories to candle lighting they occupy a very important position. There are few collections of early lighting equipment which do not contain some examples, and among collectors there are some who have given special attention to candle molds. One gentleman not far from Boston has more than forty varieties in his collection, ranging in size from a single mold to one which contains seventy-two tubes. Many notable people have shown an interest in the lowly candle mold, and perhaps the largest group in the country will be found in Henry Ford's remarkable collection of early lighting when it is placed on display in his new museum at Dearborn, Mich.

Candle molds were made of brass, iron, glass, earthenware, pewter and tin. Molds of glass and brass, mentioned in some old works, are so rare that it is hardly necessary to consider them. Iron molds are also extremely rare, though they are generally of nineteenth century production. Few collectors are fortunate enough to possess a candle mold with earthenware tubes, while those of pewter are far from common. Candle molds of tin vary from common to very rare, depending on the size and height of the tubes and the number of tubes which go to make up the mold.

Pewter and earthenware molds are generally found in groups of twelve, eighteen or twenty-four tubes, the latter being the most common, and the tubes are always held in high-standing wooden frames. By the great kitchen fireplace of the Ward House, one of the ancient buildings preserved on the grounds of the Essex Institute in Salem, is a mold containing eighteen pewter tubes, which possesses some very unusual features. The tubes are arranged in six rows of three each, and the tubes of each row are different from the others. The length of the largest tubes is fourteen and three-quarters inches, and the smallest thirteen inches. The base width of the candles produced would vary from one inch to eleven-sixteenths of an inch. The most unusual feature is presented by the second

row of tubes, each of which has seven corrugations extending the entire length, and would produce a fluted candle. Cut into the rim of each tube are two notches, presumably to stabilize the cross-pieces of wood or wire which were used to hold the wicks in position, and indicating that with this mold individual wick supports were employed. A set of six extra tubes of the various types accompany this mold.

Tin molds have been found singly and in pairs, also in groups of three, four, five, six, eight, nine, ten, twelve, fifteen, sixteen, eighteen, twenty-four, twenty-five, thirty-six, fifty, seventy-two and one hundred. The writer has not, as yet, seen molds containing five, fifty, or one hundred tubes, but their existence has been reported to him from reliable sources. His experience has been that the most common are those containing two, three, four, six and twelve tubes, while the most difficult to find are the uneven numbers, except for the three, and all groups of more than twenty-four members.

Considerable controversy has existed among those interested in this subject, as to whether single candle molds were ever produced as such. Single tubes of pewter and tin are found not infrequently, but it is safe to say that all such pewter tubes, and the majority of those of tin, were not intended to be used alone, but were members of larger groups, which hard usage had caused to become separated from their companions. Careful examination will generally reveal markings, or remnants of solder, showing their former association with similar tubes. If, however, a single tube is found with a flaring collar at its top to catch an excess of tallow, and especially if a small handle is attached to its side, one may safely assume that he has a true single-candle mold. A set of six of these individual molds may be seen at the Essex Institute.

Practically all tin candle molds are similar in construction. A top and bottom, pierced with the number of holes necessary for the reception of the tube, the tubes themselves and a handle. The edges of the top are bent upward, forming a square or oblong saucer which collects any excess of candle-forming material. The edges of the bottom are bent downward, allowing space for the pro-

trusion of the wick ends of the tubes and forming a base to keep them in an upright position. The handle, or handles, if the mold is a large one, is soldered to the top piece and to one or more of the tubes. Some of the smaller molds, the twos, threes, and fours especially, were made without the bottom piece, in which case the bottoms of the tubes were soldered together.

There is considerable variation in the height of candle molds; the majority, however, will be found to measure between ten and eleven and one-half inches. In the writer's collection is a mold for two candles slightly less than five inches tall, while another, for four candles, is sixteen inches in height. This mold, its previous owner stated, had been used in her family for the production of Christmas candles.

The third edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, published in 1797, tells us that molded candles were the invention of *Sieur Le Brege* of Paris. Unfortunately, the date of this invention is not stated. If the origin of candle molds was French, the experience of one collector, who recently spent six weeks in Paris, is surprising. He visited more than two hundred antique shops, and spent several Sundays at the famous Flea Market, without finding a candle mold or a dealer who had any acquaintance with them. Recently, however, he found in an antique shop in Newburyport a cast-iron mold for twelve candles which is probably French.

This mold consists of three grooved pieces, hinged together at the back, and held in close apposition when closed, by means of two clamps in front. It bears two labels, on one of which are the words "*Moule Mirabilis*" and on the other "*Guillon*." Its product would be a five-eighths-inch candle, nine and one-half inches long. The front and back of the central section are slightly higher than the rest of the mold, and between these two uprights there is suspended a flat cross-piece. This cross-piece and the base of this section are notched in such a manner that a piece of wicking eleven feet in length may be rapidly wound about them, furnishing the wicks for twelve candles, accurately centered, and with a wick wastage of

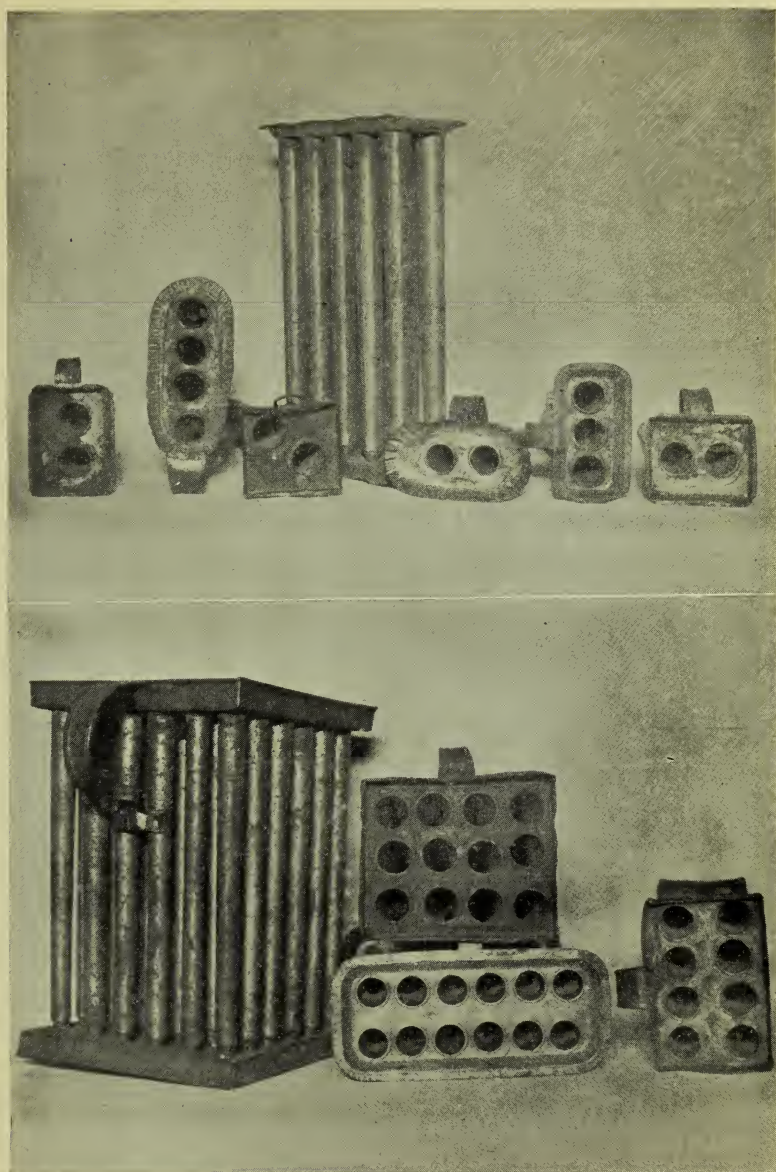
but one inch per candle. It is believed that this mold is a late model, probably not earlier than 1850.

It is very difficult to determine at what period candle molds were first used in America. It is possible that some form of mold might have been produced by local tinsmiths at any time after the importation of tinplate from England began, which was about 1740. It is probable, however, that molds of earthenware and pewter antedated those of tin. That candle molds were not in use before 1700 may be deduced from the invoice of a shipment of tinware from London to Boston, made about 1690. In this invoice are mentioned practically every accessory to candle lighting except molds, and included are several types of lanthorns and candlesticks, snuffers and pans, as well as tinder boxes and candle boxes.

In the Probate Records of Essex County, Mass., covering the period between June 2, 1635, and May 18, 1681, there are listed the inventories of 1053 estates. Thousands of household utensils are mentioned, but no candle molds are to be found in the lists. Even when candle molds did become common, America depended on England for her supply, and large quantities were still being imported from that country as late as the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the *Columbian Centinel*, a Boston newspaper, for the year 1813, are several advertisements for candles and candle molds which are interesting. On Dec. 22, Green and Vose, 7 Dock square, had two advertisements announcing this type of article for sale. In the first, "150 doz. English Block-Tin Candle Moulds," and in the second, "Two hundred dozen English Block-tin Candle Moulds, from 4 to 8 lb." It is supposed that the 4 to 8 lb. referred to the mold's capacity in candles, and not to its weight. Beneath these is the advertisement of one Abr'm Marland in Andover, who had for sale 1000 pounds of wick yarn. The quantity of these goods would indicate the production of a considerable number of mold candles in Boston and vicinity.

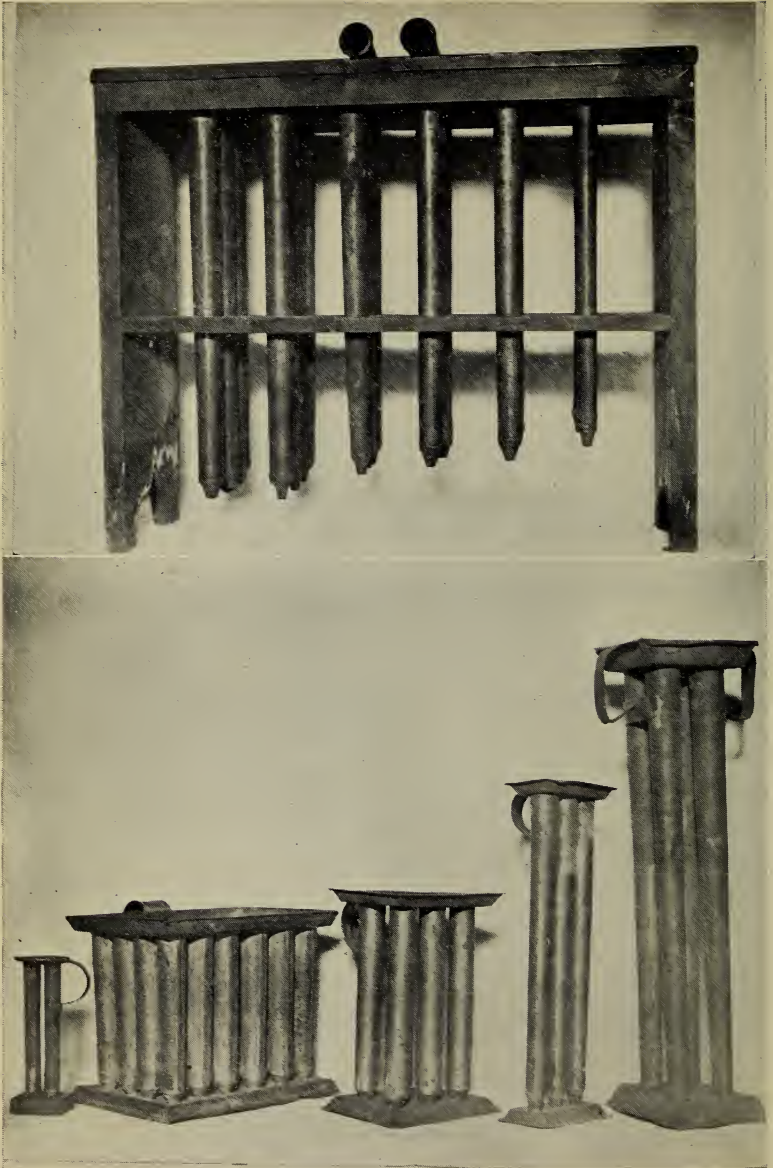
In the issue of Nov. 6, Jona. Dorr & Co., No. 19 Merchants Row of Roxbury, headed their advertisement in large letters, "New Beef and Mould and Dipt Candles,"



Upper—Four varieties of two-tube candle molds, also a three-, four-, and ten tube mold.

Lower—Candle molds containing eight, twelve and thirty-six tubes.

Rushford Collection.



Upper—Candle mold, composed of eighteen pewter tubes of varied lengths and sizes, set in wooden frame.

Essex Institute Collection.

Lower—Candle molds varying from five to sixteen inches in length

Rushford Collection.

and had for disposal "600 boxes of new mould Candles" and 200 boxes new "dips." In the same issue Peter Coffin ran a notice headed, "Brandy, Rum, Beef, Candles, Shooks, &c," and among other items, mentioned "500 boxes Mould Candles." These advertisements rather combat the idea held by some that at this period all candles were produced in the home. They also show us that dipped candles had not entirely gone out of fashion.

Perhaps to terminate, a description of the method of making candles in a pewter mold, taken from an old book on domestic economy, might not be amiss.

"The cotton wick, properly prepared, is passed into the mould, and a piece of stiff wire is used to assist it getting through. The wick is doubled, and in the loop there is run a small piece of wood, which is laid across the open end of the mold, by pulling the wick tight at the conical end, it may be adjusted, so as to be placed exactly in the center of the mold; and, still holding the wick tight, a peg is driven into the middle of it, at the conical aperture, to secure it in place and to stop up the bottom of the mold. When the wicks are exactly adjusted, the molds are placed in the frame, and the melted tallow poured into them, and allowed to get quite cold and hard; as the tallow gets cold, it shrinks and leaves a hollow at the top of the mold which requires filling up with more melted tallow. The pegs at the bottom are now taken out and the candles drawn from the mold. If they do not draw readily, plunge the mould for an instant into hot water and the candles will come out easily."

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO MARBLEHEAD,
MASSACHUSETTS.

ABSTRACTS FROM THE ORIGINAL IN THE MASSACHUSETTS
ARCHIVES.

BY JOHN HENRY EDMONDS.

(Continued from Volume LXV, page 370)

“In the House of Representatives, Nov. 11, 1743, voted that the Sum of One Hundred and Sixty Six Pounds thirteen shillings and four pence be granted and allowed to be paid out of the publick Treasury to the Order of the Town of Marblehead they giving Security to the Province Treasurer that in case they shall fail of performing the Conditions annexed to the Grant of Five Hundred and Fifty Pounds made to said Town by this Court at their Sessions begun and held in July 1741, the Money hereby granted shall be repaid into the Province Treasury And Twelve months further are allowed said Town to perform the Conditions of their Grant.” Read and concurred in the Council.

—*Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. 72, p. 666.

“Dear Sir

Marblehead March 4 1748

“after I left you I have found out by Mr John Smith that Mr. Taylor’s Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin is unanswerably answered by Mr David Jennings a Dissenting Minister in London and that there was one of the book found in Doctor Colman’s Study I made Mr Smith promise to endeavour the printing of it, I mentioned it to Colonel Alford as I came thro Charlestown and he has promised to endeavour to Effect it and this is to put you in mind of giving your assistance and I doubt not of your readiness, as It will take off the ill impressions that piece has made upon the mind of many, and some of them persons of influence in religious matters

“When I was at Boston I knew nothing of Governour having Mr. West and Littletons books to disperse should be obliged to you if you would put him in mind to favour me with one he has sent one to Mr Barnard and another

to Mr Malcolm But Mr Bradstreet thinks he has forgot him being a little () but would be glad of the like favour my best regards to you and Mrs Willard am

“Sir, Your obliged humble servant,

“Benjamin Marston”

Endorsed “Colonel Benjamin Marston private Letter Mar: 4: 1748.”

Addressed “To the Honourable Josiah Willard, Esquire, in Boston.” —*Vol. 12, p. 565.*

“To his Honour the Lieutenant Governour and the Honourable his Majestys Council

“May it please your Honours some time about the Beginning of January Last I preferred a memorial to your Honours Relating to the Reward I thought my Self Intitled too for Apprehending and Securing Obediah Albee Junior and have waited on your Honours Several times on that affair but am Informed Some Doubts have arrizen whether I ought to Receive the Bounty or no Considering me as an officer or whether the man that Informed me or the Constable that Served the warrant ought to have it; I am Humbly of Opinion that my being an officer and always Endeaving to Do my Duty to the utmost of my powers will not Deprive me of the priviledg of any other Subject and as the man that Informed me I Desired him to take the Proclamation which I had then in my hand and go and Apprehend Albee and at the Same time told him If he did he would be Intitled to the Reward, but he Declared he would have nothing to Do with it upon which I made out a warrant and Delivered it to a Constable with a Strict Charge to take him Directly and bring him before me and If I had been but a few minutes Later he would have been gon, as to the Constable's being Intitled your Honours may Judge for he told me Sence Albee hath been In Goal that he had Information (of his being in town) by one of the Crew that Came up in the Vessell who told him the Said Constable he might go and tak him and this was before he had my warrant and Said Constable told me that he made answer to the man that he would have nothing to Do with it unless he was forced to it So that it plainly

appears that If it had not been for me Albee would certainly have Escaped; what I have here written Is the truth and what I can Safly Sware to If Required and pray that your Honours will take it into Consideration and Let me have Reward it hath Cost me a good Deal of time and Expense already in Making Several Jurneys to Boston on the affaire I am

“your Honours most obedient Humble Servant

“Joseph Blany

“Marblehead April 10th 1750.

—*Vol. 105, pp. 316, 321, 349-352.*

The Memorial of Joseph Blany of Marblehead, Jan. 25, 1749-50: “Your Memorialist pursuant to your Honours proclamation made Deligent Search after and Apprehended One Obediah Albee junior who was Charged with being principally Concerned in the late Murther of the Eastern Indian at Wiscassett and has Committed him to his Majesty’s Goal in Salem where he now is Under Close Confinement: He therefore Most humbly prays that he may be Allowed and paid the Bounty of Fifty pounds New tenor for Apprehending the said Albee.”

Thomas Lovice of Marblehead testified Apr. 27, 1750, “that he knew Nothing of Obediah Allbeys being Concerned in the Murther of the Indians till the Said allbys Father Informed him and Sent on board off his Vessell and Desierd him to bring him to Marblehead that he might Go to the Westward to See his friends and told that he was afraid he was Concerned in the Said Murther and in the way to Marblehead Said Allbey told me that he was with them and Snapt his Gun: and when I arrived at Marblehead I met with my owner Captain Howard who Shewed me the Goveners Proclamation to apprehend and Secure the Said Allbey Emediatly upon that I and Captain Howard went the Same morning that I arrived (which was on the 21st December, 1749) to Mr. Justis Blaneys and Told him that I had brought up Obediah Allby junior as was Come to him, to Deliver him the Said allby up to Justis upon that Mr. Blaney Desird me to go home and Secure allby (who was at my house) till he gave out his warrant, but before I went home I went to

Mr. Moolets and then to Mr. Blaneys again to See wheither the warent was Ready and he told me he had Sent it to Mr. Moolett the Constable and then I went home and I found the Constable at my house then I and the Constable took allby and went to Mr. Blaneys and Left him in his Care." Present: Samuel Graves and Thomas Mullett.

"These may Certify whome it may Concerne That in Regard to an Information against one Albey all that I know of the matter is that I have heard Thomas Lovis of this Town was the person who made the Information and Suppose he was the Man to the best of my knowledge
"John Howard."

"Marblehead April 27, 1750.

"Thomas Mullett, Constable of Marblehead Declareth that on the 21st December 1749 Thomas Lovis Master of a Schooner of Captain Howards Came to me and desired me to go and take up Obediah Allby junior which has been Suspected in the Murder of an Indian which I asked Said Lovis if he had got a warent and he told me that Justis Blaney was Drawing it and about an hour after Justis blaneys Son Brought me the warrant and then I went to Thomas Lovis's house and took up the said Allby and Carred him before Justis Blaney the Said Lovis being with me and after that I Cometted the Said Allby to his Majestys Gole in Salem and further Saith not.

"Thomas Mullett, Constable."

The Memorial of Thomas Lovis of Marblehead June 8, 1750, that he "made Discovery of Obadiah Albee Junior and prays that he may be allowed and paid the Bounty of Fifty Pounds new Tenor." Not granted.

"Know all men by these Presents that I John Stacey of Marblehead in the County of Essex In New England Shoreman. Whereas I am now Sick in a weak Condition and apprehensive of the near Approach of Death and being desirous that my youngest Daughter being Grace Stacey should have her maintenance out of my Estate as my other Children have already had To which Ends and Purposes I do by These Presents Give Grant and Establish unto my said Daughter Grace Stacey for the Use aforesaid the full and Just Sum of Twenty Pounds in good Passable Bills of Creditt on this Province per

Annum Yearly and every year from the Day of the Date hereof for and during the Term of Nine Years next Coming and I doe hereby Authorize and impower my Loving Brothers Samuel Stacey and William Stacey as Trustees to demand and recover the same out of my Estate yearly and every year, during the said Term and I do hereby bind my Heirs Executors and administrators and every of them to the true and faithfull Performance thereof In the Sum of One hundred Eighty Pounds to be recovered out of my Estate by the said Samuel Stacey and William Stacey or either of them for the use aforesaid provided Never the less that this Gift or Bequest shall not be taken to hinder the said Grace Stacey from her Part of my Estate as the Law has provided for the Distribution of the Estates of Intestates. In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the sixteenth Day of October in the Ninth Year of his Majestys Reign Annoq. 1722.

“John Stacey.”

Wit: John Hendly, Robert Pierce’s mark, Nathan Bowen. Ack. Oct. 16, 1722, before Azor Gale, Justice Peace.

“Court Record, Inferior, Salem, begun Dec. 30, 1740, Samuel Stacey of Mablehead, shoreman, *versus* John Stacey, Gentleman, and Mary Stacey, widow, both of Marblehead, administrators of John Stacey, late of Marblehead, shoreman, debt as by said deed of gift. And afterward, about the 20th of the same October said John the grantor died, leaving said deed in full force against his estate and said administrators not paying same the £180 becomes forfeited and the surviving Trustee commenced action. Administrators defaulting, verdict for Trustee, £180 and costs. Execution issued Jan. 22, 1740, alias July 8, 1741.

Petition to General Court, June 11, 1745, of John and Mary Stacey of Marblehead, administrators of estate of John Stacey, late of Marblehead, that they took out Letters of Administration, and during the nine years advanced to said Grace, victuals, cloathes, and necessaries of more than £20 per annum.

(To be continued)

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

COMPILED BY FRANCIS B. C. BRADLEE,
FROM THE MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE RECORDS.

(Continued from Vol. LXV, page 402)

Date	No. of	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen	REMARKS
1803 Nov. 15	10	Sch. "John"	91 66/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1802. Exchanged owners. John, Joseph & Benjamin Hooper owners. Thos. Meek Jr. master.
Dec. 17	11	Sch. "Betsey"	71 36/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Jos. Barker owner. Lewis Girdler master.
29	12	Sch. "Joanna"	76 tons	60 feet long. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1785. Formerly an enrolled vessel.* Ebenezer Giles Evans owner. Henry Quiner master.
31	13	Sch. "Eleanor"	76 25/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Samuel Horton & Thos. Williams owners. Edmund Bray master.
1804 Jany. 2	1	Sch. "Traveller"	86 75/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Lee & John Cross owners. John Cross master.
9	2	Sch. "Molly"	74 26/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1785. New register. Rob't Hooper owner. Nicholson Broughton master.
12	3	Sch. "Dido"	128 63/95	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1803. New vessel. Philip Bessom owner. Edmund Lewis master.
23	4	Sch. "Polly"	83 20/95	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1800. New register. Rob't Hooper Jr. owner. Abraham Morse master.
25	5	Brigantine "Union"	110 49/95	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1794. New register. Wm. & Nath'l Hooper owners. John Roundey master.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
26 1804	6	Sch. "Betsey"	95 06/95	Built at Haverhill, 1800. Taken in war of 1812. Formerly an enrolled vessel.* John Roads owner. John Russel 3rd master.
Jan'y. 27	7	Brigantine "Philanthropist"	113 14/95	Built at Newburyport, 1795. Lost at sea. Exchanged owners. Wm. & Nath'l Hooper owners. Thos. Dennis master.
Feb'y. 22	8	Brigantine "Ruthy"	148 tons	74 feet long. Built at Salem, Mass., 1790. Exchanged owners. Wm. & John C. Blackler owners. John C. Blackler master.
28	9	Sch. "Rebecca"	77 18/95	Built at Duxbury, 1798. Condemned. New register. Condemned at Christiansand, Norway, Jan. 19, 1810. Thomas Meek owner. Thos. Wooldridge master.
March 7	10	Snow "America"	157 72/95	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1801. New register. John Selman owner. Archibald Selman master.
14	11	Sch. "Hannah"	76 39/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1798. New register. Rob't Hooper owner. Benj. Andrews master.
Apr. 11	12	Sch. "Betsey"	71 36/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1786. New register. Jos. Barker owner.
11	13	Sch. "Saratoga"	70	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1797. New register. Rob't Hooper owner. Nicholas Tucker master.
April 11	14	Brigantine "Enterprize"	133 07/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1796. New Register. Wm. Blackler owner.
16	15	Sch. "Samuel"	82 19/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1786. New Register. John Russell & J. R. Russell owners. Sam'l Hiter master.
18	16	Sch. "Two Brothers"	99 06/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. New Register. Jos. & Nath'l Lindsey owners. Nath'l Lindsey master.
20	17	Brigantine "Good Intent"	90 56/95	Built at Kittery, Mass. (now Me.), 1799. New Register. Henry Gallison owner.
24	18	Brigantine "Mentor"	128 35/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1803. New Register. Rich'd Pedrick owner. Rich'd Pedrick Jr. master.
26	19	Sch. "Cabinet"	125 59/95	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1802. New Register; formerly registered at N. Y. Benoice Johnson owner. Ambrose B. Martin master.

26	Sch. "Alpha"	82 18/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1799. Burnt at sea by French. New Register. John Hooper owner.
28	Sch. "Abigail"	107 60/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1801. Condemned in Spain. New Register. Geo. Barker owner. John Wooldredge master.
May 11	Brigantine "Increase"	108 55/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1800. New Register. Rob't & John Hooper owners. Wm. Widger master.
17	Sch. "Joanna"	76 tons	60 ft. long. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1785. New Register. Ebenezer G. Evans & Henry N. Quiner owners. H. N. Quiner master.
23	Brigantine "America"	157 72/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1801. New rig; formerly a snow. John Selman owner. Archibald Selman master.
26	Sch. "Hope"	66 tons	55 ft. long. Built at Newbury, Mass., 1786. Lost at sea. New Register. Rob't Hooper Jr. owner. John Pickett Swan master.
June 5	Brigantine "Harmony"	147 77/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1801. Lost at sea. New Register. Wm. & Nath'l Hooper owners. David Stevenson master.
6	Sch. "Hiram"	97 20/95	Built at Duxbury, Mass., 1803. New Register. Henry Gallison owner. Joshua Prentiss Jr. master.
13	Brigantine "Washington"	166 81/95	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1804. New vessel. Wm. Blackler owner. Wm. Blackler Jr. master.
15	Sch. "Liberty"	86 07/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1804. New vessel. Jas. Oliver & Benj Gardner Jr. owners. B. Gardner Jr. master.
July 19	Sch. "Raven"	70 tons	58 ft. long. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Nathan B. Martin, Knott Martin Jr., Ebenezer & Eleazer Graves owners. Eleazer Graves master.
28	Sch. "John"	91 66/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1802. New Register. John, Joseph & Benj Hooper & Thos. Meek Jr. owners. T. Meek Jr. master.
Aug. 10	Brigantine "Helen"	100 tons	68 ft. long. Built at Marshfield, Mass., 1793. Exchanged owners; formerly reg. at Boston. Jos. Barker owner. Wm. Cole master.
25	Sch. "Polly"	63 tons	57 ft. long. Built at Ipswich, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners; formerly reg. at Salem. Knott Pedrick owner. John Pedrick 4th master.

* All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

Date	No. of	Description of Vessel	Tons	Remarks
1804				
11	36	Brigantine "Polly"	165 14/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1802. New Register. Condemned at Christiansand, July 19, 1810. Rob't Hooper owner. Ebenezer Graves master.
Nov. 5	37	Sch. "Joanna"	98 tons	54 ft. long. Built at Braintree, Mass., 1802. Formerly temporarily registered. S. Gray of Salem owner. Argalis Pease master.
Dec. 10	39	Sch. "Lydia"	86 01/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled (coasting & fishing trade) vessel. Thos. Meek owner. Thos. Meek Jr. master.*
14	40	Brigantine "Enterprise"	133 07/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1796. Exchanged owners. John Candler owner & master.
31	41	Sch. "Sally"	68 32/95	Built at Danvers, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Samuel Bowden owner. Michael Bowden master.
57 CS CS	7 8	Sch. "Sally" Sch. "Betsey"	58 09/95 70 tons	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rich'd Prince owner. Christopher Francis master. 58 ft. long. Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1788. Taken in war of 1812. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benjamin T. & Jos. Hooper owners. Sam'l Stacey master.
Feb'y. 1	3	Brigantine "Orient"	187 02/95	Built at Salisbur'y, Mass., 1804. Taken in war of 1812. New vessel. Rob't & Rob't Hooper Jr., John Hooper 4th owners. Edmund Bray master.
27	4	Sch. "Meriam"	82 39/95	Built at Salisbur'y, Mass., 1785. New Register. John Pedrick Jr., John Pedrick 3rd, Rob't Girdler owners. Rob't Girdler master.
May 9	7	Sch. "Molly"	77 37/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Devereaux Dennis owner & master.
11	8	Sch. "Two Sons"	88 36/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1805. New vessel. Joseph Lindsey owner. John B. Prentiss master.
June 12	9	Sch. "Sally"	58 09/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Register surrendered. Rich'd Prince & Thos. Dupuy owners. Thos. Dupuy master.

1806
Feby. 15

1	Sch. "Samuel"	82 19/95	Exchanged owners.
2	Brigantine "Good Intent"	106 06/95	Built at Kittery, Me., 1799. Taken in war of 1812. Vessel altered. Henry Gallison and Joshua Prentiss owners. Cornelius P. Brimblecom master.
3	Schooner "Sisters"	60 tons	61 ft. long. Built at Miles River, Maryland, 1799. Exchanged owners, papers returned to Baltimore. John Candler & Benj. T. Reed owners. Moses Hooper master.
10	Brigantine "Helen"	128 42/95	Built at Marshfield, Mass., 1793. Vessel altered. Condemned in England, July, 1811. Jos. Barker owner. Wm. Cole master.
15	Barque "Packet"	169 35/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1804. Temporary register (granted at Newburyport) surrendered. Rob't & John Hooper & Wm. Reed owners. Benoice Johnson master.
24	Ship "Two Brothers"	151 56/95	Built at Duxbury, Mass., 1800. Lost at sea. Temporary register (granted at Boston) surrendered. John Candler master and owner.
27	Sch. "John"	91 66/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1802. Exchanged owners. Thos. Meek, Thos. & Geo. Barker owners. Geo. Barker master.
8	Brigantine "Union"	167 44/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1806. New vessel. Wm. & Nath'l Hooper owners. Sam'l Cloon master.
17	Brigantine "Charlotte"	138 04/95	Built at Hallowell, Me., 1805. Temporary register (granted at Boston) surrendered. Henry N. Quiner owner and master.
28	Sch. "Mary"	73 14/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting & fishing trade).* Asa Hooper owner. Francis Smith master.
3	Sch. "Union"	84 21/95	Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Bailey owner. John U. Pattin master.
4	Sch. "Lydia"	94 46/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. James Bowler owner. Andrew Tucker master.

*All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

Date	No. of	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen	REMARKS
1806 Dec. 8	18	Sch. "Amy"	76 70/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Sam'l Knight owner. Eleazer Graves master.
9	19	Sch. "Ann"	75 53/95	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rich'd Prince owner. John Hammond master.
9	20	Sch. "Ocean"	131 33/95	Built at Eden, Me., 1806. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. T. Reed owner. Sam'l Hadlock master.
9	21	Sch. "Success"	72 55/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Thos. Elkins owner. Thos. Elkins Jr. master.
13	22	Sch. "General Warren"	84 27/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John B. Selman owner. John Dennis master.
19	23	Sch. "Reward"	78 03/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Edward Fettyplace owner. Wm. Goss master.
1807 Jan'y. 3	2	Sch. "Tom"	101 19/95	Built at Hingham, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. Wm. Hooper owner. Nathan Hilbert master.
12	3	Sch. "John"	87 91/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1787. Vessel altered. Rob't Hooper owner. Benj. Stacey master.
Feb'y. 9	4	Sch. "Two Brothers"	99 06/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. Exchanged owners. Nath'l Lindsey owner and master.
April 30	6	Sch. "William"	71	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1789. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Salem. Jos. Girdler owner and master.
June 3	7	Sch. "Ranger"	36	Built at Duxbury, Mass., 1783. Exchanged owners. John Drury M. D. owner. Moses Hooper master.
5	8	Brigantine "America"	157 72/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1801. Register surrendered. John Selman owner. F. G. Selman master.
July 29	9	Sch. "Tom"	101 19/95	Taken in war of 1812. Built at Hingham, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. Wm. Hooper owner. Henry N. Quiner master.

Aug.	28	10	Sch.	"Joseph"	78	83/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1801. Old register surrendered. Nicholas Bartlett owner. Eleazer Graves master.
Oct.	9	11	Sch.	"Sally"	58	09/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rich'd Prince owner. Christopher Francis master.
	20	12	Brigantine	"Venus"	137	90/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1787. New vessel. Condemned in Italy, June 8, 1810. Sam'l Bowden owner. Michael Bowden master.
	28	13	Sch.	"Sally"	69	69/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Pedrick owner and master.
Nov.	3	14	Sch.	"Ocean"	131	33-95	Built at Eden, Me., 1806. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. T. Reed owner. Sam'l Hadlock master.
	25	15	Sch.	"Yarico"	74	83/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1798. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Lee owner. Wm. Standley master.
	27	16	Sch.	"Prudentia"	65		Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1785. Formerly an enrolled vessel. R. Thorner owner. John Woodbridge master.
	28	17	Sch.	"Amy"	76	70/95	Built at Salem, Mass., 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned in England in 1808. Sam'l Knight owner. Thos. Dennis master.
Dec.	1	18	Sch.	"Minerva"	83	03/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Devereux owner. John Power Jr. master.
	2	19	Sch.	"Reward"	78	03/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned in France in 1810. Edward Pettyplace owner. Wm. Goss master.
Dec.	4	20	Sch.	"Oriental"	84	69/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting & fishing trade*). Wm. Story owner. Geo. Bartlett master.
	26	21	Sch.	"Louisiana"	102	12/95	Built at Barnstable, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Fuller and Timo. Newhall of Lynn owners. Timo. Newhall master.
	28	22	Sch.	"John"	65	44/95	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1786. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Edward Lewis owner. Edmund Lewis master.
May	2	1	Brigantine	"Nancy"	136	21/95	Built at Milton, Mass., 1795. Temporary register (granted at Norfolk, Va.) surrendered. Benj. Phillips of Lynn owner. Jacob Bradbury master.

**All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.*

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

Date	No. of	DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL	Burthen	REMARKS
1808 May 10	2	Sch. "Two Friends"	38 35/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel.* John R. Russell owner. Benj. Gardner Jr. master.
July 28	3	Sch. "Ocean"	131 33/95	Built at Eden, Me., 1806. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned by English in W. Indies, Jany. 1809. Benj. T. Reed owner. John A. Salkins master.
28 1809	4	Sch. "Lively"	105 53/95	68 ft. long. Built in Mt. Desert, Me., 1782. Exchanged owners. Benj. T. Reid owner. Tobias Davis master.
Mch. 16	1	Brigantine "Washington"	166 tons	65 ft. long. Built at Salisbury, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Boston. Wm. Blackler owner. Ward Blackler master.
17	2	Brigantine "Hannah"	144 27/95	Built at Scituate, Mass., 1800. Exchanged owners. Jos. Mudge of Lynn owner and master.
17	3	Sloop "Ann"	82 10/95	Built at Brunswick, Me., 1787. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Isaac Collyer owner. John Collyer Jr. master.
28	4	Sch. "Nancy"	94 79/95	Built at Scituate, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Mudge of Lynn owner. Abner Ingalls master.
30	5	Sch. "Hannah"	68	Built at Barnstable, Mass., 1793. Exchanged owners. Sam'l Turner owner. Sam'l Stacey master.
April 1	6	Sch. "Minerva"	83 03/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1804. Register surrendered. John Devereaux owner. Rich'd Leach master.
3	7	Sch. "Louisiana"	102 12/95	Built at Barnstable, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned at Naples in 1810. Jos. Fuller of Lynn owner. Timothy Newhall of Lynn master.
10	8	Sch. "Robert"	87 43/95	Built at Ipswich, Mass., 1801. Temporary register surrendered. Wm. Story owner. Abiel R. Story master.
18	9	Sch. "Oriental"	84 69/95	Built at Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Exchanged owners. Wm. Story owner. John U. Patten master.

21	10	Sch. "Dash"	77	66/95	Built	Salisbury, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Philip Bessom owner. Sam'l Stimmis master.
26	11	Sch. "Lydia"	86	01/95	Built	at Salem, Mass., 1801. Exchanged owners. Thos. Meek owner. Thos. Meek Jr. master.
28	12	Sch. "Polly"	83	20/95	Built	at Salisbury, Mass., 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Ebenezer G. Evans owner. Rob't Devereux master.
29	13	Sch. "Meriam"	82	39/95	Built	at Salisbury, Mass., 1785. Exchanged owners. Wm. John C. Blackler, R. T. Reed & other owners. John Bowden master.
May 1	14	Brigantine "Elizabeth"	171	11/95	Built	Haverhill, Mass., 1807. New vessel. Geo. Barker owner. Wm. Pettyplace master.
3	15	Sch. "Industry"	86	36/95	Built	Haverhill, Mass., 1801. Exchanged owners. Jas. Smith owner. Jonathan Thompson master.
10	16	Sch. "Hope"	76	38/95	Built	Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Asa Hooper owner. Wm. Vickery master.
10	17	Sch. "Two Sisters"	80	32/95	Built	Haverhill, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Philip Bridgeo owner and master.
12	18	Sch. "Hannah"	66		Built	Newbury, Mass., 1785. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Sam'l Horton owner. John Story master.
18	19	Sch. "Betsy"	71	36/95	Built	Haverhill, Mass., 1786. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Barker owner. Lewis Girdler master.
22	20	Brigantine "Joseph"	161	13/95	Built	Newcastle, Me., 1807. Temporary register (granted at Waldoborough, Me.) surrendered. John Pedrick 3rd owner. Jos. Pedrick master.
23	21	Sch. "Lively"	105	53/95	Built	Mt. Desert, Me., 1782. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. T. Reid owner. Zacheus Higgins master.
30	22	Ship "Print"	215	35/95	Taken	in war of 1812. Built Georgetown, Mass., 1809. Temporary register (granted at Boston) surrendered. Jos. Lindsey owner. Nath'l Lindsey master.
June 1	23	Sch. "Perseverance"	71	29/95	Built	Amesbury, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned in France in 1810. Thos. Haskell owner. Mark Meservy master.

**All enrolled vessels were for coasting and fishing trade.*

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
June 5	24	Sch. "Two Brothers"	99 06/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Nath'l Lindsey owner. Henry Cloutman master.
13	25	Sch. "Eleanor"	76 25/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Sam'l Horton owner. Thos. Williams master.
15	26	Sch. "Sally"	62	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1786. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Rich'd Homan owner. Thos. Bruce master.
15	27	Sch. "Speedwell"	62 62/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1787. Formerly an enrolled vessel (coasting and fishing trade). Samuel Chinn owner. Ralph Devereux master.
28	28	Sch. "Little Cherub"	65 49/95	Built Hanover, Mass., 1797. Temporary register (granted at Salem) surrendered. Nathan Hilbert owner. Nathan Hilbert master.
19	29	Sch. "Caesar"	91 31/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Wm. Lee owner. Jos. Harris master.
27	30	Sch. "Betty"	61	Built Newbury, Mass., 1786. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John Brown owner. Christopher Francis master.
July 1	31	Sch. "Experiment"	73 34/95	Built at Ipswich, Mass., 1798. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Dan'l Johnson, Ezra Collins of Lynn, Benj. T. Reed owners. Sam'l Stacey master.
10	32	Sch. "Fame"	78 16/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Thos. Elkins owner. Thos. Elkins Jr. master.
Aug. 8	33	Sch. "Sally"	74 tons	61 ft. long. Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1793. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Peter Waite owner. Simon Lamprell master.
9	34	Sch. "Spring Bird"	84 74/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Nicholas Tucker owner. Nicholas Tucker master.
10	35	Sch. "Joseph"	78 83/95	Built at Newbury, Mass., 1801. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Nicholas Bartlett owner. Nicholas Bartlett master.
Oct. 10	36	Sch. "John"	65 44/95	Built at Newburyport, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Rob't Hooper Jr., W. & J. Hooper, W. Reed owners. R. Hooper Jr. master.

1809	16	37	Sch. "Endeavour"	81	79/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. T. & Jos. Hooper owners. John Power master.
	30	39	Sch. "Driver"	102	09/95	Built Chatham, Conn., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Fuller of Lynn owner. John Nichols master.
Nov.	3	40	Sch. "Abigail"	78	92/95	Lost at sea. Built Haverhill, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Lindsey owner. Benj. Lindsey master.
	7	42	Sch. "Hannah"	74		Built Newbury, Mass., 1787. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned in England. Wm. Thorner owner. Wm. Standley master.
	9	43	Sch. "Hannah"	107	22/95	Condemned. Built Newbury, Mass., 1801. Vessel altered. Wm. Russell owner. Rich'd Tutt master.
Dec.	1	44	Sch. "Sally"	70	tons	58 ft. long. Built Newbury, Mass., 1787. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Robert Hooper owner. Nath'l Gardner master.
	4	45	Sch. "Polly"	63	tons	57 ft. long. Built Ipswich, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Wm. Story & Stephen White owners. J. R. Story master.
	21	47	Sch. "Lark"	79	67/95	Condemned. Built Duxbury, Mass., 1798. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Salem, July 5, 1811. Sam'l Turner owner. John Collyer master. Condemned in England.
	30	48	Barque "Packet"	169	35/95	Built in Newbury, Mass., 1804. Register surrendered. R. Hooper Jr. and Wm. Reed owners. John Pedrick 4th master.
1810	3	1	Sch. "Friendship"	93	85/95	Built Newbury, Mass., 1805. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Thos. Haskell owner. Matthew Leach master.
Jany.	5	2	Sch. "Meriam"	82	39/95	Built Salisbury, Mass., 1785. Exchanged owners. John Pedrick 3rd, Wm. & J. C. Blackler owners.
		3	Sch. "Joan"	87	01/95	Built at Haverhill, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Ebenezer G. Evans owner. Thos. Quiner master.
	8	4	Sch. "Hero"	84	68/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. John Pedrick 3rd, Wm. & J. C. Blackler owners. John Gerry master.
	23	5	Sch. "Two Sisters"	80	tons	68 ft. long. Built Danvers, Mass., 1798. Exchanged owners. John Doliber owner. John Doliber master.

ABSTRACT OF VESSELS REGISTERED (FOREIGN TRADE) AT MARBLEHEAD CUSTOM HOUSE.

<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
1810 Feby. 12	6	Sch. "Bird"	80 04/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. John & Thos. Brown 3rd owners. J. D. Dennis Jr. master.
Feby. 15	7	Sch. "Polly"	71 36/95	Built Newbury, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Benj. T. Reed owner. Ambrose Martin master.
27	8	Sch. "Adams"	63 tons	56 ft. long. Built Amesbury, Mass., 1785. Old register surrendered. John Selman owner. John Dennis master.
Mch. 20	9	Sch. "Friendship"	80 20/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1804. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Geo. Tucker Jr. owner. Geo. Tucker Jr. master.
30	10	Sch. "Polly"	114 03/95	Built Marshfield, Mass., 1800. Temporary register (granted at Boston) surrendered. Wm. Story owner. James Lyon Jr. master.
April 18	12	Sch. "Success"	53 25/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1789. Exchanged owners. Sam'l Turner owner. Rich'd James master.
May 11	13	Sch. "Lively"	105 53/95	Built Mt. Desert, Me., 1782. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. T. Reed owner. Thos. Gordon master.
14	14	Sch. "Germantown"	38 20/95	Built Braintree, Mass., 1790. Exchanged owners. Leavitt Kingsbury owner. Pharis Shirley master.
15	15	Brig "Oriental"	102 51/95 tons	65 ft. long. Built Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Temporary register (granted at Newburyport) surrendered. Wm. Story owner. John U. Patten master.
17	16	Sch. "Eleanor"	76 25/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1803. Temporary register surrendered. Sam'l Horton owner. Thos. Williams master.
19	17	Sch. "Susanna"	73 20/95	Built Haverhill, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel* (coasting & fishing trade). Nicholas Turner owner. John Quiner master.
June 6	18	Sch. "Regulus"	89 56/95	Built at Bradford, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Edward Fettyplace owner. Sam'l Gerry master.
July 23	20	Sch. "Sally"	74	Built Haverhill, Mass., 1793. Exchanged owners. Peter Waitt owner. Wm. Standley master.

Aug. 13	21	Sch. "Liberty"	86 07/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1804. Temporary register (granted at Salem) surrendered. Benj. Gardner owner. Benj. Gardner Jr. master.
Sept. 6	22	Sch. "Sally"	68 32/95	Built Danvers, Mass., 1800. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Sam'l Bowden owner. Thos. Quiner master.
21	23	Sch. "Polly"	71 30/95	Built Newbury, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Benj. T. Reed owner. John D. Dennis Jr. master.
24	24	Brig "Washington"	166 tons	65 ft. long. Built Salisbury, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. Wm. & Ward Blackler owners. Dan'l S. Dennis master.
25	25	Sch. "Three Brothers"	94 tons	64 ft. long. Built Yarmouth, Mass., 1802. Temporary register (granted at Boston) surrendered. John Procter & Sam'l Bartoll owners. John Procter master.
Oct. 16	27	Sch. "Caesar"	91 31/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1805. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Salem. Jas. Oliver owner. John Knight master.
Novr. 9	28	Sch. "Mary and Sally"	75 82/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1808. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned at Gibraltar, Feb. 9, 1811. John Adams owner. Jos. Wilson Jr. master.
9	29	Sch. "Mary"	73 14/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1802. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Condemned in England, June 18, 1811. Asa Hooper owner. Wm. Vickery master.
19	30	Sch. "Adventure"	78 57/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Benj. Eaton & Edw. Hammond owners. J. Collyer Jr. master.
20	31	Sch. "Betsey"	78 79/95	Built Haverhill, Mass., 1807. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Peter O. Oliver owner. Wm. B. Orne master.
Deer. 1	32	Brigantine "Ruthy"	148 tons	74 ft. long. Built Salem, Mass., 1790. Register surrendered. Wm. & John C. Blackler owners. Freeborn Woodbury master.
6	33	Sch. "Success"	72 55/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1803. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Thos. Elkins owner. A. S. Hulen master.
8	34	Sch. "Friendship"	80 20/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1804. Register surrendered. Geo. & Thos. Tucker owners. Geo. Tucker Jr. master.
14	35	Sch. "Geo. Washington"	75 66/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1806. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jas. Cheever owner. Jas. Brown Jr. master.

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<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
1810				
15	36	Sch. "Success"	83 93/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1783. Exchanged owners. Geo. Barker, J. Pedrick 3d, W. Fettyplace owners. John Johnson master.
Decr. 18	37	Sch. "Sally"	58 09/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1788. Formerly an enrolled vessel.* Rich'd Prince owner. John Stevenson master.
1811				
Jany. 5	1	Sch. "Spring Bird"	84 74/95	Built Newbury, Mass., 1807. Owner's choice. Nicholas Tucker owner. Nicholas Tucker master.
15	2	Ship "Ontario"	305 44/95	Built Eden, Me., 1807. Sold to foreigners, July 21, 1813. Exchanged owners. Formerly registered at Frenchman's Bay, Maine. Benj. Tyler Reed owner.
31	3	Sch. "Two Sisters"	80 32/95	Formerly an enrolled vessel.
27 Feby. 1	4	Ship "Concordia"	386 69/95	Built Salisbury, Mass., 1810. New vessel. Wm., John C. & Ward Blackler, A. Adams, owners. Atkins Adams master.
April 17	5	Brig "Washington"	166	Built Salisbury, Mass., 1804. Exchanged owners. Wm. & Wm. Blackler Jr. owners. Sam'l R. Gerry master.
18	6	Ship "Globe"	209 45/95	Built Newbury, Mass., 1799. Temporary register (granted at Philadelphia) surrendered. Henry K. Fettyplace owner. Thos. Rus-sell master.
May 25	7	Sch. "Hero"	107 26/95	Condemned. Built Amesbury, Mass., 1804. Vessel altered. John Ped-rick 3rd, Wm. & John C. Blackler owners. Henry Blackler master.
Novr. 2	8	Sch. "Sally"	69 69/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1738. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Ambrose Martin, Leavitt Kingsbury, J. H. Gregory, owners. Ambrose Martin master.
Decr. 17	11	Sch. "Hannah"	79 70/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1797. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Nicholas Bartlett owner. Wm. Edwards master.
Jany. 2	1	Sch. "Nancy"	60 tons	57 ft. long. Built at Danvers, Mass., 1787. Formerly an enrolled ves-sel. Thos. Martin 5th owner. Rich'd Brown master.

1812										
Feb'y. 24	2	Sch. "Snow Bird"	38	Privateer in War of 1812. Built Plymouth, Mass., 1797. Exchanged owners. Elizabeth Chinn owner. Geo. Chinn master.						
Mch. 4	3	Sch. "Betsey"	71 36/95	Built Haverhill, Mass., 1786. Owner's choice. Jos. Barker owner. Thos. Mullett master. Taken in war of 1812.						
24	4	Sch. "Susanna Lucy"	117 11/95	Built No. Yarmouth, Me., 1810. Exchanged owners. Thos. Witt of Lynn owner. Thos. Lewis master.						
May 22	5	Sch. "Sally"	74 tons	61 ft. long. Built Haverhill, Mass., 1793. Exchanged owners. Thos. Westgate 2d owner. Reuben Cousins master.						
Sept. 14	6	Brig "Britannia"	197 87/95	Captured in war of 1812. Prize vessel. Philip Bessom owner. Geo. Tucker Jr. master.						
Oct. 24	7	Sch. "Susanna Lucy"	117 11/95	Built No. Yarmouth, Me., 1810. Formerly an enrolled vessel. Jos. Mansfield, Thos. Witt et al of Lynn, owners. Thos. Lewis master.						
Nov. 13	8	Sch. "Lucretia"	81	Taken by privateer "Snow Bird." Prize vessel. Sam'l M. Randlett of Boston owner. S. M. Randlett master.						
1813										
Feb'y. 2	1	Sch. "Speedwell"	63 62/95	Built Bradford, Mass., 1787. Exchanged owners. J. C. Jones of Boston owner. J. D. Dennis Jr. master.						
5	2	Ship "Freedom"	223 33/95	Taken by privateer "Thorn." Prize vessel. Oliver C. Blunt, I. Waldron Jr., Rob't Rice of Portsmouth, N. H., owners. Oliver C. Blunt master.						
May 4	3	Brig "Mary"	266 80/95	Taken by privateer "Industry." Prize vessel. Sam'l Chamberlain of Portsmouth, N. H., owner. S. Chamberlain master.						
Sept. 11	4	Sloop "Primus"	37 18/95	Built Plymouth, Mass., 1793. Exchanged owners. Thos. Kimball of Ipswich owner. Thos. Kimball master.						
Oct. 19	5	Sch. "Bird"	43	Built Danvers, Mass., 1787. Exchanged owners. Nath'l Perry of Beverly owner. N. Perry master.						
Dec. 2	6	Sch. "Hannah"	79 70/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1797. Exchanged owners. Wm. B. Swett & Co. of Boston owners. Francis Burnham master.						

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<i>Date</i>	<i>No. of</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF VESSEL</i>	<i>Burthen</i>	<i>REMARKS</i>
1813	6	7 Sloop "Fox"	52 60/95	Built W. Point, Mass., 1790. Exchanged owners. Wm. V. Foster of Boston owner. W. V. Foster master.
	13	8 Sch. "Hannah"	79 70/95	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1797. Owner's choice. Wm. B. Swett & Co. of Boston owners. W. G. Tarbell master.
Dec.	13	9 Sch. "Benjamin"	67	Built Amesbury, Mass., 1785. Exchanged owners. Wm. B. Swett & Co. of Boston owners.
	13	10 Sch. "Joseph"	63	Built Newbury, Mass., 1785. Exchanged owners. Wm. B. Swett & Co. of Boston owners. Ambrose Brown master.
	22	12 Brig "Helen"	128 42/95	Taken in war of 1812. Prize vessel. Humphrey Devereux owner. Simon Lamprell master.
1814				
Mar.	18	1 Sch. "Eunice"	27	Built at Lynn, Mass., 1786. Exchanged owners. Timo. Brooks of Salem owner. Luke Brooks master.
April	5	2 Sch. "Leopard"	86 70/95	Taken in war of 1812. Prize vessel. Butler Fogerty of Salem owner. John Conway master.
1815				
April	10	1 Sch. "Fame"	78 16/95	Prize taken in war of 1812. Exchanged owners. John Williams owner. Philip Bessom master.
	11	2 Sch. "Lucretia"	81	Taken by privateer "Snow Bird." Prize vessel. Sam'l M. Randlett of Boston owner. S. M. Randlett master.
	22	3 Ship "Levant"	232 59/95	Taken by privateer "Increase". Prize vessel. Jas. C. King, Salem, ——— Alley master.
	24	4 Sch. "Ranger"	23 3/95	Property transferred.
May	11	5 Sch. "Martha"	25 50/95	Built at Ipswich, Mass., 1814. Property transferred. John Burns of Gloucester owner. J. Burns master.
	12	6 Sch. "Hannah"	22 34/95	Built Falmouth, Me., 1800. Property transferred. Josiah Austin of Salem owner. J. Austin master.

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