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ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

VOLUME XII.



SALEM:

PUBLISHED BY THE ESSEX INSTITUTE.

1874.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII.

JANUARY, 1874.

No. 1.

MEMOIR OF HENRY COIT PERKINS,

BY

SAMUEL J. SPALDING.

[READ THURSDAY, SEPT., 11. 1873.]

SOME few years since, while sitting with our friend, Dr. Perkins, our conversation turned on the great advances made during the last quarter of a century in all departments of physical science. He was led to speak of his own personal interest and work in the same direction, and of the satisfaction and pleasure he had derived from these side studies of his professional life, as he was accustomed to call them. His account seemed to me of so much value, especially as showing how much could be accomplished by concentration of purpose and a wise use of opportunities, that I ventured to ask him to commit the same to writing.

It is to the brief autobiographical sketch, written shortly after that conversation, that I am indebted for most of the facts respecting Dr. Perkins, which I shall give you to-day.

In this sketch he speaks of his ancestors as belonging to the family of Perkins in Topsfield. His own immediate ancestors were from Topsfield, but remotely from Ipswich.

The Perkins family of Topsfield comprises the descendants of Rev. William Perkins, of whom a sketch is given in the July No. of the 10th Vol. of the "Hist. and Gen. Register."

The Ipswich family comprises the descendants of John Perkins the elder, as he is called in the Records, of whom a sketch is given in the same No. and Vol. of the Register.

"He was born in Newent (as supposed) in Gloucestershire, England, in 1590. He embarked with his wife and family for America, Dec. 1, 1630, at Bristol, England, and arrived at Boston, Feb. 5, 1631, after a 'very tempestuous voyage.' They came over in the ship *Lyon*, Capt. Wm. Pearce; and the famous Roger Williams was one of their fellow-passengers. At this time their youngest child was about seven, and their oldest seventeen years. On the 18th of the following May (1631) he was admitted freeman. He remained in Boston about two years, when, in 1633, he removed to Ipswich. He was representative to the General Court from that town in 1636, held various town offices and trusts, and appears to have been a man of great respectability. He owned the large island at the mouth of Ipswich river, which was then, and until quite recently, called Perkins' Island. It is still believed to be in the family. His house, which he gave, after his wife's decease, to his youngest son, Jacob, stood near Manning's Neck and close to the river. His will is dated March 28, 1654, and he probably died not long after, as he then says he was 'sick and weak in body.' The will was proved Sept., 1654, and his estate

was valued at £250, 05s. He was sixty-four years old at his death. The name of his wife was Judith, and he left six children, as follows:—

John², Thomas², Elizabeth², Mary², Lydia², Jacob²; Thomas², b. 1616; settled in Topsfield; m. Phebe, dau. of Zaccheus Gould, and d. May 7, 1686, aged 70.

He is usually called on the records 'Dea. Thomas Perkins, Sen., of Topsfield.' His will is dated Dec. 11, 1685, and proved Sept., 1686. It is quite long and minute, and his estate was large.

His children were John³, Thomas³, Elisha³, Timothy³, Zaccheus³ and three daughters.

Thomas³, second son of Dea. Perkins, m. Sarah Wallis, 1683, and d. 1719. Children, Martha⁴, Robert⁴, Samuel⁴, Sarah⁴, Phebe⁴, Hannah⁴.

Samuel⁴, b. 1699; m. Margaret ———; their children were Thomas⁵, Hannah⁵, Margaret⁵, Samuel⁵, Mary⁵, Archelaus⁵, Sarah⁵."

Thomas⁵, b. Feb. 19, 1725; m. 1st, Dinah Towne; m. 2d, Martha Burnham. Children, Archelaus⁶, by the first wife, b. April 4, 1756; Daniel⁶, Israel⁶, Hannah⁶, Israel⁶, Margaret⁶, Thomas⁶, Samuel⁶.

Thomas⁶, b. May 28, 1773; d. Oct. 29, 1853. He m. Elizabeth Storey, Feb. 16, 1804. She was the dau. of Daniel and Ruth (Burnham) Storey of Essex, and was b. June 30, 1778, and d. May 14, 1864. Their children were Henry Coit⁷, Daniel Storey⁷, Harriet⁷, Elizabeth⁷, Caroline⁷, Mary⁷.

Henry Coit⁷, b. Nov. 13, 1804; m. Harriet Davenport, Oct. 30, 1828. He d. Feb. 1, 1873. Their only child is Henry Russell, b. April 2, 1838; m. July 6, 1868, Georgiana Prescott, dau. of Samuel G. and Caroline (Prescott) Reed of Boston.

The autobiographical sketch is as follows:—

“‘The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places ; yea, I have a goodly heritage.’

I first saw the sunlight, Nov. 13, 1804, as it beamed into an apartment of the old Wolfe tavern in State street, Newburyport, where also was born the father of my affectionate and beloved wife.

The most vivid recollection that now remains of the old mansion is that impressed upon my vision as it was seen wrapped in flames in the great fire of May 31, 1811. I was borne by my aunt from the scene of conflagration to a place of shelter in the residence of the father and family of the late Miss Hannah F. Gould.

At the age of eight years, I commenced the study of the Latin language under Michael Walsh, A. M., the author of the ‘Mercantile Arithmetic;’ with whom, as I well remember, Hon. Caleb Cushing was fitting for college, and from which school he entered Cambridge in 1813 at the early age of thirteen years.

I continued the study of Latin under Asa Wildes, Esq., at the Newburyport High School, and finally fitted for college under Mr. Alfred Pike, at the Newburyport Academy, and in August, 1820, entered as freshman at Harvard.

My parents were of humble origin, but of respectable descent ; my father, Thomas Perkins, was of a Topsfield family of that name ; my mother, Elizabeth Storey, was born at Chebacco, now Essex. The parents of both my father and mother were husbandmen, and the children were brought up to habits of industry and frugality, and enjoined the same upon their descendants.

With my brother and sisters, I was led to the baptismal font, May 13, 1816, at the age of eleven years, and received the sacred rite at the hands of Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D., at that time pastor of the Old South Church. A

little tract given me about this time by my pastor, entitled, 'My son, give me thine heart,' I regard as among the first sources of my religious impressions, although I always had been taught, on Sabbath evening, the Westminster confession of faith by my father, and had been blessed with the prayers of a pious mother.

Among the books in my father's small library was a duodecimo entitled 'Elements of Natural Philosophy,' published in 1808, at New York. It contained chapters upon 'matter and motion, the universe, the solar system, the fixed stars, the earth, the atmosphere, meteors, springs, rivers and the sea, fossils, plants, animals, the human frame and the understanding.'

In these, to use the the words of the poet,

'I saw a mighty arm, by man unseen,
Resistless, not to be controlled, that guides,
In solitude of unshared energies,
All these thy ceaseless miracles, O world!'

This little volume was the nucleus, around which was to gather all the knowledge I was to be permitted to collect in my after life, and next to the Bible, the volume of nature is the one I have loved most to study. When a lad, I well remember the pleasure afforded in contemplating the changing forms of the silvery clouds, lost in wonder how they could contain and pour out the drenching rain and the rattling hail,—whence could come the mighty wind that prostrated the forest, the dazzling lightning and the heavy thunder that made the earth tremble beneath my feet. Ofttimes, in returning from the evening school have I stood alone gazing into the clear blue sky to see and love the twinkling stars as they ran their silent course, watching me as my heart breathed out the words of the Psalmist, 'When I consider thy heavens, the work of thy fingers; the moon and the stars, which

thou hast ordained ; what is man, that thou art mindful of him? and the son of man, that thou visitest him?’

Another favorite book was to be found in my father's library, 'Ferguson's Astronomy,' a book brought over the sea by my deceased uncle, Daniel Perkins, a contemporary of Dr. Bowditch, which served to give me a taste for a science the love of which has remained by me until the time when many of the stars I could then distinctly see with the naked eye are only to be seen by the aid of the telescope.

In the retrospect of the time spent at Harvard, no cloud of any size casts its shadow upon the pleasant years.

To a slight incident (namely, the meeting of a person in the road which led to the Botanic Garden), the writer looks back with pleasure as the turning point of his future employment through life. The individual referred to was Prof. Thomas Nuttall, the distinguished English botanist and naturalist, who had been recently appointed Lecturer on Botany and Curator of the Botanic Garden. A strong attachment sprang up between this teacher and many of the students ; this friendship the writer enjoyed, and by it was often enticed away from the drier studies of the course, to a pleasant ramble through the woods and fields in search of their fruits and flowers.

Among the number to whom the volume of nature was first opened, by Mr. Nuttall about the same time, was one recently taken away by the pestilence which walketh in darkness, and with whom for forty-five years, I have been intimately acquainted. I refer to Dr. Augustus A. Gould of Boston. He leaves behind him a character untarnished, and a name long to be held in remembrance by every physician and student of natural history.

On the 27th of Aug., 1824, I graduated at Harvard and,

in company with Rev. William Barnwell of Charleston, S. C., and Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker Parker of Boston, took part in a 'colloquy' before an exceedingly large audience drawn together by the presence of General Lafayette. While an undergraduate, I had attended the lectures of Dr. John C. Warren upon comparative anatomy, and was forcibly struck with the analogies of the skeletons of the lower animals with that of man. I had studied chemistry under Dr. John Gorham, and had often returned from the Botanic Garden with my pockets well filled with minerals from my friend Mr. Nuttall, and my botany box well stored with plants for analysis.

I had unwittingly entered upon the threshold of the medical profession, and on the 27th of Sept., 1824, I entered my name as a student with Dr. Richard S. Spofford of Newburyport, at that time the leading physician of the town.

In Oct., 1825, I entered my name with Dr. John C. Warren and commenced attending the regular course of lectures at the Medical College and practised dissections with a view of understanding more perfectly the structure of the human body. Shortly afterwards I became the house pupil, lodging and studying at his dwelling. Here I made the acquaintance of his son, my highly esteemed friend, J. Mason Warren, then a lad fitting for college in his father's study.

With the students of Dr. James Jackson and Dr. Walter Channing, I attended the clinique at the Mass. General Hospital, and, with Dr. David Bemis, discharged the duties of Dr. Warren's dresser, and assisted him in all his private operations. So diligent were we, that, with the exception of an occasional visit to my friends at Newburyport and Cambridge and a ride once over the neck to Roxbury and back over the Mill-dam, I do not recollect

to have been absent from the Hospital, or away from Boston, for more than two years.

To Dr. James Jackson, I must in justice say, I feel more indebted for what I know of my art, in so far as instruction, written or oral, is concerned, than to any other person. With multitudes of others, I feel that he is my father in medicine. I love him for his virtues, I respect him for his knowledge and I delight to honor him. He has impressed upon the physicians of New England much that has made them useful and skilful practitioners, and to him the public is indebted for much that is valuable in the healing of their diseases. Newburyport has the honor of being the birthplace of this amiable and ever-to-be-remembered Christian gentleman.

In the latter part of August, 1827, I took the degree of M. D. at Harvard, having read a thesis upon the 'Indirect Treatment of Surgical Diseases.'

On the 27th or 28th of this same month, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, there appeared in the heavens a luminous bow, about five degrees in width and extending across the celestial vault from east to west. This was the first auroral arch I had ever heard of, read of, or seen. At that time, no one knew what to make of it. The frequent appearance of such arches since, either alone or accompanied by auroral streams, has called much attention to such phenomena on the part of many scientific writers."

These arches were ever afterwards objects of special interest to Dr. Perkins, and his observations upon them, as published April 9, 1863, have been regarded as of great value.

On the 30th of Oct., 1828, he was married to Harriet Davenport, daughter of John Davenport of Newburyport. Their only child is Henry Russell Perkins, b. April 2,

1838, who early chose the career of business rather than the profession of his father. Dr. Perkins always spoke of his domestic relations in terms of the strongest gratitude and affection.

"On the 3d of Sept., 1827, I took an office and put out my sign as a physician. On the same day I had a professional call from one of my acquaintances. And here I may be permitted to say that one of the most gratifying experiences of a medical man is the continuance of the kind and friendly feelings of his early patrons, especially in this day of change. There is, or there should be, an attachment between physician and patient. We become attached to the beast which carries us safely by night and by day over the dreary, perhaps dangerous, road, and we should speak well of the bridge that has borne us safely over the deep and rapid stream, and why should we not become attached to the watchful physician, who, like a guide travelling over the dangerous crags and precipices of the mountains, conducts safely, and often at the risk of his own reputation and life, it may be, those who have intrusted themselves to his care and skill?

In the year 1828, I think, the dysentery appeared in Newburyport in an epidemic form, and, young as the writer was, he was invited to meet Dr. Bradstreet in consultation in such a case. The Doctor was tardy in his appointment, and did not arrive at the patient's house until after the lapse of an hour or more; coming in at the door, clad in his brown camlet cloak saturated with the rain, he apologized for the delay; 'he had been to the quarantine grounds' to visit a vessel from an unhealthy port. This was among the last professional visits Dr. B. ever made. Whether he took disease on board the vessel or not, he soon was taken down with a severe form of fever, and although he had the benefit of the professional skill and

sound judgment of Drs. Noyes and Spofford, he shortly died with symptoms resembling those of yellow fever. His second daughter died within a fortnight after, apparently with the same disease. The sick men, who had been brought to a boarding-house in town, recovered.

Dr. Oliver Prescott, the oldest practising physician in Newburyport at the time, died within a month of my entrance into the profession of medicine. Dr. Francis Vergne, a distinguished physician in his day, had relinquished practice, and Dr. Nathan Noyes was crippled from a partial paralysis of his lower extremities, so that the medical practice in town fell chiefly into the hands of Drs. Noyes, Spofford, Johnson and Wyman.

The latter gentleman, the nearest to the writer in age, was well read in his profession, especially in surgery and diseases of the eye, and, had specialties been known in his day, he would doubtless have gained in a large city a great reputation and fortune by his skill. The writer enjoyed his uninterrupted friendship and many kind offices in his early and later years.

The decease of Dr. Bradstreet threw a large amount of general practice into the hands of Dr. Spofford; of accouching into the hands of Dr. Johnson; and of surgery into the hands of Dr. Wyman. Several young physicians flocked to the town, among whom we may name Dr. Huntington, who afterwards removed to Lowell and became a distinguished physician as well as a mayor of the city, and before his death was honored with the highest gift the Massachusetts Medical Society had to bestow—its presidency.

What was left, after the *lions'* parts were taken out, fell into the hands of the younger physicians, Drs. Cross, F. V. Noyes and the just fledging Thompsonians and homœopaths and the writer. The hill before us was high and

steep, and, besides, some obstacles were placed in the path. The young physician was not allowed, by the rules of the association he was invited to join, to take the place of an elder until he had recommended and advised the payment of his predecessor's bill; and if he tarried longer than four hours at a case of accouching, which he might be obliged to do at the outset of his business, he was to charge one dollar an hour, for every hour thus spent, in addition to the prescribed fee. The elders knew how to make flying visits, a trick not as yet found out by the juniors. In general, however, the intercourse between young and old was pleasant and advantageous, especially to the former; and at the termination of three years, viz., in 1830, the writer was recommended by them as qualified to become a member of the Mass. Medical Society."

Speaking of the character of the diseases he met with, Dr. Perkins remarks:—

"Besides fever, the most common diseases that I have been called upon to treat in Newburyport have been rheumatism, either acute or chronic, and neuralgia, which sprang up about that time, croup, pneumonia, either by itself or combined with pleurisy, influenza, consumption, dropsies, indigestion, dysentery, diarrhœa, erysipelas, measles, scarlet fever, whooping-cough; and of surgical cases, fractures, dislocations, hernias, diseased breasts, and hands maimed from carelessness in the use of machinery or of fire-arms. Many other diseases and injuries, to be sure, I have met with. Some, however, that I expected to see often, have been quite rare, as gout, and, of late years, delirium tremens, which, at one time, was very common, and wounded arteries of large size, to cases of which I have never been called but in three instances. On the contrary, I have met with those I never expected to see.

In the treatment of diseases, I have never dared to draw my bow at venture, or to neglect nursing the patient; believing that, in the large number of diseases, the better course was to conduct the patient safely through his illness, if possible, than to throw off disease, if it was fastened upon the patient; and that after all, it was much easier to *keep* well than to *get* well. And in a practice of forty-four years as an accoucher, I have been so highly favored as to have lost only two patients, where I had charge of the case from the commencement.

Believing always in a superintending Providence, in the paternal and loving character of our Heavenly Father, and aware of the sudden mishaps that might befall such patients, I do not remember that I ever attended one such case without a silent petition in their behalf and that of the infant about to come into this world of temptation and trial. And whenever I presented my petitions at the Throne of Grace for myself, I have endeavored to remember others also, and especially the sick and the afflicted.

I early learned how to sympathize with those who were afflicted, and having borne the yoke myself, I have endeavored to comfort those who were destined to bear the same. As I have been often called to see others as they descended into the dark valley, I have tried, but oh! how vainly!—to place myself in their situation that I might learn how to follow them. This is an experience we must all meet sooner or later, but it can be met only once. We must learn to die by learning how to live. I have seen many die, but I have seen many more who recovered, and this is one great source of comfort to the physician, that in the ordinary course of nature he is called to see the same individual recover many times, before he is called to see him die once. His duties are, however, of the most responsible character, and no one can be too faith-

ful in preparing himself to meet them, or too sedulous or patient in taking care of the sick."

As showing that Dr. Perkins was something more than a student of medicine, and that he felt the need of broader culture than his profession furnished, we have the following:—

"The early years of my professional life were spent chiefly in attendance upon calls whenever they came, and in reading upon medical subjects. Nearly every opportunity for post-mortem examination was improved, and for some time I kept notes of my treatment of the cases which came under my care. I determined to know something of medicine, if I remained ignorant of everything else. But I soon found that variety in reading was requisite to prevent mental fatigue. An invitation was extended to a young friend to join me in reading French. One or two others being desirous of pursuing the same study, it was proposed to form a club for literary and scientific pursuits. The result of our meeting was the foundation of the Newburyport Lyceum in 1828. This was the *second* institution of the kind in New England.

About the same time, and as an offshoot of the Lyceum, the second Social Library was formed, to furnish popular and useful books for those inclined to read; and this continued in existence for some years, and, after a union with the Athenæum, afforded much instruction to those inclined to learn. Reading that requires no thinking, in other words reading for amusement, being one thing, and study being another, the character of the library, and we fear it is true of all popular libraries, soon became very different from what it was at the outset: the popular literature or the light reading and flimsy material of the day soon crowded its shelves to the exclusion of more solid and substantial works, and shortly

the books of the united libraries were sold and they became extinct.

Acting for many years as the manager, or procurer of lecturers for the Lyceum, an opportunity was providentially offered for becoming acquainted with several gentlemen eminent in their calling who consented to lecture upon the subjects of their collegiate departments in our literary institutions.

My attention was thus directed to some of the sciences collateral to medicine, especially to the means of heating and ventilation. The great eclipse of Feb. 12, 1831, afforded an opportunity of brushing up somewhat in astronomy, which led also to some experiments in the grinding and polishing of glass for optical purposes. Little, if anything, at that time, was to be found in books upon the grinding and polishing of lenses or specula. A visit was made in a thick snow-storm to the venerable Dr. Prince of Salem, for aid, who kindly gave such information as he had, by referring to a young optician, Mr. Widdifield of Boston.

A block of flint glass was then purchased and corresponding ones of crown glass wrought out from the old bull's eyes that were to be found in the doors of old buildings. 'Rees' and other 'Encyclopedias' were ransacked to learn the mode of obtaining the specific gravity and index of refraction of the different kinds of glass, and the mathematical formulæ for the correct curves of the different faces or surfaces of the lenses of an achromatic object glass reduced to practice. This afforded employment and occupation for some of the later hours of the winter evenings. Expecting to have the mechanical part done by another, who shrunk from his promise when he learned the nicety required, our own hands had to do the labor, all of which however was lost, owing to the im-

perfection of the material used. After much rubbing and polishing we at last found that glass of a better quality than the bottom of a tumbler, or the central part of the disk which was attached to the iron handle of the glass blower, was needed for the object glass of a telescope. We were disappointed, but made the best of it, and laid aside the lenses in hopes of owning something better.

The attempt to grind lenses for the telescope was a failure. But I was more successful in grinding and polishing lenses for the microscope, and was led to a practical appreciation of the value of this instrument in the study of the structure of different tissues and fluids of the human frame in health and disease, and to an interest in the work of others in the same pursuit. The microscope is no longer a plaything but a valuable instrument in the hands of the physician as well as in those of the naturalist. As a means of diagnosis, this instrument has become invaluable, and it is now (1866) in as common use in the hospital as the test tube.

The physiological action of ether and chloroform was made by me a subject of inquiry, and their effect in staying circulation, the former in the capillaries, the latter in the larger arteries, and in the heart itself, if too long continued, was ascertained to be, in all probability, the true explanation of the phenomena exhibited in anæsthesia."

Dr. Perkins made experiments upon the frog, of which an account was published. See also Dr. Jackson's book on etherization; also Dr. Channing's book on etherization in midwifery.

"My second sister, Elizabeth Perkins, married Mr. Nathaniel Perkins (nephew of the distinguished mechanic, Jacob Perkins) whose business was that of en-

graving and printing bank-notes. This led me often to visit their establishment and to feel an interest in the protection of their notes, against the counterfeiter, whom there had been some reason to fear. I entered upon some experiments and soon found that the finest and most highly finished engravings could be transferred line for line to a *plate either of steel or of copper*, in such a manner that it was at once ready for the etching tool or the graver. Mr. Francis Peabody of Salem, or rather Mr. Dixon, a person then in his employ, had done the same thing on *stone*, and the only remedy was the printing in different colored destructible ink on the face or back, or on both face and back, of the bill. This was immediately adopted, and proved of great service in an improved form, when it was found that they were in the same danger from the photographic process.

Had it not been for this danger to the banks, much benefit to the art of the engraver would have resulted in the duplication or transfer of the engraved illustrations of foreign books. The mode of softening the ink was soon made use of by the wood engraver, and one-third of his labor, at least, saved by the new process of transferring the plate to be copied immediately upon his whitened block. The process of transferring to steel and copper, especially the white ground, which I made, is known, it is believed, thus far, only to one other individual beside myself, a distinguished bank-note engraver in Philadelphia.

The ink upon the little engraving of the boy making the boat (see the plate, the result of the transfer process) had scarcely dried when my attention was called to the process of copying landscapes by M. Daguerre in 1838.

Under the impression that it would be applicable to copying dissections, and more especially the human face, I set immediatly about having a few small plates made by

Mr. Sargent, a plater at Belleville, and the manufacture of hypo-sulphite of soda, none of which was then to be found in the shops, and the preparation of a camera, iodine box, etc. ; and I photographed the brick house then occupied by Mr. Enoch Huse in Middle street, nearly back of the one I occupied in Essex street, about the first of Nov., 1839. A young Frenchman, whose name has escaped from my memory, advertised in Boston to teach the art in twelve lectures, but before he had given his second or third lecture, there was exhibited in Boston a fine daguerreotype of one side of State street, Newburyport, which picture, as fresh and perfect as on the day it first saw the light, is still in my possession. A friend and classmate of Prof. Silliman had written to him that he had succeeded in taking a picture, but not as yet in preserving it, for the want no doubt of the hypo-sulphite.

In taking this picture the lens of crown glass manufactured out of one of the bull's eyes, combined with others, came into use and was of great service.

Improvement after improvement rapidly followed each other in this art. The ambrotype, a most delicate, beautiful and sure process, was soon followed by, and culminated in, the Talbotype, giving the negative upon glass, by means of which positives without number could be rapidly and cheaply executed. One process, known only or chiefly by two French artists, Firth and Fevier, of making positives upon glass which presented the deepest shades and the most delicate lights, was esteemed by all as the *ne plus ultra* of the art ; and awakened in me an irresistible desire to learn how it was effected. A small piece of a broken picture was begged of a friend ; a portion of the ground, removed from the plate, was carefully scrutinized, analyzed as far as could be, and, by the aid of an article in Humphrey's Journal for 1860,

determined to be *wax*. The knowledge and experience of R. E. Mosely, a very delicate manipulator and photographer, brought out a most beautiful picture, known as the "Sleigh-ride," in which the sleigh, freighted with its lady party, stood amid the snow before the Merrimac House, in State street, with the newly-fallen snow lodged upon limbs and branches of the elms in front of the house. These pictures, the most beautiful, in my estimation, that the photographic art has given to the world, have, thus far, proved too difficult and are too expensive to be in great demand; and inferior but cheaper pictures only are generally known. In truth, we have seen many persons, lovers of art, in Boston even, who had never seen a picture upon glass.

An artist in Philadelphia, whose name has now escaped me, had previously made beautiful pictures of the Suspension Bridge at Niagara and *taken views* in the same material at the White Mountains, but he is supposed, from examination of his plates, to have used collodion in place of the wax. These pictures, the perfection of the art, easily to be made, as soon as the dry process, now believed to have been satisfactorily acquired, is accomplished, still remain for some enterprising artist to bring out, when they will take the place of all others. We think we now have such an artist in Newburyport, Mr. Carl Meinerth.

Although I failed to manufacture a telescope for myself, I eventually procured one, and was prepared to examine Donati's comet at its appearance in 1858, with an instrument of five inches aperture and seven feet focus made by Mr. Alvan Clark of Cambridgeport, the first telescope-maker in the world.

The envelopes of this comet, but more particularly those of the comet of 1861, were carefully observed, and from

data furnished by Mr. Bond of the Observatory at Cambridge, of the time of successive rise of those of Donati's comet, the suggestion thrown out by Prof. Pierce of Harvard was examined and fully concurred in, viz:—that they rose on the principle of the summer cloud. By means of a small home-made polariscope, I repeated Arago's experiment upon the light of this comet and, as was the case with him, found the light of the nucleus in part polarized, showing it to be, in part at least, reflected light." (See his Manuscript.)

"The occurrence of so many comets between the years 1827 and 1858, as also of auroras, columnæ and arches, prompted the inquisitive mind to compare the two together, and to mark their analogies and discrepancies. (See the hypothetical explanations of the tails of comets in my scrap-book.)

In December, 1839, a succession of very severe and disastrous storms occurred at about weekly intervals along the Atlantic coast, which called my attention to the subject of meteorology, and for a number of years, about the time of the publication of Mr. Espy's work on the 'Philosophy of Storms,' or shortly after, to a meteorological record, and to the study of meteorological phenomena. As the result of this study, I learned that a sudden rise rather than fall of the mercury indicated the approach of a storm, especially if the mercurial column had been, for a few days prior to the sudden rise, stationary; that the fall came on gradually as the vapors, visible as haze, came to the zenith from the S. W. or W.; that it was lowest in the lull, and that the gradual rise afterwards indicated a return of fair weather. I thought I could perceive an interval of about seven days in very many successive storms—great atmospheric waves, as it were, so that the occurrence of a severe storm on any day

of the week led me to expect another on or near the same day the week following; that many storms are true cyclones moving along the coast from the S. W. to the N. E. or E. as Mr. Redfield taught, but that cumuli clouds are more in accordance with Mr. Espy's theory. (See paper on this subject printed in the 'Proceedings of the Essex Institute' for 1865.)

While an undergraduate at Harvard, I became acquainted with Robert Treat Paine, the son of the poet of that name, who first showed me Venus by a telescope he had made while a junior in college, and to him, under Providence, I am indebted for a position which brought me into the company of some of the first men of the day, as members of the visiting committee of the Observatory at Cambridge, viz., Hon. Wm. Mitchell, Hon. Josiah Quincy, the distinguished and learned author Jared Sparks, Hon. Edward Everett, J. Ingersoll Bowditch, Esq., and the above-named astronomer Mr. Paine. I acknowledge I had no claims to this or to some other distinguished honors that have been conferred on me, but I felt pleased to be placed by a kind Providence in situations where I could sympathize with my associates, from whom I might learn much. This position gave me opportunity of knowing somewhat of the discoveries made at the Observatory and put their annals into my hands, and I had the pleasure, at Newburyport, of directing by telegraph the great equatorial upon Blinkerfue's comet before it had been publicly announced as visible in this country.

In 1840 or 1841, a box containing some old bones was brought from California in a brig belonging to Capt. Cushing, which was kindly turned over to me by Capt. J. Couch, at that time one of the first ship-masters, who visited that region in a vessel from this place, and long

before the discovery of gold there. These fragments of old bones I cemented together and arranged in their proper places in the skeletons of several extinct animals. This was my first attempt at bringing what little knowledge of comparative anatomy I had into use. Several papers from my inexperienced pen appeared in the 'Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History' and in 'Silliman's Journal.' To these old bones, and more especially to the kindness of one of my excellent tutors in college, Mr. George B. Emerson, I soon found myself indebted for membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and for the use of its valuable scientific library.

I had been a member for some years (not very active to be sure) of the Boston Society of Natural History, and also of the Society for Mutual Medical Improvement. The meetings of these societies, on account of professional engagements, I have been seldom able to attend; neither have I found time to read many of their books. My reading has been confined to such books as I could afford to own. Many very valuable works have been very kindly presented to me either by their authors or some of their families, whose kindness I appreciate and gratefully acknowledge. Among these I would name Dr. Bowditch's appendix to La Place's great work, the 'Mécanique Céleste,' from his son, my esteemed friend, Dr. Henry I. Bowditch of Boston. By means of this book, I went through with an approximative calculation of the elements of the comet of 1861, being kindly assisted in understanding any difficult part by two worthy young friends, whom Providence sent to me at just the right time, Charles Tuttle, Esq., formerly of the Observatory at Cambridge, and Mr. George Searle, now (1866) assistant observer at the same place. Liable to almost hourly in-

terruptions from professional calls until after the hours of the day and the early hours of the evening had passed, it seemed at times as though a limit had been set to my attempted acquirements in this direction, and that I must be content to stop where I was, more especially as my eyes had got to be too old to use mathematical tables by gaslight. One book, however, remained, into which I did desire to look and try to understand, for—I had almost said—the inspired thought it contained. This was Newton's 'Principia,' portions of which I had studied in 'Enfield's Philosophy' in my junior year in college. Happening in at Little and Brown's bookstore in June, 1865, my eye rested upon the very book I needed for this purpose, viz., the first three lectures of the Principia by Frost. Newton had said in his introduction to the third book of his Principia 'that if one carefully reads the definitions, the laws of motion and the first three sections of the first book, he may pass on to the third which treats of the phenomena or appearances of the heavenly bodies, their motions, the disturbance of their orbits, etc., etc.' The object of this book was to help the tyro to understand these first three sections.

Providence had again opened the door to the apartment into which I desired to look. The leisure moments of that year I spent in part in the study of this volume. I did not undertake to read it in course, but studied only such parts as were more immediately applicable to the orbits and motions of the planetary bodies. It enabled me satisfactorily to read a very valuable compend of astronomy by Rev. Robert Main, first assistant at the Royal Observatory, Greenwich.

It may perhaps be thought by some that such studies as the above can be of very little service toward helping a physician to cure disease, or to prescribe skilfully for

his patient. But I believe it will be acknowledged by every professional man, no matter how industrious he may be in his professional reading and practice, that some by-play is needed to keep his mind bright, even for professional duties, and his views from becoming contracted from too continued confinement to one thing. (See Dr. J. Bigelow on the limits of science.)

For nearly forty years the main employments and enjoyments of my life have been of the kinds enumerated in the preceding pages. I have never engaged in politics or taken any active part in any political party. In the troubles that have arisen between the North and the South, I have regarded both as more or less to blame; the North, a part at least, as being too earnest to enforce their peculiar views upon their brethren at the South, and the latter, as having an improper estimate of their own character and standing, and of that of the Northern and the Northwestern States. Notwithstanding all these differences, craven must be that spirit that was willing to see the constitution and the noble structure, reared and cemented by the toil and blood of his fathers, trampled in the dust by traitorous men."

The views of Dr. Perkins on this point are more fully given in an address upon "The Physician and Surgeon in time of War."

"The present generation in America have lived in a wonderful age, and have seen what 'prophets and kings,' it might be said, 'have desired to see but have died without the sight.'

They have lived to see time and space on the land and on the sea almost annihilated by steam; to see the heavenly bodies, the landscape and the features of the human countenance transcribe themselves upon the sensitive tablet; to see their messages carried across continents and

oceans by the swift-winged lightning; to see the celestial bodies tell the story of their own physical structure and condition; to see fleets and navies worthless things; to see the earth reveal her hidden secrets of the ages long since buried in oblivion; to see the institution of slavery crumble to the dust and every man of every color stand up a freeman; to see kingdoms and empires tottering to their base, and their own beloved country saved from ruin only by Divine interpositions and a kind overruling Providence. To see what else? To see, in the future, the Omniscient One only knows what. God grant we may be prepared for the sight.

For one thing we are permitted to ask,—that the happy day foretold and promised in the Scriptures may soon come, when peace and the peaceful principles of the religion of Christ shall extend and cover the earth as the waters cover the sea; when all shall know and serve him from the least even to the greatest, and when he, whose right it is, shall reign King of Nations as he now reigns King of Saints, and his kingdom come and his will be done on earth and in our hearts as it is in heaven.

With the exception of about two months while in the Legislature, I have never laid aside my professional character or taken any recreation that would lead me away from home, save a visit for four days to the White Hills in 1858, and a visit to the hospitals for the sick and wounded in Washington in 1861."

An account of this last visit was given in the Newburyport Herald soon after his return.

"During the larger part of my professional life I have attended to all calls, no matter by whom made or what was the case. Having of late years suffered somewhat with lumbago, I gradually relinquished my night business and such as required prolonged attendance. I have en-

deavored to attend upon the poor as faithfully as upon the rich, and I do not remember ever to have taken a dollar from a sick or wounded soldier or to have troubled any one who could not well afford to pay the fee.

I did not enter upon my profession expecting to grow rich thereby. I have seen dark days when, if there was sickness abroad, in my own circle there were but few calls upon a physician. At such times the words of the Psalmist, 'Trust in the Lord and do good and verily thou shalt be fed,' comforted me and gave me courage. From the day that I commenced business to the present, my purse—thank Heaven!—has always enabled me to gratify every reasonable want, although in the early years of my life I was not able to be as generous as I desired. But if of silver and gold I had little, of such as I had I was willing to divide with those who needed. I have endeavored to follow Him who 'went about doing good,' but, I feel, at a great distance.

In visiting my patients, I have, until I was sixty-two years of age, gone on foot, except when they resided too far out of town. If memory serves, I have thus made as many as thirty visits in a day and had time enough to eat, drink and sleep. I attribute a large share of the health I have enjoyed to this good habit and regular daily exercise. I have lost by sickness only about thirty days; having been once confined to the house by erysipelas, once or twice with influenza and once with dysentery.

In Oct., 1869, I had dysentery which confined me to my house about a month; this time was not lost as it gave me an opportunity to re-read Flint's work on the respiratory organs, and to examine more carefully 'the earliest manifestations of organic crystallization,' as Owen calls the *Eozoon Canadense*, which I had, in connection with Mr. Bicknell of Salem, discovered the August be-

fore in the serpentine of our Devil's Den, and which has since then been found also at Chelmsford, a fact which at once settles the character and age of the rocks in our neighborhood, placing them among the lower Laurentian, and proving them to have been originally deposited in the form of mud at the bottom of the sea and since then to have undergone metamorphic change and crystallization. It is very interesting thus to trace the operations of infinite wisdom and power on the floor of the ocean. 'Thy way, O God! is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known.'

Mr. Huxley has, within a short period, found similar instances of organic protoplasm at the bottom of many warm seas, showing that through all time organic creations have taken place. The material universe is full of interest from whatever standpoint it is examined, but we should be careful not to get lost amid *material things*, remembering always that above matter is mind, and above mind are holiness, goodness and truth.

The sick headache, until I was past fifty years of age, was the greatest annoyance in my way. From this, at times, I suffered severely, but it is very rarely that I am now troubled with any difficulty looking toward the brain.

I have been a temperate man through life, having no desire for any stimulant or sedative except a little tobacco, which I have used moderately more or less since a lad in college, it having been prescribed for me at that time by a classmate for my headaches, but which I must say never did me any good, neither can I say much harm, to my knowledge, except perhaps to disturb that steadiness of hand which the surgeon always needs, and for this reason I have often regretted that I had ever put it into my mouth. In 1867 I omitted its use and got rid of an irregularity of the circulation which formerly troubled me.

My food has been in great measure derived from the vegetable kingdom, although I have not been strictly a vegetarian, using a *little* meat at all times when I felt like it; what some would have regarded as but a mouthful has, with vegetables, answered my purpose for a meal.

In the fall of 1870 my attention was providentially called to the subject of 'Germs of Disease' by Dr. L. Beal's work upon this subject. Shortly after, namely, in Nov., Dr. Ernest Hallier's work on the 'Plant Organisms found in Measles, Sheep-pox and Kine-pox' was put into my hand by a German friend, Mr. Carl Meinert. I could not read a word of German, but my interest in the subject induced me to commence its perusal, which in the course of the winter of 1870 I accomplished, and of which I have now a manuscript translation, corrected by another German friend, Mr. Castelhun.

To test for myself the truth of Prof. Hallier's theory, I had a microscope of excellent optical qualities got up for my especial use by Mr. Edwin Bicknell of Cambridge; and in April or May commenced cultures after Hallier's method. Mr. C. Castelhun was familiar with the use of the microscope, and I engaged him to make a report of what he met with in my cultures.

A belief in substantial organisms as the contagion of what are called Zymotic diseases is entertained by many German and other physicians, and it is probably in this direction, viz., of a sanitary character, that the next progressive step in my profession is to be taken. If the causes of disease can be discovered, its prevention may in time follow, and then truly will have come the medical millennium.

Under date of Oct. 31, 1871, Dr. Shattuck, Chairman of the Committee on Publications of the Mass. Medical Society, informed me that the Society would print and

publish my translation of Prof. Hallier's work, as soon as the manuscript could be prepared. I was to add an appendix of my own confirmative cultures. Dec. 6th, I wrote to Dr. Cotting, on the same committee, informing him that the manuscript was ready. On March 21, 1872, I returned the last corrected proof sheets of the work, and am now awaiting the arrival from Germany of the plates, for the use of which I have Prof. Hallier's consent, as well as that of his publisher."

The plates arrived in season for the translation to appear in the "Publications of Massachusetts Medical Society" issued in 1871.

As a brief synopsis of a portion of his work, Dr. Perkins gave the following:—

"I had the pleasure in 1840 or 41 of figuring and describing the tooth and the right humerus of *Mylodon Harlani* (Syn. *Orycterotherium Oregonense*) in 'Silliman's Journal,' the first specimens of the skeleton of that animal found west of the Rocky Mountains. Also the tooth, portion of the tusk, and the atlas or first bone of the neck of the *Elephas primigenius*, and the astragalus of the fossil ox. All which bones are referred to in Leidy's work on 'Extinct Mammalian Fauna of Dakota and Nebraska,' in the synopsis at the latter part of the volume; also in his book on 'Fossil Sloths.'

Notice of my observations on the effect of ether and chloroform may be found in Dr. Channing's work on 'Etherization in Midwifery,' and in Dr. C. T. Jackson's volume on 'Ether and Chloroform.'

Some of my observations on the aurora may be found alluded to by Mr. Marsh of Philadelphia in the 'Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,' as well as in the communications made by him in the 'Journal of the Franklin Institute.'

In the 'Proceedings of the Essex Institute,' Vol. iv, No. 6, 1865, may be found an abstract of a paper read by me on the 'Formation of the Thunder-cloud.' In the 'American Naturalist' for July, 1870, may be found some observations by me on the 'Action of Light upon the Circulation of Plants,' and in different numbers of the Newburyport Herald for 1858, I think, upon the formation and nature of the envelopes and tails of comets, their polarization of light, etc., etc. Upon most of which subjects I have had the pleasure of finding my views to correspond with those of other observers.

In the discovery of *Eozoon Canadense* in the serpentine of our Devil's Den, I had some share, having first noticed the resemblance of the apparent organic crystallization there seen to that found at Ottawa, Canada, which led to the detection of the characteristic tubules by the microscope, by Mr. Bicknell of Salem, which facts show our rocks to belong to the Laurentian series and to have been deposited amid water rather than to have been of Plutonic origin.

Also the bones of *Mylodon*, as having been found in Oregon and described by myself, are alluded to and credited in Murray's 'Geographical Distribution of Mammals,' published in London. My experiments and observations upon the 'Circulation in *Chelidonium majus*' and the 'Action of Light' were reprinted in the 'Journal of Microscopy,' published in London."

Dr. Perkins was a member of the following literary societies:—

Phi Beta Kappa of Harvard University; Boston Med. Society for Mutual Improvement; Boston Society of Natural History; Portland Society of Natural History; Essex Institute; American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Massachusetts Medical Society, of which he was

chosen President at the Annual Meeting of the Councillors in May, 1866.

He was identified with the educational interests of Newburyport, being a member of the Board of Trustees of the Putnam Free School. Elected in 1851, he served for nine years as Treasurer, and in 1869 he was chosen President of that board, which office he held at the time of his death.

He was elected a Director of the Public Library holding that office in 1858 and 1859. He was again elected in 1866, and held the office at the time of his death.

Though no aspirant for political honors, he represented the town of Newburyport in the Legislature in the session of 1841-42. He was a member of the Common Council of the city of Newburyport in 1857, 1858 and 1859, and during the last two years was President of that body.

He thus concludes :—

“I desire and humbly pray that I may ‘deal justly, love mercy and walk humbly before God’ all the days of my life ; that I may manifest my gratitude toward my Heavenly Father by acts of obedience and of love ; that I may discharge all my duties to myself, my fellow men and my Maker faithfully and in such a manner that I may meet with his approval and his blessing ; that I may ever love the truth, speak the truth and obey the truth : and that at the last I may be so happy as to be found with those I have loved and do love, washed in the blood and clad in the righteousness of our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ. And let God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, be praised now and forevermore.”

Such was the life and such were the labors of Dr. Perkins as sketched by himself. The rare simplicity and directness of his autobiography and the lessons of it are so clear that very little is left for other hands to add.

It was a most industrious life. From the beginning to the end of it there was the same unvarying devotion to some useful end. We think he erred in allowing himself too little recreation. But it was a maxim with him that recreation could be obtained as much from a change of labor as from an entire cessation from it. Most persons would have felt that the calls of his professional life were sufficient to engross all his attention. He judged differently. Without neglecting these, he seized upon the little interstices of time, and by using them diligently he laid up his large stores of varied information. While he had an eager thirst for knowledge for its own sake, he was remarkably free from any desire for display. Ruskin has well said "it is ill for science when men desire to talk rather than to know."

His mind seized with avidity all hints and suggestions, whether they came from nature or from the minds of his fellow men. The old bones brought home by a Newburyport ship-master, set him at work in comparative anatomy. The news of the approach of a comet led him to the study of Newton's "Principia," and to rambling among the stars. A tiny plant would beckon him to the fields, the groves and the river-side.

It was a pure life. Every one who came in contact with him, even for a single half hour, was impressed with the guilelessness of his heart and soul. No word of his but might have been spoken anywhere and to any person. The earliest schoolmate or the latest friend of his recognized him as "the pure in heart."

It was a life of untarnished integrity. Starting in his profession with the purpose that he would depend entirely upon himself for the support of his family, he was compelled for many years to practise the most careful frugality. It was a hard and long struggle for a young man to

gain a professional standing and a remunerative employment in such a community as ours.

But in all his transactions he was truthful and honest, and with the Apostle he could say at the close of a long life, "I have defrauded no man." Nor was this integrity of a hard, cold, calculating nature. He would go as readily at the call of the poor from whom he could expect no return, as at the call of the rich, who could reward him most bountifully. And in his account book, he left special directions to those who might have the charge of his affairs, that no poor person should be put to hardship by the payment of his bills.

It was a life without sham or deception. Had our friend been less transparent and outspoken he might have had a larger measure of what the world calls success. But his whole nature revolted from all imposition, trickery or charlatanism. He never pretended to do impossibilities, nor would he excite hopes when he saw there was no foundation for them. It was not often that his usually quiet and genial disposition was disturbed; but nothing would ruffle it sooner than the discovery of imposture or deceit. He was severe upon such exhibitions in his own profession, but not less so in business or in society.

It was a thoroughly religious life. He united with the church in Harris Street, May 1, 1834 and was dismissed from that communion, September 5, 1845. He joined the Whitefield Church Jan. 1, 1850, being one of the twenty original members of that church.

His piety was simple and unostentatious. While he made no parade of it, he never flinched from avowing his faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of lost men. He gave to the matters of religion his most earnest and most profound consideration, and was a Christian be-

liever not less from the convictions of his reason, than from the associations and training of his early life. He was a man of prayer. The sweet incense of it rose from his home, his office and from the bedside of his patient. Although a man of science he was a firm believer in the efficacy of prayer. Dr. Perkins believed in it, because he had proved its efficacy in his own experience. His faith did not rest, however, on any test to which he had put it, but on his conviction of the reality of God's spiritual kingdom, the laws of which he felt that he but imperfectly understood. As a religious man his ground of trust was in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

No man was more deeply sensible of his faults than our friend. To one who spoke to him as though he had few, if any, defects of character, he said, "You do not know me." It was this deep sense of faultiness which led him so often to the mercy-seat, and which filled all his petitions to heaven with humble confessions. He was a believer in the divine authority of the Scriptures. The revelations of science never for a moment shook his firm belief in the Bible, as the revelation of God. He was no blind slave of the letter. He never put the Scriptures and science in antagonism. If for a time they seemed to be so, he would say, "This is only apparent. The Author of the two books is the same, and they will be found harmonious by-and-by." He was accustomed to speak of religion as historically old, and science as historically young, and when annoyed or perplexed by the hasty deductions of the friends of either, he declined to express an opinion, saying, "I want more time." His religious hope took a peculiar inspiration and grandeur from his firm faith in the immortality of the soul.

There was singular beauty and force of meaning in the incident related by a friend.

Said a visitor to him at parting, "I am twenty odd years younger than you; if I should survive you, there is one thing I wish you would leave me."

"What is that?" said the Doctor, smiling.

"Your mind, Doctor."

"Oh! that is little enough, — but you know, my dear friend, it is the only thing I can take with me."

In Dr. Perkins we see how consistent and beautiful is the life of a man of science and a sincere Christian. There is something in the study of the works of God calculated to make men humble and devout. It has sometimes seemed to us that literature and science had a different effect upon students, that while one led a man to value and often overrate his own ideas, the other kept him simple and humble in the presence of the great facts of nature.

We have certainly in the life of our friend, a beautiful example of a critical scholar, yet a devout Christian believer, a man of science and yet a man of God, a friend of progress, and yet holding fast to all that was good and true, — a physician by profession, but a friend and helper by choice — truthful, genial, pure, honest, he has finished his course on earth, and gone to join the society of the spirits of just men made perfect in glory.

On Saturday morning, February 1, 1873, our friend was taken ill. No special danger was apprehended during the day, though some anxiety was felt. About 7 o'clock that evening, while physicians were in the house and friends were near him, he suddenly closed his eyes upon this world and fell asleep in Jesus.

JOANNA QUINER.

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH, BY REV. PHEBE A. HANAFORD.

ESSEX COUNTY, Massachusetts, has furnished its full share of the noticeable men and women of the commonwealth, and the maritime town of Beverly has not failed to supply its quota. Among these should be mentioned the subject of this sketch, according to the acknowledgment of the editor of the "North American Review," when he said, in July, 1843 [Vol. xlii], while referring to Stone's "History of Beverly,"—"One omission we notice with surprise. In a town more remarkable for the sober good sense and unostentatious manners of its inhabitants than for their taste in the fine arts, the discovery of an undoubted genius is a remarkable event, and deserving of record. Miss Quiner, of Beverly, with proper patronage and advantages, would take no mean rank among American artists. Without instruction or cultivation of any sort, her talent for modelling in clay has already attracted much notice."

Miss Quiner was born in Beverly, on the 27th day of August, 1796. Although her parents and herself were natives of New England, yet she is of French descent on the paternal side (the name Quiner being generally spelled Coignard in France) and of Scotch on the maternal, her mother being a descendant of the well known clan whose war-cry is "The Campbells are coming," some of which clan early settled in Virginia. Her mother's

name was Susanna, the daughter of John and Susanna (Bishop) Campbell, of Gloucester. Her death occurred in April, 1843. She was the mother of thirteen children, of whom Joanna was the fourth. No less than three of those children, young men, were lost at sea. Mr. Abraham Quiner, the father of Joanna, was a native of Marblehead, from which town his father sailed in the *Rambler*, an American privateer, in the Revolutionary war. The *Rambler* was captured by the English frigate *Sibyl*, and her officers and crew, being found in arms against the British government, were imprisoned. Mr. Quiner was among the unfortunate sufferers who were incarcerated in Mill Prison, Plymouth, England. A copy of the warrant used in his arrest was in Miss Quiner's possession, and reads as follows:—

“Devon. To the Constables of the Parish of Stock Demeril in the said County, and to keepers of the Place of Confinement lately appointed by his Majesty, by warrant, under his sign Manuel called Old Mill Prison in the Borough of Plymouth in the said County, and to each and every of them. Forasmuch as it appears unto James Young and Ralph Mitchel, Esq's, two of the Justices of our Lord the King, assigned to keep the peace within the said County, on the examination of Abraham Quiner, Mariner, late of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in North America, a Prisoner brought before us charged with being found in Arms and in Rebellion on the High Seas on board the *Rambler*, Brig, American Privateer, sailed out at Marblehead in the North America, and Commissioned by the North American Congress, which was taken by the *Sibyl*, English Frigate. Taken before us this day. That he the said Abraham Quiner was taken at sea, in the High Treason Act, committed on the High Seas (out of the realm), on the 21st day of October last, being then and there found in Arms, levying war in Rebellion, and aiding the King's Enemies, and was landed in Dock, in the county of Devon, and the said Abraham Quiner now

brought before us at Stock Demeril aforesaid—charged with and to be committed for the said offence to the Old Mill Prison in the Borough of Plymouth in the said County, that being one of the Places appointed for the Confinement of such Prisoners by his said Majesty under his Royal sign Manuel, in Pursuance of an Act of Parliament in that case made and Provided in the 17th year of his High Reign.

These are therefore in his Majesty's Name to Enquire and Command your said Constables safely to the body of the said Abraham Quiner, into your Custody, and him safely keep in the said place of Confinement untill he shall be discharged from thence by due course of Law. And for your so doing this shall be to you and every of you a sufficient warrent.

Given under our Hands and Seals the 16th day of February, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty."

There appears to be no signature to the document from which the above is copied *verbatim*, but the names of Jas. Young and Ralph Mitchel are in the margin.

The son of this sufferer in the sacred cause of American freedom, was, as stated above, the father of the sculptor whose ancestry and biography are here sketched. His character may be somewhat known from the following obituary notice, which appeared in the local paper at the time of his decease :—

"In Beverly, yesterday morning, Mr. Abraham Quiner, aged 73. Funeral this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, from his late residence in Bartlett St. Friends and relatives are invited to attend. Through a long life he maintained an unsullied name. His death has overshadowed with gloom the community in which he lived, for he was one who united in himself the character of an upright citizen and a useful member of society. In all the domestic relations he was an example worthy of emulation; and although he had passed the time allotted to the life of man, his departure has caused an aching void in our midst.

Truly can we say of him, 'An honest man's the noblest work of God.'"

An ancient document was placed in my hands at one time by Miss Quiner, which is of interest as showing the character of those who are counted among her ancestry. It was an original letter from her paternal great-grandmother, and bore date, thus written:—"Febeary ye 13, 1768," and was penned in Gosport, on the Isle of Shoals. The writer was the daughter of a clergyman who for many years labored in that place. Her maiden name was Muchmore, and one of her sisters was the mother of Joseph White, of Salem, Mass., at the trial of whose murderers Daniel Webster made the famous speech, in which occur the words "suicide is confession." The following is a *verbatim* copy of the letter, which, if it may show that the writer did not conform closely to Webster or Worcester in her orthography, will also exhibit the sentiments of a truly pious heart. The letter was directed to Miss Quiner's grandfather Quiner and his wife, then in Marblehead, Mass.

"Dear children, these few lines come to you with my kinde love and tender affections to you all, hoping in God they will finde you all alive and in helth, tho they leave me weak and feeble, and full of trouble. Dear children, I now Rite to you in much affliction, and with many tears, to let you know that the Lord hath taken away your Father by Death. He died the 5 day of this mounth. He was sick three mounths, and now I am left as a woman forsaken and grieved in Spirit. I am forsaken of my husband by Death, and of my children wile alive, and I have none to comfort me but the Lord who hath biden me call upon Him in trouble and He hath promised to hear and to deliver. On this good God do I Relie, who hath promised to be a 'husband to the widow and a father to the fatherless.' To Him do I commit my-

self and you, my dear children. Let me hear from you as soon as possible you can. I would have you give my kind love to my Brother and Sister, and to my Dear Cousin, Mr. Coombes, and his wife, who hath been very kind to me and to all other friends and Relations, and tell them all of my trouble. I desire their prayers and yours for me, for my trouble is great, and wants many.

So no more at present, but I remain your loving mother till Death.

RUTH DOWNE.

The letter as written by the author was not punctuated, but in other respects is very legible, and indicates a proficiency in penmanship and composition hardly to be expected in the Isle of Shoals, over a century ago."

Miss Quiner's life was spent mainly in Essex County. Lynn, Salem and Beverly at various times afforded her a home. For a short period she was a resident of Boston, pursuing her avocation as a seamstress. At one time she spent a week in the home of Theodore Parker, engaged in some upholstery work for the family, and enjoying, with a rare appreciation of his character, the opportunity of hearing and seeing one whom she held in highest esteem as a philanthropist and religious teacher. She was at another time, and for quite a long period, an assistant in the family of Dr. Bass, who had charge of the Boston Athenæum. Here she first discovered that she had any talent as a sculptor. One day, as she informed me, she was in the Athenæum, when Clevenger, the artist, was engaged in modelling. Julia, a daughter of Daniel Webster, and a young lady friend were there, watching the sculptor's progress in moulding the plastic clay. He offered to give them clay, and let them try to model some image. They accepted. When they brought their scarcely successful results, Miss Quiner declared she could do better than that, and Clevenger encouraged her

to try. The first attempt showed that she had a remarkable aptitude for the art. A head of Dr. Bass was produced which was declared life-like, and from that hour the humble sewing woman took rank among sculptors, since the sculptor's true work is in creating the clay model, rather than in chiselling the marble.

Dr. J. V. C. Smith, in the "Boston Transcript" of Jan. 19, 1843, thus refers to this woman sculptor who did not know till she was more than forty years of age, that she had any ability to work in clay :—

"A FEMALE ARTIST. A lady by the name of Quiner, residing in the quiet town of Beverly, will soon distance some of the leading artists in modelling in clay, if her future efforts are suitably encouraged. She has had but very little experience and not many opportunities for exercising her ingenuity; yet the busts already executed are as true to nature as the most critical eye could desire. Perhaps the very best, thus far, in the series of her efforts, is the head of Robert Rantoul, Esq., of that town, whose strongly marked features are copied with the nicest accuracy. It is said that being on a visit to the Athenæum exhibition, she was particularly struck with the statuary, and became so strongly persuaded that it was an easy thing to model, that a friend procured for her a lump of clay that she might ascertain, by actual trial, whether she possessed that kind of genius which seemed to have been so suddenly developed, or, rather, excited into a state of activity. The very first attempt was an excellent production, and we feel warranted in saying that several specimens, which have escaped from the artist's rural studio into the parlors and libraries of the admirers of such admirable works, need only to be seen abroad, to insure Miss Quiner a wide-spreading fame."

Previous to this notice by this literary notable, afterwards mayor of Boston, there appeared a notice of Miss

Quiner, in the Salem "Advertiser and Argus," of March 23, 1842, headed "Fine Arts." It was as follows:—

"We are informed that Miss Joanna Quiner, of Beverly, has recently executed models for busts of two gentlemen of Beverly, which will compare well with those which have been executed by experienced artists in Boston. She has had only a few years experience in an art which she commenced without instruction, and has made only seven models. We commend her to those who wish to employ an artist in this line, to examine her work of this season, and compare it with that of others, before they make any engagement. Busts of hers are at the Athenæum in Boston, and at Capt. George Abbott's, Mr. Wm. Endicott's and Mr. Robert Rantoul's houses in Beverly, and at Rev. A. P. Peabody's house in Portsmouth."

This kind and truthful advertisement, penned by a friend connected with the press (and of these she had many), did not bring her much employment, for she lacked the youth and beauty and wealth which might have assisted in bringing her before the public as an artist. She had always the cross of an unprepossessing person to bear, and her life was often an unequal struggle with poverty. She was industrious, but with all her industry with her needle, or as a sculptor, or, in later years, at the sewing machine, she could scarcely "keep the wolf from the door." Had not kind and appreciating friends assisted her in a delicate way, for her commendable pride forbade the request for help, she would have suffered for the necessaries of life, while yet she possessed more genius, in the way which made Michael Angelo famous, than any other woman of Essex County.

Among the busts which Miss Quiner modelled, and which were afterwards cast in plaster, besides those already mentioned, were those of Hon. Albert Thorndike,

Frothingham the artist, Alonzo Lewis, the "Lynn Bard," Fitch Poole, Esq., editor of the South Danvers (now Peabody) "Wizard," and Wm. H. Lovett, Esq., of Beverly. The last bust which she modelled, I believe, was that of the writer of this sketch, and it was done as a labor of love, at her own desire. Never shall I forget the pleasant hours which were passed in her little studio in Cabot St., Beverly, which was at that time her parlor, kitchen, and, one corner of it, properly screened, her sleeping apartment. Our acquaintance had been formed in the temperance societies, of which we were both members; and the hearty interest, which the subject of this sketch always manifested in the good cause of total abstinence, won and kept for her my friendship, which grew stronger as I learned to look beneath the rather repelling outward appearance and blunt manners, and speech full of the "remorseless truth" (which her ideal of a good man—Theodore Parker—loved so well), and saw the true, warm heart, the genuine nobility of character, the stern and pure integrity of soul, which constituted the woman, so little understood and appreciated. Her ability as an artist I once acknowledged in a sonnet, for which I may pardonably claim a place in this sketch, since I know it gave her great pleasure amid the sorrows of her lonely life. I had just been looking upon the plaster bust of one of "nature's noblemen" which she had modelled, and wrote:—

TO JOANNA QUINER.

And this is woman's work! this noble brow,
 These "features cast in Nature's finest mould,"
 Thy skill evoked from out the damp, dull clay,
 To gladden loving hearts as they behold.
 Thine is a noble mission, thus to spare
 From dark oblivion many a noble head;

The casket whence the priceless gem is gone
 May still be dear for memories yet unfled;
 And thou art favored thus to shadow forth,
 Though dimly, as thou thinkest, woman's power,
 Her talent, genius, intellectual might,
 And holy sympathy, her precious dower.
 God mould thy spirit till like Him thou art,
 And stamp His sacred image on thy heart!

This was in 1860, and during the same year I wrote another sonnet as follows:—

ON SEEING A BUST BY MISS QUINER.

With sudden thought I paused beside the bust,
 And Cowper's touching words unbidden rose,
 "O that those lips had language!" and those eyes
 Lit with the fire of soul might once unclose!
 Yet not with Uzziah sacrilege would I
 Seek aught beyond the will of love supreme,
 Nor sigh, Pygmalion-like, that life be given
 To aught of human mould, tho' fair it seem.
 Man may the marble shape, the plastic clay
 Mould, till the thinking brain, the throbbing heart,
 Seem only needed to perfect the whole:
 The breath of life God only can impart.
 Thanks for those powers which link us to the skies,
 Though ne'er to our Creator's height we rise.

I cannot but express the hope that the name of Joanna Quiner will not be forgotten among those women who believe in the use of all the powers which God has given. "She hath done what she could" to show that woman may achieve the triumphs of art, as well as man, when gifted by the Creator with similar powers, and if Harriet Hosmer and Emma Stebbins and Margaret Foley have done much more than she, still impartial justice will write her name with theirs, in the list of women brave to dare and strong to do.

Religiously, Miss Quiner was a radical, or free-religion-

ist; at least what would be called such at the present day. She revered the great iconoclast, Parker, and his words were as welcome to her as to her English sister-woman, Frances Power Cobbe. She never made any profession of religion, but was content to live purely and nobly. She trusted God, who had called her into being, and was ever ready "to do good as she had opportunity;" when she died, she went peacefully to Him whose power and love she believed would still surround her in all the untried paths of another life. Her theology and her religion were one, and were both comprised in the two commandments on which "hang all the law and the prophets."

She spent the last few months of her life in Lynn, Mass., tenderly cared for by a sister, and died there in 1869, and her remains now rest in her native town of Beverly. Not long before her departure she presented her picture, painted by Frothingham, to the Beverly Public Library. The following courteous letter, from the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, will show the estimation in which she was held in her native town.

BEVERLY, July 28, 1868.

Miss J. Quiner, Lynn, Mass.

DEAR MADAM:—The Trustees of the Beverly Public Library acknowledge the offer of your portrait, through Mrs. P. A. Hanaford, which we shall be pleased to receive in due time,—and to place before our people, many of whom have long known you as a neighbor and a friend.

We have all known you as one whose labors and success in a difficult department of art have reflected much credit not only upon yourself, but upon your sex and the town with which you are identified. The portrait of such an one, executed with Mr. Frothingham's skill, is itself an encouragement to faithfulness and perseverance in every honorable calling, and as such, appropriately fills a

place in our library rooms, adding the suggestive and educating force of character to that of books, which our young may constantly read.

We have requested Mrs. Hanaford to forward the picture, carefully packed, to our address. It will receive immediate attention upon arrival.

Permit us to convey the assurance of our personal regard, and our best wishes for your comfort, health and happiness,

Very respectfully yours,

For the Trustees,

FRANKLIN LEACH, *Sec'y.*

It will be many a day before her name will be forgotten in her native town, and if this brief and necessarily imperfect sketch shall serve to make her better known to others, I shall feel that my labor has not been in vain, since I shall have introduced them to a strong-souled woman who was an honor to her sex.

She has gone to the Father's house. She was not cultured nor beautiful, nor winning in manner and speech, and she had no outward connection with the church of Christ. The thoughtless and ignorant called her an infidel, when in truth her unfaltering faith could shame their own. In the memorable days when I sat in her studio, as a friend and model, she cheerfully permitted me to read aloud from the Holy Scriptures, and many a word did she utter which showed that infidel though she might be styled by those who knew her not, yet in her heart was "the well of water springing up unto everlasting life." That grace was there which was the strength of principle, the wisdom of activity, the impulse of benevolence, and therefore her life was no failure, but fulfilled divinest uses, and was a prelude to that music where all discords are hushed, and the divine will brings forth eternal harmony.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

THE following names and dates were first copied for the compiler's private use ; and comprise but a portion of each original inscription.

Pond St. Burial-ground, on the Hill.

- ABORN, JAMES, Sept. 28, 1803, aged 57 years.
ADAMS, WILLIAM. [Seaman's Monument.*] 1837.
 " WILLIAM B. [Mon.] 1846.
 " THOMAS H. " Lost at sea. 1834.
 " NICHOLAS G. " " " " 1-31.
AGNES, negro woman to Samuel Russell. July 12, 1718, aged 45 years.
ALLEN, WILLIAM, died at sea. Feb. 24, 1838, aged 51 yrs.
 " MARY, wife of William. Sept. 30, 1858, aged 77 yrs.
 " BENJ. D., son of Wm. and Mary. Sept. 18, 1823, aged 20 m.
ANDERTON, THOMAS. Aug. 25, 1796, aged 62 yrs., 8 m.
 " MARY, wife of Thomas. Nov. 29, 1793, aged 52 yrs., 8 m.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of Thos. and Mary. June 15, 1782, aged 35
 y., 1 m., 25 d.
 " MOSES, son of Thos. and Mary. May 17, 1819, aged 43 yrs.
ANDREWS, HANNAH, wife of John. Sept. 30, 1794, aged 68 yrs.

*An imposing monument stands in this ground, "Erected A.D. 1848, by the Marblehead Charitable Seaman Society, Instituted Feb. 12, 1831, in memory of its deceased members, on shore and at sea." The number died on shore is 19. Lost at sea. 30. On the Grand Banks, Newfoundland, in the gale of Sept. 19, 1846, as represented on this monument, 14. But an inscription says, "Whole number lost from Marblehead in this gale, 65 men and boys, 43 heads of families, leaving 43 widows and 155 fatherless children." Members' names appearing in the following list will be distinguished by "mon.," in parenthesis, after them.

- ANDREWS, [ANDRAS] JOSEPH, only son of Jos. and Hannah. Apr. 23, 1793, aged 35 yrs., 1 m.
- ASHTON, JOSEPH. Aug. 22, 1725, 47th yr.
 " ABIGAIL, dau. of Jos. and Mary. Aug. 27, 1720, aged 5.
 " JANE, wife of Philip. Dec. 10, 1727, —0th yr.
 " SARAH ANN, dau. of Benj. and Sarah. Apr. 22, 1844, aged 4.
- ATKINS, NATHANIEL H. (mon.), lost at sea. 1840.
- BAILEY, Capt. JOHN. Apr. 21, 1828, aged 67.
 " MARY, wife of Capt. John. May 13, 1840, aged 78.
 " JOHN, son of Capt. John and Mary. Sept. 30, 1789, aged 10 m., 8 d.
- BARNARD, JOHN, Rev. Jan. 25, 1770, aged 89.
 " ANNA, wife of Rev. John. Aug. 24, 1774, aged 78.
- BARTLETT, RUTHE, wife of John. Feb. 4, 1803, aged 52.
 " ABIGAIL, " " " " Nov. 6, 1817, aged 28 yrs., 10 m.
- BARTOL, Capt. John. Oct. 8, 1771, aged 58.
 " MARY, wife of Capt. John. Apr. 23, 1766, aged 50 yrs., 7 m.
 " SAMUEL, son of John and Sarah. Feb. 14, 1759, aged 20 yrs., 7 m.
 " WILLIAM T. Feb. 15, 1859, aged 47.
 " SARAH LOUISA, dau. of Wm. T. Jan. 17, 1844, aged 6 y., 7 m.
- BARTOLL, ALSTON, son of Wm. T. June 7, 1849, aged 1 y.
 " LINDSAY, " " " " Aug. 8, 1857, aged 4 y., 9 m.
- BASSETT, MARY, wife of John. Jan. 6, 1789, 58th yr.
- BERENCE, MARY, dau. of John and Mary. Aug. 31, 1805, aged 3 y., 11 m.
 " JOHN T., son of John and Mary. Sept. 12, 1805, aged 11 m.
- BERRY, EBENEZER. Feb. 6, 1817, aged 45 y., 6 m.
 " BETSY (on stone of Rob't Quill, Jr., and others). Apr. 1, 1844, aged 71.
- BESOM, REBECCA, wife of Joseph. Mar. 18, 1854, aged 39 y., 5 m.
 " JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Rebecca. July 18, 1790, aged 2 y.
 " PHILIP. Sept. 4, 1797, aged 66.
 " SARAH, wife of Philip. Dec. 22, 1802, aged 66 y., 2 m.
 " RICHARD. Feb. 3, 1812, aged 81.
 " SARAH, wife of Richard. Sept. 17, 1802, aged 70.
- BOARDMAN, FRANCIS. Mar. 31, 1823, aged 56.
- BONFIELD, REBECCA, wife of George, "who did much good in her life,"
 Apr. 30, '87, aged —.
- BOWDEN, ELIZABETH, wife of Benj. and dau. of Benj. and Elizabeth Graves, Sept. 19, 1794, aged 21 y., 10 m.
 " THOMAS, son of Twisden and Sarah, Oct. 4, 1771, aged 3 y.
- BOWEN, JOSEPH C. (mon.), gale of Sept. 19, 1846.

- BRAY, Capt. BENJAMIN, Mar. 1, 1807, aged 32 y., 18 d.
 " SARAH, wife of Benjamin, leaving 2 ch., Feb. 11, 1801, aged 22 yrs., 7 m.
- BRIDGEO, GEORGE. July 17, 1832, aged 64.
 " MARY, wife of George, July 14, 1796, aged 32.
 " MARY, dau. of George and Mary, Sept. 13, 1790, aged 22 mo.
 " MARY, " " " " " Aug. 18, 1794, aged 22 mo.
 " HANNAH, dau. of " " " " " Oct. 7, 1795, aged 19 mo.
 " MARY, " " " " " Aug. 13, 1796, aged 8 mo.
 " MARY, wife of George, Nov. 11, 1806, 29th yr.
 " NANCY, widow of George. Dec. 9, 1855, aged 70.
 " PHILIP. Nov. 1, 1820, aged 61.
 " HANNAH, wife of Philip. Nov. 4, 1845, aged 87.
 " MARY, dau. of Philip and Hannah. Jan. 19, 1805, aged 20 y., 2 m., 26 d.
 " PHILIP (mon.), at sea. 1844.
 " GEORGE, " in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- BRIMBLECOME, LUCY, wife of Sam'l, jr., " with seven small children by her side." June 12, 1757, aged 39 y., 1 m., 30 d.
 " PHILIP, Sr. Apr., 1797, aged — —.
 " PHILIP, eldest son of Philip and Hannah. Feb. 1, 1824, aged 37 y., 2 m.
 " SEAWARD, brother of Philip, Sr. At St. Pierre's, Martinico, June 17, 1818, aged —.
 " SAMUEL. Mar. 4, 1807, aged 64 y., 4 m., 8 d.
 " JANE, wife of Samuel. May 19, 1803, aged 61.
- BRINTNAL, MARY, wife of John. Jan. 20, 1688, aged 24.
- BROWN, JOHN. Feb. 17, 1702-3, aged about 13.
 " Capt. JOHN. May 17, 1707, aged 47.
 " WILLIAM, Nov. 17, 1786, aged 55 y., 3 m.
 " Capt. JOHN (and 4 ch. under 3 yrs). Sept. 10, 1816, aged 79 y.
 " AMEY, wife of Capt. John. Feb. 27, 1826, aged 87.
 " JOHN. Nov. 15, 1826, aged 66.
 " HANNAH, wife of John. May 4, 1806, aged 49.
 " MARY, 2d w. of John. Feb. 19, 1811, aged 54.
 " ANNA, wife of Peter. Dec. 27, 1810, aged 26.
 " Capt. RICHARD. Aug. 30, 1827, aged 44 y., 10 m.
 " CALEB, son of Capt. Richard and Mary A. Sept. 28, 1814, aged 1 y.
 " PETER, son of Capt. Richard and Mary A. June 8, 1817, aged 5 y., 5 m.
 " JAMES OLIVER, son of John and Sarah. Mar. 7, 1798, aged 12 y.

- BROWN, HANNAH B., dau. of John and Sarah. May 31, 1805, aged 12 y., 6 m.
- “ THOMAS, son of John and Sarah. Sept. 28, 1806, aged 2 y.
- “ MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. May 12, 1802, aged 44.
- “ Mrs. TAMSON. May 12, 1804, aged 67 y., 9 m.
- “ HANNAH, wife of Capt. Edward. July 10, 1809, aged 47.
- “ JOSEPH. Apr. 8, 1834, aged 85.
- “ LUCRETIA, wid. of Joseph. May 21, 1857, aged 83 y., 8 m.
- “ WILLIAM P. (mon.). 1838.
- “ REBECCA, wife of Wm. P. and dau. of Capt. Richard and Rebecca Dixey. Aug. 4, 1807, aged 26 y., 4 m.
- “ JOHN (mon.). 1845.
- BRUCE, Capt. DAVID, Jr. (his wid. Alice md. Samuel Chinn). Sept. 19, 1794, aged 21 y., 10 m.
- BUBIER, Capt. JOSEPH. Dec. 20, 1783, aged 45.
- “ CHRISTOPHER. June 30, 1786, aged 83.
- “ MARGARET, wife of Christopher. Feb. 2, 1782, aged 73.
- “ Mrs. RUTH. Footstone, quite ancient.
- “ RUTH, widow of Capt. John. Jan. 13, 1791, aged 56.
- “ DEBORAH, wife of William. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 62.
- BURKE, LOIS, wife of William. Mar. 6, 1773, aged 26.
- BURNHAM, Capt. JOHN. Aug. 25, 1798, aged 63.
- CALLEY, MARY, relict of John. Oct. 19, 1796, aged 63 y., 2 m.
- “ GRACE BUBIER, dau. of Thomas and Grace. Oct. 12, 1801, aged 16 m., 16 d.
- CARDER, MARY, dau. of Joel and Elizabeth. Dec. 26, 1804, aged 57.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Apr. 2, 1760. 32d yr.
- CAREW, GEORGE, of Barbadoes, late from Jamaica. Aug. 13, 1750, aged 27.
- CARSWELL, RICHARD (mon.). 1837.
- CHADWICK, CHARLES, b. Aug. 1, 1774, lost at sea, Sept., 1815.
- “ RUTH, wid. of Charles, b. Sept. 1, 1781, d. Jan. 20, 1871.
- “ CHARLES (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- CHAPMAN, SAMUEL. Aug. 7, 1799, aged 52 y., 6 m.
- CHARAMEL, SARAH, wife of Alexis and dau. of Capt. John and Sarah Doliber. Sept. 3, 1816, aged 24.
- “ JOSEPH, son of Alexis and Sarah. Oct. 23, 1816, aged 7 m.
- CHEEVER, Rev. SAMUEL. May 29, 1724.
- CHINN, SAMUEL. Dec. 13, 1806, aged 65 y., 9 m.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Feb. 5, 1826, aged 80 y., 7 m.
- “ ROBERT B. (also on mon.). May 29, 1846, aged 59 y., 8 m.
- “ SARAH K., wife of Robert B. Mar. 2, 1872, aged 80 y., 4 m.

- CHINN, ALICE, wife of Samuel, and widow of Capt. David Bruce, Jr.
Dec. 4, 1866, aged 73 y., 6 m., 18 d.
- “ GEORGE. Jan. 9, 1843, aged 59 y., 11 m.
- “ MARY, wife of George. Sept. 1, 1847, aged 62 y., 8 m.
- “ JAMES O., son of George and Mary. Sept. 14, 1836, aged 17 y., 10 m.
- “ GEORGE (mon.). 1845.
- CLARK, JOHN. June 9, 1784, aged 55 y.
- CLOUGH, SARAH, wife of Ebenezer. Nov. 28, 1786, 56th y.
- “ SAMUEL, only ch. of Ebenezer. Sept. 28, 1787, aged 22 y., 2 m.
- CLOUTMAN, SUSANNA, dau. of Thos. and Susanna. Nov. 27, 1791, aged 2 y., 11 m.
- “ THOMAS (mon.). 1836.
- “ RUTH, dau. of John and Anna. Dec. 14, 1800, aged 2 y., 6 m.
- “ SALLY H., dau. of John and Anna. Aug. 14, 1810, aged 14 y., 6 m.
- “ HENRY. July 22, 1850, aged 75 y., 6 m.
- “ MARY, wife of Henry and dau. of Capt. John Traill. Feb. 4, 1807, 27th y.
- “ NANCY, wife of Capt. Henry. Dec. 21, 1843, aged 57 y.
- “ S. ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Henry and Nancy. Apr. 26, 1852, aged 24 y., 11 m.
- “ ROBERT (on stone of George and Mary Knight), at sea (also on mon.). June 18, 1839, aged 41 y., 9 m.
- COCKS, HANNAH, eldest dau. of Capt. James and Margaret. July 14, 1802, aged 16 y.
- COLLYER, JOHN, 1st son of John and Sarah. Apr. 21, 1798, aged 2 y., 5 m., 22 d.
- “ JOHN, 2d son of John and Sarah. Oct. 21, 1802, aged 10 m., 21 d.
- “ SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Mercy. Sept. 9, 1794, aged 11 m., 23 d.
- “ SAMUEL (mon.). 1839.
- “ ISAAC “ 1847.
- CONANT, JOHN. Apr. 19, 1738, 89th y.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John. July 3, 1711, aged 79 y.
- COUNTEY, NICHOLAS. Jan. 21, 1800, aged 39.
- COURTIS, WILLIAM, Capt. Nov. 20, 1779, aged 59 y., 2 m.
- “ SARAH, first wife of Capt William. Jan. 1, 1765, aged 43 y., 6 m.
- “ ELIZABETH, second wife of Capt. Wm. Dec. 11, 1771, 38th y.
- “ JOHN (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- COWELL, JEMIMA, wife of Richard. July 12, 1755, aged 32.

- CRATEY, ANDREW. May 10, 1695, aged 44.
- CROCKER, URIEL. Apr. 12, 1813, aged 45.
- “ MARY, wife of Uriel and dau. of Israel and Mary Eaton. Sept. 14, 1790, aged 20 y., 8 m.
- “ MARY, wife of Uriel. Aug. 27, 1811, aged 38 y.
- “ ELIZABETH JAMES, dau. of Uriel and Mary. Apr., 1810, aged 6 m.
- “ FRANCIS BOARDMAN, son of Uriel and Mary, Aug. 11, 1813, aged 5 y.
- CROSS, Capt. JOHN, who, with all on board, was lost at sea in the Traveller. 1804, aged 36.
- “ ABIGAIL, wid. of Capt. John. Mar. 5, 1821, aged 52 y.
- “ JOSEPH S., son of Capt. John and Abigail, at Hamburg, by a fall from the mast-head of Brig Eagle. Apr. 21, 1821, aged 21.
- “ JOHN, ELIZABETH D., and WM. HAMMOND, infants of Capt. John.
- CROWNINSHIELD, JANE, wife of Wm. and only dau. of Jona. and Jane Thompson. Jan. 27, 1771, aged 36 y.
- “ MARY, dau. of Edward and Mary. Sept. 4, 1807, aged 15 y., 11 m.
- “ WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1845.
- CUNNINGHAM, ———, wife of Edward and dau. of Thomas and Mary Millet, b. Jan. 10, 1748; d. Aug. 2, 1770.
- CURTIS, SALLY, wid. of William M. Sept. 8, 1852, aged 80 y.
- “ JOSEPH. Dec. 28, 1804, aged 48 y.
- “ SARAH, wid. of Joseph. Jan. 28, 1812, aged 45.
- DARLING, BENJAMIN. June 12, 1777, aged 66.
- “ HENRY, son of Benj. and Elleanor. Sept. 1, 1743, aged 2 y., 3 m., 6 d.
- “ JOHN, son of Benj. and Elleanor. Jan. 22, 1775, aged 20 y., 11 m.
- “ TABITHA, wid. of the late Benj., Jr. June 26, 1762, aged 31 y.
- DARRELL, THOS. ASPINWALL, son of Thos. and Sarah. Oct. 28, 1770, aged 2 y., 4 m.
- DEAN, ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 27, 1796, aged 24 y., 6 m.
- DENNIS, MARY, dau. of Capt. John and Rebecca. Oct. 11, 1769, aged 2 y.
- “ MARY, dau. of Capt. John and Rebecca. Aug. 25, 1775, aged —, and two still born twins.
- “ JAMES, son of Capt. John and Rebecca. Oct. 26, 1795, aged 19 y.

- DENNIS, ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 27, 1796, aged —, 6m., 11d.
 “ JONAS. Apr. 2, 1835, aged 88 y.
 “ SARAH, wife of Jonas. June 24, 1818, aged 66 y., 6 m.
 “ MARY, dau. of Jonas and Sarah. Aug. 5, 1781, aged 22 m.
 “ SALLY, “ “ “ “ “ Sept. 1, 1792, aged 2 wks.
 “ MARY, “ “ “ “ “ Feb. 22, 1802, aged 20 y.
 “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Jonas and Sarah. Mar. 1, 1815, aged
 30 y., 6 m.
 “ WILLIAM, lost at sea. 1821, aged 59.
 “ MARY, wife of William. June 28, 1821, aged 32.
 “ JOHN D. (mon.). 1831.
 “ SALLY, relict of Daniel. Apr. 3, 1844, aged 56.
- DEVEREUX, HUMPHREY, tomb. 1758.
 “ RUTH RUDDOCK, dau. of Nath'l K. and Tabitha. Sept. 10,
 1795, aged 13 m.
 “ MARY K., dau. of Nath'l K. and Tabitha. May 17, 1802,
 aged 16 m., 3 d.
 “ RUTH [wid. of Ralph]. Feb. 27, 1809, aged 97.
 “ ROBERT, Jr. (mon.), lost at sea. 1834.
 “ ELIZABETH GERRY, dau. of Burrill and Elizabeth. May 23,
 1872, aged 90 y., 6 m.
- DIXEY, MARY, wife of Thomas. Feb. 2, 1757, aged 35 y., 1 m.
 “ DAVID, son of Capt. David and Anes. Mar. 29, 1760, aged
 2 y., 9 m., 15 d.
 “ JOHN. Dec. 15, 1848, aged 82 y., 4 m.
 “ ELIZABETH, wife of John. Apr. 23, 1848, aged 82.
 “ OVID, son of John and Rebecca. Jan. 19, 1818, aged 3 y., 5 m.
 “ Capt. RICHARD. Apr. 10, 1800, aged 56 y., 7 m.
 “ RICHARD. Apr. 23, 1858, aged 53 y., 7 m., 4 d.
 “ SALLY, wife of Richard. Apr. 7, 1852, aged 43 y., 4 m., 19 d.
 “ HANNAH S., dau. of Richard and Sally. Jan. 22, 1833, aged
 4 m., 13 d.
 “ MARY J., dau. of Richard and Sally. Oct. 2, 1837, aged 9
 m., 29 d.
 “ THOMAS, son of Richard and Sally. Oct. 3, 1857, aged 7 y.,
 8 m., 5 d.
 “ REBECCA, grandmother to Mary G., wife of John Homan,
 and Rebecca Homan, wife of Elbridge G. Martin. Nov.
 9, 1807, aged 61.
 “ PETER, tomb. 1839.
- DOAK, HANNAH, wife of James. Nov. 4, 1775, aged 26 y., 6 m.
 “ MARY. Mar. 21, 1842, aged 79 y., 20 d.
- DODD, MARY OWENS, dau. of Thomas and Mary. Oct. 5, 1823, aged
 15 y., 10 m.

- DODD, MRS. SUSANNA. Nov. 20, 1823, aged 75.
 " SAMUEL. Oct. 1, 1860, aged 84 y., 9 m.
 " JANE, wife of Samuel. May 27, 1844, aged 65 y., 4 m., 22 d.
 " SAMUEL 3d (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
 " BENJAMIN, " " " " " " " "
- DOLHONDE, ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Jan. 18, 1738,
 aged 2 m. 10 d.
- DOLIBER, THOMAS. May 11, 1760, aged 62 y., 6 m.
 " BENJAMIN F. (mon.), lost at sea. 1840.
 " THOMAS, " " in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- DOLLIBER, FRANCIES. Jan. 29, 1806, aged 47 y., 3 m.
 " JOHN W., son of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Nov. 25, 1840, aged
 18 m.
 " JOHN W., son of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Nov. 11, 1841, aged
 7 m.
 " HANNAH E., dau. of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Dec. 6, 1842, aged
 9 y., 3 m.
 " MARY E., dau. of Sam'l R. and Hannah. Oct. 11, 1844, aged
 14 m.
- DOLLIVER, PETER. Sept. 28, 1807, aged 82.
 " HANNAH, wife of Peter. July 23, 1797, aged 66.
- DUPAR, MINERVA, wife of Francis. Oct. 29, 1858, aged 22 y., 9 m.
- DUPUY, THOMAS, son of Thomas and Mary. Feb. 18, 1802, aged 8 y.,
 4 m.
- EATON, MARY, wife of Israel and only dau. of Capt. Ambrose and
 Elizabeth James. Feb. 4, 1794, aged 49.
 " MOLLY, wife of Israel. Nov. 30, 1800, aged 53.
 " SARAH, dau. " " July 6, 1803, aged 22.
- ELITHROP, MARY, wife of John. Aug. 3, 1717, aged 32.
- ESCOURTE, MRS. ESTHER [on stone of John Conant]. Nov. 26, 1709,
 50th y.
- FELTON, SARAH, wife of John. Feb. 18, 1749, aged 63 y., 6 m.
 " THOMAS (mon.), lost at sea. 1847.
- FETTYPLACE, EDWARD. Aug. 7, 1805, aged 83.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Edward. Feb. 20, 1794, aged 73 y., 5 m.
 " JOHN, son of Edward and Jane. May 15, 1808, aged 18.
 " EDWARD, died in Salem. Jan. 16, 1827, aged 78.
 " THOMAS, " " " Jan. 22, 1826, aged 41.
 " HANNAH DEVEREUX, wife of Thomas, died in Salem. July
 10, 1861, aged 76.
 " THOMAS J., tomb, 1849 [on tablet of Thos. Gerry, Esq.]

- FETTYPLACE, HENRY K., died in Salem. Mar. 10, 1862, aged 42.
- FINCH, HANNAH, wife of George. Apr. 4, 1737, aged 40 yrs.
- FLORENCE, JOHN, son of John and Mary. June 5, 1801, aged 11 m.,
3 d.
- “ MARY, dau. of John and Mary. Nov. 1, 1801, aged 3 y., 5 m.
- FOLLET, PHILIP. May 7, 1807, aged 28 y., 9 m.
- “ THOMAS (mon.), 1840.
- FOSDICK, THOMAS. May 2, 1771, aged 38.
- FOSTER, ELIZABETH, wife of Ebenezer. Oct. 8, 1767, aged 25 y., 3 m.,
9 d.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Ebenezer and Elizabeth. Sept., 1754, aged
1 y., 1 m.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Ebenezer and Elizabeth. Dec. 12, 1758,
aged 1 yr., 4 m.
- FRANCIES, ELIZABETH, wife of Christopher, and dau. of Richard and
Rebecca Dixey. Oct. 13, 1806, aged 35.
- FRANCIS, BARTHOLOMEW (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
- “ WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1833.
- FROST, ELIZA ANN, wife of William 2d. Apr. 3, 1847, aged 26.
- “ MARY H., dau. of Wm. 2d and Eliza Ann. Apr. 21, 1844, aged
2 y.
- FURNES, DAVID. Sept. 4, 1723, aged 61.
- “ SARAH, wife of David. Feb. 27, 1728, aged 66.
- to
nor Gail
ance Smith
died Feb. 28th
1749.
- GALE, AZOR, Esq. Jan. 28, 1727, aged 59.
- “ ROOTS. Dec. 24, 1728, aged 24 y., 4 m.
- “ ALICE, wife of Thomas. Oct., 24, 1736, aged 19.
- “ Capt. WILLIAM. June 30, 1762, aged 44.
- “ MARY, wid. of Samuel. May 2, 1772, aged 70.
- GALLISON, JOSEPH. Sept. 30, 1718.
- “ JOHN. Aug. 30, 1736, aged 31 y., 11 m., 15 d.
- “ JOHN, Esq. March 26, 1786, aged 55.
- GERRY, THOMAS, Esq. (tomb) b. Newton Abbott, Eng., March 15, 1702;
d. Marblehead, July 15, 1774.
- “ SAMUEL, son of Thomas and Elizabeth. Aug. 26, 1738, aged
13 m., 23 d.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Thomas and Elizabeth. Sept. 3, 1740,
aged 14 w., 3d.

- GERRY, SAMUEL R. Feb. 22, 1807, aged 56.
 " HANNAH, wife of Samuel Russell and dau. of Jona. and Abigail Glover. March 30, 1780, aged 25.
 " SARAH, wife of Samuel R. July 22, 1830, aged 70.
- GILBERT, JOHN. Sept. 19, 1846, aged 43.
 " MARY, wife of John. May 12, 1862, aged 62.
- GIRDLER, FRANCIS. June 24, 1750, aged 39.
 " BENJAMIN. Nov. 25, 1835, aged 64.
 " RICHARD (mon.). 1836.
 " WILLIAM, " lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- GLIDDEN, ELIZABETH, wife of George, d. Unity, N. H., Dec. 24, 1859, aged 47.
- GLOVER, ABIGAIL, wife of Col. Jonathan. Apr. 29, 1787, aged 60.
 " BENJAMIN, son " " " and Abigail. May, 1759, aged 19 m.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Col. Jonathan and Abigail. Sept. 10, 1762, aged 6 wks.
 " JONATHAN, son of Col. Jonathan and Abigail. Sept. 20, 1771, aged 5 m.
 " Brig. Gen. JOHN, b. Nov. 5, 1732; d. Jan. 30, 1797, aged 64.
 " HANNAH, wife Brig. Gen. John. Nov. 13, 1778, aged 45 y., 5 m.
 " JONAS, son of " " " and Hannah. July 15, 1789, aged 25.
- GOODWIN, THOMAS, son of William and Jane. Feb. 27, 1722-3, aged 19 d.
 " JOHN, son of William and Jane. Apr. 15, 1723, 5th year.
 " HANNAH, wife of James. Sept. 17, [1805]? aged 24 y., 4 m.
 " JAMES, son of James and Hannah.
 " HANNAH, dau. of James and Hannah.
 " SUSANNA, wife of James, Jr., and dau. of Thomas and Mary Dodd. Oct. 29, 1823, aged 20.
 " a son of James, Jr. and Susanna. Aug. 17, 1823, aged 1 mo.
 " JOHN, 3d (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
 " JOHN, lost at sea. Nov., 1843.
 " SUSANNA, wife of John. Apr. 15, 1856, aged 63.
 " JOHN, Jr. (mon.), lost at sea. 1843.
 " WILLIAM (mon.). 1845.
- GOUDEY, Mrs. ELIZABETH. May 7, 1796, aged 84.
- GRANT, ANN, wife of Thos. and dau. of Mary Stanford. Jan. 19, 1765, aged 57.
 " MARGARET, wife of Thos. Mar. 6, 1789, aged 47.
 " MARGARET, dau. of Thos. and Margaret. Apr. 8, 1795, aged 22.
 " CHRISTOPHER (mon.). 1847.
- GRAVES, ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Eben'r. Jan. 6, 1800, aged 55.

- GRAVES, REBECCA, wife of Capt. Eben'r. June 16, 1806, aged 35.
 " JOHN. Jan. 18, 1839, aged 87.
 " MARY, 1st wife of John. Jan. 24, 1783, aged 30.
 " REBECCA, 2d wife of John. July 20, 1824, aged 72.
- GREEN, JOSEPH WEST, son of Michael and Mary. Oct. 21, 1793, aged
 2 y., 3 m.
 " MICHAEL, son of Michael and Mary. June 10, 1796, aged 7 y.,
 8 m.
 " THOMAS. Sept. 10, 1856, aged 50.
 " ANNIS. March 4, 1861, aged 70 y., 6 m.
 " WILLIAM. Sept. 26, 1856, aged 73 y., 4 m.
 " MEHITABLE F., wife of William. Mar. 20, 1850, aged 69 y., 7 m.
 " JOHN F. (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.
- GREENLEAF, REBECCA. Dec. 3, 1737, aged 45 y., 25 d.
- GROSE, MIRIAM, left 180 ch., grand and great grand ch. No date, aged
 80 y.
- GROSS, RICHARD. Sept. 11, 1711, aged abt. 68.
- GRUSH, Capt. JOHN. Jan. 9, 1787, aged 54 y., 2 m.
 " HANNAH, wife of Capt. John. May, 1760, aged 18 y., 6 m.
- HALEY, SARAH, wife of John, formerly wife of Henry Trevett. Jan.
 7, 1752, aged 66.
- HAMMOND, EMMA, wife of Thos. Peach, and dau. of John and Eliza
 Hammond. Sept. 24, 1810, aged 26.
- " MRS. HANNAH. Mar. 13, 1820, aged 68.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Thos. and Hannah. Oct. 3, 1804, aged 18.
 " " " " " " Aged 10.
 " WILLIAM, son " " " " 3 wks.
 " " " " " " 3 y.
- " ELIZABETH, wid. of Elias. Feb. 12, 1813, aged 82 y., 6 m.
 " BENJAMIN. Aug. 16, 1818, aged 27.
 " Capt. WILLIAM. Dec. 9, 1821, aged 49.
 " ABIGAIL BURNS, wife of Capt. William. Dec. 12, 1839, aged 64.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. July 13, 1802,
 aged 1 y., 10 m., 11 d.
 " BENJAMIN, 2d son of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. Jan. 14, 1805,
 aged 3 y., 3 m., 9 d.
 " MARY, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. Oct. 15, 1808, aged
 14 y.
 " WILLIAM, grandson of Capt. Wm. and Abigail B. June 13,
 1834, aged 9 y.
 " MARY, wife of Wm. and dau. of Capt. Thos. Wooldridge.
 Aug. 24, 1829, aged 32.
 " DEBORAH. June 28, 1852, aged 86 y., 9 m.

- HAMSON, HENRY. Sept. 8, 1828, aged 75.
 " HANNAH, wife of Henry. Apr. 17, 1853, aged 93.
 " SALLY, dau. of Henry and Hannah. May 7, 1855, aged 68 y.,
 7 m.
- HARDING, MRS. MARY. July 5, 1836, aged 60.
- HARRIS, MARY, wife of Capt. John. Jan. 23, 1791, aged 58 y., 6 m.
 " JAMES, son of Capt. John and Mary. May 8, 1788, 21st year.
 " JANE, wife of William. Feb. 6, 1800, aged 65 y., 7 m.
 " ELEANOR, wife of John. July 31, 1803, aged 18 y., 9 m., 6 d.
 with other names on tombstone, nearly obliterated.
 " ROBERT. Dec. 24, 1815, aged 39 y., 4 m.
 " HANNAH, wid. of Robert. Aug. 31, 1858, aged 74 y., 5 m.
 " ELLEN G., dau. of Robert and Hannah. June 3, 1807, aged 3 y.
 " ROBERT, son of " " " May 25, 1835, aged 29.
 " BENJAMIN P., son of Robert and Hannah. Nov. 20, 1837,
 aged 25.
 " EDWARD B., b. Feb. 24, 1808; d. Apr. 12, 1872.
- HASKELL, MARK. Aug. 28, 1811, aged 84.
 " RUTH, wid. of Mark. Nov. 8, 1814, aged 83.
 " PHILIP, son of Mark and Ruth. Aug. 23, 1783, aged 21.
 " Capt. WILLIAM, son of Mark and Ruth. Jan. 1, 1798, aged
 24 y., 11 m.
 " GRACE BUBIER, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Sept. 2, 1791,
 aged 10 m.
 " MARY, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. July 17, 1795, aged
 10 m.
 " MICHAEL, son of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Mar. 22, 1819,
 aged 13.
 " RUTH, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Mary. May 22, 1823, aged
 19 y., 3 m.
 " Capt. MICHAEL. Oct. 22, 1818, aged 63.
- HAWKES, BENJAMIN, Sr. Apr. 16, 1772, aged 42.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Benj. and Mehitable. June 12, 1791,
 6 wks.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Capt. Benj. and Mehitable. Oct. 4, 1794,
 aged 22 m.
 " MARY, wife of James and dau. of Capt. Philip and Jane
 Bridgeo. Aug. 31, 1831, aged 25.
- HAWKINS, ABIGAIL, wife of John. Apr. 20, 1751, aged 82.
 " MARGARET. May 3, 1761, 60th y.
- HAWLEY, RICHARD. Oct. 1, 1698, 63d y.
 " WILLIAM, son of Richard and Mary. Dec. 6, 1741, aged 21.
- HAYDEN, WILLIAM. July 23, 1803, aged 82.
 " HANNAH, wife of William. Nov. 3, 1782, aged 56.

- HILL, SALLY, wife of Robert. Sept. 28, 1862, aged 58.
- HILLS, Dr. BENJAMIN. Jan. 2, 1737, aged 29.
- HINE, JOHN. July 21, 1804, aged 72.
- “ MARY, wife of John. Oct. 18, 1785, aged 53.
- “ SARAH, “ “ “ Mar. 29, 1804, aged 60.
- HITCHINGS, MARTHA, wife of Amos. Nov. 30, 1785, aged 42 y., 3 m. 9d.
- “ Mrs. MIRIAM, dau. of John and Charity Phillips. Dec. 16, 1788, aged 31.
- HITER, Capt. SAMUEL. Apr. 9, 1822, aged 58.
- HOLLAND, LYDIA. Nov. 2, 1801, aged 91.
- HOLMAN, SAMUEL. Sept. 14, 1737, aged 65.
- HOLYOKE, ELIZABETH, wife of Rev'd Edward, born Feb. 4, 1691-2. m. Aug. 8, 1717, d. Aug. 15, 1719.
- HOMAN, JOHN, Jr. Mar. 21, 1727, aged 27.
- “ JOSEPH. Dec. 3, 1789, aged 80
- “ SARAH, wife of Joseph. Apr. 20, 1783, aged 73.
- “ JOSEPH, son “ “ and Sarah. Feb. 28, 1759, aged 21.
- “ THOMAS. Jan. 17, 1832, aged 75.
- “ TABITHA, wife of Thomas. Mar. 11, 1837, aged 73.
- “ POLLY, dau. “ “ and Tabitha. Feb. 23, 1800, aged 10.
- “ TABITHA, “ “ “ “ “ Aug. 24, 1812, aged 25.
- “ HANNAH, “ “ “ “ “ Feb. 2, 1818, aged 38.
- “ SARAH. Oct. 6, 1845, aged 84.
- “ JOHN, son of Sarah. Aug. 31, 1859, aged 74.
- “ SARAH GLOVER, dau. of Wm. and Sarah. Feb. 2, 1840, aged 9 m.
- “ JONAS D. (mon.) 1845.
- “ Capt. WILLIAM. Nov. 19, 1853, aged 50.
- “ WILLIAM AUGUSTUS. Oct. 3, 1854, aged 25.
- “ MARY GLOVER, wife of John and dau. of Peter and Hannah G. Dixey. July 20, 1852, aged 31.
- “ EDWARD. July 20, 1857, aged 72 y., 10 m.
- “ MARY, wife of Edward. Feb. 20, 1861, aged 76 y., 4 m., 23 d.
- “ JOSEPH, son of “ and Mary. Dec. 23, 1858, aged 35 y., 4 m.
- “ EDWARD, RUTH and ELIZABETH, ch. of Edward and Mary, d. in infancy.
- “ MARY, wife of Joseph. June 14, 1859, aged 30.
- “ MARY PITMAN, wife of John. Aug. 5, 1869, aged 80 y., 11 m.
- HOOPER, RUTH, wife of Robert, Jr. July 23, 1732, aged 20.
- “ BENJAMIN, only child of Benj. and Susanna. May 6, 1796, aged 10 y., 8 m.
- “ Capt. ASA. Nov. 20, 1836, aged 69 y., 4 m.

- HOOPER, DELIVERANCE, wife of Capt. Asa. Sept. 12, 1839, aged 69 y.,
6 m.
- “ WILLIAM. Apr. 29, 1839, aged 82.
- “ GRACE, wife of William. Jan. 28, 1830, aged 72.
- “ WILLIAM L. (mon.), at sea in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- HUBBARD, REV. EBENEZER. Oct. 15, 1800, aged 42.
- “ MARY, dau. of Ebenezer. Mar. 2, 1797, aged 2.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Ebenezer. Jan. 15, 1801, aged 12.
- “ BENJAMIN, son of “ May 5, 1802, aged 5.
- HUBERT, PHILIP. Nov. 19, 1714, aged 14 y., 3 m., 11 d.
- HULIN, ELIAS. Aug. 2, 1809, aged 75.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Elias. June 24, 1815, aged 70.
- “ SARAH, wife of Archibald S. July 27, 1805, aged 32.
- HUMPHREY, WILLIAM. Apr. 10, 1811, aged 27.
- “ SARAH, wid. of Richard. Dec. 13, 1822, aged 81.
- “ RUTH, dau. of “ and Sarah. May 20, 1824, aged 55 y.,
11 m.
- “ JOHN. Feb. 6, 1848, aged 63 y., 8 m.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John and dau. of Capt. John and Sarah
Dolliber. Aug. 24, 1827, aged 25 y., 8 m.
- “ CAROLINE ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Elizabeth. Sept. 16,
1826, aged 3 m.
- “ EDWARD BEECHER, son of John and Hannah D. Oct. 23, 1843,
aged 13 m., 16 d.
- HYAM, CAROLINE AUGUSTA, } Sept. 6, 1849, aged 11 m.
- “ HARRIET SUSAN. } Oct. 11, 1852, aged 4 y.
- “ twin ch. of Robert and Mary, also 3 ch., d. in infancy.
- “ BETSEY. Nov. 7, 1852, aged 81.
- INGALLS, ELEAZER. Feb. 27, 1717-18, aged 56.
- “ MARY GIRDLER, dau. of Eleazer. Dec., 1711, aged abt. 23.
- “ ELIZABETH. May, 1812, aged 50.
- “ JOHN, son of Elizabeth. June 26, 1827, aged 38 y., 4 m.
- “ ——— a dau. of John. July 2, 1812, aged 2 wks.
- “ RUTHY FREEMAN, dau. of Wm. and Margaret. July 26, 1797,
aged 3 w., 1 d.
- “ THOMAS. July 2, 1816, aged 55.
- IRESON, HANNAH, wife of Robert. Sept. 28, 1804, aged 33.
- “ ROBERT, son of Robert and Hannah. Jan. 6, 1796, aged 3 y.,
7 m.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Robert and Hannah. Dec. 13, 1796, aged 1
y., 3 m., also 2 infants of Robert and Hannah.
- “ BENJAMIN F., son of Benj. S. and Tamison. Jan. 10, 1852,
aged 1 y., 11 m.

- JACKSON, MARY, wife of Dr. George. Feb. 25, 17[]1, aged 75.
- JAMES, Mr. ERASMUS. (footstone).
- “ SARAH (“ “)
- “ DELIVERANCE, dau. of Benj. and Deliverance. Dec. 2, 1699,
aged 1 y., 4 m.
- “ Capt. AMBROSE. Nov. 1, 1747, aged 37 y., 4 m. 11 d.
- “ TABITHA, wife of Ambrose. May 2, 1787, aged 48.
- “ ELIZABETH, wid. of Capt. T. P. Mar. 1, 1842, aged 58.
- JAYNE, SUSANNA, wife of Peter. Aug. 8, 1776, aged 44.
- JILLINGS, TABITHA, wid. of Thomas and formerly wife of Jona. Glover.
Mar. 7, 1785, aged 76.
- JONES, WILLIAM. Oct. 17, 1730, 36th y.
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- KIMBALL, MARY, wife of Capt. Edmund. May 15, 1826, aged 33.
- KING, PETER. July 30, 1726, aged 70.
- “ LYDIA, dau. of Capt. Thos. and Betsy. Aug. 18, 1770, aged
2 y., 4 m.
- KNAPP, AARON B. (mon.), lost at sea. 1842.
- KNIGHT, WILLIAM. Aug. 27, 1799, aged 77 y., 6 m.
- “ MARY, wife of William. May 17, 1784, aged 57.
- “ ROBERT. Apr. 3, 1807, aged 62.
- “ ELIZABETH, wid. of Robert. May 18, 1825, aged 80.
- “ WILLIAM, son “ “ and Elizabeth. Sept. 18, 1820, aged
49.
- “ RUTH, wid. of William. Dec. 25, 1815, aged 73.
- “ RUTH, dau. “ “ and Ruth. June 1, 1806, aged 13 y.,
6 m., 27 d.
- { “ GEORGE, Jr., lost at sea. May 12, 1821, aged 33 y., 7 m.
- { “ MARY, wife of George, Jr. Mar. 10, 1836, aged 45 y., 5 m.
- “ SAMUEL. Mar. 28, 1835, 69 y., 7 m.
- “ AMMEY, wife of Samuel. May 12, 1809, 43d y.
- “ MARY, dau. “ “ and Ammey. Aug. 28, 1795, aged 18 m.
6 d.
- “ AMMEY B., dau. of Samuel and Ammey. June 6, 1805, aged 17.
- “ MARY, “ “ “ “ “ Nov. 18, 1824, aged 20.
- “ SAMUEL, son “ “ “ “ Aug. 27, 1823, 33d y.
- “ RUTH, wife of Samuel. Oct. 8, 1829, aged 51.
- “ FRANKLIN. Oct. 21, 1839, aged 33.
- “ BENJAMIN. Dec. 27, 1843, aged 76.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Dec. 27, 1841, aged 69.
-
- LASKEY, JAMES. Mar. 31, 1806, aged 73.
- “ WILLIAM (mon.), lost at sea. 1842.

- LATIMORE, CHRISTOPHER. Oct. 5, 1690, abt. 70.
- LATIMER, MARY, wife of Christopher (the most ancient stone in the ground). May 8, 1681, aged 49.
- LECRAW, HANNAH, wife of David P. and dau. of Capt. Asa and Deliverance Hooper. Nov. 24, 1830, aged 27 y., 10 m.
- LEE, Capt. SEWARD, born Manchester, May 21, 1725, d. Jan. 12, 1755, aged 30 y., 7 m., 22 d. leaving a wife and five ch.
- LEE, JOSIAH, son of Seward and Ruth, and husband of Sarah Lee. Jan. 24, 1779, aged 30.
- LEFAVOUR, LYDIA, wife of John. Apr. 2, 1793, aged 37 y., 10 m.; also their ch. Lydia, John, Thomas and Mary, d. in infancy.
- LEFAVOUR, WILLIAM E., son of Wm. C. and Sally J. Apr. 5, 1850, aged 7 m., 23 d.
- LEGG, JOHN, Esq. Oct. 8, 1718, aged 73.
- LEGROW, ALICE. Sept. 6, 1827, aged 82.
- LEWIS, SUSANNA, wife of Thomas, merchant. June 17, 1766, aged 22.
- LINDSEY, Capt. NATHANIEL. Aug. 20, 1798, aged 52 y., 5 m., 25 d.
- “ SALLY, dau. of Capt. Nathl. and Sarah. Nov. 14, 1818, aged 21.
- “ Miss SARAH. June 14, 1821, aged 49 y., 4 m.
- “ Capt. JOSEPH. May 18, 1826, aged 57.
- { LORD, BENJAMIN. Mar. 11, 1803, aged 58.
- { “ WILLIAM, d. at Martinico. Oct., 1803, aged 18.
- MALCOLM, MARY, wife of Alex'r, and only dau. of John and Hannah Reed. Apr. 4, 1762, aged 32 y., 4 m.
- MARTIN, ELEANOR, wife of Thomas. July 4, 1759, aged 76.
- “ JOHN GRISTE, son of John G. and Mary. Feb. 6, 1801, aged 6 m.
- “ REBECCA HOMAN, wife of Elbridge G. and dau. of Peter and Hannah G. Dixey. July 15, 1852, aged 36.
- { MEIZARD, Capt. NICHOLAS. June 6, 1799, aged 46.
- { “ also, NICHOLAS and MARY, d. insane.
- MELZEARD, JOHN FRANCIS, son of John and Sally. Feb. 16, 1855, aged 3 y., 8 m., 20 d.
- MERRITT, SAMUEL. Feb. 25, 1712-13, aged 24.
- MERRITT, MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Aug. 7, 1824, aged 27.
- “ HANNAH R., dau. “ “ and Mary. Nov. 25, 1824, aged 14 m.
- MESSERVY, ELIZABETH HAILS, adopted dau. of Capt. Philip H. and Lydia. May 15, 1842, aged 13 y., 7 m.
- MICKLEFIELD, WM. PAXMAN WASHINGTON, son of William and Hannah, b. Feb. 22, 1811; d. Oct. 6, 1813.
- MILLET, PHILIP B. (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
- “ JOHN (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.

- MILLIR, MRS. PATIENCE. Oct. 29, 1824, aged 70.
 MORSE, JOSEPH. Feb. 8, 1803, aged 23 y., 5 m.
 " REBECCA, wife of Abraham. Jan. 14, 1837, aged 72.
 MUGFORD, Capt. JAMES. Jan. 12, 1778, aged 57.
 " LYDIA, wid. of Capt. James. Aug. 20, 1809, aged 78.
 " MARY, dau. of " " and Lydia. Sept. 12, 1760, aged
 1 y., 3 wks.
 MULLET [] CUNNINGHAM, dau. of Thomas and Mary, b. Jan. 10,
 1748; d. Aug. 2, 1770.
- NANCE, GRACE, wife of Joseph. July 26, 1791, aged 28.
 NECK, WILLIAM. Mar. 14, 1722-3, 42d y.
 NEWMARCH, SUSANNA, wife of Joseph. Feb. 4, 1717, 34th y.
 NICHOLSON, SAMUEL. July 12, 1724, aged 53.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Sept. 19, 1728, aged 20 y., 11 m.,
 16 d.
 " SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Lydia. Apr. 17, 1758, aged 19.
 " MARY, dau. of William and Hannah. Nov. 4, 1784, aged 16.
 " MARY, wife of John. Nov. 11, 1784, aged 73 y., 9 m.
 " RUTH, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Apr. 24, 1789, aged 44.
 NOWLAND, HANNAH, wife of Andrew. Jan. 6, 1793, aged 21.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Andrew and Hannah. Sept. 13, 1793, aged 1.
 " BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. 1838.
 NURSE, MARGARET, dau. of Benj. and Margaret. Aug. 24, 1778, aged
 14 m., 7 d.
 NUTTING, JOHN. Dec. 4, 1811, aged 63.
 " JOHN (also on mon.). June 21, 1844, aged 55.
 " MARY KNIGHT, dau. of Wm. and Mary. Sept. 21, 1848, aged 22.
- OAKES, SAMUEL, son of George and Abigail. May 25, 1795, 27th yr.
 OLIVER, JAMES (mon.). 1844.
 ORNE, JOHN, son of Joshua and Elizabeth. Dec. 11, 1722, aged abt.
 14 m.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Joshua and Elizabeth. Aug. 23, 1724, aged
 17 d.
 " JOSHUA. Nov. 22, 1772, aged 64.
 " SARAH, wife of Joshua, Jr. Oct. 17, 1743, aged 37.
 " ANNIS, wife of Joshua, Esq. July 14, 1771, aged 61.
 " [] son of Joshua and Annis. [] 7, 1785, aged 37.

This stone partially stops the entrance of a tomb, and part of the inscription is hidden by another stone. The Salem Gazette mentions the decease of Joshua Orne of Marblehead, who d. June 27, 1785, and notice of administration on his estate by his widow Mary.

- ORNE, MARY, wife of Joshua. June 30, 1778, aged 66.
 " JOSHUA, Esq. July 16, 1758, aged 87.
 " [] wife of Joshua, Esq. Oct. 16, 1753, aged 66.
 " SUSANNA, wife of Joshua. May 6, 1777, aged 28 yrs., 4 m.
 " JOSHUA, 4th son of Joshua and Susanna, b. Dec. 1, 1771; d.
 June 2, 1772.
 " JONATHAN. Mar. 26, 1803, aged 58 yrs., 3 d.
 " JONATHAN, son of Jona and Priscilla. Feb. 9, 1804, aged 34
 yrs., 5 m., 9 d.
 " Miss ABIGAIL. Jan. 12, 1810, aged 60.
- PARKER, Capt. DAVID. July 20, 1736, 50th yr.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel and former wife of John Carder.
 Mar. 26, 1757, aged 52.
- PATTIN, Capt. JOHN. July 29, 1798, aged 45 yrs., 5 m.
 " Mrs. ELIZABETH. Feb. 12, 1827, aged 73.
- PEACH, WILLIAM. June 16, 1715, aged 63 yrs., 2 m. 8 d.
 " WILLIAM. May 10, 1735, aged 51 yrs., 7 m.
 " SARAH, wife of William. Oct. 13, 1752, aged 65 yrs., 7 m., 13 d.
 " THOMAS. Sept. 9, 1731, aged 50.
 " DEBORAH, wife of William. Sept. 17, 1802, aged 29.
- PEACHEY, MOSES (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- PEARCE, JOHN. Apr. 24, 1800, aged 24 yrs., 8 m.
- PEDRICK, MARY, wife of Thomas and only dau. of Thomas and Sarah
 Peach. Oct. 17, 1762, aged 23.
 " EMME, wife of Capt. Thomas and dau. of John and Mary
 Nicholson. Aug. 8, 1790, aged 49.
 " MARY PATTIN, wid. of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 7, 1850, aged 72.
 " MARY, wife of Richard and dau. of Capt. John and Mary Bar-
 tol. Apr. 4, 1768, aged 21 yrs., 10 m.
 " JOSEPH. Jan. 1, 1770, aged 66.
 " BENJAMIN (mon.). 1844.
- { PERREY, HANNAH G., dau. of Geo. and Mary. Nov. 24, 1799, aged 2.
 { " ELIZABETH " " " aged 7 m.
- PHILLIPS, Mrs. CHARITY. May 14, 1777, 49th yr.
 " CORNELIUS, son of John and Charity. Apr. 15, 1767, aged 4 m.
 " JOHN, son of John and Charity. Mar. 4, 1776, aged 6 yrs., 8 m.
 " HANNAH, dau. of John and Charity. Mar. 24, 1789, 28th yr.
 " DELIVERANCE, wife of Ichabod. Feb. 13, 1828, aged 32 yrs., 3 m.
 " NATHANIEL, son of Ichabod and Deliverance. Nov. 4, 1821,
 aged 4.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of Ichabod and Deliverance. Nov. 12, 1821,
 aged 19 m.
 " JOSEPH (mon.). 1844.

- PICKETT, MOSES ALLEN. Mar. 31, 1853, aged 73.
 " AGNES, wid. of M. A. Jan. 23, 1833, aged 81.
- PITMAN, BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Sarah, lost at sea. Sept. 1, 1815,
 aged 22 yrs., 11 m.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Sarah, drowned. Apr. 5, 1827,
 aged 29 yrs., 9 m.
- PORTER, JANE, wife of Ebenezer. Nov. 4, 1804, 26th yr.
- POTTER, MARY, dau. of Capt. Benj. and Ruth of Lynn. Dec. 8, 1737,
 aged 13.
- POWER, JOHN, son of John and Mary. Aug. 29, 1799, aged 24 d.
 " MARY, dau. of " " " Aug. 29, 1800, aged 1.
 " JOHN, son of " " " July 18, 1801, aged 7 m., 8 d.
 " THOMAS (mon.), lost at sea. 1840.
- PREBLE, NEHEMIAH. May 22, 1856, aged 81 yrs., 8 m. 7 d.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Nehemiah and dau. of Wm. and Mary
 Stacey. Dec. 17, 1848, aged 74 yrs., 2 m.
- PRENTISS, JOSHUA, Esq. June 22, 1837, aged 92 yrs., 8 m.
 " GRACE, wife of Joshua, Esq. Oct. 10, 1789, aged 45.
 " RUTH, dau. of Joshua, Esq. and Grace. Sept. 30, 1780, aged
 3 m., 14 d.
 " CHRISTOPHER, son of Joshua, Esq. and Grace. July 24, 1783,
 aged 11 m., 12 d.
- PRICHARD, ASA G. Aug. 29, 1851, aged 63.
- PROCTER, REBECCA, wife of John, Jr. Feb. 9, 1838, aged 24.
- { QUILL, ROBERT. Jan. 3, 1828, aged 84.
 " ELIZABETH. Oct. 15, 1823, aged 77.
 " ROBERT, Jr. Sept. 13, 1790, aged 16.
 " JOHN B, lost at sea. Sept., 1809, aged 25.
 " ANNIS. Aug. 23, 1843, aged 57.
 " DAVID. Jan. 2, 1868, aged 80 yrs., 6 m.
 " SALLY, wife of David. Jan. 21, 1829, aged 42 yrs., 6 m.
- QUINER, LYDIA, dau. of Nathaniel and Mary, nearly illegible. June
 29, 17[2?]8. 2 [] yr. of her age.
- { " PETER. Aug. 28, 1815, aged 63.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Peter. Feb. 3, 1827, aged 85.
 " BENJAMIN, son of " and Elizabeth. Aged 18.
 " " " " " " " " 18 m.
 " MARY, dau. of Peter & Eliz. May 19, 1796, aged 17 y., 4 m., 14d.
- RAMSDALL, WINSLOW (mon.), lost at sea. 1831.
 " BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. 1832.
- RIDDEN, THADDEUS. Jan. 6, 1690-1, aged [].

- REDDAN, JOSEPH. May 4, 1708, aged abt. 10 m.
 REDDEN, JOHN. Dec. 12, 1831, aged 63.
 REDDIN, MARY, wife of John. May 9, 1833, aged 77.
 REED, SAMUEL. Dec. 4, 1718, aged 57 yrs. 2 m. 3 d.
 " MARY, dau. of Samuel and Mary. Jan. 14, 1712, 18th yr.
 " WILLIAM (mon.). 1837.
 REITH, RICHARD, Sr. Feb. 28, 1707, aged 73.
 REXFORD, SALLY, wife of Jordan. Aug. 16, 1804, aged 41.
 REYNOLDS, JOHN. Nov. 28, 1790, aged 68.
 " JUDAH, wife of John. Mar. 19, 1785, aged 62.
 " WILLIAM H. Jan. 14, 1808, 59 yrs., 5 m.
 RICHARDSON, FRANCIS. Dec. 2, 1727, aged 57.
 " BENJAMIN A. (mon.), lost at sea. 1834.
 ROBINSON, BENJAMIN. July 25, 1815, aged 43.
 ROFF, REBECCA, wife of Samuel. Feb. 11, 1809, aged 47.
 ROUNDY, SARAH, wife of Thomas. May 26, 1740, aged 26 yrs., 3 m. 4 d.
 " Capt. SAMUEL. Mar. 18, 1806, aged 36 yrs. 5 m.
 " GEORGE, son of Capt. Sam'l and Deborah. Oct. 31, 1801, aged
 15 m. 27 d.
 " GEORGE, son of Capt. Sam'l and Deborah. Dec. 8, 1804, aged
 2 yrs.
 " MARTHA, wife of Elijah W. Oct. 5, 1806, aged 23.
 " JOSEPH. June 8, 1813, aged 43.
 " MARY, wife of Joseph and wid. of late Nicholas Quiner.
 Sept. 29, 1845, aged 77.
 " MARY E., dau. of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Aug. 9, 1833, aged 7 m.
 " HARRIET B., dau. of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Aug. 24, 1840, aged
 13 m.
 " HANNAH M., dau. of Sam'l R. and Mary G. Oct. 2, 1849, aged
 12 yrs. 8 m.
 RUSSELL, ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Sept. 19, 1721, aged 69.
 " SAMUEL. May 28, 1725, aged 38.
 " GILES. July 23, 1753, aged 77.
 " Madam ELIZABETH. Feb. 4, 1771, aged 80.
 " Capt. THOMAS. Jan. 22, 1817, aged 36.
 " ELIZABETH, wid. of Samuel. June 7, 1818, aged 60.
 " BENJAMIN, Nov. 11, 1832, aged 52 y., 2 m.
 " ELIZABETH M., wid. of Benjamin. May 15, 1855, aged 75.
 " GEORGE T., nephew of Benjamin and Elizabeth M., died at
 Havana, May 31, 1833, aged 24.
 " ALICE G., dau. of Wilson and Alice. Oct. 24, 1835, aged 5 m.,
 7 d.
 { " BENJAMIN (mon.), lost at sea. Nov., 1840, aged 28.
 { " WILLIAM R. " " " Nov., 1840, aged 19.

- RUSSELL, JOHN. Mar. 26, 1869, aged 68 y., 7 m.
 " DEBORAH A., wife of John. Aug. 15, 1865, aged 65 y., 4 m.,
 15 d.
 " MARY A., dau. of John and Deborah A. Mar. 28, 1824, aged
 2 m.
 " DEBORAH A., dau. of John and Deborah A. Nov. 29, 1833,
 aged 7 y.
 " JOHN, son of John and Deborah A. Dec. 11, 1833, aged 2 y.
 " FRANCIS, " " " " " Sept. 11, 1844, aged 2 y.
 " SARAH M., wife of Ezekiel. Oct. 1, 1841, aged 33 y.
- SALKINS, THOMAS F. Sept. 3, 1808, aged 56.
 " MARY, dau. of Thos. F. and Mary. Feb. 21, 1779, aged 2 w.
 " GEORGE, son " " " " " June 20, 1787, aged 6 m.,
 2 w.
 " — infant of Thos. F. and Mary, still born. June 20, 1789.
 " NATHANIEL, son of Thos. F. and Mary. Apr. 28, 1791, aged
 6 m.
 " MARY P., dau. of Thos. F. and Mary. Aug. 19, 1812, aged 18.
 " THOMAS, son " " " " " Jan. 3, 1816, aged 34
 y., 10 m.
- SALTER, Capt. JOHN, of Portland. Aug. 28, 1849, aged 78.
 " SALLY, wife of Capt. John. Feb. 14, 1799, aged 25 y., 9 m.
 " REBECCA (on stone of Robert Quill and others). Feb., 1838,
 aged 68.
 " JANE, wife of Benjamin. Mar. 21, 1847, aged 65 y., 10 m.
 " BENJAMIN O., son of Benj. and Jane. Nov. 26, 1856, aged
 51 y., 4 m.
- SANDE, ELIZABETH, dau. of William and Jehanah. Nov. 12, 1711, aged
 8 m., 15 d.
- SEAL, WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Elizabeth. Mar. 26, 1797, 31st y.
- SEAWARD, JOANNA, wife of John. May 17, 1737, aged 74.
- SEGERS, MARY GRANT, adopted dau. of Amos and Lois Grant. June
 1, 1806, aged 13 y., 6 m., 27 d.
- SELMAN, JOSEPH. Nov. 18, 1761, aged 40.
 " PATIENCE, wife of Joseph. July 22, 1768, 72d yr.
 " ARCHIBALD. Mar. 17, 1778, aged 63 y., 6 m., 17 d.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Archibald. July 11, 1759, aged 38 y.
 " MARY, wid. of Archibald. Nov. 28, 1801, aged 78 y., 1 m., 12 d.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Archibald and Hannah. May 17, 1802,
 aged 2 y., 1 m., 28 d.
 " EUNICE, wife of Samuel. Feb. 13, 1792, aged 57 y., 4 m.
 " Capt. JOHN. May 30, 1817, aged 73.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Deborah. Sept. 1, 1768, aged 2.

- SELMAN, DEBORAH, dau. of John and Deborah. Sept. 13, 1768, aged 3 wks.
- “ JOHN B. Oct. 29, 1814, aged 37.
- “ Capt. FRANCIS. Aug. 3, 1849, aged 68.
- “ ESTHER, wife of Capt Francis. Apr. 2, 1866, aged 79.
- SINCLAIR, ARCHIBALD. Sept. 2, 1879, aged 90 y., 1 m., 11 d.
- “ REBECCA, wife of Archibald. Aug. 5, 1853, aged 67 y., 9 m., 23 d.
- SKINNER, RICHARD. Mar. 9, 1726-7, aged 61.
- SMITH, JOEL. June 11, 1781, aged 48.
- “ SARAH, wife of Joel. Apr. 23, 1769, aged 32 y., 5 m.
- “ RUTH, dau. of Joel and Sarah. Sept. 14, 1769, aged 5 m., 21 d.
- “ JEREMIAH, at Port au Prince. Sept., 1818, aged 38.
- “ NANCY, wife of Jeremiah. Oct., 1809, aged 36.
- “ JOHN, son of Jeremiah and Nancy, lost at sea. Sept., 1825, aged 20.
- “ HANNAH W., wife of Jeremiah F. Aug. 13, 1831, aged 15 y., 12 d.
- “ JANE, wife of Jeremiah F. Nov. 26, 1854, aged 48 y., 1 m.
- “ ——— infant son of Jeremiah F. and Hannah W. Aug. 13, 1831.
- “ ——— a son of Jeremiah F. and Hannah W. Mar. 22, 1842, aged 2 y., 12 d.
- SNOW, SAMUEL (mon.), at sea. 1831.
- STACEY, JOHN. Mar. 23, 1704-5, aged 56.
- “ Mrs. AGNES. June 19, 1715, aged 60.
- “ Capt. JOHN. Oct. 19, 1722, aged 48.
- “ TABITHA, wife of William. Feb. 22, 1721-2, aged 39.
- “ Capt. BENJAMIN. Oct. 7, 1776, aged 52.
- “ WILLIAM. May 8, 1794, aged 54.
- “ MARY, wid. of William. Dec. 26, 1826, aged 81 y., 8 m.
- “ OSMAN C. (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- STANDLEY, MARGARET, wife of Sans. Sept. 13, 1804, aged 73 y., 8 m., 14 d.
- “ THOMAS. Sept. 22, 1809, aged 37 y., 10 m.
- “ SALLY, wife of Thomas. Nov. 22, 1814, aged 41 y., 2 m.
- STANLEY, SANS, son of Sans and Mary. Oct. 9, 1727, aged 8 m.
- STEVENS, ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Richard. Mar. 9, 1766, aged 38 y., 9 m.
- “ RICHARD, son of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. July 18, 1756, aged 4 m., 18 d.
- “ ———, a child of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth, b. and d. June 10, 1757.

- STEVENS, RICHARD, son of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. July 18, 1758, aged 1 y., 11 m.
- “ MARGARET, dau. of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. Oct. 21, 1759, aged 1 m.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Richard and Elizabeth. May 12, 1764, aged 4 y., 4 m., 12 d.
- “ LYDIA, wife of Richard and dau. of Capt. James and Lydia Mugford. Oct. 23, 1784, aged 21 y., 2 m.
- “ also a son, aged 15 m.
- “ FRANCIS (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- STEVENSON, Capt. DAVID. Aug. 7, 1806, aged 53.
- “ SARAH, wife of Capt. David. Apr. 23, 1838, aged 79.
- “ MARY, dau. of Capt. David and Sarah. Sept. 13, 1797, aged 8.
- “ NANCY, “ “ “ “ “ “ Dec. 17, 1806, aged 22.
- “ Capt. JOHN, son “ “ “ “ at sea. Aug. 31, 1819, aged 32.
- STONE, ABRAHAM F. May 28, 1814, aged 28 y., 1 m., 19 d.
- “ ABRAHAM, son of Abraham F. Oct. 6, 1814, aged 14 m., 9 d.
- STORY, Rev. ISAAC. Oct. 23, 1816, aged 67.
- “ REBECCA, wife of Rev. Isaac. Apr. 24, 1823, aged 74.
- “ ISAAC, son of Rev. Isaac and Rebecca. July 19, 1803, aged 29.
- “ JOANNA [dau. of Rev. Isaac and Rebecca]. Apr. 7, 1872, aged 79.
- “ WILLIAM. June 20, 1853, aged 77.
- STRIKER, HANNAH, wife of Joseph. Feb. 26, 1758, aged 25 y., 4 m., 19 d.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Joseph and Hannah. Dec. 10, 1757, aged 4 m., 14 d.
- “ Mrs. MIRIAM. Sept. 4, 1784, aged 82.
- SWAN, ROBERT. Sept. 16, 1747, aged 48 y., 5 m.
- “ ROBERT, son of Robert and Elizabeth. Mar. 16, 1748, aged 6 y., 6 m.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Robert and Elizabeth. May 18, 1848, aged 4.
- { “ THOMAS. Aged 45.
- { “ ELIZABETH, wife of Thomas. Nov. 20, 1791, aged 70.
- { “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. John P. and Elizabeth. July 5, 1806, aged 19. Also an infant.
- SWETT, tomb.
- SYMONDS, ELIZABETH J. CRUFF, wife of George R. Mar. 3, 1870, aged 61 y., 5 m.
- TAWLEY, JOHN, son of John and Isabella. Sept. 22, 1736, aged 8 y., 8 m., 22 d.

- TAWLEY, THOMAS, son of John and Isabella. Sept. 14, 1737, aged 12 y., 9 m.
- TEDDER, ELIZABETH, wife of Valentine and dau. of Samuel and Sarah Dodd. Oct. 4, 1769, aged 33.
- “ JANE, wife of Valentine. June 14, 1781, aged 45 y., 3 m.
- TEWKSBURY, JAMES, at sea. Sept. 15, 1812, aged 55.
- “ NANCY, wife of James. Jan. 27, 1835, aged 70.
- THOMPSON, JOHN, son of John and Margaret. Dec. 6, 1796, aged 21 y., 1 m.
- “ WILLIAM. Dec. 6, 1841, aged 84.
- “ ANNA, wife of William. Apr. 7, 1836, aged 77.
- TRAILL, Capt. JOHN. Sept 25, 1808, aged 53 y., 6 m.
- “ MARY, wid. of Capt. John. Dec. 22, 1830, aged 72.
- TREFFRY, THOMAS (mon.), at sea. 1845.
- “ JOHN (mon.), in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- “ EDWARD F. (mon.), lost in gale of Sept. 19, 1846.
- TREVETT, REBECCA, dau. of Russell and Susanna. July 22, 1747, aged 22 m., 8 d.
- TUCKER, NICHOLAS. Feb. 3, 1716-17, aged 47.
- “ NICHOLAS. Dec. 19, 1801, aged 56.
- “ NICHOLAS, Jr. (mon.), at sea. 1848.
- “ NELLY, wife of John and second dau. of Capt. David and Sarah Stevenson. Jan. 7, 1811, aged 30.
- “ GEORGE, Jr. July 21, 1823, aged 52 y., 3 m.
- TWISDEN, SAMUEL. Oct. 5, 1743, aged 67.
- VALENTINE, ANDREW, b. May 14, 1788; d. Nov. 14, 1822.
- “ HANNAH, wife of Andrew, b. Feb. 27, 1792; d. May 21, 1871.
- “ ANDREW, son of Andrew and Hannah, b. Oct. 28, 1817, d. at sea, 1836.
- “ HANNAH KNIGHT, dau. of Andrew and Hannah, b. Dec. 28, 1819; d. Nov. 7, 1822.
- VICKERY, THOMAS F. (mon.), at sea. 1836.
- WAIT, JACOB. Jan. 11, 1826, aged 76.
- “ ABIGAIL, wife of Jacob. Oct. 11, 1831, aged 75.
- “ ABIGAIL COFFIN, dau. of Jacob and Abigail. Sept., 1849, aged 72.
- “ JOHN. Oct. 19, 1803, aged 50 y., 1 m.
- “ SARAH, wife of John. June 20, 1802, aged 47 y., 5 m.
- “ MARY A., dau. of John and Sarah. Mar. 22, 1806, aged 2 y., 5 m.
- WALDRON, SAMUEL. Dec. 8, 1691, aged 34.

- WALDRON, DELIVERANCE, wife of John. Mar. 16, 1720, aged 52.
 " THOMAS, son of John Dec. 20, 1713, aged 19 m.
 " SAMUEL, " " " May 10, 1728, aged 22 d.
- WARNER, ELIZABETH, dau. of James and Elizabeth. June 9, 1797,
 aged 4 y., 4 m.
- WATERS, ELIZABETH, wife of William. Feb. 10, 1698-9, aged 35.
- WENDELL, THOMAS. Jan. 10, 1772, aged 27 y., 7 m.
- WHITE, SAMUEL. Sept. 7, 1722, aged 52.
- WHITWELL, Rev. WILLIAM. Nov. 8, 1781, aged 44.
 " PRUDENCE, wife of Rev. William. Feb. 7, 1773, aged 33.
- WILLIAMS, Dea. WILLIAM. Mar. 5, 1787, aged 65.
 " MARY, wid. of Dea. William. Apr. 3, 1813, aged 87.
 " MARY, dau. " " " May 1, 1841, aged 77.
 " Miss NANCY. Feb. 22, 1864, aged 96 y., 6 m.
- WOODFIN, RACHEL, wife of Moses and dau. of Thomas and Sally
 Morse, Jan. 26, 1824, aged 20 y., 9 m., 10 d.
- WOODS, JOHN. May 22, 1711, aged about 45.
- WOOLDRIDGE, BENJAMIN, lost at sea. Sept., 1800, aged 31.
 " (written Wotderige) REBECCA, wife of Benj. Mar. 27, 1800,
 aged 32 y., 5 m.
 " WILLIAM, son of Benj. and Rebecca, at sea. Nov. 10, 1821,
 aged 24.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Benj. Nov. 26, 1852, aged 58 y., 6 m.
 " Capt. THOMAS. Aug. 20, 1809, aged 44 y., 25 d.
 " THOMAS, son of Capt. Thomas and Mary. Sept. 29, 1811,
 aged 24 y., 3 m.
 " SAMUEL G., son of Capt. Thos. and Mary, at sea. Aug. 1825,
 aged 34.
- WYMAN, JOHN P. Jan. 23, 1818, aged 43.
- [—] LYDIA, dau. of Nath'l and Mary. Jan. 29, 1728, 2 [] of her
 age.

THE NORTHEND FAMILY.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, the first of the name and family in this country, settled in Rowley, Massachusetts, a few years after its first settlement by Rev. Ezekiel Rogers and his associates in 1639. Mr. Rogers, with about twenty of the families of his company, came from Rowley, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, England, and the place was named after their old home.

Rowley in England is a parish comprising 6,450 acres of land, subdivided into the so-called townships of Rowley, Bentley, Hunsley, Weeton Parva, Ripplingham and Risby, and extending from the Borough of Beverley southwesterly about seven miles toward the river Humber. Its population in 1840 was 451. Beverley Borough is subdivided into St. Martin, St. Mary, and St. Nicholas parishes, and had a population in 1840 of 7,432.

It appears from a letter of Anthony Northend, a brother of Ezekiel, in the possession of Dr. Edward R. Cogswell of Cambridge, a lineal descendant of the first Ezekiel Northend, a copy of which is hereafter given, and from other evidence furnished by Mr. Samuel T. Lythe of Walkington, Yorkshire, and by Mr. Joseph Northend now of Meadville, Pa., formerly of Bradford in Yorkshire, to both of whom I am under great obligations for information, that some of the near relatives of Ezekiel Northend lived in Rowley and Beverley in England.

In the letter referred to, Jeremiah Northend is mentioned as a cousin and an heir to property, and Christopher Northend is referred to as a grandchild of the brother of Ezekiel. Mr. Lythe forwarded me a certificate of Rev. Henry C. Hildyard, Rector of Rowley, that, "Mr. Jeremiah Northend went out with the Rev. Ezekiel Rogers to New England in the year 1638, he being twelve years of age, he remained nine years and returned and was buried at Rowley, April 14, 1702;" also that "Anthony Northend of Little Weeton was buried at Rowley on the 12th day of April, 1698."

Mr. Lythe also copied the following inscription from a marble tablet in St. Mary's Church, Beverley, "Here lyeth the body of Christopher

Northend, Gentleman and Alderman of this Town. He departed this life Jany. 10th, A. D. 1730, in the 71st year of his age. He was ye only son of John Northend of Hunsley in the County of York, Gentleman."

In the early records relating to Rowley reference is made to Jeremiah Northend, who came over as a servant to William Bellingham, and Ezekiel Northend makes mention of him as his cousin. He was the person mentioned in the Rev. Mr. Hildyard's certificate. Anthony Northend, whose death is also certified to, was undoubtedly the writer of the letter, and Christopher Northend buried at St. Mary's Church is the grandson referred to in Anthony's letter. In the history of Beverley it appears that Christopher Northend, Attorney, was Mayor of Beverley in 1714 and 1719.

Mr. Lythe further states that the family in the past were large land owners, that they possessed all Weeton Parva and Hunsley, and owned land in Riplingham, Rowley and Cottingham, and that they were lords of the Manor of Weeton Parva and Hunsley.

Mr. John M. Bradbury, in the October number, 1873, of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register," page 189, states that John Northend and Edward Northend were witnesses to the will of William Wigglesworth of Shipden, parish of Halifax, Yorkshire, which will is dated October 16, 1590. These are the only references I have to the family name in England, and I give them in the hope that they may be of use to any person who may wish hereafter to ascertain more of the family history there. The letter of Anthony Northend before referred to is directed,

"ffor his louinge kind Brother Ezekieell Northend att Rowley in New England," and is as follows :

Louinge Brother:— After my loue remembered vnto you; I was at Bentley that day yoe letter came to my sister Stoute hande which was very welcome news to us both to hear that you & your wife my Sisters & their husbands were alive with all your Children, which are a great family (Blessed be God for it). It is our happiness that we cannot be severed from the Lorde wherever we be. if our sinnes make not a separation. God is the God of one land and of another, & can be an all-sufficient portion to his people in all places. Good Brother let us labour to be found in Christ & to be clothed with his righteousnesse that soe we may appear before him in glory (that if God's providence soe order it) that we neuer meet in this world we may meet before him when we shall neuer be seperated more; my Brother John & his eldest sonne John are dead about thirteene years agoe, my sister Jane Northend with her two sonnes Nathaniel & Richard & her daughter frances with her gran'child Christopher Northend my nephew John's

sonne desire to be remembered to you these * are my Brother
 Johns whole family and are all unmarried. my brothe William Stoute
 & my sister Joana Stoute have three children one sonne William and
 two daughters Elizabeth & Mary, my vnckle Northend and his sonnes
 are all dead. only my cousen Jeremiah married & not living,
 my cousen Jeremiah hath now gotten my unckle Northends whole
 estate in lands & is sole heir thereunto, he had a very good wife &
 a sonne John by name which are both dead & he is newly married
 againe, he told me he would write two or three lines to you I must
 breake of, we are in health att present, my sister Jane Northend &
 hers, my Brother & sister Stoute & theirs, my cousen Jeremiah Nor-
 thend & his two sisters, my cousen Nickolas Johnson & his sister Jane
 Thorpe desire remembered to you, remember vs to all our
 frends with you I must leave you. the Lord keepe you.
 farewell. yor truly louing Brother

Beuerley y
 1678

ay }

ANTHONY NORTHEND

my sister Joana & I desire you to let vs
 hear from you when opportunity will permitt
 I am very lame with wounds that I haue
 formerly gotten in the warre that I can
 scarcely write, but I must wait till my | the lord fit vs for our
 healing come which will not be in this life. | departure hence. Vale.

my sister Northend & her children
 live all at Hunsley.

Anthony Northend was probably a soldier in Cromwell's army.

Among the first settlers of Stamford, Conn., I find the name of John
 Northend, but it does not appear that he left any descendants.

SALEM, January, 1874.

W. D. NORTHEND.

FIRST GENERATION.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, of Rowley, born probably in Hunsley or
 Weeton Parva, in Rowley, Yorkshire, in England, 1622; married
 Edna, widow of Richard Bailey, whose maiden name was Halstead,
 at Rowley, December 1, 1648. She was born probably in Halifax
 Parish, West Riding, of Yorkshire. He died at Rowley, September 7,
 1698; she d. February 3, 1706. In 1677 he owned four freeholds, and
 in 1691 paid the highest tax in Rowley, £10, at which time he is styled

* Space like this torn out.

corporal. He was a prominent man in the town, on many committees, and was Selectman in 1662, 1669, and 1691, and probably other years, of which the record is lost. He gave to each of his daughters from one hundred to one hundred and fifty acres of land upon their marriage. His will is dated February 8th, 1698, in which he appoints his wife Edna executrix, and disposes of his property as follows:—

“Item: To my Well Beloved Wife I freely Bestow vpon her for her Comfort During her naturall Life the Improvment of my whole estate both Reall and Personall onely what I before promised to my son Ezekiel upon his marriage.

Item to my onely son Ezekiel I freely Confirme to him one halfe of my housing & Lands and meddows which I promised to him vpon his marriage, also a parcell of Land liing & being Situate within the Bounds of Rowley Towne near Dunkin Stewards house, that whole parcell of Land bee it more or Less (on both sides the Hye way to Bradford) the sd Land will more fully appeare by the Towne Records: the above sd Lands to my son Ezekiel to bee in his actual possession at the present. The Remainder of my Housing & Lands & priveledges that I have before appointed my Wife to have the Improvment of During her Naturall Life together with whatsoever personall estate I have left in the hands of Edna my wife for her Comfortable supply whiles shee lives, I freely Will & Give vnto my son Ezekiel after my Wifes Decease to bee immediately in his possession & Dispose for ever onely paying to his Three Sisters Edna Sticknee Elisabeth Gage & Sarah Hale to them or their Heires each Sixty pounds in Currant pay or fforty pounds to each of them in money within six years after the Decease of Edna my Wife: which of the abovesd sums whether money or pay my son Ezekiel shall see good to pay

It. to my Three Daughters Edna Sticknee: Elisabeth Gage & Sarah Hale I have before paid to them Two Hundred pounds to each of them this with what I have above appointed my son Ezekiel to pay is their full prportion of my estate.”

Children:—

EDNA, b. July 1, 1649. See second generation.

ELISABETH, b. Sept. 17, 1651; d. in infancy.

ELISABETH, b. Oct. 19, 1656. See second generation.

JOHN, b. Jan. 18, 1658; probably d. young.

SARAH, b. Jan. 3, 1661. See second generation.

EZEKIEL, b. Nov. 8, 1666. See second generation.

SECOND GENERATION.

EDNA NORTHEAD, b. July 1, 1649; m. first, Thomas Lambert, son of Francis and Jane Lambert, original settlers of Rowley, Nov. 4, 1669; he d. Sept. 13, 1685, and she m. second, Andrew Stickney, son of William and Elisabeth Stickney, original settlers of Rowley, Jan. 22, 1689; she d. Feb. 7, 1722; he d. April 29, 1727.

Children:—

MARY LAMBERT, b. Feb. 6, 1670; d. April 19, 1687.

REBECCA LAMBERT, d. in infancy. March 12, 1677.

NATHAN LAMBERT, b. Feb. 28, 1675; d. Nov. 7, 1680.

THOMAS LAMBERT, b. April 8, 1678; m. Sarah Hammond, Dec. 19, 1699; was Town Clerk of Rowley thirty-five years, Rep. Gen. Court, 1726 and 1743, and Justice of the Peace.

NATHAN LAMBERT, b. Dec. 7, 1681; d. Aug., 1693.

JANE LAMBERT, b. Sept. 10, 1685; m. Mark Prime, Feb. 10, 1702.

ANDREW STICKNEY, baptized Nov. 26, 1693; d. May 27, 1694.

AMOS STICKNEY, bap. Jan. 2, 1698. "This was ye first child that was baptised in ye new meeting house." d. Feb. 4, 1698.

ELISABETH NORTHEAD, b. Oct. 19, 1656; m. first, Humphrey Hobson, son of William and Anne (Reyner) Hobson, original settlers of Rowley, July 25, 1682; he d. Aug. 8, 1684, and she m. second, Thomas Gage, son of John Gage, who first settled at Ipswich, and removed to Rowley in 1664; she d. July 14, 1737.

Children:—

HUMPHREY HOBSON, b. July 10, 1684; m. Mehitable Payson, June 26, 1712. Their son Humphrey was deacon of the First Church nineteen years, Town Clerk of Rowley eighteen years, Rep. Gen. Court nine years, and Justice of the Peace.

ELISABETH GAGE, b. March 17, 1699, m. Edward Sanders, Dec. 18, 1716.

SARAH NORTHEAD, b. Jan. 3, 1661; m. Thomas Hale of Newbury (neck), May 16, 1682; she d. April 11, 1730. He was b. Feb. 11, 1658, and was son of Thomas and Mary (Hutchinson) Hale, original settlers of Newbury. He afterwards removed to Rowley. He was captain of a militia company, and Justice of the Peace.

Children:—

THOMAS, b. March 9, 1683. MARY, b. April 28, 1687.

EDNA, b. Nov. 21, 1684. EZEKIEL, b. May 13, 1689.

NATHAN, b. June 2, 1691. DANIEL, b. Feb. 22, 1697.
 SARAH, b. March 9, 1693. HANNAH, b. June 7, 1699.
 EBENEZER, b. April 21, 1695. JOSHUA, b. March 17, 1701.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, b. Nov. 8, 1666; m. Dorothy Sewall, youngest daughter of Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall, early settlers of Newbury, Sept. 10, 1691. In Essex Registry of Deeds, B. 13, L. 290, is record of deed of about one hundred acres of land in Newbury Neck from Henry Sewall to Ezekiel Northend and Dorothy Sewall, dated July 25, 1691, commencing as follows:—

“Know all men by these presents that I, Henry Sewall, of Newbury, in ye County of Essex in New England, ffor and in consideration of ye natural affection that I beare and have to my youngest daughter, Dorothy Sewall, and more especially for and in consideration of ye intended marriage shortly to be consummated betwixt Ezekiel Northend of Rowley and my said daughter, do hereby give, grant and convey to said Ezekiel Northend and Dorothy his intended wife,” etc.

She was b. Oct. 29, 1668; he d. Dec. 23, 1732; she d. June 17, 1752. He was Rep. Gen. Court 1715, 1716, 1717, Chairman of Board of Selectmen many years, and captain of a militia company. In his lifetime he conveyed a farm to each of his sons, and the remainder of his estate was divided between his children after his decease.

Children:—

JOHN, b. Oct. 10, 1692. See third generation.

EDNA, b. Jan. 10, 1694. See third generation.

EZEKIEL, b. Jan. 25, 1696. See third generation.

JANE, b. March 17, 1699; m. Eliphalet Payson, son of Rev. Edward Payson, the fourth minister of Rowley, May 13, 1722; d. Nov. 25, 1722. No children.

DOROTHY, b. March 20, 1701. See third generation.

HANNAH, b. Jan. 31, 1703; m. Nathaniel Bradstreet of Ipswich, Apr. 19, 1727.

MEHITABLE, b. March 2, 1705; m. Samuel Dutch of Ipswich, May 24, 1737.

SAMUEL, b. Jan. 12, 1707. See third generation.

ELISABETH, b. Dec. 15, 1710; m. Jacob Jewett, Dec. 21, 1732; d. Sept. 17, 1741. No children.

THIRD GENERATION.

JOHN NORTHEND, born Oct. 10, 1692; married Dec. 1, 1720, Bethiah Boynton, widow of John Boynton and dau. of Samuel Platts, an early settler of Rowley, who was Town Clerk nineteen years, and Rep. Gen. Court 1681, and 1693. She was b. March 15, 1689; he died March 24, 1768; she died June 12, 1767. He was an influential member of the First Church, was Rep. Gen. Court 1740 and 1751, captain of the first foot company of Rowley, and many years Selectman; was probably ensign in expedition against Louisburg, 1745.

Children:—

SARAH, b. Nov. 24, 1721; m. Thomas Mighill, grandson of Thomas Mighill, one of the original settlers of Rowley, Nov. 13, 1750. He was deacon of first church in Rowley thirty-eight years, Rep. Gen. Court from 1783 to 1793 inclusive, Selectman, and Captain in the service in the Revolutionary war. He was b. 1722; d. August 26, 1807; she d. June 1, 1778.

JANE, b. April 13, 1724; m. Nathaniel Gage, grandson of John Gage, May 9, 1751.

SAMUEL, b. March 11, 1727; d. June 15, 1749.

EDNA NORTHEND, b. Jan. 10, 1694; m. Francis Pickard, grandson of John Pickard, one of the first settlers of Rowley, Nov. 25, 1714. He was b. Sept. 23, 1689; he d. Sept. 12, 1778; she d. August 30, 1769. He was deacon of First Church in Rowley forty years, and selectman several years.

Children:—

FRANCIS, b. Feb. 6, 1725; d. March 11, 1816, unmarried.

EDNA, b. Dec. 26, 1728.

DOROTHY, b. Oct. 5, 1730.

EZEKIEL NORTHEND, b. Jan. 25, 1696; m. Elisabeth Payson, dau. of Rev. Edward Payson, fourth minister of Rowley, March 30, 1726. She was b. Feb. 5, 1697, and d. May 9, 1787; he d. Oct. 18, 1742.

Children:—

STEPHEN, d. in infancy, May 16, 1727.

HANNAH, b. July 29, 1728; m. Thomas Mighill, Nov. 26, 1747; d. Sept. 25, 1748. No children. He afterwards married Sarah, dau. of John Northend. See *ante*.

SEWALL, d. in infancy, Sept. 13, 1730.

EDWARD, d. young, Sept. 19, 1732.

MARY, d. young, June 21, 1737.

SARAH, b. Nov. 19, 1733; m. Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell, of Rowley, March 26, 1761. See *appendix*.

DOROTHY NORTHEAD, b. March 20, 1701; m. Thomas Lancaster, of Ipswich, Jan. 8, 1730. She d. June 23, 1752; he d. Dec. 30, 1792, aged about ninety. He was Rep. to Gen. Court from Rowley twelve years, and selectman.

Children:—

PAUL, b. May 22, 1735.

DOROTHY, b. Nov. 1, 1737.

LYDIA, b. June 29, 1740.

THOMAS, b. Jan. 24, 1743. H. C., 1764, minister at Scarborough, Me.

SAMUEL NORTHEAD, b. Jan. 12, 1707; m., first, Mary Boynton, dau. of John and Bethiah (Platts) Boynton, Dec. 3, 1730; she d. June 1, 1751, aged forty-two, and he m. second, June 2, 1752, Susannah Scott, dau. of Samuel and Elisabeth (Bailey) Scott, and great granddaughter of Benjamin Scott, one of the early settlers of Rowley. He resided in the part of Rowley included in Byfield Parish. Mr. Cleaveland, in appendix to his centennial address at Dummer Academy, referred to him as "long a pillar of the church and the parish." He was on important committees of the town, was selectman several years, and lieutenant of a militia company.

Children:—

MOSES, b. Jan. 21, 1732; d. Aug. 15, 1736.

JOHN, b. April 13, 1734; d. Aug. 22, 1736.

DOROTHY, b. Aug. 21, 1735; m. William Dummer of Newbury, June 2, 1761; d. Nov. 23, 1808.

EZEKIEL, bap. June 8, 1739; d. young.

MARY, b. July 26, 1740; m. Deacon Joseph Hale of Newbury, Nov. 19, 1765; d. Oct. 8, 1830. Their children were MARY, who m. Rev. Elijah Parish, D. D., of Byfield, Dea. DANIEL HALE, who m. Ruth Searle, and JOSEPH HALE, who m. Eunice Chute.

MEHITABLE, b. Sept. 28, 1743; d. Nov. 28, 1751.

ELISABETH, b. Dec. 19, 1746; m. Jacob Jewett, H. U., 1769, Nov. 19, 1771; d. July 29, 1773. No children.

SUSANNAH, b. Aug. 16, 1753; m. Joshua Pickard, May 10, 1787; he d. March 10, 1814; she d. Oct. 15, 1821. Their dau., Hannah Pickard, m. John Scott, Esq., D. C., 1810, b. in Rowley, but practised law at Newburyport, Aug. 9, 1815; she d. June 18, 1861, aged seventy-two.

EZEKIEL, b. May 1, 1755; d. Sept. 15, 1757.

SAMUEL, bap. July 10, 1757. See fourth generation.

HANNAH, b. Feb. 3, 1760; m. Richard Dummer, 1785. They removed to Hallowell, Me. She d. 1830.

MEHITABLE, bap. May 27, 1764.

FOURTH GENERATION.

SAMUEL NORTHEND, bap. July 10, 1757. He m. Sarah, dau. of Henry and Sarah (Emery) Adams, June 2, 1780. She was a descendant from Robert and Eleanor Adams, first settlers of Newbury.* He d. Dec. 30, 1824; she d. April, 1839.

Children:—

ELISABETH, b. April 1, 1781; m. John Kent; d. Sept. 28, 1856; had one daughter, Caroline, b. Oct. 29, 1809, who m. Thomas Merrill.

SAMUEL, b. 1783; d. 1802.

JOHN, b. May 18, 1785. See fifth generation.

FIFTH GENERATION.

JOHN NORTHEND, of Newbury, b. May 18, 1785. m. first, Anna Titcomb, dau. of Caleb and Judith (Bricket) Titcomb. She was a descendant from William and Joanna (Bartlett) Titcomb, early settlers of Newbury. She d. February 7, 1848, aged 58; he m. second, widow Ruhamah Stevens, Nov. 20, 1856. He d. March 29, 1865. He was Rep. to Gen. Court from Newbury in 1833, and selectman from 1828 to 1833 inclusive.

Children:—

MARY ANN, b. Sept. 8, 1809. See sixth generation.

SAMUEL, b. Apr. 5, 1811. See sixth generation.

JOHN, b. Nov. 8, 1812; d. Aug. 24, 1835.

CHARLES, b. April 2, 1814. See sixth generation.

GEORGE HENRY, b. Dec. 1, 1815; d. Nov. 29, 1835.

CALEB TITCOMB, b. May 28, 1817; d. Jan. 21, 1837.

SARAH ADAMS, b. Feb. 7, 1819. See sixth generation.

JUDITH MARIA, b. May 13, 1821; m. William Forbes, Jan. 12, 1870; d. June 28, 1873. No children.

WILLIAM DUMMER, b. Feb. 26, 1823. See sixth generation.

ENOCH TITCOMB, b. May 18, 1824. See sixth generation.

ANN ELISABETH, b. Feb. 24, 1830; d. Sept. 15, 1830.

SIXTH GENERATION.

MARY ANN NORTHEND, b. Sept. 8, 1809; m. Moses Tenney, of Newbury, April 6, 1831. They now live at Georgetown. He was a member of the Mass. Senate, and Treasurer of the State five years.

Children:—

* 1st, Robert and Eleanor Adams, 2d, Abraham and Mary (Pettengell) Adams, 3d, Capt. Abraham and Anne (Longfellow) Adams, 4th, Henry and Sarah (Emery) Adams.

ANN ELISABETH, b. Jan. 21, 1832. See seventh generation.
 MOSES EDWARD, b. Oct. 1, 1833; d. April 24, 1837.
 HANNAH MARIA, b. Nov. 20, 1835; d. Aug. 17, 1852.
 SARAH NORTHEND, b. April 5, 1840. See seventh generation.
 CHARLES WILLIAM, b. April 4, 1844. See seventh generation.

SAMUEL NORTHEND, of Newbury, b. April 5, 1811; m. first, Harriet A. Perley, of Winthrop, Me., Sept. 6, 1838; she d. March, 1840, aged twenty-six; he m. second, Mary Currier, of Newburyport, Nov. 26, 1841; she d. 1869.

Children:—

GEORGE HENRY, b. June 15, 1839; killed in battle before Richmond, Va., June 11, 1864.

WILLIAM EDWARD, b. Feb., 1843.

HARRIET, b. June 15, 1845.

ANN ELISABETH, b. Sept. 7, 1846; m. John Edmunds, Haverhill.

THOMAS EDWARD, b. Jan. 3, 1850; d. May 11, 1854.

SUSAN BROWN, b. Oct. 19, 1851; d. Feb. 22, 1864.

EDWARD TENNEY, b. Feb. 1, 1856.

MARY ELLEN, b. May 23, 1858.

CHARLES NORTHEND of New Britain, Conn., b. April 2, 1814, m. Lucy Ann Moody, descendant from William and Mehitable (Sewall) Moody, early settlers of Newbury, Aug. 18, 1834. He entered Amherst Coll., but did not finish the course. Received from that Coll. hon. degree of A. M., in 1848. Teacher, and author of "Teacher and Parent," and other educational works.

Children:—

JOHN, b. Oct. 28, 1835.

CHARLES, AUGUSTUS, b. May 3, 1841. See seventh generation.

DAVID PAGE, b. Sept. 9, 1846; d. Sept. 18, 1855.

SARAH ADAMS NORTHEND, b. Feb. 7, 1819; m. Aaron Fuller Clark of Peabody, Oct. 22, 1844. He was b. in Francistown, N. H., April 7, 1816, and was son of Daniel and Irene (Fisher) Clark. Was selectman of Peabody several years.

Children:—

GEORGE HENRY, b. May 18, 1850. See seventh generation.

WILLIAM NORTHEND, b. July 10, 1854.

WILLIAM DUMMER NORTHEND, of Salem, b. Feb. 26, 1823; Bowd. Coll., 1843; m. Susan Stedman Harrod, dau. of Benjamin and Mary Ann (Wheelwright) Harrod, of Newburyport, Nov. 2, 1846. She was

b. March 27, 1827. He was a member of Massachusetts Senate in 1861 and 1862.

Children:—

LOUISA HUNTINGTON, b. Feb. 22, 1848. See seventh generation.

MARY HARROD, b. May 10, 1850.

SUSAN STEDMAN, b. June 18, 1852.

WILLIAM WHEELWRIGHT, b. May 30, 1857.

ENOCH TITCOMB NORTHEND, of Newburyport, b. May 18, 1824; m. first, Maria Jane Carey, of Newbury, Oct. 15, 1853; she d. Aug. 26, 1869; he m. second, Emily Jane Buntin, of Newburyport, dau. of Capt. John and Mary (Burke) Buntin, June 14, 1871.

Children:—

MARIA TENNEY, b. July 3, 1853; d. July 5, 1853.

ANNA TITCOMB, b. May 12, 1858; d. Dec. 3, 1871.

JENNIE CAREY, b. Oct. 29, 1860; d. Oct. 9, 1871.

GERTRUDE HOWE, b. Aug. 25, 1862.

ALICE MARIA, b. Nov. 14, 1865.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

ANNA ELISABETH TENNEY, b. Jan. 21, 1832; m. Joseph Searle Moody, of Newbury, Oct. 15, 1856; she d. Feb. 7, 1864; he d. May 30, 1864.

Children:—

MARIA TENNEY, b. Oct. 29, 1857.

MARY SEARLE, b. May 3, 1859.

ANNA COFFIN, b. Nov. 5, 1860.

CARRIE STEVENS, b. Dec. 22, 1864; d. Feb. 28, 1865.

SARAH NORTHEND TENNEY, b. April 5, 1840; m. Rev. Henry Augustus Stevens; Amh. Coll., 1857; now of North Bridgewater, Oct. 23, 1861.

Children:—

CHARLES TENNEY, b. Dec. 6, 1866.

HENRY HOUGHTON, b. July 28, 1869.

ARTHUR LAWRENCE, b. Oct. 3, 1871.

CHARLES WILLIAM TENNEY, of Georgetown, b. April 4, 1844; m. Sarah Lambert DeBacon, of Chelsea, Jan. 16, 1868.

Children:—

WILLIAM NORTHEND, b. Feb. 17, 1869.

HARRIET DEBACON, b. Sept. 25, 1870.

FRED, b. Nov. 26, 1871.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS NORTHEND, of New Britain, Conn., b. May 3, 1841; m. Martha M. Giddings, Dec. 5, 1864; she d., Oct. 22, 1873.

Child:—

HENRY HAVEN, b. Nov. 13, 1866.

GEORGE HENRY CLARK, of Peabody, b. May 18, 1850; m. Carrie Bell Larrabee.

Child:—

HARRY LINCOLN, b. Oct. 25, 1873.

LOUISA HUNTINGTON NORTHEND, b. Feb. 22, 1848; m. Charles Alfred Benjamin, of Salem, Nov. 15, 1870. He is son of Rev. Nathan and Mary Gladding (Wheeler) Benjamin, and b. Nov. 4, 1843. Rev. Nathan Benjamin grad. Williams College, 1831, was missionary to Turkey, and died at Constantinople in 1855.

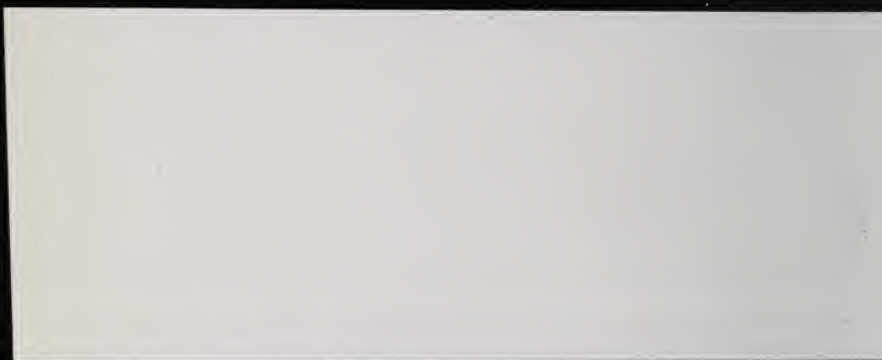
Child:—

CHARLES SEYMOUR, b. Aug. 31, 1872.

ERRATA.

Page 79. read. Mary. wife of Samuel Northend, d. *Jan.* 26. 1870, and Ann Elizabeth. m. John B. Edmonds. *Oct.* 9. 1869, *child, Fred N., b. Jan.* 19, 1871.

Page 81. read Enoch T. Northend. m., first, *Oct.* 29. 1851. and m., second. daughter of Capt. *Thomas Buntin.*



APPENDIX.

FOURTH GENERATION.

SARAH NORTHEND, b. Nov. 19, 1738, m. Dr. Nathaniel Cogswell, a native of Ipswich, March 26, 1761; he d. May 25, 1822; she d. March 8, 1773.

Children:—

NORTHEND, b. Jan. 11, 1762. See fifth generation.

SARAH, b. June 5, 1763; m. Oliver Appleton, Dec. 19, 1790.

ELISABETH, b. Aug. 25, 1764; m. Joseph Knight, Apr. 14, 1787.

NATHANIEL, b. Aug. 8, 1765; d. Sept. 8, 1765.

NATHANIEL, b. Sept. 28, 1766; d. Oct. 9, 1766.

HANNAH, b. Nov. 6, 1767; m. Wm. Eustis, Nov. 2, 1809.

WADE, b. June 20, 1769; m. d. Feb. 16, 1855.

ABIGAIL, b. Oct. 19, 1770; m. Isaac Smith, Dec. 6, 1789.

DOROTHY, b. Dec. 14, 1771; d. 1773.

FIFTH GENERATION.

NORTHEND COGSWELL, b. Jan. 11, 1762; m. Elisabeth Lambert, of Rowley, Nov. 1, 1794; removed to South Berwick, Maine, where his wife died; he d. in Rowley, Feb. 12, 1837.

Children:—

ELISABETH, b. Aug. 25, 1795; m. Charles E. Norton, May, 1827; d. Jan. 7, 1832.

CHARLES NORTHEND, b. Apr. 24, 1797. See sixth generation.

MARY ANN, b. March 29, 1801; m. Charles E. Norton, April 13, 1823; d. Aug. 24, 1825.

WILLIAM LAMBERT, b. Aug. 17, 1803; m. Sophia (Potter) Manning, June 2, 1840.

FREDERIC, b. Dec. 5, 1806; m. Elizabeth Russ, Jan. 6, 1858; d. May 3, 1870.

DOROTHY MARIA, b. Dec. 2, 1808; d. Oct. 5, 1826.

SARAH LOUISA, b. March 9, 1813; m. Rev. Dexter Potter, May 15, 1845; d. July 22, 1860.

SIXTH GENERATION.

HON. CHARLES NORTHEND COGSWELL, b. April 24, 1797; Bowd. Coll., 1814; m. first, Elizabeth W. Hill, Aug. 25, 1824; m. second, Margaret Elisabeth Russell, Nov. 20, 1839. Was a prominent member of the

bar in Maine, and member of Maine Senate; d. in South Berwick, Oct. 11, 1843.

Children:—

EDWARD RUSSELL, b. June 1, 1841. See seventh generation.

CHARLES NORTHEND, b. March 23, 1843; d. Sept. 1, 1844.

SEVENTH GENERATION.

EDWARD RUSSELL COGSWELL, b. South Berwick, June 1, 1841, now of Cambridge, Mass.; H. C., 1864, M. D., 1867; m. Oct. 5, 1864, Sarah Parks Proctor.

Children:—

CHARLES NORTHEND, b. July 11, 1865.

GEORGE PROCTOR, b. Jan. 19, 1867.

MARGARET ELISABETH, b. Feb. 14, 1869.

ARTHUR LAMBERT, b. Aug. 6, 1870; d. Sept. 23, 1870.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII.

APRIL, 1874.

No. 2.

THE JOURNAL¹ OF THE REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEAVELAND.

PREFATORY NOTICE.

JOHN CLEAVELAND, the author of the following "Journal," was a native of Canterbury, Conn., being the son of Josiah, who was the son of Josiah, who was the son of Moses Cleaveland of Woburn, Mass., first of the name in America. John had nearly completed his course in Yale College, and his brother Ebenezer had just entered, when they were arraigned before the Faculty for having, while at home, attended, with their parents, a "separatist" meeting—that is, a meeting of persons who, being dissatisfied with the regular minister of the place, had set up a separate worship. As they could not see and would not confess that there was any crime in this, these young

¹This Journal and the letters to his wife were written in the year 1758, while he was serving as chaplain of a provincial regiment in the army of General Abercrombie.

men of unquestioned virtue and piety were sent off with a little ceremony and compunction as if they had been hardened reprobates. This tyrannical act, and the expulsion from Yale College of the afterwards renowned David Brainard, about the same time and for a trivial offence, caused much talk throughout the country, and awakened not only sympathy, but indignation. John and Ebenezer Cleaveland had been long settled in the ministry, before the college came to its senses, and gave them their degrees. These facts have still a historic interest, not only as indicating the tone and temper of the times, but as having directly prompted the establishment of the college of New Jersey, which, only two years later, was begun at Elizabethtown, and was afterwards fixed at Princeton. Aaron Burr, its accomplished first president, and Eleazer Wheelock, who, some twenty-five years later, founded Dartmouth College, were both warm friends of the reform which began with the preaching of Whitefield.

John Cleaveland became an ardent and zealous preacher, and was soon invited to settle in Boston,² but chose

² The Boston Society, whose call he declined, was afterwards known as the Eleventh Congregational Church. It had been formed under the excitement of the Whitefield awakening. Its house of worship was a small brick building in School street, built in 1704 by the French Huguenots. There Pierre Daillé and Le Mercier had preached to the Faneuils, Bandouins, Boutineaus, Sigourneys and Johonnots. The "New Light" society soon settled a Mr. Cresswell, who continued its pastor until he died, in 1785. The building, from that time until its removal in 1802, was occupied by the Roman Catholics.

From a social and worldly point of view the Boston invitation must have been far more attractive than the Chebacco call. But he had found in that plain community of farmers and fishermen one magnet of superior power. I have no doubt that it was the bright and comely Mary Dodge, known later in these papers as his "dear and loving spouse," who virtually determined the question, where he should stay. That the young minister was not without earnest competitors for her hand is still shown by documentary evidence.

rather the small Ipswich congregation, which gave him a call at the same time. This society had then just seceded from the old parish of Chebacco. He was in the eleventh year of a faithful and useful ministry when he received his commission from Governor Pownall. His Journal and letters abundantly show with what fidelity he discharged the trust.

In 1759 he went in the same capacity and with the same colonel to Louisburg. His journal kept during the voyage to Cape Breton, and the sojourn at Louisburg, is well preserved. We have also the sea chest which accompanied him in that expedition still strong and good.³

During the next sixteen years, many of which were years of colonial complaint, and of earnest controversy with England, Mr. Cleaveland was distinguished by his zeal for the rights of the colonies, and by his patriotic utterances both of tongue and pen. After Lexington it was the most natural thing in the world that he should be found in that indignant host which gathered around Boston to shut in and to drive out Thomas Gage. There, again, he met in the service of their country his brother Ebenezer and his brother Aaron, the latter still, as at Lake George, one of Israel Putnam's officers. There, too, were all four of his own sons.⁴ His quarters were

³This chest, containing many papers and relics of the Rev. John Cleaveland, has been placed for perpetual safe keeping in the care of the Essex Institute in Salem.

⁴These were, JOHN, who enlisted for the war and became a Lieutenant; afterwards an exemplary Christian minister, settled first at Stoneham and then at North Wrentham, where he died, childless, aged sixty-eight years. PARKER, a physician in Byfield, served as regimental surgeon at Cambridge, returned to Byfield, where he died, aged seventy-four, leaving an honored name, and sons to bear it on. EBENEZER, who took to the sea, where he died, leaving a young wife and infant son. NEHEMIAH, who became a physician, lived in Topsfield, and ended there, in his seventy-seventh year, a life of distin-

in one of the college buildings—the old structure is standing yet—and he was waited on by his youngest boy, a tall stripling of sixteen years. If during this short service as chaplain he kept a diary, as is altogether likely, it has not come down to us. A few letters of that exciting time alone remain.⁵

In the autumn of 1776 he again served for a short time as chaplain of an Essex County Regiment, commanded by his parishioner and friend, Col. Cogswell. He joined the army just after it had been driven from Long and Manhattan Islands, and his journals of the time enable us to accompany him in all his travel, camp-life, marching, etc.

After this, his last campaign, he lived twenty-three years, ministering to his affectionate little flock, not only in holy things, but in every good word and work. He died in 1799, on the seventy-seventh return of his birthday.

The following description, which I believe to be substantially correct, is from the "American Biographical Dictionary :"

"Mr. Cleaveland had blue eyes and a florid complexion,

guished usefulness. He left four sons and two daughters. John and Mary C. had also three daughters. MARY, who married Jonathan Proctor, and died in Hopkinton, N. H., leaving sons and daughters, among whom was Deacon John C. Proctor, of Boston. ELISABETH, who m. Abraham Channell, and had a daughter. ABIGAIL, who m. Joseph Cogswell and died in Derry, N. H., leaving a large family. The late Gen. Amos Pilsbury, of Albany, N. Y., at one time Superintendent of the New York City Police, and long distinguished by rare ability and skill in the management of prisons and penitentiaries, was her grandson.

⁵ One valued relic which has come to us from that memorable time is an autograph invitation to dine with George Washington. We have also the rude buck-horn-handled sword which the brave chaplain wore in all his campaigns.

was nearly six feet high, erect and muscular. His voice was heavy and of great compass, and his gestures were appropriate. In preaching he was not confined to written sermons. He was a man of strong constitution and ardent temperament. An earnest spirit, an unpolished energy, and a sincerity which none could question, characterized him in the pulpit. His familiarity with the scriptures was proverbial. His general learning was respectable. His writings, though often forcible and fervent, could lay no claim to elegance. He was not afraid of controversy, and more than once ventured into the camps of polemic, as well as those of national war. In his disputes with Dr. Mayhew and others, ponderous pamphlets appeared on both sides."

To me, the image of this brave, whole-souled ancestor has ever been an object of pleasing contemplation. The vivid impression made in boyhood, when I used to hear *my* father talk of *his* father, has only been heightened by what I have since learned of him from other sources. An earnest and honest man, conscientious, faithful, and affectionate, acting and speaking always under a high sense of duty, and throwing his whole heart into everything that he said and did. He was zealous, but with a zeal not untempered by discretion. The Lake George and the Louisburg narratives abundantly show that he knew how to mingle on terms the most friendly, with men whose habits of life and thought had always been very different from his own. It is impossible to doubt that the British nobleman, the English colonel, and even the Church of England clergyman, with whom he then and there came in contact, fully appreciated and readily acknowledged the solid worth of this poor, but brave, Yankee, Puritan, Congregational minister.

The neatly written and well kept document by which Mr. Cleaveland was commissioned runs as follows:—

[SEAL.] THOMAS POWNALL, Esquire, Captain General
and Governour in Chief in and over his
Majesty's Province in Massachusetts Bay,
in New England, Vice Admiral of the
same, etc.

TO JOHN CLEVELAND, M. A. Greeting. Reposing
especial trust and confidence in your Loyalty, Piety and
Learning, I do by these presents Constitute and appoint
you, the said John Cleveland, to be Chaplain of a Regi-
ment of Foot commanded by Colonel Jonathan Bagley,
raised by me for a general invasion of Canada.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge
the duty of a Chaplain to the said Regiment, in all things
appertaining thereunto, Observing such orders and in-
structions as you shall from time to time receive from
your Colonel or any other your superiour officer, for
which this shall be your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal at Arms at Boston the
13th day of March, 1758, in the thirty-first year of his
Majesty's reign. T. POWNALL.⁶

By his Excellency's command,
A. OLIVER, Sec.

⁶Gov. Pownall's administration, though short (1757-1760), was highly judicious and successful. At its close, he exchanged places with Sir Francis Bernard and went to New Jersey as Lieutenant Governor. Then, for a short time, he was governor of South Carolina. In 1768 he became a member of Parliament, and, during the long contest with the colonies, he was an unflinching defender and advocate of the American cause. In the works of John Adams he is mentioned in terms of high approval. Mr. Adams, during his residence in Paris and in London, saw Pownall often. He died (1805) at the age of eighty-three, having lived to see those colonies, whose character and rights he so well understood and so ably asserted, already become a great and prosperous nation. When we make grateful mention of Burke and Pitt and other stanch friends of America, during those trying times, let us not forget the services and virtues of THOMAS POWNALL.

LAKE GEORGE.

Extract from Bancroft's History, iv, 299.

"On the banks of Lake George nine thousand and twenty-four provincials from New England, New York and New Jersey assembled. There were the 600 New England rangers, dressed like woodmen; armed with a firelock and a hatchet; under their right arm a powder-horn; a leather bag for bullets at their waist; and to each officer a pocket compass as a guide in the forests. There was Stark of New Hampshire now promoted to be a captain. There was the generous, open-hearted Israel Putnam, a Connecticut Major, leaving his good farm, round which his own hands had helped build the walls; of a gentle disposition, brave, incapable of disguise, fond of glorying, sincere and artless. There were the chaplains, who preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers, a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of God in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek.⁷ By the side of the provincials rose the tents of the regular army, 6367 in number; of the whole force, ABERCROMBIE was the commander in chief; yet it was the gallant spirit of HOWE that infused ardor and confidence into every bosom."

"Fort Carillon was on the promontory near the outlet of Lake George into Lake Champlain. Lake Champlain was on its east, and a bay was on the south and southwest. On the north, wet meadows obstructed access, so that the only approach was from the northwest. On that side, about a half-mile in front of the fort, Montcalm marched out his lines, which began near the meadows and followed the sinuosities of the ground till they approached the outlet."

⁷"Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland. Letters of Rev. J. Cleaveland to his dear and loving wife." "I am indebted for the use of these papers to the kindness of the Rev. Elisha L. Cleaveland of New Haven."

On page 303 Bancroft says that Abercrombie, though warned by Stark and others that the enemy's lines were strong, "despised the provincials and heeded none but 'his Rehoboam counsellors'." This is quoted from Mr. Cleaveland's Journal.

In the Journal and Letters as printed, quotation marks distinguish all those portions which are copied with verbal and literal exactness. These show, better than any mere abstract could, the style of the writer, and his habits of thought and feeling. While, in order to avoid prolixity and repetition, other parts are more or less condensed, no essential fact or idea has been left out.

THE JOURNAL.

The opening pages of this diary are missing. It begins abruptly thus, the date being June 14 :—

"me that hē⁸ had invited my brother E. C.⁹ to go his

⁸ JEDEDIAH PREBLE, of Falmouth, a man of much note in his day. In 1755 he served under Gen. Winslow in that seemingly cruel incursion which resulted in the expatriation of the French inhabitants of Acadia. This Journal makes frequent mention of him and his regiment in 1758. In 1759 he was in the army that took Quebec, held a command under Gen. Wolfe, was near him when he fell, and himself received a wound. Soon after this he was made Brigadier General, and intrusted with the command of Fort Pownall, at the mouth of the Penobscot. In 1775 he was appointed Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces, but declined the service, as being too old. In 1784, at the age of seventy-seven, he closed his active and honored life. Edward Preble, great commodore and naval hero, was one of his twelve children.

⁹ EBENEZER CLEAVELAND, already mentioned, and at this time minister of Sandy Bay, now Rockport. He served as chaplain through this campaign, and again, in 1759, he was with Gen. Amherst. And again, in the war of the Revolution, he was a chaplain in two campaigns. Then the impoverished condition of his people made it necessary for him to seek a living elsewhere, and he preached for

chaplain, and wrote to Sir William Peperil¹⁰ for a warrant for brother, in case Mr. Little¹¹ should conclude

several years at a place called Landaff, deep in the woods of New Hampshire. He returned and died at Sandy Bay, aged seventy-nine. His son Ebenezer was a captain in the revolution. His daughter Mary married Prof. John Smith of Dartmouth College. One of her daughters married Dr. Cyrus Perkins, Professor, and another married John Bryant, a prosperous Boston merchant.

From all that I have been able to learn, Ebenezer Cleaveland fell a good way short of his brother John, both in natural and acquired talents. With a very large family, with very moderate means, and many adverse circumstances, his life seems to have been one long and hard struggle.

¹⁰In the generally hard and homely annals of colonial New England, the story of Sir William Pepperell has the attractive brightness of an illuminated page. Still it is not impossible that in the present generation of our countrymen, and even among those who are familiar with Appledore and its sister islets, there may be some who have never heard how in 1676 a poor young Welshman settled on the bleak and barren rock called the "Isle of Shoals," and having enriched himself by the fisheries, built a grand house on Kittery Point; how his son William soon rose to distinction, and in January, 1645, being then President of his Majesty's Council, was selected and commissioned by the New England governors to take command of an expedition against the French fortress on Cape Breton; and how, after his great success, he was invited to England, received the thanks of the government, was made a Colonel in the regular army, and came back a baronet. Those who would like to know what sort of man Sir William Pepperell was—what he did and in what style he lived—must be referred to the interesting narrative of Usher Parsons. If they would know how he looked they can see his portrait at Portsmouth, N. H., and also in the gallery of the Essex Institute in Salem.

In consequence of the early death of his son, his name and title and great estate went to his grandson, William Sparhawk. But the second Sir William Pepperell happened to fall upon what, to him, must have seemed evil times. He adhered, as was natural, to the royal side, and so "revolution" drove him from his pleasant home, stripped him of his large possessions, and doomed him to a long life of exile and poverty on a foreign shore.

¹¹The Rev. DANIEL LITTLE, of the second parish, in Wells, afterwards Kennebunk, a learned and worthy man.

absolutely not to come; heard this day that our troops have landed at Louisburg without any obstruction and a rumor that the English fleet had destroyed y^e French Fleet.”

“15. Thursday, last night Capt. Goodwin arrived here, who parted with us when we parted with Col. Bagley¹² at Brookfield, and informs me y^t Col. Bagley is arrived at Greenbush with his Regiment and may be expected at Flatbush to-day; I want to be moving forward—two or three in both Col. Ruggles¹³ and Col. Nichols’s¹⁴ Regiment after lying here but five or six days were taken sick and left so by the Regiment; and I fear very much y^t the small Pox will get into the army, so many of the army, both officers and soldiers daily going into the city. About four o’clock this day Col. Bagley’s Regiment began

¹²Of our Journalist’s Colonel. Jonathan Bagley, I regret to say that I know nothing beyond what these pages tell, excepting that he went in 1759, with the same regiment, to help keep Louisburg.

¹³TIMOTHY RUGGLES was son of Rev. Timothy Ruggles, minister of Rochester, Mass., and Harvard graduate of 1732. He was an able lawyer, and had secured an extensive practice, when, in 1755, he commanded a Mass. regiment under Gen. Wm. Johnson, and had a share in the defeat of Baron Dieskau. In the three following campaigns his regiment was still in service. In 1759 and 1760, he was with Amherst as a Brig. Gen. After this he was Chief-Justice of the common-pleas, speaker of the provincial assembly, and delegate to the colonial congress of 1765. Being a loyalist in principle and feeling, he was made mandamus counsellor in 1774. The inevitable result was exile and confiscation. He settled in Nova Scotia, where he died in 1798, at the age of eighty-seven. Gen. Ruggles was a man of large stature and commanding aspect, ‘his wit ready and brilliant, his mind clear, comprehensive and penetrating; his judgment was profound and his knowledge extensive. His abilities as a public speaker placed him among the first of his day. As a military officer he was distinguished for cool bravery and excellent judgment and science in the art of war, and no provincial officer was held in higher esteem for those qualities.’ Geo. A. Ward, in “Curwen’s Journal.”

¹⁴I can give no account of Col. Nichols.

to come into Flat Bush. All Capt. Whipple's¹⁵ company arrived safe, except one, Jacob Lufkin, who they left at Northampton or hadley, much indisposed by an unlucky Blow upon his blind eye—prayed with Three or four companies of our Regiment this evening—I was much pleased to meet my Friends of Chebacco.”

“16. Friday, this morning attended prayers with several companies of my Regiment—this happened a sad affair in our Regiment. Several persons, Capt. Morrow's company, were put under guard for killing some of our Land-lord's cattle, fresh meat being found upon y^m. Attended prayers with several companies of our Regiment.”

“17. Saturday. Attended prayers. Lieut. Col. Whitcomb¹⁶ was present this was y^e first time—this day came on y^e court martial for the Trial of those above mentioned, and they found three guilty who were condemned to be whipt two fifty lashes and one twenty-five, but one was

¹⁵STEPHEN WHIPPLE commanded the fourth company of Bagley's regiment. He lived at the “Hamlet,” now Hamilton. The other officers and the men were of Chebacco.

¹⁶JOHN WHITCOMB, the Lieut. Col. of the Regiment to which the Journalist belonged, was evidently an able and energetic man. From the fact that he and the chaplain were joint occupants of the rude hut which he built in the encampment, as well as from other circumstances mentioned in the narrative, we cannot doubt that their relations were intimate and friendly. He belonged to Lancaster, Mass., and was a staff officer in the expedition against Crown Point in 1755. When Mr. Cleaveland again met his former “chum,” upon the tented field, he found him in high command. Chosen a general in February, 1775, by the Provincial Congress, he led a regiment to Cambridge immediately after the Concord raid. He was one of the three general officers who held the first council of war, on the 20th of April. On the 12th of June he and Warren were chosen Maj. Generals, and on the 19th of that month he was next in command to Gen. Ward. “He was,” says Frothingham, “one of the sterling, disinterested, uneducated patriot officers of the early revolution, and appears to have enjoyed to a great degree the respect and confidence of his contemporaries.” General Whitcomb lived till 1812.

discharged by the Col. and the other two received but 10 lashes apiece, viz. Retire Bacon and Joseph Brown."

"Sabb. 18. this day preached to a large and attentive Auditory A.M. from Deu. 23. 9, and P.M. from Mat. 3. 8. Visited one sick man and prayed with him."

"19. Monday. Prayers early because of our marching towards Scheneactdy. Settled my account with Capt. Van Buren which amounted to a dollar and half besides the dollar Col. Ruggles paid for me: and then passed the River and the whole Regiment marched and arrived safe at night to Scheneactady and put up at Mr. Nicolas Van Patten's, Col. Whitcomb, Dr. Rea, Capt. Giddings and I having marched full 19 or 20 English miles. The Doc. and I rode on horseback having providentially found them" (their horses) "they had been missing several Days and been sought after to no effect. I acknowledge God in this thing and adore him for all his goodness to me since I've been in this campaign and pray y^t he would be with (me) and the army and the several Regiments destined to German Flats. My regiment don't seem to be well pleased with our going to that place, but would rather have gone to Crown Point and Quebec."

"Tuesday, 20. this day tarried at Scheneectady. took some view of the Town which is very pleasantly and compactly situated according to my judgment it is as large as Charlestown near Boston they have a stone chh. or meeting house the minister is a Dutchman and so are the generality of the people. . . . The Regiment was this evening called together for prayers. this was the first time y^t Col. Bagley has had an opportunity of attending prayers since I have been with the Regiment, who has given orders to y^e captains to attend every day while we tarry here at six o'clock in y^e morning and seven in the evening; after prayers Maj. Ingersoll came to

town from Albany and brings word that they had advise there y^t Major Rogers¹⁷ had been out with a party of fifty men somewhere [near] the Lake, and had an engagement with the enemy in which he lost six men and

⁷ Major ROBERT ROGERS, whose name occurs often in this journal, was born about 1730, at Dunbarton, in New Hampshire. In this ill-conducted expedition of Abercrombie, Rogers and his Rangers were conspicuous actors. In 1759, he served under Gen. Amherst, and destroyed the Indian village of St. Francis. In 1760, he was ordered by Amherst to take possession of Detroit and the ceded western posts, and he performed the duty. But this terrible fighter, whom no danger, hardship or difficulty could daunt, seems to have become strangely demoralized, when he no longer had Frenchmen to face nor Indians to hunt down. The hero went to England, but was so shamefully neglected there that he actually suffered from want. He managed, however, to write a book on North America, which he presented to the king. This brought him up, and he was soon sent out as Governor of Michilimackinac. But it was not long before he was accused of traitorous designs and of intriguing with the French — charges on which he was arrested, and manacled and court-martialed. This was in 1765 and 1766. Four years later we find him again in England, and even at court. Soon, however, he gets into trouble, and has lodgings given him in the debtors' prison. After all this, if we may credit his own story, he slips over into Africa, and fights two or three battles under the Dey of Algiers.

And now once more he is in America, and the war of the revolution is just beginning. But Rogers is suspected and watched. They arrest him, and Congress sets him free. This in 1775. In 1776 Washington, being convinced that he is a spy, puts him under guard. Congress again liberates him, and then Rogers, breaking his parole, goes over to the enemy. He was made commander of a corps called the "Queen's Rangers," and at Mamaroneck came nigh being captured. This near approach to the gibbet which he so well deserved seems to have frightened him, for very soon after this he returned to England. In many respects Robert Rogers and Benedict Arnold are twin names. Both signalized themselves by many acts of reckless daring and heroic adventure. Both were spendthrifts, and partly, perhaps, for that reason, both were mean and treacherous. Both also dragged out among Englishmen (with whom, hardly less than with their own countrymen, they were objects of scorn and contempt) the last years of their miserable existence. Rogers died in 1800, and Arnold in 1801.

received a slighty wound himself in one of his legs. there was also this day an alarming rumor in this town, y^t Fort Edward was beseiged by y^e enemy, and many of y^e officers supposed that they heard y^e report of great guns from that way, in their march to this on Monday till night, and some asserted y^t they heard them this morning, but those that arrived here this evening from Albany heard nothing of it there."

"21. Wednesday. this morning attended Prayers at six of clock, the Regiment still remaining in good health excepting some few particulars, none sick with a Fever for which I bless God: I pray God to be with us to keep us from sin, sickness and every evil occurrence—that he would be with wife, family and people—be their God, strength and everlasting portion. After prayers and breakfast we hired a room for the Field Officers and staff officers to cook their victual in, and were to give 20 s. York currency a week rent. this evening prayers were omitted by reason of a shower of rain, and now we are just informed from Albany that Rogers has lost but four men and is gone out again with three hundred men in great wrath against the enemy."

"22. Thursday. Last night quite late arrived orders from Gen. Stanwix¹⁸ for the two companies of Col. Whiting¹⁹ y^t are in town, and for one company and half

¹⁸This officer in 1757 commanded a force sent to protect the western frontier. Fort Stanwix, erected by him at the carrying-place to Wood Creek, was on the north side of the Mohawk.

¹⁹NATHANIEL WHITING, b. 1724 in Windham, Ct., was a son of Rev. Samuel Whiting, first minister of that town. He graduated at Yale College in 1748, and was a lieutenant in Pepperell's expedition, of 1745. In 1755, as Lieut. Col. of the 2d Conn. regiment he was in the battle in which Col. Ephraim Williams was killed, and succeeded him in command. After sharing in Abercrombie's defeat, he was again out with Amherst in the victorious campaigns of 1759 and 1760.

of another in our Regiment to march directly to Half-moon²⁰. It is certified that a Flag of Truce is come into Fort Edward; we attended prayers and then supped at our new lodgings, having dined with Domine Vroom, the Dutch minister of Schenectady."

"23. Friday. prayers late this morning by reason of a shower. this evening Col. Bagley received orders immediately to march toward Fort Edward upon the arrival of Col. Williams'²¹ Regiment to Schenectady, eight companies of which are to be stationed in this town. The officers and soldiers seem pleased with a thought of joining the army. The Lord God be with us in all our marches and engagements."

"24. Saturday. This morning I gave a short word of exhortation to the soldiers, as we are in some expectation to march this day, and Mr. Johnson of Corris-Brook, about ten miles to the southwest of this town being present

²⁰Half-moon is on the west bank of the Hudson, thirteen miles north of Albany.

²¹In our early colonial times many of the WILLIAMS name were ministers—many of them military men. One of them, ELISHA W., was both a clergyman and a colonel, a judge and college president. Another, Col. Ephraim, died in battle, but lives, and will ever live, in the college which he founded. WILLIAM WILLIAMS, above referred to, was a son of Rev. William Williams, of Weston, Mass. In a letter (still preserved) to Dr. Thos. Williams, of Deerfield, and dated July 11, 1758, he gave a thrilling account of the engagement before Montcalm's breastwork, in which his regiment had taken an active part. Col. Williams became one of the first settlers of Pittsfield, Mass., and still has his monument in the Pittsfield elm, which stood on his ground, and which he saved from the axe. He was made a judge, and is described as a man of martial bearing and jovial disposition. The story of his married life is succinctly and quaintly told by Major Stoddard thus:—"He married first Miriam Tyler, for good sense, and got it; secondly, Miss Wells, for love and beauty, and had it; thirdly, Aunt Hannah Dickinson, and got horribly cheated." Col. Williams died in 1788, aged seventy-five years.

prayed with the Regiment, and after prayers a most melancholy accident; as one of the soldiers was exercising in the Prussian way, when he came to fire, not considering that his gun was charged it went off with two balls—one went through a soldier sitting at a small distance, entering a little below his right shoulder and coming out by his left breast. His name is Moody of Haverhill, who dyed about two hours after. The other ball struck another man's leg, hit the bone, and glanced out the same side. His name is Mash, also of Haverhill, and a third man had one of the balls pass through his jacket and shirt and just touched the end of his finger. He narrowly escaped with his life. This night, Elisha Moody, the man killed, was buried. A great part of the Regiment attended, and the company under arms that he belonged to. After he was let down into the grave I prayed and then made a speech to the soldiers. A Court of Inquiry was made upon the man, William Hermit, that fired his gun that did such mischief, and he was cleared. The poor fellow is much cast down. At prayers this evening I made a speech of some length to the Regiment as they were to march the next day early. there were present many of the town's people, both men and women. The people of the town are very sorry that we must march from them. The people in Schenectady were quite a civil people and they have quite a good sort of a man to their minister."

"25. Sabb. this morning after prayers we set out for half-moon and arrived there at about sunsetting—a march of the best part of twenty miles. I cautioned y^e Regiment in y^e morning to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy—and they did behave quite civilly in general. But I never saw just such a Sabbath before. We took a long Sabbath-day's journey for our march; at Half-moon

we found two Connecticut regiments, Col. Lyman's²² and Wooster's.²³ This night we encamped on the hard floor with a blanket under us and another upon us."

"26. Mond. this morning very rainy. One of Capt. George's company broke out with the small Pox in the barn. Tarried at Half-moon all day, wrote a letter to my wife and another to Francis Choate,²⁴ Esq.; but fin-

²²PHINEAS LYMAN was a native of Durham in Conn., where he was born about 1716. After graduating at Yale he settled as a lawyer in Suffield. In 1755 he was commander-in-chief of the Connecticut militia. At the battle of Lake George in 1757, he was second in command, and when Sir William Johnson was disabled, took charge of the troops, and brought the engagement to a successful termination. This journal shows that he was the most influential of the provincial colonels in Abercrombie's army. In 1759 he assisted in the capture of Crown Point and of Montreal. In 1762 he commanded the provincial forces in an expedition against Havana. For several years he was in England, endeavoring to obtain a grant of land on the Mississippi, with a view to founding a colony. At last he so far succeeded as to embark with his son and with others, on his way to the great river. They got as far as west Florida. There died (1775) the general and his son, and the enterprise died with them.

²³DAVID WOOSTER was born in 1710 in Stratford, Conn., and graduated at Yale College in 1738. In 1739 he commanded a war vessel commissioned to protect the coast. In the Louisburg expedition of 1745 he commanded the "Connecticut," a sloop of war. Sent in a cartel-ship to France, he was denied admittance. Passing over to England, he was received at Court, and obtained a commission as Captain in Pepperell's regiment. In the campaign of 1755 he was Colonel of the Third Conn. regiment, and continued in the service till 1760. In 1775 he assisted in the taking of Ticonderoga. He also served in Canada, where he succeeded Montgomery, on the fall of that officer. On his return he was made Major General of the Conn. militia. He fell, April 27, 1777, at Ridgefield, Ct., while attempting to cut off the retreat of Gov. Tryon.

²⁴FRANCIS CHOATE was the chaplain's right-hand man at home, the leader, from the first, of his church and parish. He was also the uncle of Mary (Dodge) Cleaveland. A grandson of John Choate, the first Ipswich settler of the name, he was distinguished in a family which has had far more than the average share of mental ability.

ished neither. Col. Lyman and Col. Wooster marched off towards Fort Edward; tarried at Half-moon this night."

"27. Tuesday. This morning Mr. Ingersoll, Col. Wooster's chaplain prayed with our Regiment, and we set out and arrived at Still-water about one o'clock, where we overtook Col. Wooster's Regiment and dined with the Col. in the Fort, and then he marched forward; and our Reg^t after refreshing themselves marched also forward. But the field officers tarried at Still-water and lodged in the Fort."

"28. Wednesday. Marched from Stillwater to Saratoga Fort, where we put up and tarried all night. Fourteen miles from Stillwater to Seratoga."

"29. Thursday. Marched from Seratoga to Fort Miller 5 miles and from thence to Fort Edward, 7 miles, and put up and tarried all night—lodged in Commissary Tucker's tent and fared well."

"30. Friday. This day tarried at Fort Edward. One company of a hundred men under Capt. Morrow was draughted out of the Regiment to tarry at Fort Edward."

"July 1. This day being Saturday, after sending my

His useful life of seventy-six years terminated in 1777, but not his usefulness. One son, John, became a magistrate and man of mark. Another, William, saw in his sons, David and George, their grandfather fully restored. Of these, David died at the age of fifty, leaving Rufus and Washington in tender boyhood. The latter, cut off in his third college year, had already given ample promise of a career not less brilliant than that of his brother soon became. Of Rufus Choate, that rare phenomenon in the realms of mind and of eloquence—who knows not that he was long the pride of Essex County, the boast of Massachusetts and the admiration of our whole country! Not yet, even, is this rich vein exhausted. Descendants of the fifth degree from elder Francis Choate, through his grandson, George, may be seen to-day, *primi inter pares*, on the bench in Essex County, and at the bar of the city of New York.

horse by Isaac Haskell to Capt. Van Buren's with the following articles viz. bridle, saddle, boots, spurs, one pair of yarn stockings, one pair of double-soled German pumps, set out on foot to Lake George. Dined at Halfway Brook with Col. Nichols, Col. Cummings²⁵ and Mr. Morrill, the chaplain, and set out again. Arrived at the Lake before sunset, something fatigued, and lodged with Mr. Forbush, chaplain to Col. Ruggles."

²⁵ In regard to Col. Cummings, Mr. Morrill, Mr. Forbush, and Mr. Ingersoll, I have no information beyond what the Journal gives.

[*To be continued.*]

ON THE EARLY DAYS AND RAPID GROWTH OF CALIFORNIA.

BY ALFRED PEABODY.

It may not be generally recollected that California was ceded in 1848 by Mexico to the United States, she paying fifteen million dollars. The treaty between the two governments was signed by the United States in March of the same year, and by Mexico in May.

At that time the extent of the gold fields was not known, though in January it was at first discovered by a man digging a mill-race for Capt. Sutter, who at that time owned the land on which Sacramento City now stands.

When the news of the discovery of gold reached here, *via* the isthmus, in early summer, it was credited but by a very few. Soon several parcels were sent here, and large shipments, with letters from well known residents there, confirming the fact, and with these came also accounts of a large immigration from the region around California, even from the Sandwich Islands and Chili.

The scarcity and high price of provisions, mining implements, houses, lumber, etc., at a place where the returns were gold, greatly aroused the spirit of enterprise, and late in the autumn companies in many of the seaboard cities were formed, and vessels purchased to take cargo and passengers round Cape Horn, there being only one steamer monthly between California and New York, *via* the Isthmus.

About the first of December, 1848, I applied to John

Bertram, Esq., to undertake a voyage there, which resulted in himself and five other gentlemen of Salem loading the bark *Eliza*,¹ Capt. A. S. Perkins, with an assorted cargo, and I went out in her to dispose of it, and to establish myself as a commission merchant.

The cargo consisted of flour, pork, hams, sugar, coffee, butter, cheese, rice, figs, raisins, dried apples, bread, meal, pickles, boots, shoes, domestics, chairs, nails, cook stoves, bake pans, kettles, axes; shovels, picks, and a great variety of small articles, lumber, and not of least importance, a store, also materials for building a boat or scow, for dredging in the rivers or on sand bars, together with a small steam engine, a lathe, and tools for repairs. There were six passengers, Messrs. John Beadle, Jonathan Nichols, Dennis Rideout, George Buffum, George Kenny and James Parker, all of Salem. One of these was a boat builder, one a carpenter, and two machinists. These were selected from numerous applicants, with a view to carry out our plans on arrival if they were found to be practicable. The "*Eliza*" was the first vessel that sailed from Massachusetts with an assorted cargo and passengers direct for San Francisco, though Capt. Eagleston was loading the Brig "*Mary and Ellen*"² for the Sandwich Islands when the gold discoveries were confirmed, and he changed her voyage to San Francisco and the Sandwich Islands, and cleared from Salem Oct. 27th.

¹The "*Eliza*" was built at Salem, in 1822, by Thomas and David Magoun, for Joseph White; sold by his heirs in 1832 to David Pingree, and again in 1846 to Michael Shepard and others. Tonnage, 204 tons. For several years previous in the Zanzibar trade.

The officers and crew were, *Captain*, Augustine Staniford Perkins, now residing in Salem; *first officer*, Joseph Perkins, who bought a farm at Clipper Gap, California, and has since lived at that place; *second officer*, William Hunt. *Seamen*, Amos Niles, Leander J. Johnson, Ebenezer Fox, William Smith, Henry C. Perkins, Abel Martin, and John Lambert.

²See page 124 for an account of this voyage by Capt. Eagleston.

On the morning of our sailing from Derby wharf, Dec. 23, 1848, a great crowd had assembled to take leave of friends, and to give a hearty hurrah. Just as they were casting off the bark's fasts a song,³ composed for the occasion by some friends of one of the passengers, was struck up by him,

“The wash bowl on my knee,”

Tune, OH! SUSANNA. (Key G.)

1. ³I came from Salem City,
 With my washbowl on my knee,
 I'm going to California,
 The gold dust for to see.
 It rained all night the day I left,
 The weather, it was dry,
 The sun so hot I froze to death,
 Oh! brothers, don't you cry.
 Oh! California,
 That's the land for me!
 I'm going to Sacramento
 With my washbowl on my knee.

2. I jumped aboard the 'Liza ship,
 And travelled on the sea,
 And every time I thought of home
 I wished it wasn't me!
 The vessel reared like any horse
 That had of oats a wealth;
 I found it wouldn't throw me, so
 I thought I'd throw myself.
 Oh! California, etc.

3. I thought of all the pleasant times
 We've had together here,
 I thought I ort to cry a bit,
 But couldn't find a tear.
 The pilot bread was in my mouth,
 The gold dust in my eye,
 And though I'm going far away
 Dear brothers, don't you cry.
 Oh! California, etc.

4. I soon shall be in Francisco,
 And then I'll look all round,
 And when I see the gold lumps there
 I'll pick them off the ground.
 I'll scrape the mountains clean, my boys,
 I'll drain the rivers dry,
 A pocket full of rocks bring home,
 So, brothers, don't you cry.
 Oh! California, etc.

and the passengers joined in the chorus. This was called the "California Song," and was sung on board of every vessel going round Cape Horn, and by immigrants over the plains. It was afterwards published in a London Quarterly as a Californian miner's song, illustrative of camp life at the diggings.

After letting go our fasts the bark grounded, a rope was passed from on board to the spectators on the wharf, and hundreds of them laid hold of it with such a gusto that they walked her off as if a powerful tug boat had hold of her.

The voyage from the coast was without any very bad weather, and we had a pleasant set of passengers, rather musical withal—one played the violin, another the accordion, a third the tamborine, and I played skilfully on the triangle. When we passed near a vessel we would give them the California song, with all the accompaniments.

Anxiety to get out before other vessels, soon to follow us with similar cargoes, stimulated Capt. Perkins to take advantage of every wind, and even the gales, when favorable, and when struggling off Cape Horn I often wished the bark was twenty years younger. Our voyage in the Pacific was a very pleasant one, and much of our time was occupied in building a boat for exploration up the river.

We arrived at San Francisco, June 1, 1849, one hundred and sixty days passage, and anchored about nine, P.M. We went on shore the next morning, landing on an old wharf about forty feet long, the only one in the place. Our first inquiry was if the gold held out, and we were much pleased to learn that before we left home the half had not been told. The city had a very new and unsettled appearance, the streets ran at right angles,

uneven, and no sidewalks, some quite comfortable dwellings, a hotel on one side of the public square, and on the opposite was the custom house; a very rough-looking building, built of adobe or sun-dried bricks. It was one story only, and had a veranda all round it. The shops were mostly of rough boards, their contents articles of first necessity, mining tools and cooking utensils. Every one seemed to be busily employed, opening goods, selling and packing them for shipment. The mines being from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles distant from San Francisco, all goods had to be taken in small vessels up to Sacramento City and to Stockton, and then distributed to different mining points.

In these early days of California, United States laws had not been introduced there, and it was found necessary, in such a mixed population, for the safety of life and property, to establish Lynch law. Any one caught stealing would be strung up on the nearest tree. Going on shore the second morning after we arrived, some persons in a store were telling of their exploits the night before. A man was suspected of a robbery committed a few days before. He was taken by several persons to a tree near by, a rope put round his neck, and he was hoisted nearly from the ground, but his earnest protestations of innocence moved the hearts of his accusers, and they felt that they had made a mistake in the person and let him go. This was rather an unpleasant procedure, and if mistakes of this kind should often occur, I felt that even a quiet man from Salem would be hardly secure.

It was surprising to see how trade and every kind of business were rushed through without regard to the Sabbath. Taking samples of some of our cargo on shore to try the market, the owner of the first store I went into

was so busy he could not attend to me that day, so I proposed calling the next day, Saturday. "No," he said, "come Sunday." I replied that I never did business on Sunday. "Oh well!" said he, "you have just arrived; after you have been here a month you will do as we do." I replied that if no other man in California kept the Sabbath, I should. "You are right," he said; "I wish I stood in your position, but I have gone with the crowd, and I cannot well stop."

As freights from San Francisco to Sacramento City, the head of navigation of that river, were very high, a great saving would be made by taking the "Eliza" up with her cargo. No vessel of her draft of water had ever gone up. After consulting with one of the best pilots on the river, we concluded to go up with her, and agreed with him to pilot her up, after lightening her a little, and he was to accompany her with a large schooner, to take the cargo in case she grounded, for which we paid him one thousand, seven hundred and twenty-five dollars, a heavy pilotage for one hundred and twenty miles. We worked our way up the river, grounding several times, but by heeling the bark, by changing her cargo, chains and anchors, we got her off without discharging any cargo, and in six days after we left San Francisco we moored her to two sturdy oak trees, at the foot of one of the principal streets, where she remained for years, having quite a history, as she was used as a store, a store house, a boarding house, and later, for years as a landing for steamers, in 1868 sold and broken up; most of the timbers and planking were in good condition.

The first outlook on a town of seven buildings and a few tents was not very encouraging to sell a valuable cargo like ours. It was evident from the dusty roads that there was not a little travel, and it must have been for trade, so on looking round we gained courage.

The Plat on which the city was located was covered with large oaks, and oak underbrush. The streets were laid out at right angles, one, upwards from west easterly, and A to Z from north southerly.

We had struck off, at a printing place at Sutter's Fort a mile distant, fifty lists, costing fifty dollars, of the principal articles of our cargo fresh from Salem, and these were sent into the mines, the only means of advertising.

Our crew, all except two faithful boys, left us on arrival. The passengers, on whom we had some claims, went up the river in the boat we built, for the purpose of examining the shallow rivers and bars. They returned in two or three days with unfavorable reports for mining in this mode, which was not unwelcome news, as by that time we had all we could attend to, in waiting on customers for our cargo. It was put up in the best manner, and it was for months alluded to, as the best cargo that had come to California, and customers came down upon us with a rush.

Capt. Perkins, having been well schooled in the Zanzibar trade, made himself very useful, and we made some outside operations on joint account, renewing our stock of goods as we sold out.

The safe arrival up there of so large a vessel as the "Eliza" induced almost every one of light draft of water to follow, and in a short time there were lying alongside the river bank, at every favorable point, twenty-five or thirty vessels, and later Salem was well represented.

On entering the Sacramento river the mosquitoes gave us a warm reception. They were very poisonous, and so persistent we could not eat our meals with comfort. One of the boys had his face so badly stung that he could not see, and I passed several hours in the vessel's top, that I might have a little respite.

A great variety of nationalities would be seen, and some would be almost wild to get to the mines. There

was no conveyance except for a few who could purchase a horse or mule, and most miners were obliged to walk forty or fifty miles, some taking a shovel and pick and a slight change of clothing. Expenses were very high, and no one could afford to be idle, and no one ought to be, for wages were sixteen dollars a day.

The first Saturday night after we arrived, being very tired, I arranged to be allowed to sleep in the morning without being disturbed, but at daylight I was called for something very important; going on deck I found three men and their mules on the river bank, waiting to purchase goods and load up for the mines, and when I told them I did not sell goods on the Sabbath they used very rough language, and this gave me liberty to advise them to keep the Sabbath to prolong their lives and that of their mules, assuring them that it would be better for both, and if they would do so and come at the same hour the next morning, they should be well served. They went away declaring that they would not trade with such a puritanical hypocrite, but it seems they thought better of it, and came as invited, and after coming two or three times for goods they made me their banker, depositing in my safe thousands of dollars.

The immigrants were of almost every profession and vocation—judges, lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and artisans of every kind. It was amusing, though praiseworthy, to see them turning their hands to anything to earn a few dollars. I wanted some lumber hauled a short distance; sending for a man who owned a yoke of oxen, I was surprised to have him report himself Professor Shepherd, of New Haven, Conn. He did all the work himself and in a few days earned fifty dollars. I found him a very pleasant acquaintance, and a most excellent man, as well as a good geologist. Hearing that a clergy-

man had come in town, he ventured to invite him to preach on board a bark, but the saw and hammer, driving of teams, discharging and loading of goods all around, were a great disturbance.

The Professor prevailed on me to join him in visiting the vessels and venders of goods, to urge them to refrain from doing business on the Sabbath, to which they all consented; and every one acknowledged that it was the pleasantest day they had passed in California. Service that day was held in a blacksmith's shop, which proved too small to accommodate all. The next Sunday it was held under a gigantic oak, the trunk of which measured twenty-seven feet in circumference.

Seats, boards laid on nail kegs. On this Sabbath Mr. Ball, son of our city missionary in Salem at that time, appeared with a cabinet organ. This drew quite a crowd, and after service the musical gentlemen, some members of the Handel and Hayden society of Boston, gathered around the organ and sang their old favorite tunes with the greatest enthusiasm.

A man near our vessel worked under an oak tree making rough board coffins; he was the only man that would not regard the Sabbath. When we returned from church he boasted of having earned sixteen dollars while we were gone. One of his coffins was taken for him before the close of summer.

The conveyance to the mines was greatly facilitated by the arrival in September of the immigration over land from the western states, furnishing a great number of ox teams, horses and mules, which made it less expensive for the miners.

The immigrants from Missouri, Illinois and Indiana would more easily conform to rough life than those from the eastern states. The females and children were brought

over the mountains in ox wagons, covered, and in and around them were sufficient cooking utensils and furniture to commence their new life. Some of the old pioneers cut down oak trees and cut them in convenient lengths to split, which they used for boarding their houses and also for shingles. Some very fine horses were introduced from Missouri.

A Mr. Flint, of Maine, drove, from one of the western states over the mountains, a flock of sheep, the first of fine wool introduced into California, and now he is the largest sheep owner there, and is very rich.

By this time rough buildings and tents nearly covered several blocks, settlers were arriving daily, and it was a very busy place, with favorable prospects of becoming a commercial city. Among new comers was a man desirous of opening a restaurant, there not being any in the place. We put him up a building of boards eighteen by thirty feet, and covered it with sails from the "Eliza;" rent two hundred dollars per month. This was hardly finished when a doctor came and wished us to build for him one of the same dimensions, to occupy as an apothecary; rent two hundred and fifty dollars per month. Immediately a gentleman applied for a store which he must have in three days, as his goods were to be landed on the bank of the river, and the third day he moved into it; rent three hundred dollars per month. These three buildings were put up by Mr. Rideout, one of our passengers, which was a good advertisement for him, and from that time he never lacked work. He left for home in December, well paid for his six months' work in California. At Panama he took the fever and died. He was attended by a kind Salem man, though a stranger.

On the street and on where we built these stores, we cut down a thick growth of oak underbrush, and in six

weeks, that street with others was watered by a water cart.

Quite a number of families had come in, and Prof. Shepherd collected the children and had a Sabbath school in a little shanty he built of poles and boards. The ground was the floor, and seats pine boards, but we found the children learned as well in it as if under a frescoed ceiling.

Lumber, canvas and cotton cloth having come in freely, some large buildings had been erected; the most costly were used as gambling houses, and of these there were not a few.

Many large groceries were in canvas tents, and it is worthy of note that though they could have been easily cut into and robbed any dark night, I have no recollection of any robbery while I was in Sacramento. On board the "Eliza" we never locked our hatches. So much for Dr. Lynch.

From materials on board the "Eliza," we built two scows, one to be used as a ferry boat across the Sacramento river, the first one in the place, and the other for a German to take his vegetables to market. This man had about an acre cultivated, about four miles below the city. This was an experiment, there not being any other land cultivated anywhere round, and it proved a success. Capt. Perkins went down in his boat and purchased potatoes at sixty dollars per bushel, and other vegetables proportionably high, of which he sold enough at a profit to give us a taste without cost. We, however, indulged in a little extravagance as well as experiment. Taking a squash at two dollars, eggs two dollars per dozen, and milk two dollars per gallon, we made some pies. These reminded us of home and paid us for the trouble. A bag containing about two bushels of onions on the way to the mines passed through our hands at eighty-five dollars.

Prof. Shepherd, while prospecting among the mountains, always carried his blankets for his covering at night, his saddle served as a pillow, and the earth as a mattress. All travellers were obliged to camp out in this way. This exposure and irregular living carried off great numbers the first year in California.

Occasionally an old resident of California came along and spoke of having seen the location of Sacramento under water, but ten to one contradicted these reports, and we thought it could not be true; but when the rainy season came, the river above the city overflowed, and ran in back of it, flooding it all except high ridges. This was a severe blow to the place, causing a great depreciation in real estate, and was proof that it would never be a rival to San Francisco. The next season the water rose much higher than before, inundating the whole city, carrying away houses and furniture. On the trees down below Sacramento near the river, chairs were seen hanging some fifteen feet from the ground. For several days no one could leave their houses, except in boats and on rafts, and in many places they would step from the second story into boats. The city has since been raised, I think ten feet. It is perfectly secure now from floods.

Dec. 1, 1850. My attention was turned to San Francisco to meet Mr. J. P. Flint from Boston, who came out to join me in business, and we formed a partnership under the style of Flint & Peabody. We built a store within thirty feet of the wharf on which we at first landed. While our store was building, two gentlemen, my partner and myself, hired a shanty, one room and kitchen. In one corner we had a table, and when our mattresses were spread on the floor at night it was entirely covered. Some of us were quite accustomed to this mode of life, which was far better than hundreds

around us, living in tents, and there were several hundred of these.

The city had improved greatly in appearance in the few months past, many buildings having been erected, among which were a city hall, a large banking house, a Baptist church — the first Protestant church built in California. I have in my possession a photograph of the original building sent me by a friend last month. A company from Salem had arrived in a ship, and put up a very large building which they rented. That season was a very wet one, none of the streets were paved, and in some low places no teams could pass, and pedestrians often found the longest boots too short.

There was a great accumulation of various articles of merchandise, utterly unsalable, and of so little value, not having store room, they were left out exposed to weather. In one of the worst crossings some half dozen or more boxes of tobacco, one hundred and twenty pounds weight, were placed; also barrels of spoiled provisions. Gold washers, which came out in almost every vessel, and were of no value, were used as stepping stones.

The harbor presented a lively appearance. Some one hundred and fifty to two hundred vessels of different nations were anchored in the bay, and some had been beached to be used for the sale of their cargoes. A wharf eight hundred feet long had been built. Lumber arriving daily had fallen in price, so as to induce a great amount of building, some very large gambling houses, and there were many of them which were well patronized night and day, and seemed to be the only place of amusement for the idle.

In the spring of 1850, a great fire burned over three blocks. It spread so rapidly but little merchandise was saved; every gambling house and saloon was burned. I

think the fire occurred on Thursday. On the Sunday morning following, on our way to church, we passed a building, the only one put up since the fire, and we heard the jingling of the specie on the table, which seemed to be in defiance of the Almighty.

The favorable accounts we gave Mr. Bertram on our arrival induced him to engage in this trade with his accustomed energy. In early spring three vessels arrived with full cargoes, loaded at Salem by Mr. Bertram, and soon after two others followed. We had several other cargoes consigned which kept us occupied.

Capt. Perkins settled up his business and left for home in the June steamer *via* the Isthmus. He was the first that fulfilled the promise of the song,

“A pocket full of rocks bring home.”

We were greatly surprised one day at the arrival of two small clipper tea ships, with assorted cargoes from New York, in little over one hundred days. These short passages created quite an excitement, and every one realized the advantage of having their goods come by fast sailing ships.

The gold covering a vast surface of country was an established fact, and could not be exhausted for years. My partner proposed my returning home, and establishing a line of fast ships from Boston, which would command high freights and result in a profitable business. I took the first July steamer to Panama, crossed the Isthmus on a mule, came down the Chagres river in a canoe burned out of a large log, and arrived home in thirty-six days.

Mr. Flint's son was taken into our firm and the style has since been Flint, Peabody & Co. No line from Boston had been established, and seeing the importance of an early movement, an arrangement between our firm and

Messrs. Glidden & Williams to establish one was at once consummated, they to procure freights in Boston, and Flint, Peabody & Co. to collect them in San Francisco, and it was called "Glidden & Williams' Line."

There were but few fast or clipper ships in the United States at that time, and as such ships would command freights at double the price of common ships, it was determined by Mr. Bertram and the owners of the line, with one other firm in Boston, to build an extreme clipper of one thousand, one hundred tons. In September a contract with an East Boston ship builder was made for such a ship, and to have her ready to receive cargo by January 1. Her keel was laid at once, the work progressed satisfactorily, and in due time she was launched. Complimentary to Mr. Bertram, who had been so conspicuous in the California trade, the majority of the owners named her for him, the "John Bertram." She was rigged and fitted for sea, loaded in Glidden & Williams' line, and sailed January 10 with a full cargo, at one dollar per foot or forty dollars per ton. One article of her cargo shipped by her owners was ten thousand dozens of eggs, put up in tins, which sold for ten thousand dollars.

This was the first clipper ship that was built expressly for the California trade. The same owners soon after built the famous clipper ship "Witch of the Wave," of fifteen hundred tons, and subsequently four others of the same model averaging fifteen hundred tons each.

Mr. Bertram and others, with Flint, Peabody & Co., in 1853 established in San Francisco the ice trade, having employed in this five ships, aggregating thirty-three hundred tons. It was afterwards ascertained that ice could be introduced from Sitka at lower rates than from Boston, and they gave up the trade.

June, 1851, a great fire swept over the city. Fifteen

blocks were burned, and eight others partially, occupied by fifteen hundred buildings, estimated loss four million dollars. Flint, Peabody & Co. were burned out; their store was the last building burnt. Their loss was heavy; no insurance.

The line from Boston proved a success, as may be seen by the following statistics, which are copied from the San Francisco almanac of 1859:—

“As an interesting datum in illustration of the changes which have taken place in the commerce of San Francisco, both as regards its nature and its channels, we place the following table before our readers.

It is a statement of the amount paid as freight to, and the number of tons of cargo carried by, and the vessels consigned to a single house, Messrs. Flint, Peabody & Co., commencing with the first ship of that line, the “John Bertram.”

AMOUNT OF FREIGHT LIST.

In 1852, 27 ships, 32,959 tons of goods, \$	854,583	77
1853, 49 “ 75,849 “ “	1,810,446	29
1854, 30 “ 49,727 “ “	992,633	29
1855, 26 “ 47,681 “ “	634,418	93
1856, 26 “ 49,499 “ “	677,312	57
1857, 24 “ 42,791 “ “	464,579	69
1858, 25 “ 46,892 “ “	531,887	01
<u>207</u>	<u>345,398</u>	<u>\$5,965,862 14</u>

Choice fruit, in the early days of California, was almost unknown. I sent out from Boston three hundred pear, three hundred apple, two hundred and fifty peach and one hundred and fifty plum trees, raspberries, currants, etc., all these of the choicest varieties, which we set out on our farm, expecting to realize great profits, but when they came into bearing so many others had done the same thing that fruit could not be marketed to pay expenses.

It may be noticed that from 1854 the quantity of goods

shipped from the east was every year decreasing, as many articles which were formerly shipped from the east were produced there. That has been the case ever since. From July, 1855 to Nov., 1856, one article (East Boston syrup) consigned to our house amounted to \$563,588.00. Soon after, sugar refineries were established there, and now they are seeking a market for their surplus syrup.

In 1859 the same house received from Boston a full cargo of flour, sixty-five hundred barrels, which paid a fair freight. In 1869, from July to December 31, the shipments from San Francisco of wheat and flour were equal to one million, six hundred thousand barrels. The same year the wool clip was fifteen million pounds, all of fine quality.

The official returns of the census of 1850 make the population ninety-two thousand, five hundred and ninety-seven. In 1857 the population had increased to five hundred and thirty-eight thousand and two.

As early as 1859 by the "State Register," it appears the "Great Overland" Mail was established from Memphis and St. Louis to San Francisco *via* Fort Smith, to Fort Fillmore above El Paso. Thence to Fort Yuma on the Colorado, to Los Angeles to San Francisco semi-weekly, schedule time twenty-five days. Butterfield & Co., contractors. Also, the Central Overland or Salt Lake City Mail, from St. Joseph, Mo., to Salt Lake, thence through Carson Valley to Placerville, weekly; leaves St. Joseph every Saturday. Schedule time from St. Joseph, twenty-two days. Hockoday & Corpening, contractors.

It appears by the "Register" of the same year that there were one hundred and twenty-seven lodges of Free Masons, and seventy-eight lodges of Odd Fellows; an Agricultural Society, State Horticultural Society, California Society of Natural History, State Medical Society,

Mechanics' Institute, Academy of Natural Science, and thirty-two libraries, containing sixty-five thousand volumes. This does not include the State Library located at San Francisco, the oldest and most extensive in the state, library Santa Clara College, San Jose, Odd Fellows Library Association, San Francisco, Sacramento Library Association and California Pioneer, San Francisco.

There were ninety different newspapers and periodicals published in the state of California; one hundred and thirty-two grist mills; an insane asylum at Stockton, and the United States marine hospital at San Francisco, cost of building, two hundred and twenty-four thousand dollars.

The following shows the value and destination of treasure shipped from San Francisco during the years 1854 to 1869 (sixteen years).

Eastern ports,	\$462,088,066
England,	167,703,292
China,	68,050,250
Panama,	9,053,526
Other ports,	17,598,824
	<hr/>
	\$724,493,958

The amount of duties on imports in 1869 was \$8,339,-384.14.

This same year the amount of mining stocks sold at the Exchange Board in San Francisco was \$30,037,707. There were also turned out 7,604 tons of new shipping, of which eleven were steamers, three barks, one brig, four barges, and thirty-four schooners. Eight hundred and fifty-eight vessels cleared at the custom house for domestic and foreign ports, 706,452 tons.

In 1873 the arrivals of vessels at San Francisco were 3,647 — 1,293,398 tons.

Among the manufactories, there was built by Flint,

Peabody & Co., and another firm a rope manufactory, making annually three million pounds Manila rope, some of which was twelve hundred feet long, used for hoisting quartz rock out of shafts. They have a barrel factory; one hundred and fifty thousand barrels and half barrels, and one hundred thousand kegs were manufactured in 1873.

The coinage at the branch mint in 1873 amounted to \$22,075,400.

Our Boston house bought the railroad iron for the first railway that was built in California, and negotiations were made through them for the first five thousand tons of iron for the Central Pacific railroad, and also for the sale of the first bonds on that road.

At the close of 1869 I withdrew from the firm of Flint, Peabody & Co., after a partnership of twenty years. The house is continued under the same style, by the sons of the senior partner, who died last March.

To show still farther the changes which have taken place, I have ascertained that only two ships have loaded in Boston for San Francisco the present year, 1873. The revolutions in trade and commerce, and the resources which have been developed in agriculture and manufactures in twenty-five years, are beyond parallel in the history of our country or the world.

The following statistics are taken from the "Trade Review" :—

Wheat product of 1873,	25,000,000 bushels.
Wheat and flour exports in 1873,	10,650,000 centals.
Gold and silver yield in 1873,	\$ 82,000,000.
Coinage of San Francisco mint in 1873,	22,075,400.
Coinage of mint from 1854 to Dec. 31, 1873,	350,000,000.
Foreign imports, values of, in 1873,	33,560,000.
Merchandise, export value, by sea, in 1873,	31,160,000.
Mining stock sales in 1873,	146,400,000.

Lumber receipts in 1873,	203,330,000 feet.
Wool clip,	36,000,000 pounds.
Domestic coals received in fourteen years,	1,700,000 tons.
Wine products of 1873,	2,500,000 gallons.
Deposits in the California savings banks,	\$55,000,000.
Banking capital of the state,	\$100,000,000 gold.

The ship "John Bertram" was sold eighteen years ago. She has been running ever since. On the 12th of last month she was in the port of New York, and the captain, her present owner, wrote to a gentleman in this city, speaking of her in the highest terms. He valued her so highly that he wanted the photograph of the person for whom she was named to hang up in his cabin.

Not only did the California trade give birth to the clipper ship, which resulted in the revolution of ship modelling here and abroad (though the extreme clippers were in vogue but a few years, giving place to nearly flat floors, retaining the sharp ends to combine capacity with speed), but innumerable branches of industry were magnified or developed by this trade, and on this 23d of December, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the sailing of the "Eliza" from Salem, it is hard to realize, in the great California of to-day, the rough country we landed at in its infancy.

SALEM, *Dec. 23, 1873.*

AN EARLY CALIFORNIA VOYAGE.*

SOME eighteen months or two years ago New Bedford claimed the clearing of the first ship from Massachusetts with a cargo for San Francisco, after the discovery of the golden elephant had set the world wild and from every point of the compass thousands rushed to the golden waters in pursuit of fortunes from the earthy bowels of the mighty monster. But some friend, in overhauling the New Bedford log and drifting back to dates, I think through the "Register," gave the Mary & Ellen, of Salem, as first on the list for that port. The two articles were stowed away for safe keeping, but at the present time are not to be found. This I much regret, as I would like to give dates.

I now see, by the "Gazette" of January 21, an article by Mr. Alfred Peabody, my friend and pioneer in gold dust seeking, falling into line with the barque "Eliza," December 23, about two months after my sailing as first vessel from Massachusetts for that port, with a cargo for gold dust hunters; as if my clearing *via* San Francisco, thence to the beautiful groves of cocoanuts and plantains, hove the "Mary & Ellen" a little in the shade. If the terms *via* or direct were in the clearance I cannot say; and believing it is of no consequence, I will in "plane

* We are permitted to insert, in connection with the preceding paper, this account of an early California voyage, in the Brig "Mary & Ellen" from Salem to San Francisco, by Capt. John H. Eagleston.

sailing" give your readers a sketch of my log from my first movement, and let them decide to which of the two the first credit belongs. And as I am docked for repairs of one of my main spars, I will wear away a portion of my dull time, while the slow work goes on.

Owing to severe losses, I found I must move in some direction to make them up; and after much thought on the course to pursue, I decided to buy a fast vessel and proceed to the Pacific. As I was well acquainted with all ports from St. Carlos to Guayaquil, where sales of any account could be made, I determined to visit San Francisco and ports south, in order to make what sales might be possible, and learn what the show was for a return cargo; thence to Guayaquil and load some seven hundred quintals of cocoa for Manila, where, and in China, through friends, I could load for the Coast, Society and Sandwich Islands. Going to Baltimore I bought of Hooper & Cheesbury the half brig "Zeno," of one hundred and ninety-five tons, for seven thousand dollars cash, and as she was not registered I named her the "Mary & Ellen," after my two daughters. She was at once loaded with corn and flour for J. Safford, Esq., of this city, and, in charge of a Baltimore captain, made the voyage to Salem in three days. The flour was landed in Salem and the corn in Danversport, the last proving to be a job of some days.

As soon as possible I commenced alterations on cabin, and, wanting a young man to take one quarter's interest and go with me, after consulting several parties the situation was disposed of to Mr. John Henry Proctor.

While on the ways for coppering, the California mail arrived, by which Capt. J. W. Chever received a letter from his son Henry, who was in San Francisco, saying gold had been discovered in large quantity, and enclosing

a list of articles wanted for the occasion. This information was kept quiet, and outside of this I heard nothing of gold. But believing the arrival of the next mail would cause a great movement in that direction, the "Mary & Ellen" was placed in position and loaded with as little delay as possible—the Hon. S. C. Phillips, Capt. Chever and J. W. Peele being the principal shippers; Mr. E. H. Knight shipping an invoice on his own hook, and several other friends doing the same. My cargo consisted of beef, pork, flour, hams, blankets, clothing, crowbars, picks, shovels, tin pans, etc., etc.; also liquors and wines of various kinds. These last, on account of ship, A. & C. Cunningham, and S. F. Wyman, of Boston.

Closing up our wants, we sailed on the 28th of October, 1848, direct for the golden fields, having as passengers D. A. Chever and a Mr. Vaughan, the latter having visited California before, and intending to make it his home; my foremast hands being six boys, each having made one voyage to taste the pleasures of sea-sickness. Owing to heavy easterly weather for fourteen days, we made but little headway, and the passage to the line was long. But here I was pleased to learn we were not the only one on long time, as also to see we were not to be left in the rear, as the slow coach of a large southbound fleet, which was pleasant to view as they dropped astern. And from latitude six degrees north to thirty-five degrees south we came up with and passed thirty-six sail on the same course as the "Mary & Ellen."

In our run to the south, an incident occurred, the like of which, I think, was never logged before. We were under double reefs, with an ugly short sea, and a strong breeze a little forward of the starboard beam, the "Mary & Ellen" more under water than above. The second mate, from the starboard bow, struck a porpoise, and

about the same time the brig made a dive and the porpoise was taken on board between the lee cat and knight heads, and landed by the windlass, greatly enraged with the wild leap he had made ; and had it not been for this it would have been impossible to save him.

Soon after leaving home, Mr. Proctor had a running sore break out on the end of his forefinger, right hand, with which, and a consumptive cough of old standing, he gently passed from us, and, mourned and lamented by all, under the usual sea forms his remains were committed to ocean's blue tomb, with the long waves of Cape Horn majestically rolling over his once manly form.

With short detention off the Cape, and a full share of adverse and light winds, we arrived at San Francisco at three P. M., March 28, 1849. A show of the elephant was soon on board, the display of golden eggs from the pockets of land-sharks, and their glowing stories of big lumps setting my boys in a high fever for the gold fields. The second night in, my second mate and three of the boys stole the long boat and ran. The next morning, finding my boat on the beach, and a shark from a den a few rods off by her, I informed him the boat was mine. He replied, "all right. I want forty-five dollars for picking her up." Believing his demand for lying over large, I proceeded to the office of the Alcade, and stating the case to him, he said, "You must pay it ; there is no law here to help you." I took his advice, paid it, and went on my way rejoicing that the squeeze was no heavier. Seeing I should soon be left without help, my mate having taken his ticket of leave, I increased the cook's pay to three hundred dollars per month, and that of the boys to two hundred and fifty.

My salable cargo was soon disposed of ; and that portion not of ready sale I concluded to take up to Oregon,

and put up several notices for passengers. Three were soon on the list, one of them a Judge Pratt. I was now in want of men. But, owing to the sharks fitting them out, and sending them to the mines for a stated time, and receiving one-half of their diggings for the outfit, it was very difficult to find them ready to move from the golden scenes that surrounded their movements; and knowing they were masters of the situation, they had become very independent and exacting in their notions. Running foul of two or three hard looking coons, I hove aback with, "My men, do you wish to ship?" "I don't know, what is the wages?" "Three hundred dollars per month." "We can do better than that; how are we to live?" "On usual ship fare, and have all you can eat." "That won't do. If we go we must have ham, eggs, butter, soft tack and canned meats, and all the liberty we want while in port." Not wishing to submit to furnishing so goldish and gouty a bill of fare, I hauled off to think the matter over. But having an unexpected call from Ross, Benton & Co., to purchase the "Mary & Ellen" for the same voyage, I sold to them for fifteen thousand dollars in gold dust, and, disposing of a few articles to Mr. Pratt, the balance of the cargo was stored on the beach, at one dollar a barrel per month. At this time, for want of inside room, outside storage was large; and although showing every kind of merchandise, not the first article was ever molested. Cost of landing about twelve dollars per ton, and in some instances largely over this figure. Also freight to Sacramento on flour six dollars per barrel, and to Stockton I paid thirty-six dollars on four barrels of pork.

On the 17th of April I made a shipment of gold dust to J. W. Peele, which I believe will prove to be the first on Salem account from that place.

On the first of June I was very pleasantly surprised by a call from Capt. Perkins and Mr. Peabody, they having just arrived in the "Eliza" from Salem. Information and assistance were given to them to forward their movements in pushing up to Sacramento. By request of my friends, I was to breakfast with them on Sunday morning. On my way to where I was to take the boat, I met Lieut. Blair, of old acquaintanceship, and at this time master of the schooner "Sagadahoc," and running up the Sacramento. Knowing he was well acquainted with the river, and must be a good pilot, I invited him to go on board with me. He did so, and it was arranged between the three parties that he should take the ship up, and, as I understood it, was to be accompanied by the schooner, and, in case the "Eliza" mudded at any time, was to be relieved by her. Without loss of time the "Eliza" was off, my friends delighted at what they had seen of the elephant, and, I have no doubt, rejoicing over the larger show in store for them. In this movement up these beautiful inland waters, I think they will head the list as first vessel of the "Eliza" class and draught that ever ascended the Sacramento river.

On board of the "Eliza" there were quite a number of passengers. Several of these remaining in San Francisco pitched their tent in Happy Valley, where Mr. Jonathan Nichols, stored as he was with fun and song, assisted by his social and free hearted companions, made their quarters at all times inviting and pleasant. I was often with them, and under evening's beautiful sky, did the echo of good singing please the squatters that composed the little beehive villages which dotted the valley, especially with "The Washbowl on my Knee," which was the usual wind-up.

My affairs squared up, I took passage, in company with Capt. N. Batchelder, of this city, on board the steamer

Oregon, Capt. B., about the first of July, for Panama,— passage per head two hundred and fifty dollars. The third day out we were put upon ship-made water, right from the receiving tanks, beautifully hot, and as rusty as an old anchor of twenty years' use. This we thought to be a dodge, by those interested, to force the sale of ale, which now became large at one dollar per bottle. Our table was also very scanty in supply; and although we touched at several places where water and supplies were handy and plenty, not the first show of either was obtained.

One knot more and we leave the Oregon, with her lockers cleared out. On a line with our course, and well to the south, lay a shoal which was not on the ship's charts; but on board were two passengers, a lieutenant in the United States navy and a coast captain who were well acquainted with the shoal, and by them Capt. B. was informed of its existence and position. Of this little notice was taken, and with a show of all confidence in a clear sea before us, the ship under full power was driving onward, ten to eleven miles per hour. The day was pleasant, without sufficient air to ruffle the ocean's glassy surface, when, about eleven P.M., the first officer playing booby in an armchair, and the watch following his example, while fortunately several cabin passengers were still moving about the deck, one of them, an old ship-master, both of steam and canvas, seeing the ship was entering rippling water, jumped on the bridge, saw our danger, and pulled the bell for a stern board. This saved us, and although she struck quite heavily, she was soon backed off, and saved from becoming a monument for others in the line.

Arriving at Panama, mules and guides were chartered for our passage across the isthmus. Moving in the morn-

ing, under a pouring plumb-down rain, and a Don Quixote ride all day, by novel and narrow channels, through a wild, varying and interesting scenery, we reached Gorgona late in the afternoon, in a very uncomfortable condition. And if, as the Feejee men say, sailors, from long use of salt provisions, become too salt for good eating, it was at this time most thoroughly soaked out. In the morning, by canoes and two or three boats, we descended the river, which is small, and at nine P.M. arrived on board the steamer "Crescent City, Capt. Stoddard, for New York, stopping at Jamaica for supplies. Capt. B. and myself reached home on Sunday morning, sometime in August, and I believe showed the first golden lumps brought into Salem from California; as also two small leather bags handed me in San Francisco, under a verbal receipt, containing each one thousand dollars, one of which was for a New Bedford lady, and one for a Mrs. Smith, of Vineyard Haven. These were placed in the Commercial Bank, until called for.

A JOURNAL OF THE REV. DANIEL SHUTE, D. D.,
CHAPLAIN IN THE EXPEDITION TO
CANADA IN 1758.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

THE Rev. Daniel Shute was commissioned as chaplain to a regiment of foot for the invasion of Canada, during the "Old French War." Mr. Shute was the son of John and Mary (Wayte) Shute and was born in Malden, July 19, 1722. Graduated (Harvard) in class of 1743. Ordained as pastor over the Second Church in Hingham, December 10, 1746, and relinquished his public labors in March, 1799, but continued his pastoral relation until his decease, which occurred August 30, 1802.

COPY OF COMMISSION.

[SEAL] THOMAS POWNALL, Esq^r, Captain General
and Governour in chief in, and over his
Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts
Bay in New England, Vice Admiral of the
same, etc.

TO DANIEL SHUTE, M. A. Greeting. Reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Piety and Learning, I do, by these presents, Constitute and appoint you the said Daniel Shute, to be Chaplain of a Regiment of Foot commanded by Colonel Joseph Williams, raised by me for a general Invasion of Canada.

You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge

the Duty of a Chaplain to the said Regiment in all things appertaining thereunto, Observing such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from your Colonel or any other Superiour Officer, for which this shall be your Warrant.

Given under my hand and Seal at Arms at Boston the thirteenth of March, 1758. In the Thirty first year of his Majesty's Reign. T. POWNALL.

By his Excellency's Command,
A. OLIVER, Sec.

1758. May 20. About 11 o'clock A.M. took leave of home, arrived at Boston at 5 o'clock P.M.

31. Set out from Boston with Lieut Col Twing between 9 & 10 o'clock A.M. Found Col. Williams and others at Waltham; arrived at Worcester 9 o'clock at night. We had the pleasure of riding in y^e rain all day. Lodged at Col. Chandler's.

June 1. Very rainy. tarried at Worcester all day, dined at Col Gardner Chandler's.

2. The rain continued,—remained at Worcester all day, where we were very generously entertained by Col Chandler's lady.

3. Dull weather in y^e morning. Took leave of y^e Col's lady, and went forward, had a very pleasant day, soaked with a heavy rain in y^e edge of y^e evening, before we could reach y^e Tavern in Cold Spring where we lodged.

4. Sunday. Prayed with Cap^t Butterfield's Company before we left our lodgings. Travelled about 3 miles, and met Maj Arbuthnot who informed us our Regiment was at Hatfield; arrived at Hadley between 1 & 2 o'clock, dined with y^e Major; attended publick exercise P. M. with Col. Williams, after which went over to Hatfield, found y^e Regiment well and in high spirits. Lodged at Col Israel Williams.

5. The Col spent the day chiefly in administering y^e Oath, to y^e Officers. (A leaf of the journal missing.)

11. Sunday. Preached at Pontoosuck in y^e Fort belonging to Col William Williams which is y^e only house inhabited in y^e place; near twenty families having moved away for fear of y^e Indians.

12. Found very bad bread here, 'tho the poor soldier had been encouraged to take that which was scarce fit to eat at Hatfield, under the promise of having good new bread at Pontoosuck; obliged to take part in stores for y^e greater expedition of y^e 2^d Battalion in our Regiment. Had orders to march by Division, in separate Companies, some went off about 8 o'clock, y^e last about 11 o'clock. We set out about 12, and dined at Guttridges Fort, 5 miles from Col Williams. P. M. marched about 10 miles, and encamped with Capt Wards Company.

13. Marched at 6½ o'clock A.M. Dined at the half-way house so called from Kenderhook to Albany, arrived at Greenbush at 4 o'clock P.M., upon y^e bank of y^e river right opposite to Albany.

N. B. The greater part of y^e way our Troops marched from Hatfield to Greenbush is inexpressibly bad, and y^e greater part of our Regiment at present, what with y^e badness of y^e way, and what with y^e badness of y^e bread appear to be unfit for duty.

Just at night I ventured over to Albany in company with Col Williams & Maj Arbuthnot,—was conducted where I was assured there was no danger of taking the Small Pox, which is in five or six places in y^e City. Returned, and lodged at y^e Tavern kept by a widow Lummis.

14. Wednesday. Moved my Quarters to Mr Witbeek. Brother Ben arrived.

15. Thursday. He took a vomit being much oppressed

at y^e stomach. Arms were brought over from Albany for our Regiment.—A cool day, at night very cold for the season.

16. Fryday. First discovered my horse was gone out of Col Renselaar's pasture, much fatigued in looking for him. Sent a party of men after him.

17. Still in quest of my Horse.

18. Sunday. Preached to y^e Reg^t. from Gen. 28 Ch 20. 21 vs.—No exercise P. M. y^e time spent in preparation to march y^e next morning.

19. Monday. Paid for five days board at Mr Witbeek's two dollars nearly.—the Reg^t. marched A. M. I went up y^e River in a Battoe with the Baggage, arrived at y^e Flats between 2 & 3 o'clock P. M.; lodged at Mr Van Burin's. In y^e evening paid Col^l. J Williams 1[£]: 15^s. 4^d. my exact proportion of travelling expenses from Boston to Greenbush. (N B Col^s Williams and Twing, had each a waiter maintained out of y^e common stock from Hatfield and generously treated Officers they fell in company with)

20. Returned from Mr Van Burins at y^e flats, by water with Col Williams to Greenbush.

21. Went over to Albany to wait on y^e Col^l., who gave leave I should tarry behind to wait y^e arrival of my Chest, and went himself to join his Reg^t at y^e Flats, took lodgings at Mr. John Lansing's in y^e City—much indisposed. Lodged with Mr. K-h-h.

22. Much recruited. P. M. went over to Greenbush. saw Capt J Wh-t-g. Heard our Reg^t were ordered to Schenactady.

23. At Albany waiting for my chest.

24. Still at Albany; wrote several letters home. Very hot.

25. Sunday. Went over to Greenbush. Heard Mr.

Pomroy preach from Deut. 32.-29.—Mr. Little P. M. from Nahum 1.-7. At night returned to Albany.

26. Rainy. Went to see Mr. Spencer in y^e City indisposed. Waited upon Mr. Pomeroy at my lodgings.

27. Went to Schenactady in company with Doct Fairfield arrived at about 6 o'clock P. M.—Lodged at y^e Rev. Mr. Vroman's.

28. Took lodgings at Mr. Isaac Truax's.

29. Prayer at 5 o'clock in y^e morning.—P. M. drank tea at Mr. Langley's an English gentleman at Schenectady.

30. Spent some time in retirement.

1758. July 1.

A letter from Brig^{dr}. General Stanwix to Col Williams, informing, that he must in a few days march his Reg^t up y^e Mohawk River, to y^e great carrying place, about 60 miles above the German Flats, and to carry with him two months provisions, artillery, & ammunition, in Battoes prepared for y^e purpose, which destination has given great uneasiness to y^e Reg^t.—and not less to y^e Officers than to y^e Privates.

2. Sunday. Had two exercises in y^e Meeting House, the first began at 12 o'clock,—the second at 4. Preached from Ex. 23: 20. 21. Drank tea with Mr. Langley.

July 3. Col Williams went to Albany to wait upon General Stanwix, for redress of some difficulties, and for further supplies of Arms, Tents, etc. Dined at Esq^r. Sanders.—Green of Braintree broke out with the Small Pox in the barracks. Removed.

4. A Negro fellow removed upon the same account. Dined with Domine Vrooman, Predicant, in Schenectady,—in Height 6 feet 4 inches & $\frac{1}{2}$,—and every way large in proportion:—Preaches without notes with little Premeditation. Explains a Text A. M. and preaches

Divinity in y^e afternoon as he has bin please'd to inform me several Times. The People here attend their publick religious exercises with great Devotion.—In morals they are not so exact.

5. General Abircrombie with 18,000 Troops imbarked in 1100 Battoes, and 300 Whale boats for Ticonderoga with some artillery.

7. Landed without opposition y^e French retreating but soon returned and made some opposition, in which skirmish y^e brave Lord Howe was killed. Their Number uncertain, said to be from 3 to 600. They were easily repulsed with y^e loss of but few on our side, by report 40 killed and wounded. On y^e side of the Enemy 160 taken, and y^e greater part of y^e rest cut off. Upon Lord Howe being slain the whole army were halted,—and

July 7. lay still upon y^e same account. But 18000 men not able to bring him to life. (My chest arrived at Schenectada).

July 8. The Gen^l thought proper to attempt to force y^e Enemies entrenchments before y^e fort, only with small arms. In y^e rash attempt, Killed 571. Wounded 1363. Missing 34. The slain and wounded, chiefly Regulars, who were in y^e centre, the Provincials upon each wing in y^e attack.

It is reported by those on y^e spot, that a Skirmish between our advanced Guard, and y^e French advanced Guard began very early this morning, ours consisted of about 100 men; y^e Gen^l suffered none to go to y^e relief; the skirmish ceased at 10 o'clock, y^e French retreating, and a volley was fired from y^e Entrenchment, when the Gen^l gave orders to march immediately and force y^e Entrenchment, but would allow no canon, 'tho eno' lay handy. The engagement continued late in the afternoon. Heard myself, Gen^l Johnson declare to God, that when

Abircrombie mentioned to him his intention to retreat to W Henry, he earnestly dissuaded him from it; upon which he was ordered with his Indians in y^e evening to march about 2½ miles from y^e Sawmill toward the Lake where y^e Battoes lay.

July 9. The Army returned to W Henry unpursued by y^e Enemy. So many Regular Officers were slain in Battle a Council of War, it seems could not be held on that side of the Lake. It is here confidently reported that two 24^{lb} Cannon were ordered by an express from sd Gen^l, too this side of the lake to Fort Edward, and ordnance stores from Albany stoped on road. Consummate Prudence; if y^e French should beat our army from y^e Lake, y^e Cannon would help them make a vigorous stand at Fort Edward, and if obliged to abandon that; warlike stores would be necessary at Albany

Preached all day in Schenactada Meeting House, y^e first exercise began at 11 o'clock—the second half after three.

July 10. Three hundred of our Reg^t went from Schenactada up Mohawk River with 60 Battoes loaded with provisions under command of Maj Arbuthnot with an escort guard comnd by Lieut Turner. Hear y^e 2 Cannon were bro't back no farther, than y^e half way Brook.

11. Went over y^e River with Mr Sanders to Col Glin's Farm.—N.B. 60 acres of wheat together and as many of Peas.

July 12. The negro removed 4th Ins. had not y^e Small Pox. Another soldier removed under suspicion of having it.

July 13 I wrote Deacon Cushing an acc^t of y^e Battle at y^e Narrows. The Dutch women are more laborious, and dilligent than the men. The men depend most on y^e negroes to do y^e work, and often get together with y^e

Pipes especially Morning, and Evening, in y^e Stupes before their doors. The women the most distinguished among them go in a loose dress, and all y^e forenoon without Stockings, and Shoes, about House to do y^e business. When dressed in y^e afternoon their dress is loose and y^e Petticoat very short so as to show the greater part of y^e Legs.

July 14 Wrote to Deacon Cushing a letter to correct the former. Predicant Vrooman with some of y^e Quality of y^e Town attended Prayers in y^e Fort in y^e Evening.

July 15. Three o'clock P. M. attended y^e Funeral of Mr Vrooman's Brother in Law. After the People were collected who kept abroad, except the relatives of the Deceased; the Clerk proclaimed from y^e Stupe before the door, "If any where disposed to see y^e Corpse they might come in." But few from the many abroad went in.—the Corpse was soon brought out and laid upon the Bier. The Coffin was made with a regular Taper from head to foot. The top like a pitched roof of a house. The relations to remote Cousins follow next y^e Corpse two, and two. The mourners all silent at the Grave. All returned from y^e Grave to y^e house and drank wine plentifully.

Sunday 16th. Preached in y^e Meeting House. First exercise about 12 o'clock from Col. 1. 23.—The second at 3 o'clock, from Jer. 23. 10.

July 17 Col Twing went to Albany to get arms, and Cartouch Boxes

July 18 Brigadier Gen^l Stanwix came to Schenactada.

July 19. Gen^l Stanwix gave Orders,—That Col Williams Regiment hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning, and to carry 40 or 50 Battoes up y^e Mohawk River. About 11 o'clock, came driving to Town, and upon examining y^e King's store, there was not pro-

visions Eno' to load 10 Battoes. P. M. New York Troops arrived.

July 20 The Jersey & Rhode Island Reg^{ts} came to Schenactada.

July 21. Still at Sch^a waiting for stores.—The Dutch here have a nasty practice of yarding their cows in y^e Street before their doors, and evry morning take y^e dung of y^e Cattle into y^e middle of y^e street and throw ashes and other dirt there.

July 22 Dined with Col Twing.—Post Prandus.—Wrote to Mrs —.

July 23. Sunday Mr Spencer, New York Chaplain, preached 11 Chron 32 v. Gen^l Stanwix and y^e Regular officers present. In his address to them acknowledged their great goodness in coming to N. America with such noble views, and the Disingenuity of y^e people in failing to make them grateful returns. And after discanting awhile on their wonted Lenity in discipline, advised y^m to more vigorous measures to prevent deserting. Preached to my own Reg^t from Math 7.—13. 14.

July 24 Wrote to Dⁿ Cushing and others.

July 25 The remains of Col Williams Reg^t marched from Schenactada 216 in all.—Navigated 24 Battoes up y^e Mohawk river. the rest went as an escort guard. I went aboard one of y^e Battoes.—helped sett with a Poll, when we had rapid water, went about 7 miles, and Encamped.

July 26. On board of Battoe. P.M. Col Williams went aboard one.—Had challenge to go with any, when ours went by,—with authority demanded of Capt Slocomb a setting Poll, or two,—delivered,—encouraged our men with y^e promise of Grog, and beat him on y^e second Trial. went about 9 miles and encamped below Gen^l Johnson's.

July 27. Fell between 2 Battoes and hurt my leg

badly. To day went about 7 miles and encamped. Lodged with y^e Colonel at Capt Funda's, an Indian Chief under Gen Johnson, who treated us with great Generosity.

July 28. Worried along 13 miles to day and encamped at Mr Fry's, y^e water for 6 miles not rapid. At sunset a Dutchman arrived he was shot at, about 2 miles above Mohawk River.

July 29 Went about 11 miles. Should have got further but detained by leaving a Battoe in y^e morning where we Encamped. The Col very fractious, worked hard to day. Encamped very late opposite Fort Aurdrick. Many of y^e Soldiers obliged to go without eating and lodged in y^e open Damp Air.

July 30. Sunday. Six miles—arrived at y^e little Carrying Place 12 o'clock. about a mile over. Spent y^e rest of y^e day in getting y^e lading over. The Doctor and I so lucky as to get ours over first. Pitched our tents and enjoyed ourselves.

July 31. Lay at y^e little Carrying preparing to move forward. A.M. very rainy. Our Battoes not all over till y^e afternoon; then waited for the Regulars to get theirs over, who begged our Protection. Very much indisposed with the Dysentery.

August 1. Pushed off our Battoes at 7 o'clock. reached Fort Harkiman at 11 o'clock. 6 miles—and spent y^e rest of y^e day in taking out stores. Encamped at y^e West end of the Fort, in daily expectation of being attacked here, in y^e forenoon fell a fine sleet.

Aug 2^a To day our Guard a mile and a half from the River, about 3 o'clock discovered a small smoke by y^e side of y^e River in very thick woods. A man appeared on y^e Bank of y^e River & suddenly disappeared, upon which Suspicion arose in our minds, we were ambushed. I went a shore with y^e Col and Party to make discovery,

found y^m a party of our Escort Guard. who had come down to y^e river, reached about 15 miles.

Aug 3 About 18 miles to day. Encamped at Col Schuyler's Farm by some called y^e great Indian Farms. Five Guns fired at Duck, by y^e Col & others in his Battoe. Vastly imprudent so far advanced in an Enemies Country. Finished y^e Eggs bro't from home in my chest, all proved good.

Aug 4. Met Maj. Arbuthnot going Express from y^e Fort to Gen^l Stanwix, occasioned by information received this morning from some Oneida Indians, that a Body of French & Indians with Artillery would be upon them in two or three days. About 4 o'clock P.M. arrived at y^e great carrying place 12 miles from our last night' Encampment.—Not having time for y^e Quarter Master to lay out y^e ground pitched our tents irregularly, near where Fort William stood The Fort is now inclosed with Palisades by y^e New York troops, and lies at y^e North end of Fort Cravin burnt by Webb, which our people have inclosed also with timber to secure themselves.

Aug 5. A. M. very rainy. Col Williams dined in Fort Cravin. The rain ceased at 12 o'clock. The Col came to y^e Encampment about 5 o'clock P.M. was greatly surprised we had not struck our Tents and pitched them in regular form for which he had given no order.

Aug 6. Preaching appointed for this forenoon, but a number of the Oneida Indians Tribe came in y^e morning, and declared a Body were three days ago at Oswangagee, it was tho't proper to omitt it, and spend y^e day in clearing away the brush, and tall weeds round y^e Encampment. A Party went P.M. as far as Bulls Fort 4 miles from hence no discoveries.

Aug 7 Went into y^e Woods with hands to get Timber to raise my Tent with. A scout of 18 men went out to day.

Aug 8. Drewed Logs round y^e Camp Brest-work. A Party sent out and bro't in Lt Baron, who lost y^e Party of 18, he went with yesterday.—Raised my Tent.

Aug 9. Our Reg^t continued to surround y^e Encampment with Logs. —A Party of 12 men sent out on a scout ; y^e 18 returned made no discoveries. The Jersey Blue's arrived at 12 o'clock. P.M. Very rainy, our Camp nothing but mire.

Aug 10. Nathaniel Stoddard died of the Dysentery, about 2 o'clock this morning, buried at 10.—Dined with Col Williams to day in Company with Mr Brainard, and the first since I left Schenactada, and but once there, and once with Col Twing. Gen^l Stanwix arrived at the Great Carrying Place. Bradstreet also.

Aug 11. A considerable frost y^s morning.—Very hot in y^e middle of y^e day wrote to my Father. P M. Went to see Col Doty's Reg^t, my heart was grieved to find y^e men so greatly fatigued, and nothing comfortable to take. No Sutler, no Doctor, no Chaplain with them. The several Col^{ls}. on y^e spot advised with. Notwithstanding y^e opposition made chiefly by Col Williams, a Detachment made from y^e several Reg^{ts} to go forward under y^e command of Col Bradstreet, where is not disclosed, supposed to be Catarague, alias Frontinack viz

Regulars	155	Col Williams	432
Rangers	60	“ Dotey	243
New York	1,112	Artillery	20
Rhode Island	318	Battoe Men	270
Jersey's	412	Indians	70

Total 3092 men.

N. B. The Reg^{ts} on y^e spot very much broken Doty's between 4 & 500. Rhode Island about 600 &c &c.

Aug 12 The detachment made, next day Sunday, but no preaching. The day spent in making preparation

for y^e March, in carrying Battoes, whale boats & Provisions over Morass Creek, about a mile from where Fort Cravin stood, to a Fort built with Pallisades called Fort Newport.

Aug 14 The command under Col Bradstreet March A.M. Maj Arbuthnot desired me to note, that he had left some money and other things in the hands of Mr. Camel, or Campbell, merchant in Schenactada. His Papers, Orders, &c., with H Arbuthnot; and in case he sho'd not return to inform his wife. Lt Peek with a Party joined the Reg^t.

Aug 15 Very rainy.—wrote to Dea Cushing, Doct Tufts &c.

Aug 16 The Troops under com^d of Col Bradstreet marched from Fort Newport.

Aug 17 The Gen^l refused to let any sick of our Reg^t go home.

Aug 18 Doct Fairfield, and I spent y^e day in moving Tents to y^e eminence where y^e Fort is designed to be built, and on y^e next day y^e Reg^t moved the Encampment to y^e same Place.

Aug 20. Sunday. No preaching. All y^e troops on y^e spot imployed. y^e rain prevented an Exercise which was to have begun at 6 o'clock. Dined with Col Delancey

Aug 21. Drank Tea with Mr Brainard.

Aug 22 Very Hot. Spent y^e day in getting timber for my tent.

Aug 23 Last night went y^e Rounds with Col Williams or rather at three o'clock this morning. Very hot. Gen^l Stanwix received confirmation of the reduction of Louisburgh.—between 12 and 1 o'clock, discharged 21 Cannon, and all y^e Troops gave 3 huzza's.

Aug 24 Cut my foot. Died a Soldier of Capt Butterfield's named ——

Aug 25. Drank tea with Mrs Brainard. Capt Eb W—t—g. with 36 privates joined us.—Benj Hubbard of Capt Slocomb's died at 10 o'clock at night.

Aug 26 Drank tea with Miss J——r & B——d at Col Williams Tent. Lodged in my new Tent. Very hot.

Aug 27 Sunday. Suprized much with a Report delivered with an air of certainty, that there had bin lately a terrible Earthquake in New England by w'h, much damage was done to Buildings, and many people killed & half Charlestown swallowed up. Upon inquiry found no reason to depend on s'd Report.

The Reg^t all at work, & on Guard. After work at night preached a short discourse from 1 Chron 16. 31 v. being y^e first Sabbath after y^e Confirmation of y^e reduction of Louisburgh.—began Exercise about $\frac{3}{4}$ after 6 o'clock.

Aug 28. Very Hot. Spent y^e afternoon with Capt Eb W—y, and several Regular's Officers. At sunset a very smart shower, and heavy Thunder, high wind, and hard rain in y^e night, lay dry in my new *wooden tent*. Others very much soaked in their Osombrige Tents

Aug 29. Cool after y^e Thunder.

“ 30 Very cold last night.—recd several letters from friends at Hingham.

Aug 31 Pleasant Wrote to Dea Cushing & Mrs Gardner.—hear that Wm Gold a Negro of Capt Slocomb's Co died at y^e little carrying place returning home.

September 1. Had opportunity early this morning to send y^e letters wrote yesterday. P.M. Nathaniel Gardner died.

Sept 2. By an Express to Gen^l Stanwix heard y^e news of y^e reduction of St Malo's. At 12 o'clock discharged the cannon here, and y^e Troops gave 3 huzza's. Dined with Col Williams on Salt Fish, after dining at home on Roast Beef.

Sept 3. Sunday. Wrote Dea Cushing of Nath^l Gardners death. Spent y^e day in my Tent. Just about Sunset arrived two Indians with letters from Officers with Col Bradstreet & Party informing of y^e reduction of Cataroqui or Frontinac. The news rec^d with great joy in the Camp, 21 Cannon discharged and 3 huzza's given before dark. concluded with throwing several shells from a small mortar.

Sept 4. Doct Fairfield very sick. Very rainy night.

“ 5 In the morning y^e Small Pox discovered on a man in the Hospital. Upon examination by Doct Norton, of the York forces, judged it had already turned, by a constant purging had bin prevented filling so as to be observed, 'tho a few appeared full,—but y^e most were flatted He was immediately moved at a distance from y^e Encampment. had bin in the Hospital two days, I must therefore have bin much exposed as well as others to take y^e distemper, as I visited the sick in y^e Hospital, and prayed with them while he was there, at night took a Mercurial Pill.

Sept 6. Obtained the Col^s consent to go to Schenactada, if I could get an opportunity; at a stand whether to go, or stay. Upon mature tho't, and advice of friends, Judge it to be most prudent to go.

Sept 7. By Col^s Delancy & Glazier advised not to go; may a Wise and Good Providence direct me:—determined if an opportunity sho^d seasonably present to imbrace it, if not to make myself easy here. Just at night Lieut Tuckerman, with a party in Battoes arrived from Schenactada, and unexpectedly ordered by the Gen^l to go back to morrow.

Sept 8. Battoes detained till to morrow to carry letters from Col Bradstreet, who arrived yesterday from Bull's Fort, 4 miles hence, where he ordered his Party to halt

and divide y^e Plunder taken at Frontinack, and come himself to Camp this afternoon.

Sept 9. At one o'clock Saturday left the Oneida Station come in a Battoe with L^t Tuckerman. Observed the leaves begin to fall from y^e Trees by y^e river side, chiefly from y^e Oy^l Nutt tree. Came 13 miles and Encamped at y^e great Indian Fields. encamped y^e sooner, for y^e sake of the sick, 30 of whom we had with us

Sept 10 Very rainy last night. Sweat plentifully in my Tent. Rose this morning at 3 o'clock, ordered a fire struck up. prepared something comfortable for y^e sick, took breakfast, and on board our Battoes an hour before sunrise; just before sunsett arrived at y^e little Carrying Place.—53 miles to day.

Sept 11. Sett out about 11 o'clock, and thankful that I could have Soldiers to bring my chest over, for we could not obtain a wagon.—at 1 o'clock, got down Fort Henerick—at 3 o'clock halted at Mr Jacob Oels, a chh Minister,—took refreshment, and lodged there,—treated with hospitality, and for me nothing to pay next morning—14 miles

Sept 12 Sett off 6 o'clock in the morning, 7 at night arrived at Schenactada 46 miles. N. B. The distances I mention running down the river, more certain than those going up.

Sept 13 Went to y^e Barracks very early this morning to take care of y^e sick bro't with us,—Spent chief of y^e day with Mr Hitchcock. Drank tea with Mr Saunders. at night took 8 grains of Calomel, agreeable to direction from Doct Norton, preparatory to having y^e Small Pox.

Sept 14 The Bolus taken last night operated very gently this morning, about 10 o'clock took a portion of Cream of Tartar, operated well

Sept 15. Rested very well last night, and feel better

to day than did yesterday or y^e day before. This afternoon secured a place to have y^e Small Pox in, with a very clever family, and at a proper remove from y^e Main Street in Town. The Man, Landlord Truax's Son, his wife the Daughter of the former Minister of this Place. Every thing at present takes place as I could desire for wch I hope I'm not ungratefull to a kind Providence. at night took 8 grains of Calomel

Sept 16. The Mercury taken last night operated kindly this A.M. at 10 took Cream of Tartar. P.M. Mr Spencer Chaplain of the New York forces, arrived here from the Oneida Station Indisposed.

Sept 17. Sunday. Rested well last night except being chilly awhile, after first going to bed, and free from any symptoms of Small Pox this morning. Heard Mr Hitchcock preach all day. 1st Discourse from y^e 76 Ps. 7v—2^d Discourse from y^e 139 Ps. 23 & 24 verses. Spent y^e fore part of y^e Evening at Mr Saunders.

Sept 18 Very well this morning. Wrote to Dea Cushing my Father & Mrs Gardner by Serj^t Lincoln. — About 10 o'clock, my head began to ache, and continued with a pain in my Arm till 5 o'clock P. M., which, as I had no pain in my Back, I did not conclude to be Symptomatical of y^e Small Pox, but the effect of some cold taken by carelessness in y^e use of Mercury. Spent y^e afternoon with Mr H—k—k. & Mr Spencer.

Sept 19 Had an uneasy Night from Pain in my Neck and between my shoulders wch continues this morning, but am free from pain in my Head and Back. About 11 o'clock came on a dulness in my Head. P. M. Dulness continues, and at times sensible of Dizziness, especially if attempted to read.—felt better in y^e evening. Perceived an Eruption on my thigh this morning could hardly get my feet warm by y^e fire, before I went to bed.

Sept 20 Very chilly and cold last night after I got to Bed. Slept comfortably. waked in the morning in a gentle sweat; my Pains in great measure removed, found an eruption on my left wrist, simular to that on my thigh, and said by my Landlord's wife to look like y^e Small Pox. Doctor Grafton of the New York Forces, and used to Inoculation of the contrary opinion. Sent the letters I wrote last night to Col Williams at y^e Oneida Station p^r Col Doane. As I went to bed last night, drank some warm "Phlip."

Sept 21 The "Phlip" I took last night, gave free perspiration, rested well, and felt better this morning, then for several days past. Spent y^e Evening abroad

Sept 22. Rested pretty well, but hot and feverish part of y^e night. still troubled with dizziness in my head. Had my Horse brought up and shod, and took a ride in the afternoon. Spent the evening with Mr Hitchcock, came to my Lodgings about 9 o clock. Dizziness in my head increased,—burnt very much after abed, and no rest for two, or three hours.

Sept 23 Much better this morning, but very little of y^e disagreeable sensation in my head, by which am ready to conclude my Disorder, a sort of a fever was at its crisis last night. . . . My conclusions I find to be very false. Dizziness in my Head before noon came on to a greater degree.—In y^e beginning of y^e evening taken with a violent pain in my head, & y^e small of my Back and a high fever. The Disorder was of y^e nervous kind.¹

Oct. 6. Went abroad being a very pleasant day. Ventured as soon as I tho't it safe, that I might be y^e sooner ready to go home, took no cold.

¹ From the 23d of September to the 6th of October there is no entry in his Journal. It would seem that he was down with the Small Pox, although he makes no entry to that effect.

Oct^r. 7. Better. rode out;—in y^e evening, had a visit from Mr. Frelinghussen, Dutch Minister of Albany.

Oct^r. 8. Sunday. Rode out in y^e forenoon & afternoon had a high fever from 3 o'clock to 7.—Slept pretty well. Mr Frelinghussen to see me.

Oct 9. Much better, rode out tho' cloudy dull wether.

Oct 10. A very dull day, or should have sett out for Albany.

Oct 11. About 12 o'clock left Schenactada. Stopped an hour at Mr John Lansing's, at Albany, and took some refreshments, finding myself a little recruited, crossed the River at sunset—lodged at Mr Witbeak's.—But little sleep.

Oct 12 Waited for Brother Ben, till 12 o'clock.—took dinner and set out for Kenderhook, rode about 4 miles, and happily overtook Mr Martin of Cambridge bound home: Stopped at y^e half way house, and while there Broth^{er} Amos came up much indisposed, give him some refreshment, advised him to tarry 'till Ben came up, and being too ill myself to tarry went forward with company, arrived at y^e Mills in Kenderhook sun an hour high,—20 miles,—rested something better.

Oct 13. This morning on Horse back, by sun an hour high. Went to the Stone House to breakfast, 9 miles, arrived at Sheffield 28 miles from Kenderhook. lodged at Brigadier Dwight's. Rested still better.

Oct 14 A rainy morning, and continued raining 'till about 3 o'clock P. M. when I set out with Mr Martin; travelled about 5 miles, and obliged by y^e rain to put up, lodged at Mr Dana's

Oct 15 On Horse back by sunrise; took breakfast at Chadwick's 4½ miles. Entered the "Green-woods" at 9 o'clock, bad travelling after y^e rain, got thro 2 o'clock. (y^e wood 18 miles.) Took refreshment at Roots 30½ miles

from Sheffield. continued our Journey to Springfield 21 miles, arrived at 7 o clock.—lodged at Mr Hitchcock's Fathers.

Oct 16. Set out from Springfield about 11 o clock : at night lodged at Mr Jones of Western.

Oct 17 Got my Horse shod at Mr Padocks near Mr Jones's Showery day.—at night lodged at Mr Roberts of Liecester. thundered in y^e evening.

Oct 18 Clear cool morning.—Exchanged my horse Dan^l Lynde for a young mare, gave a Johannas to boot. took some refreshment at Mr McCarty's at 3 o clock.—lodged at Mr Cushings of Shrewsbury.

Oct 19 Pleasant Morning.—Lodged at Mr Cushing's.—Waltham.

Oct 20 9 o clock took leave of Mr Cushing.—1 o clock dined with Col Williams wife.—got home about 8 o clock in y^e Evening.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF
MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

Watson Street Burial-ground.

- ADAMS, LOIS, wife of Capt. Joseph and dau. of Benj. and Lydia Bowden. June 3, 1800, aged 21 yrs., 15 d.
- “ SARAH P., wife of William B., and dau. of John Pedrick. Aug. 28, 1838, aged 47 yrs.
- ALLEN, MARY, dau. of William and Mary. Oct. 18, 1807, aged 16.
- ASHTON, SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Elizabeth. May 17, 1802, aged 20 yrs., 11 m.
- ATKINS, REBECCA L., wife of John. Aug. 20, 1855, aged 32 yrs.
- BALLARD, SAMUEL, H., son of Elisha and Elizabeth. Aug. 6, 1833, aged 21 yrs., 10 m., 6 d.
- BARKER, MARTHA, wife of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 17, 1822, aged 71 yrs., 3 m., 8 d.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Martha. Feb. 15, 1798, aged 12 yrs., 8 m.
- “ RUTH, wife of Capt. John. Jan. 8, 1817, aged 98 yrs., 7 m.
- BARTLETT, FAITHFUL. Jan. 10, 1748-9, 66th yr.
- “ BETHIAH HOOPER, dau. of Faithful and Ann. June 21, 1742, 35th yr.
- BASSETT, MICHAEL. Sept. 30, 1820, aged 66.
- “ TABITHA, wife of Michael. May 15, 1798, aged 41.
- “ JOSEPH, son of Michael and Tabitha. Jan. 30, 1779, aged 3 m.
- “ NANCY P., dau. of Michael and Tabitha. Jan. 16, 1780, aged 5 wks.
- “ JOHN, son of Michael and Tabitha. Apr. 27, 1785, aged 1.
- BEAL, MARY. Oct. 14, 1832, aged 74.
- BESSOM, RUTH, wife of Capt. Philip. June 3, 1794, aged 31 yrs., 5 m.

ERRATUM.—On page 152, line 4, for *Watson* read *Mugford*.



- BESSOM, HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Philip and Ruth. Oct. 20, 1795, aged 5 yrs., 11 m., 18 d.
- “ JOHN R., son of Philip and Betsy. Apr. 6, 1810, aged 2 yrs., 11 m.
- BLACKLER, NANCY, dau. of Capt. William and Rebecca. Nov. 22, 1800, aged 17.
- “ LUCY, wife of Capt. John C., and dau. of Richard and Lucy Harris. Apr. 21, 1803, aged 20.
- BLANCHFIELD, HANNAH, wife of Oliver and dau. of Capt. Wm. and Mary Pedrick. Aug. 2, 1827, aged 42.
- BLANEY, ELIZABETH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. March 31, 1729, aged 8 yrs., 2 m., 17 d.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. Apr. 1, 1729, aged 6 yrs., wanting 43 days.
- “ JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Elizabeth. Apr. 22, 1729, aged 10 m., 22 d.
- “ JONATHAN. July 28, 1757, aged 21 yrs., 6 m.
- BOWDEN, MICHAEL. Aug. 19, 1792, aged 74.
- “ MARY, wid. of Michael. Sept. 20, 1799, aged 80.
- “ (BODEN) MARTHA, dau. of Capt. Benjamin. June 4, 1807, aged 16 yrs.
- BOWEN, NATHAN, Esq. Dec. 23, 1776, aged 79.
- “ EDWARD, Esq., eldest son of Nathan, Esq. Oct. 5, 1796, aged 75.
- “ EDWARD, 2d. Nov. 27, 1805, aged 27.
- “ NATHAN, Esq. Aug. 9, 1837, aged 85.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Nathan, Esq. May 18, 1797, aged 36.
- “ MARY, wid. of Nathan, Esq. May 21, 1838, aged 81.
- BRADSTREET, Rev. SIMON, pastor of 2d ch. 33 yrs. Oct. 5, 1771, aged 63 yrs.
- “ MARY, wife of Rev. Simon. Oct. 18, 1768, aged 51.
- “ []y.—tr. 22, 1762, aged []y., 7 m., 16 d.
- BRAY, Capt. EDMUND. May 27, 1838, aged 89.
- “ EDMUND, son of Capt. Edmund and Sally, at sea, buried on the Island of Java. Aug. 20, 1835, aged 36.
- “ SARAH, dau. of Knott P. and Mary. Sept. 13, 1851, aged 3 yrs., 1 m.
- BROUGHTON, NICHOLSON, Esq. Aug. 3, 1798, aged 73 yrs., 7 m.
- “ SARAH, wife of Major Nicholson, and dau. of Joseph and Sarah Pedrick. June 18, 1793, aged 62 yrs., 9 m.
- “ SUSANNA, wife of Capt. Nicholson, and 3d dau. of John Glover. Sept. 9, 1796, aged 29 yrs., 6 m.
- “ FREDERICK, 5th son of Capt. Nicholson. Oct. 31, 1820, aged 19 yrs., 4 m.

- BROWN, HANNAH, wife of Joseph. Feb. 16, 1805, 27th yr.
 " ABIGAIL, wife of William P. Jan. 4, 1817, aged 37.
 " MARY ABIGAIL, dau. of William P. and Abigail. June 12, 1818, aged 18 m.
 " ROBERT, son of William P. and Abigail. Feb. 5, 1821, aged 6 yrs., 4 m.
- BUBIER, MARY, wife of Peter. Aug. 28, 1768, aged 24 yrs., 7 m.
 " SARAH, dau. of Peter and Mary. Aug. 8, 1781, aged 18.
 " TABBA T., wife of John, U. S. Navy. Oct. 16, 1822, aged 30; also their twin daughters.
- CHIPMAN, ELIZABETH, wid. of John, Esq. June 17, 1785, aged 62.
 COURTIS, REBECCA, wid. of Francis. Jan. 16, 1813, aged 43.
 CRAW, GEORGE CLARK, son of Philip and Elizabeth. Aug. 23, 1799, aged 5 yrs., 5 m.
- DAVIS, SARAH, wife of Thomas. Sept. 6, 1797, aged 47 yrs., 1 m., 21 d.
- DENNIS, ABIGAIL, wife of William and dau. of Nicholas and Susanna Quiner. Nov. 3, 1818, aged 27 yrs., 1 m., 7 d.
- DEVEREUX, JOHN, only child of Joseph and Lydia. Jan. 3, 1788, aged 39 yrs., 6 m.
 " MARY, wife of John and 2d dau. of Nicholson Broughton, Esq. Oct. 26, 1796, aged 41.
 " MARY, 2d dau. of John and Mary. May 6, 1828, aged 49.
 " SARAH, 4th " " " " " Feb. 15, 1855, aged 71 yrs., 8 m.
 " JOSEPH, after an illness of 16 yrs. Feb. 20, 1796, aged 70 yrs., 5 m.
 " SUSANNA, wid. of Joseph. Mar. 19, 1823, aged 93.
 " JOHN 3d. Dec. 14, 1812, aged 36.
 " JOSEPH N., son of John 3d, died on board ship Asia, four days from Batavia, and buried in Straits of Gasper. Oct. 4, 1836, aged 26.
 " MEHITABLE, wife of Capt. Nicholas B., and eldest dau. of Thomas and Mehitable Cloutman. June 24, 1828, aged 43 yrs., 7 m., 8 d.
 " MARY BROUGHTON, youngest dau. of Capt. Nicholas B. and Mehitable. July 19, 1828, aged 6 m., 19 d.
- DISSMORE, BETSY, wife of Thomas. Dec. 31, 1828, aged 25 yrs., 5 m., 17 d.
- DOLLIVER, WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Sarah. Dec. 18, 1815, aged 32.

- FARRER, Capt. TIMOTHY, b. May 15, 1783, d. June 19, 1820.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Timothy, b. June 27, 1777, d. April 12, 1847.
- FELTON, POLLY, wife of John, and a child. Feb. 24, 1822, aged 32.
- FULLER, JOHN, son of James and Mary. Dec. 26, 1777, aged 6 wks.
 " MARY, dau. " " " Sept. 6, 1784, aged 1 year, 2 m., 15 d.
 " JAMES PRINCE, son of James and Mary. Mar. 26, 1787, aged 11 yrs., 7 m., 21 d.
 " MARY, wife of Thomas. Oct. 22, 1803, aged 37.
- GAIL, SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Mary. Nov. 2, 1787, aged 25 yrs., 2 m., 8 d.
- GALLISON [] wife of Capt. John (tomb). Nov. 24, 1754, aged [].
- GATCHELL, JEREMIAH. Feb. 25, 1749, aged 70.
 " JUDITH, wid. of Jeremiah. Feb. 24, 1750, aged 71.
- GIRDLER, SARAH, dau. of Capt. Lewis and Sarah. Mar. 17, 1795, aged 7 d.
 " SARAH, dau. of Capt. Lewis and Sarah. July 15, 1797, aged 13 m., 19 d.
 " MARY, wife of Robert. July 28, 1801, aged 76 yrs., 8 m.
 { " Capt. ROBERT. Apr. 17, 1847, aged 85.
 { " JOSEPH. Jan. 2, 1849, aged 59.
 { " Miss MARGARET. Apr. 7, 1849, aged 89.
- GLOVER, PATTY, wife of Samuel. Dec. 1, 1786, aged 17 yrs., 8 m.
- GREEN, HULDAH, wid. of Darius and dau. of William and Deborah Waitt. Feb. 27, 1807, aged 66.
- HANSEN, Mr. LARS, Erected in memory of, who was born in Arendath, Norway, 1761, d. Marblehead, Feb. 24, 1788, aged 27.
 " Her under Weter
 Den salige ungé Karl
 Lars Hansen Fod
 Arendath Norgé adret 1761
 Dod. Marblehead the
 24 Februari 1788."
- HARRIS, RICHARD, Esq. July 14, 1790, aged 52.
 " ANN, 1st wife of Richard, Esq. May 31, 1770, aged 27.
 " LUCY, 2d " " " " Oct. 13, 1790, aged 41.
 " LUCY, eldest dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. Mar. 20, 1780, aged 8 yrs., 8 m.
 " KATHERINE, dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. May 9, 1791, aged 12 m.

- HARRIS, ANNE BRADSTREET, dau. of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. Jan. 19, 1799, aged 24.
- “ JOHN GERRY, son of Richard, Esq., and Lucy. May 24, 1802, aged 15.
- “ JOHN, 2d son of John and Eleanor. Aug. 16, 1783, aged 1 yr., 10 m.
- “ JOSEPH, 5th son of John and Eleanor. Mar. 21, 1793, aged 11 m., 7 d.
- “ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, son of John and Eleanor. Jan. 4, 1800, aged 14 d.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Mason. Feb. 15, 1793, 41st yr.
- “ ROBERT. Dec. 12, 1794, 52d yr.
- “ SARAH, wife of Robert. Nov. 19, 1799, 64th yr.
- HINDS, ELIAS, “youngest son of Capt. Benjamin, whose remains lie near this place.” Sept. 11, 1797, aged 17 yrs., 6 m., 18 d.
- HITER, SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Hannah, drowned Marblehead harbor. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 20 yrs., 4 m.
- HOMAN, NATHANIEL, only ch. of Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Aug. 11, 1821, aged 10 m.
- HOOPER, NATHANIEL. May 1, 1760, aged 49 yrs., 3 m.
- “ HANNAH, wife of Nathaniel. Aug. 31, 1747, aged 38 yrs., 8 m.
- “ HENRY, son of Nathaniel and Hannah. June 13, 1745, aged 6 yrs., 9 m.
- “ MARY, dau. of Nathaniel and Sarah. June 12, 1761, aged 5 yrs.
- “ SARAH, dau. of Nathaniel and Sarah. May 18, 1762, aged 12 yrs., 4 m.
- “ SARAH, wife of Dea. Robert. Nov. 18, 1754, aged 27 yrs., 6 m., 2 d.
- “ NATHANIEL, son of Robert and Polly. July 3, 1801, aged 2 yrs., 6 m.
- HORTON, Capt. SAMUEL. May 22, 1817, aged 72.
- “ ELEANOR, wife of Capt. Samuel and youngest dau. of Maj. Nicholson and Sarah Broughton. Sept. 16, 1807, aged 45.
- “ NICHOLSON BROUGHTON, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Sept. 11, 1794, aged 1.
- “ WM. WILLIAMS, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Dec. 27, 1801, aged 1 yr., 10 m.
- “ MATILDA JANE, dau. of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Nov. 2, 1802, aged 11 m.
- “ Capt. SAMUEL, son of Capt. Samuel and Eleanor. Aug. 7, 1815, aged 22 yrs., 11 m.

- HORTON, Miss MARY. Aug. 6, 1829, aged 50 yrs., 7 m.
- HUBBARD, ABIGAIL, dau. of Wm. B. and Sally B. May 10, 1853, aged 10 m.
- HUMPHREYS, MARY, wife of John. Feb. 8, 1786, aged 29.
- INGALLS, JOHN, after an illness of two years. Oct. 2, 1836, 52d yr.
 " HANNAH, wid. of John. May 10, 1842, aged 61.
- JOHNSON, Capt. BENOICE. May 4, 1830, aged 68.
 " SARAH, wife of Capt. Benoice. June 13, 1800, aged 29.
 " SARAH, b. Oct. 13, 1756, d. Sept. 9, 1846, 90th yr.
- LAMPRELL, SIMON. July 10, 1824, aged 48 yrs., 8 m., 26 d.
 " ELEANOR ANDREWS, wife of Simon. Aug. 27, 1855, aged 82.
 " MARGARET P., dau. of Simon. Oct. 20, 1812, aged 6 yrs., 1 m., 9 d.
- { LEE, MARY, dau. of Jeremiah and Abigail. Sept. 15, 1747, aged 15 d.
 " SAMUEL, son of " " " Aug. 7, 1750, aged 30 d.
 " ABIGAIL, dau. " " " " Aug. 3, 1758, aged 6 m.
 " SAMUEL. July 6, 1753, aged 61.
 (On tomb with wife of Capt. John Gallison.)
- LEECH, Capt. NATHANIEL, lost at sea. Sept. 29, 1776.
 " DEBORAH, wife of Capt. Nathaniel. May 9, 1803, 56th yr.
- LEWIS, Capt. EDMUND. June 8, 1805, aged 57.
 " TABITHA, wid. of Capt. Edmund. Aug. 28, 1814, aged 62.
- LINDSEY, DEBBY, dau. of Capt. Joseph and Debby. Feb. 4, 1799, aged 14 m., 15 d.
 " DEBBY, dau. of Capt. Joseph and Debby. July 16, 1801, aged 1 yr., 11 m., 20 d.
 " A son of Capt. Joseph and Debby, still born. Oct. 13, 1801.
 " NATHANIEL, son of Capt. Joseph and Debby. Oct. 27, 1805, aged 16 m.
- { MANSFIELD, Capt. ISAAC. Dec. 20, 1760, aged 65.
 " ANNA, 1st wife of Capt. Isaac. Aug. 24, 1749, aged 58 yrs., 7 m., 8 d.
 " MARY, 2d wife of Capt. Isaac. Sept. 14, 1756, aged 56 yrs., 4 m.
 " ISAAC, Esq. Apr. 12, 1792, aged 72.
 " RUTH, wife of Isaac, Esq. Feb. 5, 1784, 65th yr.
- MARTIN, SAMUEL. Dec. 28, 1789, aged 38.
 " SARAH, 1st wife of Samuel. Dec. 23, 1779, aged 31.
 " MARY, 2d " " " Oct. 24, 1823, aged 71.
 " NATHAN B., son of Nathan B. and Sarah. Aug. 5, 1791, aged 4.

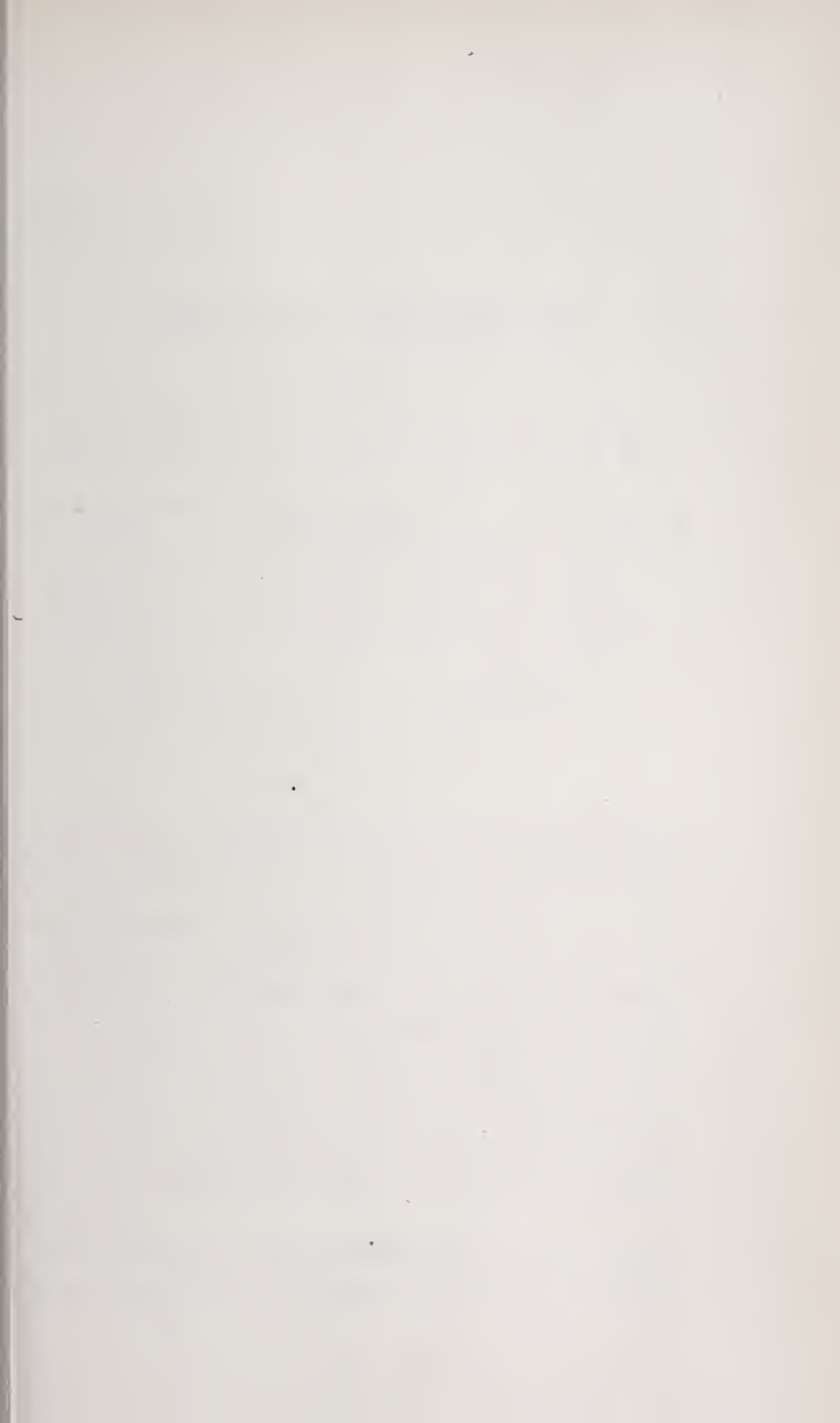
- MARTIN, ELIZABETH, dau. of Nathan B. and Sarah. Aug. 20, 1791, aged 1.
- “ ALICE H., dau. of Ambrose B. and Elizabeth. Apr. 8, 1799, aged 3 yrs., 8 d.
- “ ABIGAIL, wife of Thomas and dau. of George Bridgeo, after the birth of her child, Mar. 23, 1807, aged 16 yrs., 6 m.
- “ SARAH, wife of Capt. Arnold, and only dau. of John Griste, Jr. Jan. 25, 1819, aged 68 yrs., 4 m.
- “ KNOTT 3d, tomb. 1825.
- MEEK, Capt. THOMAS. Dec 3, 1811, aged 54.
- “ CHARITY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Sept. 7, 1796, aged 39.
- “ LYDIA, religious consort of Capt. Thomas. July 8, 1803, aged 42.
- “ MARY, wid. Capt. Thomas and eldest dau. of Stephen and Elizabeth Phillips. Sept. 18, 1844, aged 89.
- “ CHARITY, dau. of Capt. Thomas and Charity. Aug. 3, 1801, aged 15 yrs., 11 m.
- NOWLAND, HANNAH, wife of James. Jan. 18, 1796, aged 27 yrs., 5 m., 15 d., and a child.
- OLIVER, BETSY, only child of Dr. Nathaniel and Elizabeth. Apr. 8, 1785, aged 4 yrs., 4 m., 4 d.
- PAINE, MARY, relict of Francis. Mar. 16, 1793, 76th yr.
- { “ MARTHA, wid. of Henry and dau. of John and Deborah Blackler. Sept. 10, 1824, aged 67.
- { “ SAMUEL G. — —, aged 2.
- { “ SAMUEL G. — —, aged 23 m. and an infant.
- “Our dear Mother.”
- PATTEN, MARY, dau. of Capt. Edmund Bray. Mar. 15, 1866, aged 70.
- PEDRICK, SARAH, wife of Joseph. Oct. 26, 1788, aged 83.
- “ Capt. THOMAS. Sept. 23, 1802, aged 66.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Richard and dau. of John and Elizabeth Carder. Dec. 14, 1804, aged 60 yrs., 9 m.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Richard and Elizabeth. Nov. 23, 1802, aged 16 yrs., 8 m., 8 d.
- “ JOHN, 3d son of Richard and Elizabeth. July 15, 1853, aged 80.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John and dau. of Edward and Jane Fettyplace. Sept. 16, 1813, 37th yr.
- “ Capt. WILLIAM. Oct. 24, 1803, aged 65 yrs., 8 m., 7 d.

- PEDRICK, MARY, wid. of William. Oct. 25, 1815, aged 72.
- { " EBENEZER. Aug. 22, 1817, aged 46.
- { " JOSEPH. Mar. 27, 1826, aged 62.
- " JOHN, Esq. June 17, 1833, aged 73.
- " SARAH, wid. of John, Esq. Jan. 18, 1848, aged 84.
- " JOHN, 4th son of Capt. John and Sarah, drowned in Marblehead Harbor. Sept. 17, 1808, aged 21 yrs., 13 d.
- PHILLIPS, ROBERT, son of Robert and Nancy. May 18, 1818, aged 1 m.
- " LYDIA ANN, dau. " " " Jan. 6, 1821, aged 1 yr., 6 m.
- POTE, SAMUEL. Sept. 12, 1789, aged 58.
- " ANN, wife of Samuel. June 30, 1787, aged 60.
- POUSLAND, Capt. WILLIAM. Jan. 15, 1804, aged 38.
- POWER, MIRIAM, wife of Thomas and dau. of Capt. John and Miriam Russell. Sept. 9, 1796, aged 41 yrs., 5 m.
- " SARAH, wife of Thomas and dau. of Capt. William and Mary Blackler. Jan. 20, 1800, aged 29.
- " LEWIS R. Oct. 20, 1827, aged 38 yrs., 6 m., 10 d.
- PRINCE, Capt. JOHN. Apr. 15, 1787, aged 51.
- " ANNA, wid. of Capt. John. Jan. 11, 1830, aged 92 yrs., 8 m.
- " JAMES, son " " " and Anna. Sept. 18, 1765, aged 1 yr., 9 m.
- " NATHAN, son of Capt. John and Anna, at sea. July 22, 1789, aged 19 yrs., 6 m., 13 d.
- " JOSEPH A. B., son of Capt. John and Anna. Dec. 27, 1795, aged 23 yrs., 6 m., 4 d.
- " SALLY. June 6, 1826, aged 45.
- PROCTER, JOHN, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, born Feb. 14, 1736-7, d. June 9, 1737.
- " ABIGAIL, dau. of Jona. and Elizabeth, born Apr. 3, 1734; d. Dec. 30, 1737.
- " ANNIS, wife of Joseph. June 27, 1758, aged 34.
- " Capt. JEREMIAH. Nov. 1, 1798, aged 71 y., 6 m.
- " JOSEPH, son of William and Deborah. Aug. 8, 1804, aged 6 yrs., 11 m.
- " Capt. JONATHAN. Mar. 1, 1806, aged 53.
- " JEREMIAH, son of Capt. Jonathan. Oct. 25, 1795, aged 17.
- " JANE, wife of Capt. John. Aug. 5, 1813, aged 38 yrs., 4 d.
- " MARY, wid. of William. May 11, 1835, aged 96 yrs., 7 m.
- QUINER, SUSANNA, wife of Capt. Nicholas. Oct. 5, 1822, aged 66 yrs., 10 m., 2 d.

- REED, Capt. EBEN'R, consort of Sarah. May 25, 1785, aged 44 yrs.,
2 m.
- RHOADES, LYDIA BIRMINGHAM, dau. of Joseph and Mary. Sept. 22,
1757, aged 27.
- “ MARY, dau. of Joseph and Mary. Oct. 8, 1757, aged 32.
- ROBIE, THOMAS, son of Thomas and Mary, and grandson of Rev.
Simon Bradstreet, Jan 3, 1792, 18th yr.
- ROUNDEY, GEORGE, schoolmaster. Jan. 21, 1799, aged 41.
- “ JONATHAN. July 25, 1812, aged 64.
- RUSSELL, MARY, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. July 3, 1810, aged
14 yrs., 10 m.
- “ HANNAH, dau. of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. May 15, 1812,
aged 23 yrs., 7 m., 9 d.
- “ LEWIS, son of Capt. Wm. and Hannah. Jan. 21, 1823, aged
21.
- “ Capt. JOHN. May 20, 1811, aged 83.
- “ MIRIAM, wife of Capt. John. Dec. 19, 1817, aged 80.
- “ Capt. JOHN R. Nov. 24, 1817, aged 63.
- “ LOIS, wife of Capt. John R. Apr. 18, 1800, aged 41.
- “ SAMUEL H., b. May 23, 1784, d. June 19, 1869.
- SHERMAN, MARY P., wife of Marshall. Jan. 24, 1856, aged 27 yrs., 9 m.
- “ ANNA S., dau. of Marshall. Sept. 27, 1846, aged 2 yrs., 8 m.
- “ MARSHALL, son of “ Jan. 4, 1850, aged 1 yr., 3 m.
- SKILLEN, Mrs. ELIZABETH, tomb, 1772.
- SKINNER, Capt. JOHN. May 23, 1747, aged 38.
- “ WILLIAM, Gent. Mar. 21, 1762, aged 23.
- SMITH, JAMES, born Dec. 11, 1767, d. Dec. 6, 1857.
- “ SALLY PEDRICK, wife of James, born Aug. 16, 1767, d. July
6, 1816.
- “ REBECCA CLEAVES, dau. of James and Sally. Aug. 3, 1794,
aged 2 yrs.
- “ JAMES, son of James and Sally. Feb. 8, 1796, aged 1 yr., 3
m., 6 d.
- STACEY, Dea. SAMUEL. June 29, 1743, aged 67 yrs., 3 m.
- “ Capt. JOHN. Dec. 25, 1749, aged 53.
- “ AMBROSE. July 20, 1753, aged 24.
- “ WILLIAM. Nov. 28, 1759, aged 28.
- “ LYDIA, wife of Ebenezer. Sept. 5, 1761, aged 60.
- “ BENJAMIN. May 4, 1762, aged 62.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin. Jan. 30, 1762, aged 52.
- “ Capt. RICHARD. - Apr. 5, 1792, aged 58.
- } “ JOHN, son of Capt. Richard. — — aged 2 yrs., 2 m.
- “ NATHANIEL, son of Capt. Richard. — — aged 3.

- STACEY, LYDIA, dau. of Capt. Samuel. June 12, 1801, aged 3 yrs., 4 m., 5 d.
- “ JOHN. Aug. 4, 1804, aged 50.
- “ NANCY, wid. of John. Dec. 22, 1841, aged 87.
- “ EDWARD. Jan. 26, 1805, aged 42.
- “ EDWARD, son of Edward, at sea. Feb. 23, 1813, aged 21.
- “ SAMUEL, “ “ “ Sept. 1, 1818, aged 22.
- “ BENJAMIN P., son of Edward and Charity. Mar. 9, 1828, aged 34.
- “ WILLIAM. Mar. 27, 1841, aged 51.
- “ JOHN, son of William. Mar. 19, 1845, aged 20.
- “ WILLIAM, son of William. Sept. 11, 1850, aged 28.
- STEVENS, Capt. Thomas. May 29, 1802, aged 40 yrs., 9 m.
- “ JOHN A., son of Capt. Thos. and Elizabeth. Nov. 12, 1804, aged 16.
- STILES, SARAH, wid. of Ezra, and dau. of Nathan Bowen, Esq. July 3, 1796, aged 66.
- STORY, JOHN. Apr. 15, 1754, aged 30.
- “ RUTH, wife of Elisha and only dau. of the late patriotic John Ruddock of Boston. Mar. 21, 1778, aged 32.
- SWAZEY, JOHN, 3d son of Samuel and Susanna, drowned, with the whole crew, near Cat Island, Oct. 18, 1767, aged 16.
- “ SAMUEL, eldest son of Samuel and Susanna. Dec. 30, 1773, aged 25.
- TEDDER, VALENTINE (see Pond St. B. G.). Oct. 8, 1804, aged 68 yrs., 7 m.
- THOMPSON, WILLIAM, son of Thos. and Barbary. Nov. 27, 1806, aged 20 m., 4 d.
- “ CHRISTOPHER GRANT, son of Benj. and Margaret. Aug. 2, 1826, aged 18 m.
- “ SAMUEL, son of Benj. and Margaret. Feb. 23, 1837, aged 1.
- TREFRY, JOHN, eldest son of Samuel S. and Sally. Nov. 9, 1821, aged 3 yrs., 5 m., 7 d.
- “ SUSANNA. Aug. 29, 1836, aged 76.
- “ SUSANNA, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Jan. 17, 1796, aged 6 yrs., 2 m.
- “ SUCKEY, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Dec. 21, 1806, aged 10 yrs., 3 m.
- “ JOHN, son of Capt. John and Susanna. Sept. 11, 1814, aged 22 yrs., 3 m., 28 d.
- “ TABITHA, dau. of Capt. John and Susanna. Mar. 10, 1829, aged 29 yrs., 4 m.
- TWISDEN, Capt. CHRISTOPHER. Apr. 20, 1767, aged 67.

- TWISDEN, SARAH, wife of Capt. Christopher. Oct. 10, 1766, aged 66.
 " CHRISTOPHER, son of Capt. Christopher. Apr. 22, 1767,
 aged 28.
- VINNING, Mrs. MARY. Aug. 24, 1809, aged 59.
- WAITT, SAMUEL. Sept. 10, 1798, aged 47.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Mar. 26, 1781, aged 31.
 " BETSY, dau. of Samuel and Sarah. Feb. 14, 1786, aged 2.
 " SAMUEL, son " " " " May 25, 1796, aged 11.
 " WILLIAM. Nov. 22, 1803, aged 92.
 " DEBORAH, wife of William. Aug. 13, 1803, aged 92.
- WARNER, EBEN'R (a native of Springfield). May 15, 1790, 55th yr.
 " ELIZABETH, wid. of Eben'r. Dec. 11, 1800, aged 59 yrs., 4
 m.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Eben'r and Elizabeth. July 23, 1787, aged
 19 yrs., 10 m.
 " JOHN C., eldest son of John and Rebecca. Jan. 22, 1810.
 aged 4.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of John and Rebecca. — — aged 2 d.
- WEBSTER, MARGARET, wife of Nathan. Aug. 28, 1835, aged 32.
- WILLARD, REBECCA PITMAN, dau. of Jacob, Esq., and Elizabeth. Apr.
 11, 1815, aged 4 m., 8 d.
- WITHAM, BURRILL. May 27, 1852, aged 68.
 " SALLY B. wid. of Burrill. Dec. 15, 1852, aged 58 yrs., 2 m.
 " SAMUEL B. Sept. 19, 1852, aged 1 yr., 9 m., 20 d.
 " MARY SUSAN. Sept. 7, 1852, aged 7 yrs., 10 m., 21 d.
- WORMSTED, JOSEPH, son of Joseph and Mary. Sept. 30, 1834, aged 3.
 " JOSEPH S., " " " " " Sept. 20, 1838, aged 3.
 " Capt. BENJAMIN. Jan. 11, 1848, aged 68.
 " MARTHA, wid. of Capt. Benjamin. Sept. 10, 1848, aged 67.



HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII.

JULY, 1874.

No. 3.

MEMOIR OF JOHN LEWIS RUSSELL,

BY

EDMUND B. WILLSON.

[COMMUNICATED MAY 13, 1874.]

JOHN LEWIS RUSSELL, son of John and Eunice (Hunt) Russell, and grandson of William and Mary (Richardson) Russell, was born in Salem, Massachusetts, Dec. 2, 1808, and died in the same town, June 7, 1873.

William, the grandfather, born in Boston, May 24, 1748, was a schoolmaster and adjutant of a regiment of artillery in his native town. He was a zealous patriot in the revolutionary period, was one of the "sons of liberty," assisted in the destruction of the British Tea in Boston harbor on the 16th of December, 1773, and later, having entered the naval service of the country, was captured and confined three years and more in Mill Prison, England.

John Lewis, the subject of this notice, was sent to the Latin School in Salem, in 1819. His father removing to

Amesbury the following year, he was for a time placed under the tuition of "Master Pike" in the Academy at Newburyport, but finished his preparation for college under the instruction of the Rev. Mr. Barnaby of Amesbury, a Baptist clergyman. He entered Harvard College in 1824, graduated in 1828, engaged in the study of theology the same year, and graduated from the Divinity School in Cambridge in 1831.

From 1831 to 1854, Mr. Russell occupied various Unitarian pulpits for longer or shorter periods; among them those in Fishkill, N. Y., Burlington, Vt., Pittsburgh, Penn., Kennebunk, Me., Chelmsford, and the Second (South) Parish in Hingham, Mass. In the last named place he was settled for more than seven years continuously, from June 26, 1842, to Sept. 1, 1849, and preached there by extended engagements at other times, nearly three years in all. In 1853, upon the death of his father, he returned to Salem where he continued to reside till his death, preaching only occasionally.

On the 4th of Oct., 1853, he married Hannah Buckminster Ripley of Greenfield, Mass., who survives him. They had no children.

Mr. Russell's chosen profession, it will be seen, was that of the ministry. Though he did not spend the greater part of his active years in permanent pastoral relations with any religious society, his heart was in this calling. He was interested in theological inquiry and marked its progress with a keen attention. He had great respect for good learning, and never failed to pay due honor to true scholarship. He held up before himself and others high standards of training and attainment in the ministry; and though his personal tastes led him persuasively to the study of nature, and his deep moral convictions and humane feelings impelled him strongly to certain forms of

philanthropic discourse and action, he set none the less value upon patient research, sound criticism, and the fruits of thorough professional culture. As a preacher his reputation was the best with the most thoughtful and advancing minds, and his pulpit efforts showed vigor and ability. We find him setting off for a distant state to preach in the early part of his ministry, with the cheering assurance of his teacher, the honored and beloved Prof. Henry Ware, Jr., that he had no need to fear that he would not find himself welcome and useful, provided he went "with a courageous spirit;" that discerning counsellor adding: "I am a little fearful that you want that *boldness* which is necessary to the best action of a man's powers, and that from your self-distrust you fail to put forth your utmost strength." Concurrent with this judgment, is that of another early friend and distinguished scholar and preacher* who writes since his death: "My impressions of him were that he was a man of more ability than the world knew of, of a singularly observing and acute mind, and of warmer sympathies than he was wont to express. . . . If his personal ambition had been greater he would have attracted more notice from the world."

At an early age Mr. Russell showed a marked fondness for botanical observation and study. This interest was materially strengthened during his college course by acquaintance with a few in Cambridge of similar taste. He kept it, and it increased when he went out into the world to preach. This pursuit was with him something more than a recreation. Side by side with his ministerial work it held its place in his regard without, however, causing his earnestness in the minister's work to flag. It was some five and thirty years ago that I first saw him. A lad

*Rev. Geo. Ripley.

sixteen or eighteen years old I was introduced into a clergyman's "study" in a country village in the north of Middlesex county. Somewhat familiar with the aspect of country clergymen's studies, I had never seen anything like this before. Of books there were enough; about the usual number of shelves and volumes, I think: I find I do not remember much about them. What I noticed more was that all the available room was filled with plants and flowers; green things and beautiful. In a corner stood fishing rod and tackle; and disposed in odd nooks, boxes, baskets, and cases, such convenient furnishing, it may be presumed, as the botanist and student of nature requires for his pursuits. The apartment was lovely as a garden; and when, presently, the minister who wrote sermons there, and there opened the books of God's Scripture and Revelation in many kinds, came in, he was one to whom the place seemed befitting; hearty in his greeting, fresh, natural, radiant with health; bubbling as a fountain with spirits and humor, as if he knew the woods and pastures and streams for many a mile round about, as no doubt he did. He stood like a brother among the stalks and plumes, Nature's own child.

Wherever this man went to fill a pulpit the lovers of nature gravitated towards him, and he made them his allies. They attended him to the fields, and ranged with him the steep hills and the miry swamps. His animated talk and moist kindling eyes as he described the graces of the ferns and the glories of the grasses and the lichens quickened the love of beauty in them. He imparted stimulating knowledge of the secrets of the meadows and woods, and drew about him by instinctive sympathy such as had an ear for the mysteries of the sea, or the forests, or the moss-coated rocks.

At the formation of the Essex County Natural History

Society in 1833, Mr. Russell was chosen Librarian and Cabinet Keeper; in 1836 he delivered the annual address before it; and in 1845 was elected its President, which office he held till by its union with the Essex Historical Society in 1848, the Essex Institute was formed, when Judge Daniel A. White, the senior of the two presidents of the societies merged in this, became the president of the new organization, and Mr. Russell its vice president; in which office he continued till 1861. During the greater part of this time, though not residing in Salem, Mr. Russell gave much important aid to this society, under its different names and organizations; and on his return to make this city his home in 1853, he came at once into direct and active connection with its work. At the "field meetings" held at short intervals in various parts of the county in the warm season, he was one of the most constant attendants and diligent explorers; and none contributed more largely than he to make them instructive and entertaining. For several years he was also a frequent lecturer and speaker upon his favorite theme before Normal Schools and other schools and institutions, and he was never more radiantly happy than when surrounded by young and eager minds thirsting for the knowledge he could impart. Attentive faces roused him to glowing enthusiasm and rapid speech; and many a listener dates the birth of a life-long interest in natural history or in scientific inquiry to his fascinating portrayal of nature's wonders—of the order and beauty and endless transformations and creations of her realm. He held a high place in the regard of men most instructed in the field of his chosen studies. The best botanists of the country ascribed to him, besides a general acquaintance with the New England flora, an extensive and accurate knowledge of the Cryptogamia in particular, and of lichens more

especially, in which department he ranked as an original worker and of the first class of amateur students. "He was an earnest naturalist," says Professor Edward Tuckerman, "who gave all his power to the explication of vegetable nature, and when he began, it was here in New England almost wholly neglected and unknown." "I always watched his career with interest," writes the accomplished scholar and joint-editor of the "New American Cyclopaedia," George Ripley. . . . "Of late years I knew him best by his contributions to the 'Cyclopaedia.' They were of great value to the work, and an important element in the reputation which it has gained with scientific readers. In the revision in which we are now engaged I daily miss his aid and counsels."

In 1831 Mr. Russell became a member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; and in September, 1833, was chosen Professor of Botany and Horticultural Physiology in that institution, succeeding Dr. Malthus A. Ward, who had held the office since the formation of the society in 1829. Professor Russell filled the office until his death, nearly forty years.*

Mr. Russell maintained an extensive and interesting correspondence with naturalists at home and abroad, his opinion being often sought with deference by European botanists.

* Professor Russell delivered the Annual Address before the Society in 1835; prepared the Report of the Transactions for the years 1837-8, with Preliminary Observations; Reports on Seeds from Prof. Fischer of the Botanic Garden at St. Petersburg; and on Seeds from the Exploring Expedition in Transactions of the Society, 1842-3, p. 52, Dec. 2, 1842; Report on Seeds from Prof. Fischer, June 7, 1845; Transactions for 1842-46, p. 82; Report on the Distribution of Seeds by the United States Patent Office, Transactions for 1858, p. 97; an attempt at a Report of the committee on the Robin, etc., Transactions for 1866, p. 75; Report on Seeds from Northern India, presented by Rev. C. H. A. Dall, Transactions for 1868, p. 93.

Those only knew Mr. Russell well who knew him long, in the freedom of familiar and friendly intercourse, and when the circle was small. It was truly said of him that "his private friendships were dearer to him than public applause." He was transparent; not difficult to know by reason of any reserves, but rather liable to be partially known, and easy to be misunderstood from the variety and extremely wide range of his moods, in all which he needed to be seen to be comprehended. Thus one early teacher and friend who knew him intimately held him too self-distrustful, and needing boldness. Others knew him, or thought they knew him, as bold to the point of recklessness. He was both. And whichever he was at any moment, he showed it, for he could not disguise it. He hated shams and knew not how to conceal himself. In some hours he seemed the farthest going reformer, and most unsparing iconoclast, to whom nothing was too sacred for plain speaking, instant judgment, irreverent questioning. In other hours he was the tenderly religious, reverent soul, charitable in the construction of human motives, and living, as it seemed, joyously at home with the God of nature and all the great human family. Sometimes he was silent and shut in, his manner not inviting approach, and he passed along the streets with scarce a nod of recognition. At other times he was sunny, warm with kindness, and inclined to linger for conversation, in which he was racy, instructive, delightful. It is not meant that he was amiable and cordial to his friends, shut and cool towards certain he did not like; for he was inaccessible to the friend when the silent and unsocial mood beset him, and withheld himself from none when his central love glowed again and thawed all the rigors away. He was so scornful of pedantry and pretence that he would seem sometimes for the moment to

set light by real learning and culture of deservedly high repute; and again he would honor with the heartiest applause genuine scholarship; and always showed a preference, other things being equal, for men who had had the training of the best schools, and especially for those bred at his own, the Cambridge University, over the mis-called "self-made" men, on many of whom his verdict would likelier have been, not-made men. He was both radical and conservative. What was peculiar was not that he was sometimes the one and sometimes the other, for most of us are by turns of a conservative and of a revolutionary spirit, but that he went so far and so unreservedly each way for the time. He swung through such a wide space in his oscillations, as startled men of a colder and more cautious temperament, and puzzled their judgment. The consistency and unity that was in him was not outward, and did not lead to explanations and the balancing of phrases. It was deeper; in his nature; where he took in and assimilated the seemingly adverse and contradictory. So he did not explain often when expected to; did not see that there was need. He saw at each moment his one thought, vividly, with his whole concentrated attention, and uttered it. Why should he stop to remember at the moment whether there were not other things also that he thought true? Doubtless. But he could not stop; the momentum was too great. He was too full of *that*. And on he went, like the brimful river, which cannot dally with its banks, but is driven forward by force of its own weighty tide. It was not strange that some knew him only as a radical of the radicals; for sometimes he was that. He was that in the utter freedom of his mind, and of his speculations. Nevertheless he destroyed only that he might build the better. He struck at what appeared to him error only

for the sake of truth. In terms he often misrepresented his own thought, to those who judged him by what he said at one hearing, and said extemporaneously. His thought was a feeling as well as a thought; a burning conviction; opposition only intensified its expression. Spontaneous, impetuous, unguarded, he neglected to state qualifications which were always a part of his mind, and which to one conversing with him privately and leisurely he would not fail to produce. This caused him often to be misunderstood. Tell him his own words, sometimes, and he would not recognize them. In his mind they had been joined with complementing truths which balanced and adjusted them, and which he felt that he must have stated or implied, but which he had only expressed on other occasions. He was called a "hard-hitter" in the field of theological controversy; and he was. Still he was no sectarian. The lovers of God and man, the people of sincere faith, those who made it the test of pure religion and undefiled before God to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep one's self unspotted from the world—these he took to his large heart with all the wealth of its trust and love. And there he cherished them, not caring by what name they were called. If they brought forward their sectarian passwords, or if in any manner these came in his way, he was very likely to visit on *them* his trenchant scorn; but he sincerely loved many people who used them and held them to be important. His spontaneousness and warmth gave expression to his prejudices equally strong and unguarded with the language in which his philanthropy found utterance, and equally laid him open to misconstruction at times. He was an earnest and uncompromising opponent of American slavery, at a time when slavery had many and powerful apologists in the northern states. He spoke out in hearty and ringing words against its wrong, and in

favor of freedom. The form of his plea was comprehensive, taking in all humanity. But he had his dislikes. There were traits in the Irish character which roiled him. And sometimes, in his fashion of seizing a point and pushing it to an extreme, he bore hardly on the people of that race, not stopping to say that it was their faults which he had presently in mind, and that there had been untoward circumstances in their history that should be had in mind in mitigation of a sweeping condemnation. And this seemed an inconsistency by the side of his good words for humanity, for all men without distinction of race or color. But when others condemned the same people too unsparingly, *he* adduced the mitigating circumstances.

It was truthfully said of him: "His was one of those rare minds which loved truth and justice for its own sake, and he was always ready to brave the loss of fame or friends in behalf of what he deemed right. . . . Did he but imagine any one was being trodden on who deserved a better fate, he was ready to enter the lists in his behalf at any cost. Often in these cases he could see only the injustice at the moment; but after the struggle was over, and he was alone or with intimates, the moisture would rise to his eyes in the fear that in the contest he might have hurt the feelings of those opposed to him." The writer illustrates the last point by an incident. "An article had recently appeared in high scientific quarters, which was unfortunately inaccurate in its statements. In his paralyzed condition he wrote, pointing out the errors, but he added, 'in times past he has been at my house and partaken of my hospitalities, and I would, under no circumstances, say anything to hurt his feelings; but in the interest of truth and science you can do it at some time without offence to any one.' " *

* The Gardener's Monthly for July, 1873: Philadelphia; p. 214.

I have written with freedom and unreserve of my friend. He was one of those whose character would bear it, while his own truthfulness and unreserve invited it. He preferred truth to compliment. There is no need to be timid and careful in speaking of one who was so much a man. To conceal or evade in speaking of him would be an offence against what was most characteristic in him, his sincerity and truthfulness of speech. His was one of those strong and capacious natures that hold the contents of two or three ordinary men, and combine such qualities as would be thought ordinarily to exclude each other. Men less intense than he, and of a more equable temperament, would have escaped strictures which he drew on himself at times; and so would they have failed to make the deep and lasting impression for good which he often made by his impetuous enthusiasm and almost passionate warmth of feeling and expression, in behalf of unrecognized truths. As his life wore on, however, and especially as the years of sickness fell upon him, the contrasted colors in his character blended and mellowed each other, and enhanced the sweetness and grace of his autumnal ripeness. He was always a lover of beauty—everywhere and of all kinds. Beautiful flowers, graceful ferns, such beauties as lay thick in his own chosen path—these of course, but not these alone. He felt the charm in all Nature's creations, animate and inanimate; the beauty of childhood; the beauty of young men and maidens; the holier beauty of truth, and moral strength and courage, the graciousness of goodness. He came at times as near reaching eloquence—that rare and subtle power impossible of definition—as almost any one I ever listened to. And the themes which kindled him most sympathetically and surely were those which lie about the fountains of worship, religious inspirations and moral integrity and order:—the universal care and tender

love of the divine providence, as witnessed in nature, in life, in history:—human rights; the freedom of every man to be himself, to think, judge, worship, unhindered. That way of his, of putting his whole glowing soul into the things he said; of forgetting himself; yielding himself up to the grand inspirations of truth, righteousness, and freedom—it was a deepening stream, gathering volume and tide as it went, until it swept him and his hearers along, seemingly, whithersoever it would.

His affections were deep and strong; and in his friendships he was close and fast. They had their full expression only when the sympathy was genuine and the confidence without alloy. And the love and friendship which he inspired grew to be like his own, tender and true. It is not permitted me to invade the privacy and sanctuary of his innermost communion with those he loved, but it will be deemed no trespass upon that seclusion, I trust, to make simple mention of the gentle affectionateness that breathed from his lips, beamed from his face, shone even through his veiled and half-blinded eyes, and ran through his messages of friendship, and filled up the hours, as his earthly life faded into that unseen realm which seemed as real and present, as familiar, natural and home-like to his thought, as the plans and expectations of to-morrow. When asked what reply should be made to a letter just received from a dear friend, he said:—“Write, Love and Friendship; then turn over and write on the next page, Love and Friendship; then on the next write, Love and Friendship;” like John in his old age, who, when too feeble to walk to the Christians’ place of assembly, asked to be carried thither only to repeat each time, “My children, love one another.”

During his last illness he was overfull of this sensibility. Reminiscences of past friendships revived with fresh tenderness and force. His playfulness was thought-

ful, his thoughtfulness playful, after the manner of his robust years; and through all there ran a vein of personal caressing and fondness when he spoke to his friends, or dictated words to be sent to them, which told how he held them to his heart.

To two old and dear friends he wrote soon after the new year:—

“Wasn't it a curious coincidence that I should have been busily engaged in trying to puzzle out some of the Dutch lingo of Van Sterbeeck's 'Theatrum Fungorum,' the gift of you, dear ——, at the time when your mutual gift of fruit and New Year's gratulations was in the expressman's care on its way to me? I wonder if there is such a book as a Dutch dictionary (Holland and English, or Dutch and French), for I am bound to read Sterbeeck, and to get all the good I can out of him. But, poor fellow, his effigy, on p. 35, looks as sober as I do most of my time; but, *sub Dio*—or Divine Providence, as you will—I am pretty well for a recluse, shut up in the house all the time. Your timely and very generous gift made me *cry* just a little bit, reminding me of you both, and of all the delicious memories of the olden time, when I used to know you so well, and many others who are in the great mysterious unknown, and who come to me in my dreams, and revive the days of youthful friendship in the old colony and elsewhere. What a strange, incomprehensible thing is this life, and what is it all for? God grant that I may wait and trust, for that is all I can do. But what treasures of love and of wisdom too have come to me in my sick chamber, and in the weary days and nights! Two things would I ask of God, viz.: health and the power and desire to love. There is no gift of love so trifling as to be insignificant, nor a breath of health which is not a magnificent fact of Providence. . . . I have a few friends with whom I talk of the probabilities of mutual recognition in the Hereafter, and of a closer friendship than can exist here. I hope I shall always know and love you both.

With much effort to write you this scrawl, and wishing
 you a happy new year, I am" ———.

Among children he was a child; and towards those whom he had known in childhood he delighted to maintain afterwards the easy freedom and familiarity of tone suitable to an elder brother, or companion-father, even after they had arrived at the years of manhood and womanhood. Such he rarely addressed by other than their christian names. Indeed, he loved to borrow this *Friendly* style in his intercourse with all whom he took into his confidence and intimacy. He loved to continue the use of the terms and forms of endearment, of pet names, and words of pleasant associations, first adopted in his joyous talk and companionship with children, and which he never after outgrew or laid aside.

A week only before he died he dictated the following characteristic letter to one who had long held a place close to his heart.

"MY DEAR LITTLE M. :—Although I am on my bed, my thoughts are a great way off with you. How I wish you could come and sit by the side of your dear old 'lunky Jack,'* and we would talk about the old times when you used to ride on my shoulder, and when you were so much comfort to me; and though we are so far apart, yet thought can travel faster than railroad speed, and I can imagine that I am sitting beside my little M., and holding her hand, and her poor old 'lunky' is walking with her, looking after the little flowers and thinking of the good times we used to have together, which, if they never come back to us, we can remember with great delight and pleasure. And may my dear little M. become the dear friend, the upright and noble woman, a delight to all who know her, patient with the weak, instructing the ignorant, helping the poor to bear their lot in life,

* His pet name when M. was a child.

the sick to be patient and cheerful, the unfortunate to be full of hope and courage, the weary and broken-hearted to trust in God's love, the poor little destitute children to gain friends.

I am sick and faint in body, but strong in heart, never for a moment suffering myself to doubt the wisdom of God as shown to us in his constant providence, which makes us brave in life's duties, and trusting and hopeful to the end.

Remembering with pleasure the many happy hours I have spent with you, may your life, dear M., be full of happy recollections and bright anticipations, till in serene faith you pass to a more glorious life, where everything shall be tending to the perfection of all that is glorious in your nature.

YOUR OWN LUNKY JACK."

In the foregoing letter he seems to be flitting between the present with its recollections, and that past to which he transports himself with such a vivid realization of it, that it seems to displace for the moment the present, and to become itself the present to his consciousness. I shall place before the reader extracts from one more similar letter, written about three months earlier, but when he was in very feeble health.

"SALEM, Feb. 23, 1873.

MY DEAR _____

When this reaches you spring will have commenced, and March winds, even if not zephyrs, will have awakened some of the sleeping flowers of the western prairies, while we shall be still among the snow-drifts of tardy departing winter. As I have not learned to fly yet I shall not be able to ramble with you after the pasque flower, or anemone, nor find the *Erythronium albidum*, nor the tiny spring beauty, nor detect the minute green mosses which will so soon be rising out of the ground. But I can sit by the Stewart's Coal Burner in our sitting room and imagine the daily changes which will usher in a milder spell of weather, and remind C. of ploughing and sowing and such occupations. Or I can recall the days when you were one of us, and when we gathered Andromeda buds

from the frozen bushes and traversed the ice-covered bay securely in the bright sunshine of the winter's day.

I often long, dear S., for a return of those Arcadian days; Sickness is no pleasure; and ennui and fatigue must come with it; but it is a blessed minister and teacher! It tells us of the excellence of health, and of the value of the slightest instance of love and regard.

. As I grow older—now threescore and nearly ten—every year as it comes in regular order interests me all the more in his [God's] works and ways. Every little flower I meet with, and that I never saw before, every little insect which is a novelty—or as the naturalist would say is a new species to me—the constantly occurring microscopical forms of organized matter, the strange and veritable laws of the atmosphere, the clouds passing over the disk of the sun, and bringing to us storms and aerial phenomena, the ever-increasing discoveries of science and of art, awaken my admiration, heighten my awe, and lead me to adoring trust. How different, too, appear what narrow-minded men call religion, and the essentials of religious life, as I find good in everybody, and as I learn to draw nearer to my fellow beings in harmony with what is best in them.

I will not trouble you to write to me, but I should like a spring flower which you gather; any one will be precious from you to your feeble and sick

Old uncle and friend, J. L. R."

Our friend has drawn the lines of his own portrait truer than we could do it, and we leave it, as his own trembling fingers touched it, unconsciously, and left it at the last, radiant with trust and love.

"Contemplate all this work of Time,

.
Nor dream of human love and truth
As dying Nature's earth and lime;

But trust that those we call the dead
Are breathers of an ampler day
For ever nobler ends." . . .

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEAVELAND.

Continued from page 103.

July 2. (Sabb.) Mr. Forbush preached from Exod. 17, where Moses sends Joshua to fight against Amalek, an appropriate and good discourse. In the aft. J. C. preached, Mr. Spinner, chaplain of the New York provincials and brother E. C. were present. The attention very good. J. C. calls on Mr. Woodbridge,¹ chaplain in the reg. of Col. Wm. Williams,— Mr. W. being sick. "There seems to be an excellent set of chaplains in the camp."

3. Prayers very early, as the reg^t is to be reviewed by the General at 7 A. M. J. C. takes his brother with him and calls on John Brainard,² chaplain of Col. Johnston's New Jersey reg^t, and also on Mr. Spencer, chaplain of the New York regiments. In the afternoon, the two

¹Probably JOHN WOODBRIDGE, minister of South Hadley, who d. 1783, æt. 80. He was a descendant in the 4th generation from a dau. of Gov. Thos. Dudley, and from that famous John Woodbridge, who was Parker's assistant at Newbury, then the first minister of Andover, and afterwards a civil magistrate. There have been at least ten John Woodbridges in the New England pulpit.

²JOHN BRAINARD was a brother of the famous missionary, David B. and both had been members of College at the same time with the Journalist. John Brainard grad. in 1746. He toiled for a time among the New Jersey Indians. He lived awhile at Great Egg Harbor, and afterwards at Brotherton. He was a trustee of the College at Princeton, and died about 1780.

Cleavelands with Brainard and Spencer visit the quarters of the Connecticut troops, and call on their chaplains, viz. : Beckwith, Eels, Denison, and Ingersoll. All agree to make a call the next day on his Excellency, General Abercrombie.³ They also resolve to have meetings for prayer at stated seasons: the Connecticut chaplains to meet by themselves, and the Boston, New York and New Jersey chaplains by themselves; this arrangement being dictated by their respective positions.

4. After prayers and breakfast, Messrs. Beckwith Eels, Pomeroy,⁴ Ingersoll, Brainard, Forbush, Spencer, and the two Cleavelands paid their compliments to the General in his tent. Mr. Beckwith was their spokesman. "He," the General, "treated us very kindly, told us he hoped that we would teach the people their duty and to be courageous." He added that in Germany he had known a chaplain who nerved his men for the impending

³ JAMES ABERCROMBIE was a native of Scotland. He early entered the army and served for some time on the continent. In 1756 he came to America as commander-in-chief. Of all the officers sent by England to America during the old French war, no other seems to have left a record so poor, as that of James Abercrombie; for Braddock was brave though rash and unfortunate. After his miserable failure at Ticonderoga, Abercrombie went home, and as a member of Parliament gave his support to those arbitrary measures which finally drove the colonies into independence. He was deputy governor of Sterling Castle, when, in 1781, he died at the age of 75.

⁴ BENJAMIN POMEROY was the minister of Hebron, Conn., where he d. 1784, æt. 80. He graduated at Yale in 1733. Like so many others, he took fire under the wonderful preaching of Whitefield, and his zeal, ability and boldness soon brought him into trouble. For ministering in disregard of Connecticut law, he was arrested and for several years deprived of his small annual stipend. Dr. Pomeroy is described as witty and polite, —frank and generous— "an excellent scholar, an exemplary gentleman, and a thundering preacher." Instead of being silenced, such a man, nowadays, might choose his pulpit, and name his salary.

fight, by informing them that cowards would find no place in heaven. Then they were treated to a bowl of punch and a bottle of wine.

In the afternoon, the chaplains held their first meeting "under Col. Ruggles' bower." The exercises were a prayer by Mr. Morrill—then a psalm; a prayer by Mr. Brainard,—another psalm,—a word of exhortation and the benediction by J. C.

The troops rec^d orders to strike their tents at daybreak next morning and to be on board the batteaux by Five A.M.

5. (Wednesday) The "general" was beat at daybreak—the tents were struck immediately,—everything was packed and put on board—and by 5 o'cl. the men were all embarked. The Rangers were in front; the Regulars in the centre—Colonels Preble, Ruggles, Bagley, Williams, etc., on the right—General Lyman, Colonels Whiting, Fitch,⁵ etc., on the left. In the rear of the main body was the artillery, and Col. Partridge with the Royal Hunters in the rear of all.

After rowing more than twenty miles, they were ordered to land on the west shore and pitch their tents. At eleven in the evening they reëmbarked and rowed for the Narrows—Col. Preble leading the van of the right wing.

⁵ ELEAZER FITCH of Lebanon was a grandson of the famous James Fitch, who was the first minister of Saybrook and of Norwich. He commanded the Fourth Connecticut Regiment in three campaigns, 1758 to 1760. This long association with officers of the British army had some influence, it was thought, on his political opinions and subsequent conduct. When the struggle with the mother country came, he adhered to the royal side, and soon found it convenient to seek another home. His last years were spent at St. Johns in New Brunswick. His four daughters, however, having married patriots, remained true to the cause of liberty.

6. It was daylight when they reached the entrance of the Narrows. After waiting till all the regiments had come up and found each its own place, they were ordered to row up and land. A warm reception was expected. But the French, though they had on the ground four battalions and several cannon, fired only a few shots, which did no harm, and then withdrew. By nine o'clock the troops were all safely landed. The French having burnt the bridges in their retreat, our army was compelled to take a circuitous route, leading through thick woods. They had gone but two miles when they were assailed in front by three thousand French and Indians. Col. Bagley's Regiment was ordered to charge the enemy on the right. The brisk engagement lasted about an hour. "My Lord Howe⁶ was killed, and about twenty-four of our men were

⁶ LORD GEORGE AUGUSTUS HOWE was the third viscount of that name. He was thirty-two years old when he came in 1757 to America with five thousand British troops, landing at Halifax. He had hardly joined Abercrombie's army, when it moved on Ticonderoga, and he fell, as above stated in the first conflict. During the few months which he thus passed upon American soil, he endeared himself to all. Uniformly kind and courteous, he was also ardent, energetic, and judicious. He evidently possessed in unusual measure those magnetic qualities which attract mankind—filling them with trust and hope. Those sturdy Yankees who constituted so important a part of the army at Lake George, were keen observers, and shrewd judges of intellect and character. They could not avoid the conviction that Abercrombie was sluggish, timid, and incompetent. In the marked contrast presented by Howe, they saw, as they believed, the future leader of the army, and the savior of his country. And hence they mourned his untimely fall as a great public calamity. Hence the colony of Massachusetts Bay—poor as she was—appropriated five hundred pounds sterling, to erect a monument for him in Westminster Abbey. Let no American, who visits that grand repository of the mighty dead pass it coldly by!

On the death of Lord George, the title descended to his brother Richard, who became an Earl, and whose position and action as commander of a powerful British fleet, and as a commissioner to

missing" after the skirmish. Of the enemy one hundred fifty-nine were made prisoners, and probably as many more were killed.

7. (Friday.) This morning, the sun being an hour high, the troops were again in motion, with intent to replace the burnt bridges, to move by the wagon-road, and get possession of the saw mills, where the enemy was in some force. A little after sunset, General Johnson⁷ arrived at the landing with his regiment. He had a body

treat with the fractious colonists for peace, gave him great prominence in the first years of the revolutionary war. John Adams (see works of J. A., vol. iii) informs us that when he went in 1776, with Franklin and Rutledge, to have a talk with the British commissioner on Staten Island—"Lord Howe was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the State of Massachusetts for erecting a marble monument in Westminster Abbey, to his elder brother, Lord Howe—saying he esteemed that honor to his family above all things in the world." Sir William Howe was also a brother of Lord George. It was he who succeeded Gen. Gage in command at Boston—who in 1776, took possession of New York—commanded in 1777 the British army in the battle of Germantown and in 1778, was superseded by Sir Henry Clinton.

⁷ Often as the story of SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON has been told, it can never lose its interest. Smithtown, County Meath, Ireland, gave him birth. Being a younger son, he was brought up for a merchant. Falling in love and being thwarted, he readily accepted a proposal from his uncle, Admiral Sir Peter Warren, to take charge of a large landed property in America. Accordingly, in 1738, he settled on the south side of the Mohawk river, twenty miles from Schenectady. Here he entered on a course of improvement which soon brought in settlers. With the Indians he traded on a large scale, and always treated them well. He learned to speak their language in several of its dialects; made himself familiar with their peculiar habits, beliefs, and customs, and acquired an immense influence over them. When the French war began—that is in 1743—Mr. Johnson, as general superintendent of the Indian tribes, was charged with the protection of the western frontier, and for five years he kept all safe on that side. In 1750 he was placed on the provincial council. In 1753 he held a council with the Indians at Onondaga, and succeeded in healing a breach that had begun. Two years later he was commissioned by Gen. Braddock as superintendent of the "Six Nations." In 1755, as

of Indians—how many J. C. could not learn. That night the chaplain passed in the boat, “and lay very hard upon the barrels.”

8. (Saturday.) Before sunrise Johnson set out with

general of the New York provincials, he joined in the expedition against Crown Point. After the defeat of Col. Williams's detachment, Johnson was himself attacked in his camp near Lake George. The French were repulsed, and their commander, Baron Dieskau, was captured. For this victory, Johnson, who was wounded in the fight, was made a baronet, and received from Parliament a gift of five thousand pounds.

The entry in Mr. Cleaveland's journal, for July 7, states that Gen. Johnson, with his regiment, arrived at the landing a little after sunset, and (July 8) he says that “Johnson, before sunrise, set out with his Indians to join the army.” His light armed troops who carried their birchen shells on their shoulders, perhaps embarked at some other point on the lake. Clearly, they formed no part of Abercrombie's grand flotilla. If they had a share in the fight and defeat, no mention of it appears in the Journal. Neither are they again mentioned, from which it may safely be inferred that they formed no part of the British and provincial encampment at Lake George.

In 1759 Johnson was again in command of a provincial force, and went with Gen. Prideaux against Niagara. In the attack Prideaux was killed, and Johnson took the command and soon brought the garrison to terms. This was a very important capture. Again, in 1760, the year of final conquest, Sir William was with the victorious English at the head of a thousand Indian warriors.

At his home in Johnstown Sir William maintained a state of rude, feudal hospitality and display. With a host of guests and retainers, of every clime and hue, and with a domestic establishment which shocked the moral sense not only of puritans but of Dutchmen,—he must have seemed to his travelled visitors the impersonation, now of some Hibernian noble, and now of some oriental Sheik.

There is abundant evidence that he was a man of ready and effective eloquence, and of large capacity for affairs, both civil and military. At a time when the Indian tribes were still numerous and powerful—not only around but within the British Colonies—and when wily Frenchmen spared no pains in instigating those-cruel foes to acts of hostility, Johnson's vast influence and judicious action must have been of inestimable value to the country.

He died just a year before the war with England began—in good time both for himself and for America—as in that contest he would undoubtedly have sided with the mother country.

his Indians to join the army. There "has been a most bloody fight. Our troops attempted to force the French intrenchment before the Fort, with small arms, and met with very great loss. Our men acted with the greatest intrepidity, and one or two companies of the Highlanders and Regulars were almost entirely cut off. Many were slain, and many came in wounded; the number not yet known, though it is conjectured that a thousand are among the killed and wounded. Capt. Whipple rec^d a ball in his thigh wh. lodged there. Lieut. Burnham rec^d a mortal wound in his bowels, and Lieut. Low was slain, as we suppose.⁸ The conduct is thought to be marvelous strange, to order the intrenchment to be forced with small arms, when they (we) had cannon not far off, and number sufficient to keep the enemy off, till we had entrenched and placed our cannon and bomb-mortars so as to play upon the enemy. Most of our forces retreated towards the landing where the battoes lay."

9. Sabb. "This morning, to the general surprise of the whole army we were ordered to embark in the battoes, to leave the ground we had possessed, and return to Fort William Henry. We left the ground about 9 o'cl. in the morning, and arrived at Fort William Henry, full forty miles, before sunset: all dejected, partly on

⁸Low and BURNHAM were from Chebacco, and, of course, were Mr. Cleveland's parishioners. That the patriotic and military spirit which animated these martyrs of more than a hundred years ago has not died out among the Lows and Burnhams of that brave old Chebacco, may be safely inferred from the fact that among the one hundred and five men belonging to that precinct who are known to have been in the army during the revolutionary war, there were five Lows and twenty-two Burnhams; and furthermore, that of one hundred and forty-five Essex men who enlisted in their country's service during the war of rebellion, four had the name of Low and thirty-two the name of Burnham.

account of our returning, and partly on account of our being without much food for three days. This evening, Lieut Burnham was buried, having died upon the water, of his wound. I understand he inquired much for me, and desired to see me before he died. But I was in another battoe and could not be found, the Lake being full of them."

10. (Monday.) "This morning orders were given out to make a return of the killed, wounded and missing, which, according to the information which I have had, amount to eighteen or twenty hundred in the whole army—principally among the Regulars and Highlanders. In Col. Bagley's regiment six were killed—two officers and four privates. Capt. Whipple and ten privates were wounded. This day wherever I went I found people—officers and soldiers—astonished that we left the French ground, and commenting on the strange conduct in coming off."

11. (Tues.) J. C. writes to his wife, the letter to go by Mr. Thompson. The whaleboats and battoes are unloaded. People begin to sicken, partly, perhaps, from their late privation of food and use of the Lake waters, and partly "from dejection and discouragement arising from disappointment."

12. He writes to Col Choate.⁹ He has some trouble

⁹JOHN CHOATE, born 1697, was a brother of Francis, already mentioned. On his marriage he settled near the village of Ipswich, and soon became the leading citizen of the town. For many years before his death he was among the prominent men not only of the county but of the colony. As a civil magistrate, Judge of the Common Pleas, Judge of Probate, and representative in the General Court, he was constantly, ably and usefully employed. In the great "Land-Bank" question he took a very active part. In regarding the proposed institution, not only as likely to be beneficial to the country, but as absolutely necessary to relieve it from the evils of a vicious currency, he did not stand alone. But Gov. Belcher set his face

in his bowels, and fears an attack of the "camp disorder." He and Mr. Forbush read together and converse. "Towards evening, the General, with his Rehoboam counsellors came over to line-out a Fort on y^e Bokey Hill, where our breastwork was last year. Now we begin to think strongly that the grand expedition against Canada is laid aside, and a foundation is going to be made totally to impoverish our country."

13. (Thursday.) His disorder increases. At six this morning, Bagley's reg^t, not having breakfasted, was ordered to strike their tents, and move with all their bag-

against it, and in those days a Governor was a man of power. In May, 1741, he dissolved the House because they had chosen for speaker and for councilmen, persons who were in favor of the Bank. A new House met in July and placed John Choate in the speaker's chair. For the same sufficient reason, their choice was set aside by the executive power. In this hard-fought contest the Governor, aided by Parliament, finally prevailed, and the Land Bank Company was dissolved.

In 1745, Capt. Choate obtained leave of absence from his seat, to go with Gen. Pepperell to Cape Breton. In that brilliant enterprise he commanded the eighth Massachusetts regiment, and, by appointment of the Commander, acted as Judge Advocate General. At a later period he was sent to Albany—one of three commissioners to treat with the Six Nations.

Col. Choate was a religious man of strong convictions and very decided opinions, which he did not hesitate to assert, and knew how to defend. To plan and build the stone bridge in Ipswich, which still bears his name, was among the last acts of his life. In America, at least in our part of it, the idea of an arched bridge of stone was at that time an absolute novelty, and to Col. Choate's honest neighbors seemed the very height of absurdity. At the outset of the work, and during its entire progress, the encouragement which he received was near akin to that which cheered and strengthened the first great shipwright on record. The success was complete, and the scoffers' in this case were not drowned.

Col. Choate left no children, having lost several in their infancy by one of those epidemic and malignant diseases of the throat which were fatally frequent in New England a century ago. This truly great man died in 1763.

gage to a spot over and beyond Fort Wm. Henry ;— having got there, they were ordered farther—and then still farther—and finally, to move back to the place which they left. By this time it was two hours after noon. Several of the men fell from sheer exhaustion. No wonder that Bagley's men that day felt "extremely worried and fretted."

14. (Friday.) Mr. Emerson¹⁰—"a right down, hearty christian minister, of savory conversation," takes his breakfast in J. C.'s tent and joins in its devotions. J. C. under the pressure of his disorder, "feels dull and heavy, but not discouraged."

15. (Sat.) Three deserters came in from Ticonderoga,

¹⁰ This was the REV. DANIEL EMERSON, who, having graduated at Cambridge in 1739, became in 1743, the minister of Hollis in New Hampshire. Under the wonderful oratory and contagious earnestness of Whitefield he soon after came out an ardent preacher of the "New Light" school. But time and sober experience are the natural cure of over-heated zeal, and Mr. E. in later years seems to have settled down into a substantial and widely useful minister. He was not only, long the recognized leader of New Hampshire Congregationalism, but did good service as a teacher of youth. One, at least, of his pupils rose to renown, not without a grateful remembrance of the man who fitted him for College. This was Jeremiah Smith, judge and governor of New Hampshire. Mr. Emerson's first military service was in 1755, as chaplain of a N. H. regiment, commanded by Col. Joseph Blanchard. That he and Mr. Cleaveland should take kindly to one another was perfectly natural. They were alike in ardor of temperament, as well as in activity of mind and character. Harmonious in their opinions, they could also speak of similar experiences, as they had both encountered no little obloquy in their early ministry. Often too had they both hung with admiring rapture on the lips of one whose melting pathos and all-subduing energy as an orator of the pulpit and of the stump have probably never been equalled. It is not difficult to conceive the themes which filled the minds and warmed the hearts of these Christian Soldiers as they sat before the camp fire—walked arm in arm around the fortified lines—and wandered and chatted along the wooded shore of the loveliest of lakes.

who say there were only 3500 men in the intrenchment at the time of our attack. Their design, in case of being driven out, was to take the whale boats, which were in readiness, lay Crown Point in ashes, and then go to Chambly, and make a stand till relief should come from Canada. "Our return saved them a deal of trouble."

16. (Sabb.) J. C. preaches to his Regiment, many of whom were absent from sickness. He was "considerably straitened" in the morning, but had "more enlargement" in the afternoon. After that, he heard "a very good sermon" on the Centurion, Cornelius, from the Church of England minister, Mr. Ogilvie.

17. (Monday.) A general change in the position of the regiments. Bagley's pitches tents on the ground where Col. Titcomb¹¹ was killed, and proceeds to make a breast work. J. C. to-day has much pain in his limbs, feels very dull, and something low in spirits.

18. (Tues.) Not entirely well, but greatly relieved. An order comes to build a vessel for the protection of the Lake. At Stillwater, on the east side, two men were killed and scalped to day. J. C. and eight others go on the lake to fish. They caught five. Preparations for building the vessel.

20. An ejaculatory petition for himself, still unwell—

¹¹ COL. MOSES TITCOMB was of Newbury, and his regiment in the battle of Lake George, 1755, occupied the extreme right of Johnson's line. Standing behind a large pine which stood near the breast-work, he gave orders to his men as they lay along the ground. While in this position he was shot by Indians, who had crept up in the rear. Another officer—Lieut. Baron, who had taken the same shelter was killed at the same time. His pastor, the Rev. John Lowell, some of whose descendants have filled and still fill a large space in the public eye, preached to Col. Titcomb and his men when about to leave for the war,—and again preached when his death was known. Both sermons were published.

for his family, and for his flock. Many working parties out to-day. Col. Bagley has just heard from Half-way-brook, that last night ten men, on their way to Ft. George, as an escort, were cut off when only two miles from their stockade. One only escaped. On his arrival, the commander, Col. Nichols, sent out 200 men—who were repulsed and chased by the enemy to within 150 yards of their Fort. Three captains, Daken, Jones and Lawrence; two Lieutenants, Godfrey and Curtis; Ensign Davis and ten privates, were lost from this party. "A sore stroke, this."

21. (Friday.) With brother E. C. he calls on Mr. Pomroy and also on their brother, Aaron Cleaveland.¹² Capt. Fuller just returned from Half-way-Brook, reports that they have found and buried eighteen who were killed in the late engagement, that two were wounded and fourteen are still missing. He says that the officers did their duty but the men were cowardly. Another witness from Half-way-Brook, Lt. Hutchins, says there were 20 killed or mortally wounded, and that five only of the *first* ten are now missing.

¹² AARON CLEAVELAND was a respectable farmer of Canterbury, Conn., where he lived on the old homestead. I think he was a subaltern officer in the campaign of 1758. As early as 1774 he commanded the Canterbury company, which in the following year he led to Cambridge at the call of Gen. Putnam. He was afterwards a colonel of the state militia, and died 1785, aged 57. His son, Moses, entered Yale College just before the war began—left, for a time, to take part in the conflict, in which he served as captain of miners and engineers—then returned and graduated in 1777. He settled as a lawyer in his native town, and was energetic and successful. In 1796 he went as commissioner from Connecticut to look after her interests in northwestern Ohio. The now prosperous city of Cleveland stands upon the site which he selected, and from him derives its name. Gen. Moses Cleaveland died in 1806, aged 52. William Pitt Cleaveland, another son of Col. Aaron Cleaveland, was favorably known as a lawyer and judge. He lived in New London.

22. Sat. "This morning Jon^a Marshall of Chebacco broke out with the small pox." He was sent to the Hospital at Ft. Edward. At ten this morning there was a meeting of all the provincial chaplains now at the Lake. After the exercises they agreed to meet for prayer every Tuesday and Friday, at 10 A. M. This evening, Col. Schuyler¹³ and Mr. Clark, who had been captured at Oswego by the French, and who had come home on their parole, set off from here with Flag of Truce consisting of twenty-one, and also with a Frenchman, who had been taken by us in 1755. It was the purpose of Schuyler and Clark to give themselves up to the French at Ticonderoga. A letter from Mary Cleaveland informs her husband (J. C.) that her brother, Nehemiah Dodge is "near the gates of death." At the same time, says J. C., I "received a letter from my good and cordial friend, Mr. William Story,¹⁴ of Boston."

¹³ This was PETER SCHUYLER, of New Jersey. Col. Schuyler had been made prisoner by the French, and had been set free on his parole. But when the capitulation of Fort William Henry was declared null by the British, Montcalm sent orders for Schuyler to return. He went back, but, as this Journal shows, was not long detained. In 1759 he was again in active service, at the head of the regiment which he had long commanded, that well-disciplined and famous corps, the "Jersey Blues." He died at his home on the Passaic, near Newark, in 1762, "leaving a high character for bravery and chivalrous honor."

¹⁴ The Storys, of Chebacco, were among its oldest and best families. WILLIAM STORY, between whom and J. C. there existed an almost fraternal affection, had settled as a man of business in Boston. In the "separatist" society of School street, he was the leading man, and in May, 1746, he, as a delegate from that church, went with Mr. Cleaveland to organize the new society in Chebacco. Two years later, he and others, in consequence of a disagreement with Mr. Cresswell, formed another "Separate" society, in Boston. A council, of which Mr. J. C. was scribe, met at the house of Mr. Story, and ordained Ephraim Clark pastor of the new church. Letters of William Story still preserved, and written in a clear and beautiful hand, and well expressed, indicate a degree of culture beyond the average of that time.

"23. Sabb. This forenoon preached with some freedom from Mal. 1, 6, a son honoreth his father and a servant his master, &c.,¹⁵ the people (gave) good attention and many of the regulars attended, O that God would set the truths of the gospel home upon the hearts of all, and that my heart may be encouraged and my hands strengthened in the work of God. —preached again in the afternoon from the same words () to a more numerous auditory, consisting not only of my own regiment" (but also) "of regulars and highlanders; received a letter from my dear friend Rufus Lothrop—also heard my classmate commiss^y Lyman is dead and buried at Albany."¹⁶

24. (Mond.) The reverend brothers C. take a walk to-day. In the first place, they go around the entire encampment, with careful inspection, and come to the conclusion that it is strong enough to withstand twenty or thirty thousand men, who attack only with small arms. Then they walk along the border of the Lake and glance at the new vessel on the stocks, which they seem to have regarded as the predestined victim of fire, or of water.

25. (Tues.) One of the Regulars was hanged this morning. His crime was stealing. He confessed on the ladder that he had led a very bad life, and warned his fellow soldiers not to follow his poor example.

The Chaplains meet in Emerson's tent. Eels and Pomroy pray. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past Two, P. M. the Flag of Truce which went down the Lake with Col. Schuyler, returned,

¹⁵One Joseph Ilsley, of Newbury, was out in 1758, as second lieutenant of Capt. Joseph Newhall's company, in Col. Bagley's regiment. In the brief record which he kept, and which has been sent to me by a friend, I find this entry:—"July 23, 1758, sermon preached by Rev. Mr. Cleveland, our chaplain, Malachi i, 6 verse—all day same text." There are similar entries for Aug. 6 and 27, and for Sept. 3.

¹⁶We have evidence that Rufus Lathrop was living in Norwich as late as 1794, and was still kindly remembered by the friend of his youth. The "classmate and commissary" was Elihu Lyman.

having left the Colonel behind. "I understand that the French have got a camp at the place where we landed, or rather, where our advance guard was, and another camp at the Mills."

26. (Wed.) In the morning J. C. calls on all his brother chaplains. His own brothers Eben and Aaron spend the afternoon with him. He puts up a short prayer.

27. (Thurs.) Though it is rainy, all the regiments are ordered to parade for a review by the General at 9 o'clock. Three men of Col. Williams' reg^t died last night. Alarm guns were heard this forenoon—fired, it appears, at Half-way-Brook, and caused by Indians who were seen at Fort Ann. "Lieut. Elves of the h. h." (Highlanders?) "told in my hearing this day, his solid opinion was that the reason why the General ordered the retreat from Ticonderoga, was his hearkening to boys who never saw a Fight and neglecting to ask counsel of knowing officers, and that it was fact he never did ask counsel of any one experienced officer in the army."

28. (Friday.) The chaplain dreams. In sleep he saw his wife—the meeting at first was joyous—but soon she began to censure him—so he took his staff and was making off—when he awoke—not without sadness at the thought of home, yet glad that his dream was only a dream. At the chaplain's meeting to-day the prayers were offered by Mr. Ingersoll of Col. Wooster's reg^t and Mr. Johnston, chaplain of the Highlanders:—"two excellent prayers, solemn and fervent." The diarrhœa still troublesome.

29. Sat. There was an alarm in the middle of the night caused by news from Half-way-brook, to the effect that our wagon train and guard had been cut off by the enemy, and a thousand men were immediately despatched to South-Bay to intercept the foe.

It is said that the savages killed 13 or 14 women—that

the regulars of the Guard, with one exception, were killed, and that the Provincials took to their heels. With the liquor which they took the Indians got drunk. On discovering this some English officers asked assistance from Col. Hart,¹⁷ who had half of his regiment with him, and he refused.

30. (Sabb.) This morning word came before day-

¹⁷The first mention of COL. HART in this Journal is far from favorable. From the facts as stated we are compelled to feel that his refusal of succor was unpardonably cruel. But we read later in the diary that a military tribunal took cognizance of the case, and we are left to infer that he was acquitted. On this point we have, indeed, more than mere negative evidence. The "New Hampshire Gazette" for Sept. 22, 1758, contains the following paragraph. "By a letter from Lake George of the 7th instant we are informed that John Hart, Esq., Colonel of the New Hampshire regiment now in his Majesty's service had received his Tryal, and was acquitted with honor by the whole Court." Before this ancient paragraph had been hunted up for me by a Portsmouth gentleman, I wrote to the late Chief Justice Perley, of Concord, asking if he could give me any additional information concerning Col. Hart. Unable to look into the matter himself—for he was even then down with the malady which soon deprived New Hampshire of her greatest jurist—he promptly referred me to Judge Nesmith, of Franklin, Dr. Bouton of Concord and Mr. W. H. T. Hackett, of Portsmouth. Judge Nesmith's reply was instant and copious;—but, alas, it asserted that Col. Hart and his regiment went in 1758, not to Lake George, but to Louisburg, where he and many of his men took the small pox and died. To accept this as truth would be to confess that an important part of my grandfather's record is pure fiction. The venerable Dr. Bouton explored books and documents—thought that there was reason to doubt the truth of the story that Hart died at Louisburg,—but could find nothing to disprove it. Mr. Hackett was very kind—made much inquiry in and around Portsmouth—and applied to supposed descendants of Col. Hart now living in Vermont;—all, without obtaining a single gleam of light. At this stage I submitted the case, with its difficulties, to a friend of many years, Lory Odell, Esq., of Portsmouth. A week had not elapsed when his answer came—authentic and complete in its details and solving the problem beyond all doubt.

I have given here this short account of a historical quest finally successful, not only in grateful acknowledgment to the gentlemen

break from Rogers at South Bay that he had found about twenty of the enemy's boats—and thought that there were yet more. These boats were on Lake George. Before the sun was up, Gen. Lyman and Col. Haviland¹⁸

who so kindly endeavored to aid me, but as an encouragement to others who may be prosecuting similar inquiries.

I can now say confidently that John Hart was of an old and respectable family in Portsmouth, N. H., where his position in life was that of a master ship-builder. We hear of him as early as 1753, when he deeded to the town for purposes of interment the land still known as the North Burying Ground. In 1754 he was on the board of selectmen. In the Crown Point expedition of 1756, he was Lieut. Col. of a New Hampshire regiment under the command of Col. Nathaniel Meserve. In 1758, as our Journal abundantly shows, he commanded a regiment at Fort Edward and at Lake George. In the years 1759, 1760 and 1761, there is evidence that he was yet in the public employ. A headstone still to be seen in the ground which he sold to the town informs us that he died on the 30th of October, 1777, aged seventy-two years. The false statement above referred to in regard to his death appeared probably first in print in a gossiping book known as "Brewster's Rambles around Portsmouth." It is a fact that Col. Nathaniel Meserve, also a Portsmouth master ship-builder, did go with many of his craftsmen in the summer of 1758, to help Sir Geoffry Amherst take Louisburg, and it is equally certain that he and several of his skilled workmen died there of small pox. It is easy enough to see how, in the legends and traditions of later times, the two men might be confounded, or both of them consigned to the same fate.

¹⁸ WILLIAM HAVILAND was an Irishman, born in 1718. He was in service under Vernon in the deadly climate of Carthage, and was an aide of Gen. Blakeney in the rebellion of 1745. In 1752 he was made Lieut. Col. of the 27th Foot, also known as the Iniskillings. It was these men whom he led against Montcalm's fatal lines, as well as in the more successful campaigns which followed. This regiment was afterwards mounted, and the Iniskillings, in company with their inseparable and beloved comrades, the Scotch Greys, have shown their mettle on many a bloody field, and in almost every region of the globe. They were among the heroes of Waterloo,—and, at Balaclava, three hundred of these gallant horsemen, under Gen. Scarlett, charged, penetrated, and dispersed, a mass of more than two thousand well appointed Russian cavalry;—an exploit not less daring, and far more useful, than the world-renowned blunder of Cardigan's Light Brigade.

with twelve hundred Provincials and Regulars were embarked and on the way to join Rogers. Col. Bagley, with four hundred or five hundred additional troops, having the same destination, left in "battoes" and whale-boats this afternoon. J. C. preached as usual, and had many Regulars among his auditors.

Col. Haviland came out with Lord Loudon in 1757. This Journal makes frequent mention of him in 1758. In 1759 he was with Gen. Amherst, and in high command, for he led the van of the army, as it pursued the retreating foe. In 1760, as Brig. Gen., he commanded the expedition of regulars and provincials, which reduced Isle aux Noix, St. Johns and Chambly. He had great mechanical ingenuity, a talent which he turned to good account in some of his military operations. At the reduction of Martinique in 1762, he was second in command. He rose to the rank of Lieutenant General and of General, and died in 1784.

[*To be continued.*]

THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR,

WITH A SKETCH OF WILLIAM RUSSELL, OF BOSTON,
ONE OF THE "TEA DESTROYERS."

BY JAMES KIMBALL.

[READ ON TUESDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 16, 1873.]

WE have assembled this evening in commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the "Boston Tea Party," or in other words, in commemoration of the destruction of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, in Boston Harbor on the evening of Dec. 16, 1773.

It must be admitted that the act itself was the combined resistance of the people of the New England Colonies, expressed through the people of Boston, against an obnoxious law enacted by the Parliament of Great Britain, and promulgated to the Colonies as the law of the land, requiring obedience and support, until repealed by lawful authority.

Our fathers considered this particular act unjustifiable and oppressive; in conflict with their right of self-government; and from their inability to test their colonial rights in a judicial manner, they resorted to the only prompt method that was open to them, of resisting its operation, and thus bringing the question of its legality to a speedy solution.

The first century having passed, and standing as we do upon the threshold of the second, it may not be unprofitable for us of to-day to refresh our memories as to the

causes that led to the uprising of the people on the memorable 16th of Dec., 1773, and which culminated in the important and significant act of an open resistance to the authority of the British Parliament.

From the standpoint of to-day, after having endured the burden of taxation on almost everything that enters into our daily wants, we might consider the imposition of the trifling tax, of threepence a lb. on tea a very small matter; but our fathers considered it only as an unjust and tyrannical measure of the British Ministry, and as an usurpation of authority not to be submitted to. Having tried persuasive measures with no prospect of success, the only course left to them (as they saw it) was to destroy "the worst of plagues, the detestable tea," and thus prove that they were ready to risk the consequences, and show their manly opposition to the machinations of British tyranny.

1760. The death of George the 2d, and the accession of George the 3d, opened a new era in the history of the colonies.

After the conquest of Canada, and peace with France in 1763, the people of the colonies expected a revival of her trade, and an advancement in her prosperity. It had been the policy of the Home Government to repress all attempts of the Colonies in the developments of her manufacturing industries, especially in those branches which might affect the industries of Britain.

The manufacture of iron was especially forbidden; as early as 1750, an act was passed preventing the manufacture of pig, or bar iron, or the erection of any furnace for making of steel; or, after erection, continued in any of his Majesty's Colonies in America. (23d, George 2d, Chap. 29, Sec. 9.)

The population of Massachusetts amounted at the close

of the French War to about two hundred and fifty thousand. Her commerce and fisheries employed from five to six hundred vessels, mostly owned in Salem, Boston, and Marblehead.

There were about three hundred sail employed in the Bank Fisheries, and a large number of boats in the Bay, with about one hundred sail in the mackerel fishing. The value of their products, including dry and pickled fish and liver oil was estimated at one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling per annum; two-fifths of the Bank fish, being merchantable, were shipped to Spain, Portugal, and Italy, the net proceeds being remitted to Great Britain. The remaining three-fifths, being unfit for the European markets, were shipped with the pickled fish and mackerel to the West Indies, and were there exchanged for sugar and molasses.

About two hundred vessels were employed in the freighting of the products of the Colonies, averaging two voyages annually. Lumber of all kinds, provisions, horses, and many other articles, the products of the Colonies, found a ready market in the West Indies.

In addition to the fisheries, the demand for vessels for the foreign and coastwise trade, had largely stimulated ship-building. Before the war with Canada three hundred vessels had been built annually. Some of these vessels sailed direct to Europe with cargoes consisting of lumber, naval stores, pot and pearlsh, fish and oil, and many other articles, all the production of the Colonies, the proceeds of all which were remitted to Great Britain, to pay for the goods we received from them.

Another branch of our commerce was that to Africa, where we shipped large quantities of New England rum to supply the traders in ships from Great Britain, with whom it was exchanged for other European goods, brought

out by them, by which they were enabled to conduct their trade to much better advantage. This rum was exchanged for slaves, which were sent to the West Indies for sale, and paid for with bills on London. The proceeds of this trade centring in London. (Observations by Com. of Merchants of Boston, Pub. 1769.)

By an act of 1733, which was still in force, a duty of sixpence a gallon was placed on all foreign molasses brought into the Colonies. In case of forfeiture, one-third went to the Government, one-third to the Informer, one-third to the Governor. This act had been enforced very strictly up to the present time; interfering very much in times past with the trade of the Colonies, by the construction placed upon the meaning of the act. Large sums had been collected under it, and great abuses committed in the name of law.

After the conquest of Canada, the Ministry of Great Britain had more time to look after the Colonies. The growing spirit of independence in speech and thought must be crushed out. Some of the discerning men of Great Britain foresaw the end from the beginning. Franklin was told in 1760, by one who was afterward raised to the Peerage (Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden), "I know that you will one day throw off dependence upon this Country, and notwithstanding your boasted affection, will set up for Independence." "No such idea is entertained in the minds of the Americans; and no such idea will ever enter their heads unless you greatly abuse them," was the prompt reply of Franklin. "Very true," was the rejoinder, "that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event."

The prediction was nearer its fulfilment than either of these statesmen expected.

1760. The merchants of Boston were determined to

test the legality of the proceedings under this Act, and brought their grievances by petition before the General Court. This petition was referred to a committee who reported in their favor, and their report was accepted in both branches, but negatived by Gov. Bernard.

Whilst the minds of the people were exercised in relation to the veto of the Governor, orders were received from the Board of Trade in England, directing the Officers of the Customs in America to apply to the Justices of the Supreme Courts for Writs of Assistance to enable them to carry into more vigorous execution the "Acts of Trade" which had been enacted by the British Parliament.

"In many of the Provinces these Writs had already been denied by the Courts,"¹ but the necessity of granting them, as compared with Massachusetts, was so small that they were allowed to pass by in silence.

The Officers of the Customs. being encouraged no doubt by the veto of Gov. Bernard, petitioned the Court of Justices to grant them "Writs of Assistance," giving them the right of search for "uncustomed goods." Their proceedings were universally opposed, and condemned by the general sentiment of the people, and James Otis was selected in behalf of the people, to argue the question before the full Bench of Justices.

1761. The petition of the Officers of the Customs on behalf of the Crown was argued in Feb., 1761, Hon. Jeremy Gridley,² attorney general of the province, ap-

¹ J. Adams, Amsterdam letters.

² It is due to the character of Mr. Gridley to say that he was decidedly opposed to the action of the British Ministry, but as attorney general was obliged to defend the obnoxious Writs of Assistance, and encountered the powerful opposition of his former pupil, James Otis. He was a man of great legal attainments, of fine talents, of distinguished learning and virtue. Died in Brookline, Sept., 1767. (Drake's Hist. Biog.)

pearing for the King, and in defence of the propriety of granting the officers of the Crown the power to search, etc., and urges "to refuse the Writ of Assistance, *even if the common privileges of Englishmen are thus taken away is to deny, that the Parliament of Great Britain is the Sovereign Legislature of the British Empire.*"

James Otis, in his answer to the attorney general, says, "I am determined to my dying day to oppose with all the powers and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand, and villany on the other, as this Writ of Assistance." Again he says, "The freedom of one's house is an essential branch of English liberty. A man's house is his castle, and while he is quiet he is as well guarded as his Prince. This Writ, if declared legal, annihilates this privilege. Officers and their minions may enter our houses when they please and we cannot resist them; upon base suspicion they may institute a search. The only authority found for it is a law enacted in the zenith of arbitrary power, when Star Chamber abuses were pushed to extremity by some ignorant Clerk of the Exchequer."

The appeal of Otis was of no avail. The officers were granted all the authority they desired, it being understood that the Chief Justice Hutchinson controlled the action of the court. So much excitement was caused by their decision that the whole question was referred to the Home Government for instructions.

In Feb., 1763, England, having ratified a treaty of peace with France and Spain, the ministry had leisure to turn their attention to the American Colonies. Accordingly Lord Grenville, on the meeting of Parliament in 1764, moved a "Number of Resolutions for raising a Revenue in America, and also to enact a Bill called the Stamp Act."

The bill for raising a revenue from importations was hurried through Parliament, and received the royal assent, but the Stamp Act failed of receiving votes enough to become a law.

The most obnoxious part of the Revenue Act was an additional duty on sugar of twenty-two shillings per hundred pounds on white, and five shillings on brown. This duty was to be paid into the British Exchequer, for defraying the expenses, protecting and securing the British Colonies in America.

The news of the passage of this act caused much excitement in New England; but as the most obnoxious feature of the original bill, viz., the Stamp Act, which had been impending over them was lost, their fears subsided and they endeavored to accommodate themselves to the new conditions of trade with as much ease as possible.

With the commencement of the year 1765, the Stamp and Mutiny Acts were passed. The Stamp Act required the affixing of stamps or the use of stamped paper, in all of the business transactions throughout the colonies. Whilst the Mutiny Act required the colonies to furnish the troops quartered upon them for the enforcement of these obnoxious measures with sustenance and necessary quarters.

The passage of these bills aroused the spirit of Liberty throughout the Colonies. To be required to support and maintain foreign troops in their midst in a time of peace, they understood to mean a determination to execute the king's instructions, and the obnoxious laws which were to be forced upon them, backed by foreign bayonets.

In July, by a change in the British Ministry, Pitt, the champion of liberty and law, was recalled to office. The people of Boston, desirous of signifying their joy at the

recalling of Pitt, resolved to celebrate the birthday of the Prince of Wales, which came on the 12th of August. Bonfires were kindled in King street (now State) and the people gave themselves up for a day of general rejoicing, crowds of people filling the streets, rending the air with shouts of "Pitt and Liberty."

The "Sons of Liberty"³ were determined on some public demonstration of their joy that the "Champion of the Rights of Man, and of Liberty for all Men" was now a power in the ministry. The people on the morning of the 14th of August, as they passed the liberty tree,⁴ be-

³ But little is known of the organization of the "Sons of Liberty" at the present day. They were very truly a secret society; not even the roll of its members has ever come to light. It had its secret language of recognition, by which they were able to protect themselves from impostors or informers, and they were bound together in defence of "Equality before the Law."

The following is from a private manuscript in my possession, written by Col. John Russell in 1850, whose father was one of the "Sons," and an active participator during those stirring scenes (with Paul Revere, Melville, Sprague, etc.), a school master living during the war on Temple street, Boston. Col. Russell says, "The Sons of Liberty consisted of an association of spirited men, who were determined to resist the oppressive edicts of the British Ministry, and to sustain and support each other in their efforts to rescue the town and country from the thralldom of tyrannic power. On public occasions each member wore suspended from his neck a medal, on one side of which was the figure of a stalwart arm, grasping in its hand a pole surmounted with a Cap of Liberty, and surrounded by the words, 'Sons of Liberty.' On the reverse was the emblem of the Liberty Tree. One of these medals I once had in my possession, with the initials of my father's name, W. R., engraved thereon, but it was many years ago irrecoverably lost."

⁴ "The Liberty Tree was the largest and most prominent of a number of very fine elm trees that stood near what is now the corner of Essex and Washington streets, opposite Boylston street (Frog-lane) and which were destroyed by the British soldiers whilst they held possession of Boston. The spot was designated for a long period after its destruction by a liberty pole, which was described as being

held an effigy of Andrew Oliver, "the Infamous Stamp Master," suspended by the neck therefrom, dressed in his robes of office, and accompanied with the emblems of Lord Bute (the friend of Grenville) a pair of "jack boots" with his Satanic Majesty peeping out of the top, and holding the stamp act in his hands. Chief Justice Hutchinson ordered the Sheriff to cut down the obnoxious image, but he was given to understand by the crowd that they were to swing during their pleasure where they were.

Gov. Bernard called together the Honorable Council, but the majority were adverse to taking any action against the joy of the people. In the evening the concourse of people was greatly increased by the people of the adjoining towns, when the effigies were taken down, and placed upon a bier, and, supported by bearers, was by them borne, as in a funeral procession, through the principal streets to the town house; here they halted near the council chamber, with shouts of "liberty, property, no stamps." Three cheers were then given, and the procession passed on to Oliver's Dock at the foot of the present Kilby street, where a building occupied by Stamp Master Oliver as an office was speedily demolished, and the materials, carried to the top of Fort Hill, were (with the effigies of Oliver and Bute) burnt in one huge bonfire in front of Oliver's house.

near by Ezekiel Russell's Printing House and Book Shop, sign of the Bible and Heart. The public spirited owner of the liberty tree block has saved from oblivion the memory of this spot sacred to the cause of liberty, by the erection upon it of a beautiful building, with a representation of the liberty tree cut in freestone and inserted in the front of the building.

Col. Russell was born in Boston in 1779, served his time with Maj. Ben. Russell of the 'Columbian Centinel,' printed at Boston, and, when a boy, from his family connection with the events of the revolution, took a great interest in these historic associations."

It was fully believed by the people of Boston that Hutchinson would enforce the "Infamous Stamp Act," and cause it to be fully executed by requiring stamps to be affixed to all instruments used in the courts, and they resolved to pay him a visit. On the evening of the 26th of August, after calling upon several of the officers of the customs, a large concourse of the citizens assembled in front of the house of the Chief Justice in "Garden Court Street." His house was sacked, all his furniture and papers were burned in the street, and the house and contents were left a mass of ruins.

Gov. Bernard immediately assembled the Council, and a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the ringleaders, and one hundred pounds for other persons interested therein, but it availed nothing. No discoveries were made.

The news of the excitement in America in relation to the Stamp Act had reached England, and advices were sent back advising conciliatory measures on the part of the custom officials, and all others to whom the execution of the act was intrusted.

On the 1st of November the Act was to take effect. The people had fully determined to resist the enforcement. In Boston the bells were tolled and minute guns were fired; vessels in port displayed their colors at half-mast, and even the children in the street caught up the popular motto, and shouted "Liberty, Property, No Stamps."

In the evening the effigy of Lord Grenville, which had hung suspended from the Liberty Tree during the day, was cut down, carried to the gallows, and suspended thereon, after which it was torn in pieces by the populace.

Business of every kind was completely paralyzed; the people were awaiting results. A meeting of the town's

people being notified for the 18th of December, Oliver, the Stamp Master, took the precaution to resign, and, in the presence of two thousand people, an oath was administered to him by one of the magistrates of Boston, under the Liberty Tree, "that he would never act in that office either directly or indirectly." (Gov. Bernard's letter to Hillsborough.) The "Massachusetts Gazette" of the 19th inst. says "that the dampness of the weather, on this day, did not damp the ardor of the people."

There was no doubt in the mind of the Stamp Master as to the origin of the call for this last meeting. The 14th of Aug. was a gentle reminder of what might be expected. The Sons of Liberty were prompt in action, composed of the leading men of the day. The governor himself feared them, and desired to arrest some of their leaders, and send them to England to be tried for treason. In one of his private letters written to Lord Hillsborough in 1768, in setting forth the difficulties and embarrassments in the way of removing from office those of the justices who oppose the authority of the king, he says, "And yet, my Lord, I would not insinuate that we have no fit objects for such a censure; the Sons of Liberty have not been without Magistrates. We have seen Justices attending at Liberty Tree; one to administer an Oath to the Stamp Master, when he was obliged to swear that he would not execute his Office; another to perform the Function of Toast Master; a third to consult but lately about fortifying the Town, etc. All these are included in two lists, which your Lordship has, that of the five Selectmen who signed the circular letter for a Convention, of which all but the first are in the Commission, and that of the eight Justices who signed the refusal to Billet the Soldiers. Now if the Censure of these Proceedings should produce an Order to me to supersede the Commis-

sions of these Gentlemen, it would be a Trial of the Power of the Governor." Again, "It is true the Gov^r with the advice of his Council can supersede him; but if he acts in a Popular Cause, under which Opposition to Government finds it easy to shelter itself, the Council, who are themselves the creatures of the People, will never join with the Governor in censuring *the Overflowings of Liberty*."

1766. The Merchants of Boston to the number of two hundred, had agreed to import no more goods from England, and countermanded those already ordered until the Stamp Act was repealed. At the commencement of this year John Adams wrote "this year brings Ruin, or Salvation to the British Colonies."

Lord Grenville, in answer to Pitt in Parliament, censured the British Ministry for not giving an earlier notice of the disturbances in America, saying, "Lately they were only occurrences; they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt not they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrine I have heard this day be confirmed, I fear they will lose that name and take that of Revolution."

On the 18th of March the repeal of the Stamp Act was approved by the king, and was received with great joy throughout the land. The 19th of May was set apart as a day of rejoicing. The bell of Dr. Mather Byles church (Hollis street church), as the nearest to the Liberty Tree, began to ring at one o'clock in the morning. The chime on Christ church, at the north end of the town, responded. The steeples were decorated with flags. Liberty Tree was dressed in flags and brilliantly illuminated in the evening. "Open house" was kept by several of the public spirited men; John Hancock gave a magnificent entertainment to the "gentry," not forgetting the

populace, treating them to a pipe of Maderia wine of his own importation. The celebration of the repeal was carried through by the "Sons of Liberty" in an orderly and dignified manner. At midnight, at the tap of the drum, the crowd quietly dispersed, and in one half hour the town was in complete repose. (Hewes' Memoir.)

Aug. 14. The anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was celebrated with great parade by the Sons of Liberty. An account of the celebration was sent to England, reporting the treasonable conduct of the Sons of Liberty, who had drank toasts to the health of Otis, "the American Hampden who first proposed a Congress." (Mass. Hist., 328.)

In July, 1767, news was received that a new Revenue Act had been carried through Parliament to go into operation in November. The new measure established a board of commissioners of customs, and also legalized the issuing of writs of assistance. The revenue collected by the new Act was to be disposed of at the pleasure of the king.

The news of the passage of the new act created great excitement throughout the colonies, proving to the people that the ministry had not abandoned the right of taxation with the repeal of the Stamp Act. One of the patriots of Boston said on hearing of the passage of the new measure, "The die is thrown." "The Rubicon is passed."

The merchants said; "We will form an immediate and universal combination to eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing imported from Great Britain."

Dr. Franklin obtained in 1772 or 1773, whilst in London, a portion of the secret correspondence of Gov. Hutchinson, Bernard, Andrew Oliver, etc., from which we are enabled to form some idea of the treachery of the men who were placed over the administration of affairs in Massachusetts.

Hutchinson writes to Earl of Hillsborough, Aug. 10, "Yesterday, at a meeting of the merchants, it was agreed by all present to give no more orders for goods from England, nor receive any on Commission untill the late acts are repealed, and it is said all but 16 in the town have subscribed to that tenor. I hope the list will be published, that I may transmit it to you."

Another letter written by the late Stamp Master Oliver in relation to the petition sent to Parliament, says, "This confirms me in an opinion that I have taken up a long time since, that if there be no way to take off the *original incendiaries*, they will continue to instill their poison into the minds of the people, through the vehicle of the BOSTON GAZETTE."

The Commissioners of the Customs arrived in Boston and landed on the 5th of Nov., 1767. The populace were excited. At a town meeting held on the 20th of November, Otis counselled caution, and advised that no opposition should be made to the new duties.

The Custom's Commissioner had informed the Home Government that their own lives were endangered, and that there were no ships of war in the province. Lieut. Gov. Oliver writes to the Ministry, May 11, 1768, "The Commissioners of the Customs have already been openly affronted; the Governor's Company of Cadets have come to a resolution not to wait on him as usual on the day of General Election the 25th inst., if these gentlemen are of the company. And the town of Boston have passed a vote that Faneuil Hall (in which the Governor and his company usually dine on that day) shall not be opened to him if the Commissioners are invited to dine with him."

June 10, a sloop belonging to John Hancock, named the Liberty, was seized for an alleged breach of the Rev-

enue Laws. This aroused the people. The collector advised the Commissioners to release the sloop, Mr. Hancock being willing to give bonds for the release of the sloop for the sake of preserving public order.

June 18, Hutchinson gives the following account in his letter to the Earl of Hillsborough, saying "That the Commissioners of the Customs had been obliged to withdraw from the town and go on board the Romney Frigate, with the intent to remove to the Castle. He represents that a sloop belonging to Mr. Hancock, a wealthy merchant of Boston, and a Representative, of great influence over the populace, was seized for a notorious breach of the acts of trade, and taken into custody by the officers of the Romney man of war, and removed under her guns. A mob was immediately raised, the officers insulted, bruised, and much hurt. The Governor pressed his Council to assist them, with their advice, but they declined; not considering how much it must be resented in England."

Mr. Paxton informs the ministry under date of the 20th of June, 1768, "that they had been obliged to seek protection on board his Majesty's ship Romney, and unless we have immediately two or three regiments 'tis the opinion of all the friends of government that Boston *will be in open rebellion.*"

June 14, a meeting of the "Sons of Liberty," was held at "Liberty Hall" (a large space or clearing under the Liberty Tree, so called), where they voted to request the authorities of the town to call a public meeting of the people at Faneuil Hall. The Selectmen called a meeting at 3 o'clock P.M., but such was the concourse that they were obliged to adjourn to the Old South meeting house. (Bernard wrote to Hillsborough, June 16, that at least four thousand men came out of the country for that purpose.) James Otis, Esq., was chosen moderator. An

address was voted to the governor, and the meeting adjourned to the next day at 4 o'clock, P.M. On assembling, Mr. Otis addressed the meeting, urging upon the people in the strongest terms the preservation of public order, and expressing the hope and belief that their grievances would be redressed; and added:—"if not and we are called upon to defend our liberties and privileges, I hope and believe we shall, one and all, resist even unto blood. But I pray God Almighty that this may never so happen.

The address was presented to Gov. Bernard at his residence, but he refused, in his reply, to order the removal of the Romney Frigate.

The General Assembly of Massachusetts, in considering the new Revenue Act in 1767, and the great difficulties that must arise from the enforcement of such taxes, chose a committee of correspondence with the rest of the Colonies, and urging them to act in concert with them for its repeal.

On the 21st of June, 1768, Gov. Bernard communicates to the General Assembly, a letter from Lord Hillsborough of the 22d of April, expressing his majesty's displeasure, "at their writing to other Colonies on the subject of their representations against some late Acts of Parliament, and that it was the *King's pleasure*, that the *Assembly* rescind the vote which gave birth to the circular of the Speaker."

A clause in the letter of Hillsborough, required the Governor to dissolve the General Assembly, in case the vote was not rescinded.

On the 30th of June the General Assembly refuse to comply with the command of the King, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen. On the next day they were dissolved. The majority of the Assembly were praised throughout the Colonies for their bold and manly defence

of their legislative rights. The glorious ninety-two was a standing toast throughout the Country.

July 18. At a town meeting in Salem a vote was passed thanking the Assembly "for their firmness in maintaining our just rights, and liberties." The two representatives from Salem being loyalists (William Brown and Peter Frye) voted in the minority. They were described as "His Enemy's interpreters of hard sayings."

(The King's Speech in Nov. says, that Boston had proceeded to measures "subversive of the Constitution.")

The town of Ipswich voted on the 11th of August— "That they highly approve the conduct of those gentlemen of the late House of Representatives who were for maintaining the rights and liberties of their constituents, and were against rescinding the resolves of a former House." Dr. John Calef the representative from Ipswich also voted, with the seventeen minority, for which he subsequently apologized in the "Essex Gazette" of Salem, "that he regretted voting June 30, 1768, in favor of the royalists; that his purpose is to maintain the charter rights against the late acts of Britain."

Aug. 14, the anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was observed; a large concourse assembled under the Liberty Tree, under the direction of the Sons of Liberty, and proceeded to Roxbury and partook of an entertainment provided for the occasion. The selectmen and representatives of the town were their guests.

An officer had arrived in Boston a few days before to provide quarters for the troops that were soon expected. The town authorities refused to furnish quarters for troops in time of peace, standing upon their rights as Britons; contending that the Castle and Barracks were sufficient for all military forces required by the Colony of Massachusetts.

The fleet with troops, consisting of seven vessels of War, arrived on the 28th of Sept. from Halifax.

The authorities of Boston having refused to provide on the requisition of the Governor, Gen. Gage was compelled with a northern winter before him, to hire such quarters as he could procure at the expense of the King.

On landing, they expected to have met with resistance, each soldier having been furnished with sixteen round of shot. They marched up King street, with drums and fifes playing, to the Common where a portion went into camp; the rest were quartered for a time in the State House and in Faneuil Hall.

In July, 1769, Gov. Bernard embarked for England followed by the honest indignation of the people. His departure was celebrated by the ringing of bells, firing of guns, and with the usual bonfire in the evening. Thomas Hutchinson was appointed as his successor. The correspondence which was obtained in England over his signature proves that he was laboring to subvert the liberties of the Colonies. Such expressions as these in his secret correspondence show him to have been false to the land of his birth. "Keep secret every thing I write."—Suffer no part of my letters to transpire," etc., etc.

It was understood that Parliament would introduce a new bill abolishing most of the duties, but retaining that on tea. This was not satisfactory to the merchants of Boston, and nothing would have been but an entire abandonment of the right of taxation, an entire repeal of the whole revenue system and the removal of all restrictions imposed by the British Parliament.

Aug. 14, the anniversary of the outbreak against the Stamp Act was celebrated this year with great parade. The Sons of Liberty to the number of three hundred and fifty dined together at Robinson's at the sign of the Lib-

erty tree in Dorchester. John Adams and several noted men from the several Colonies were among the guests. Two tables were laid in the open field, and set with four hundred plates, with an awning of sailcloth overhead. The toasts were spirited and appropriate. The 45th was "Strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes, to such as deserve either."

I find in an old manuscript an entry of this celebration made by one of the Sons of Liberty, viz. :

WILKES & LIBERTY

May the Sons of Liberty	}	August the 14th, 1769.
Shine with Lustre.		Liberty without end.
		Amen.
Boston		American Wilkes
		<u>92</u> <u>45</u>

The 92 evidently refers to "the glorious ninety-two" who refused to rescind an act of the previous assembly, and are referred to in a letter to Hillsborough, thus: "others to make up a Procession of 45 Carriages & 92 Persons on the 14th of August last." The procession returned to town before dark, marched around the state house and dispersed quietly and in good order. The procession is said to have been a mile and a half in length.

In the early part of 1770 a Bill was passed repealing all the American duties excepting that upon TEA. The great question which agitated the public mind was not the number of articles taxed, or the amount of the tax, but the right of the British Parliament to tax an unrepresented British people. "In this respect we are treated with less Decency, & Regard, than the Romans shewed even to the Provinces which they had conquered. *They*

only determined upon the sum which each should furnish, and left every Province to raise it in the manner most easy and convenient for themselves." (Merchants of Bost., p. 14.)

Threepence a pound on tea, or any amount, on any other article, was a sufficient cause for the continuance of the agitation; and a determination to continue this agitation until the right of taxation was abandoned by the ministry.

Several vessels had arrived bringing the "obnoxious commodity." No person being willing to risk its sale it was put into store. The "Boston Gazette," in April, 1770, announces for the information of the adjacent towns, "That there is not above one seller of tea in town, who has not signed an agreement not to dispose of any tea untill the late Revenue Acts are repealed."

John Hancock offers one of his vessels free of charge to reship what was then stored in Boston, his offer was accepted, the vessel loaded with great dispatch and sent back to London.

The people of Salem and Ipswich and most of the towns on the seaboard, expressed publicly their opinions by vote. In May the people of Salem choose a committee of correspondence and inspection, "and subscribe against the importation of English goods, and also of FOREIGN TEA." In Ipswich the warrant for a town meeting calls it "that pernicious weed," and one of their votes calls "the excessive use of tea a bane to this country."

The murder of the German boy Snyder, by a person by the name of Richardson, supposed to be in sympathy with the Commissioners of Customs, increased the excitement. It is related in the papers of the day substantially as follows:—

It seems that one "Lilly" had rendered himself ob-

noxious by importing contrary to his agreement, and was advertised in the papers (Bost. Gaz., Feb. 26, 1770). Some of the people during the night preceding the 22d of Feb., 1770, set up near the store of Lilly a carved head on a pole, with the name of some of the importers upon it, and underneath a hugh hand pointing to Lilly's shop door. This device attracted a crowd of boys, who probably entered into the humor of the caricature as well as their elders. Richardson endeavored to get a countryman to run the post and image down with his team, but failed. Upon this the boys began shouting, and no doubt some epithets were bestowed upon him which excited his ire, as he was suspected of being an "informer." The result was, Richardson rushed into his house and procured a shot gun and discharged it into the crowd. A boy about eleven years of age by the name of Snider was wounded so badly that he died, and a son of John Gore⁵ was badly wounded.

This affair produced great excitement. The "Boston Gazette" says that "the untimely death of this amiable youth will be a standing monument to posterity, that the time was when innocence itself was not safe." The "Boston Gazette" gives the notice of the funeral of the boy Snider in the following communication:—

"Messrs. EDES & GILL:—

The general Sympathy and Concern for the murder of the lad by the base and infamous Richardson, on the 23d, will be a sufficient Reason for your notifying the Publick that he will be buried from his house in Frogg Lane, opposite Liberty Tree, on Monday, when all the friends of Liberty may have an opportunity of paying their last Respects to the remains of this little HERO, and *first martyr to the noble Cause*, whose manly spirit (after this accident happened) appeared in his discreet Answers to

⁵ Christopher Gore, afterwards Gov. of Massachusetts.

his doctor, and Thanks to the Clergyman who prayed with him, and the Firmness of mind he shewed when he first saw his Parents, and while he underwent the greatest distress of bodily Pain; and with which he met the King of Terrors. These things, together with the several heroic Pieces found in his Pocket, particularly Wolfe's 'Summit of human Glory' gives reason to think he had a martial Genius, and would have made a clever man.

A Mourner."

The funeral was attended by a great concourse of the people. The body was placed under the Liberty Tree, and there the procession was formed. Four or five hundred of his school fellows preceded the coffin in couples, the bier being borne by six of Snider's playfellows. The coffin bore this inscription, "Innocentia nusquam tuta."⁶ The relatives followed the coffin, and then followed the citizens, estimated at fifteen hundred, with the addition of thirty chariots and chaises.

Richardson was tried and convicted, but the governor refused to sign the warrant for his execution. He was confined in prison for the space of two years, and was finally pardoned by the king, and left New England for the southern colonies.

The excitement growing out of these occurrences had hardly subsided when the pride of some of the British soldiers was humbled by the contempt in which they were held by the populace, even the boys holding them in derision.

A difficulty had arisen between some of the ropemakers belonging to Gray's ropewalk and the soldiers, on the 2d of March. From the testimony taken at that time it is certain that the soldiers were determined to have their revenge.

Their design was accomplished in "the massacre" in

⁶ Innocence itself not safe.

Boston on the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by soldiers of the 29th British regiment, by which five persons were killed and several wounded, arousing the indignation of the whole country. Meetings were held, resolutions offered, and the result was the removal of the troops to the Castle in Boston Harbor. The funerals of the murdered men were attended by the principal citizens—the bells were tolled in Boston and the neighboring towns. It was a solemn day to the people of Boston.

The freeholders of Boston, duly qualified and legally warned, assembled in public town meeting in Faneuil Hall, on Monday, the 12th day of March, A. D., 1770. The article in the warrant being read, whereupon,

Voted, That the Hon. James Bowdoin, Esq., Doctor Joseph Warren, and Samuel Pemberton, Esq., be a committee for this important business; and they are desired to report as soon as may be.

Attest, WILLIAM COOPER, Esq.

The report of the committee was entitled,

“A short Narrative of the horrid Massacre in Boston, perpetrated in the evening of the 5th of March, 1770, by soldiers of the 29th Regiment; which with the 14th were then quartered in Boston, with some observations on the State of Things prior to that Catastrophe.”

This narrative of eighty-eight pages throws much light upon the peculiar political condition of affairs at that period of our history.

At the town meeting on the 12th of March, it was made manifest that the troops must be removed from the town, in order to prevent an outbreak of the peace of the community. A committee of fifteen, with Samuel Adams at their head, waited upon the governor, and in the name of the town demanded that the troops be re-

moved to the castle ; informing him " That it is our unanimous opinion that the inhabitants and soldiery can live no longer together in safety." The answer of the Lieut. Governor was evasive, "having no authority, etc.," but he had the promise of the Colonel in command that the troops should be kept under restraint until orders could be received from the general in command, then absent in New York.

At the adjourned meeting on the 19th, the committee reported progress ; which was not satisfactory to the inhabitants ; another committee of seven was chosen with Samuel Adams as chairman, who at once waited upon Lieut. Gov. Hutchinson, and demanded, in the name of the people, the removal of the troops, and that the determination of the meeting, which was made up of at least three thousand persons, would be satisfied with nothing short of an immediate compliance. His reply was, "the Troops are not subject to my authority ; I have no power to remove them."

Adams' answer was delivered as though he felt the inspiration of the genius of liberty speaking through his lips : "It is at your peril, if you refuse. The meeting is impatient. The country is in motion. Night is approaching and your answer is expected." The Council advised the removal. But the governor hesitated. He was told by some of his friends "that he must either comply, or prepare at once to leave the Province." He prudently took the advice of his friends, and consented to the demand of the people ; and preparations were at once made for the departure of the troops to the castle in Boston Harbor.

At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, duly warned and legally assembled in Faneuil Hall, on Wednesday, the 28th of Oct.,

1772; and from thence continued by adjournments to Monday, the 2d of November following,

"It was moved, That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty-one persons, 'To state the Rights of the Colonists, and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects; to Communicate, and Publish the same to the several towns in this Province and to the World, as the sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been, or from Time to Time may be made; also requesting of each town a free Communication of their Sentiments on this Subject."

Nov. 20. A committee of twenty-one was appointed, with Hon. James Otis as chairman, who presented a very full and able report, which was unanimously adopted and published by vote of the town, "in a Pamphlet and that the Committee be desired to dispose of 600 Copies thereof to the Selectmen of the Towns in the Province &c."

This report set forth,

"First, A state of the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular.

Secondly, A List of the Infringements, and Violation of these Rights.

Thirdly, A Letter of Correspondence with the other Towns." (See Report, 43 pages. Boston. Pub. by Edes & Gill in Queen street.)

The towns throughout the several provinces responded to the call of Boston. The action was so prompt and patriotic that to catch the inspiration of that day it will become necessary to examine the newspapers of those times, to take in the sense of right that pervaded all their doings. Amongst these papers may be mentioned the "Essex Gazette," of Salem, and "Boston Gazette."

In 1773 the British East India Company obtained per-

mission from the government to ship a large quantity of tea to America, with the condition that they were to be exempted from paying the impost duty in England, but with the agreement that the tea should be subject to an impost duty of threepence per pound in America as required by the Revenue Act.

The news, when received, aroused the indignation of the whole country. A British officer writing home from America to London, said, "All America is in a flame" on account of the tea importation. The papers of the day declared that "whoever should purchase or use this article would drink political damnation to themselves." The neighboring towns were acting in concert with the town of Boston.

The town of Cambridge declares that the town of Boston is now struggling for the LIBERTIES of the country, therefore, Resolved, "That this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice to join with the town of Boston, and other towns, in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." Salem, Marblehead, Ipswich and most of the towns in Massachusetts, were acting in harmony with the people of Boston.

It was well understood by the people of Boston that there were a few of their townsmen who had through their agents in London been seeking for the consignments of the East India Company, and had vessels in England ready to freight it to the colonies. They were therefore desirous that the consignees should decline their trusts.

On the 2d of Nov., about one o'clock in the morning, the Clarkes⁷ (who lived on School street, near the King's Chapel) were roused from their sleep by a violent knocking at the door, and a notification was served upon them,

⁷Firm of Richard Clarke & Sons.

or left under their doors, requiring them to appear the next day at noon under Liberty Tree, publicly to resign their trust, and to fail not at their peril.

On the 3d of Nov. the following handbill was posted and served:—

“To the freemen of this and the neighboring towns :

Gentlemen!—You are desired to meet at the Liberty Tree this day at 12 o'clock at noon, then and there to hear the persons to whom the Tea shipped by the E. I. Company is consigned, make a public resignation of their offices as consignees, upon oath,—and also swear that they will re-ship any teas that may be consigned to them by the said Co. by the first vessel sailing for London.

Boston, Nov. 3, 1773.

O. C., Sec'y.

 *Show us the men that dare take this down!!”*

Early in the morning a large flag was hung out from the tree. The bells in the town rang from 11 to 12 o'clock, the town crier went through the streets calling the people to the Liberty Hall, under the Tree, where from five hundred to one thousand persons assembled. Samuel Adams, John Hancock and William Phillips, representatives of Boston, the selectmen of the town, with William Cooper, the town clerk, were in attendance. The consignees failing to appear were waited upon at the store of the Clark's, on King street, where it was supposed the consignees were assembled. An interview was had, they refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Committee.

The next day a town meeting was held at 10 A. M. John Hancock, moderator. Spirited resolutions were adopted against the duties to be levied on tea landed in America,—that it was a tax upon Americans without their consent, and that the refusal of the consignees was “*daringly affrontive.*”

On Monday, the 22d of November, the committees from the adjacent towns, held a conference with the Boston committee in Faneuil Hall, and the question being put, whether it be the mind of the committees present, to use their joint influence to prevent the landing, and sale of the teas expected by the consignees of the E. I. Co., *it was passed unanimously in the affirmative.*

On Sunday, the 28th of November, arrived the ship Dartmouth, Capt. James Hall, with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, eight weeks from London. As soon as the arrival was known to the committee of correspondence, they obtained from the owner of the vessel a promise not to enter it at the Custom House until Tuesday, the 30th.

The "Boston Gazette" announces the arrival as follows.

"Yesterday morning Capt. Hall in the ship Dartmouth came to anchor near the Castle, in about eight weeks from London, and early this morning came up into the Harbour; on board of which, it is said, are one hundred and fourteen chests of the much talked of East India Company's TEA, the expected arrival of which pernicious article has for some time past put all these northern colonies in a very great ferment. And this morning the following notification was posted up in all parts of the town, viz.

' FRIENDS! BRETHREN! COUNTRYMEN!

That worst of Plagues, the detestable Tea shipped for this Port by the East India Company is now arrived in this Harbour, the Hour of Destruction or manly opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny stares you in the Face; every Friend to his country, to himself, and Posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall at 9 o'clock this day (at which time the Bells will ring) to make a united and successful Resistance to this last, worst and most destructive Measure of Administration.

Boston, Nov. 29, 1773.'

Botta, the Historian, calls this the "*decisive moment.*" Another Historian "the crisis of the American Revolution" John Adams in his famous Amsterdam letters dates the Revolution as commencing in 1760. "And I can truly say, that the people, through the whole course of this long period, have been growing constantly every year, more, and more unanimous, and determined to resist the designs of Great Britain. (Let. No. 1, 1780.)"

The call for the meeting brought together a large concourse; by nine o'clock Faneuil Hall was filled to its utmost capacity. A motion was made to adjourn to the Old South Meeting House, the Sanctuary of Freedom, which was carried.

The meeting was organized by the choice of Jonathan Williams, Esq., as moderator. Samuel Adams offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted. "That the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came, *at all events*, and that no duty should be paid thereon."

The consignees asked time for consultation which was granted, but at the adjournment the next morning answered that it was out of their power to send back the tea, but that they would store it until advices were received from England. Before the people had time to vent their feelings, at the reply of the consignees, Sheriff Greenleaf appeared with an order, from the Governor, to read a proclamation to the people there assembled, the question was put whether he should be permitted to read, which passed in the affirmative. It was an order 'forthwith to disperse, and surcease all farther unlawful proceedings at their utmost peril.'" The same having been read by the Sheriff, there was immediately afterwards, a loud and determined hiss.

As the meeting had no doubt accomplished their busi-

ness, the question was put whether the assembly would disperse as required, it passed in the affirmative *nem con.*

Another meeting was held in the afternoon, and the consignees were sworn not to land a particle of the tea. Captain Ezekiel Cheever was appointed to command the watch the first night, and a detail made for succeeding nights until the vessels left the harbor. The orders to the watch were "if molested in the night the bells were to be tolled, or rung if anything happened in the day time." A committee was also appointed to give notice to the country towns on any important occasion. The last vote passed before adjournment was viz., "That it is the determination of this Body to carry their votes and resolutions into execution, at the risk of their lives and property."

On the 1st of Dec. the ship *Eleanor*, Capt. Bruce, arrived with another consignment of tea. On the 3d inst. he was ordered to attend the next day, on a committee of the people in Faneuil Hall, where he was commanded by Samuel Adams and Jonathan Williams, assembled with John Hancock and a great number of others, not to land any of the tea, but to proceed to Griffin's wharf and unload the rest of the cargo. The brig *Beaver*, Capt. Coffin, arrived a few days after, and the captain was ordered to pursue the same course.

The twenty days having nearly expired, after which the collector of customs might seize the *Dartmouth* with her cargo, Mr. Rotch, the consignee, was summoned before the committee; he informed them it would ruin him so to do, "and he should not do so."

In consequence of the failure of Rotch to return the tea as agreed to by him in November, the following notice was posted about town on the morning of the 14th of December.

"FRIENDS! BRETHREN! COUNTRYMEN!

The perfidious acts of your restless enemies to render ineffectual the resolutions of the body of the people, demand your assembling at the Old South Meeting House precisely at 2 o'clock this day, at which time the bells will ring."

The meeting was organized by the choice of Samuel Phillips Savage, of Weston, as moderator. It was a meeting for consultation and counsel, delegations being present from the adjacent towns.

Rotch was summoned to attend the meeting, and he was compelled to accompany a committee to the collector of the port to demand a clearance for the Dartmouth. The collector desired to consult with the comptroller, and promised an answer the next day. The meeting therefore adjourned to the 16th, which was considered the last day for discussion.

The 16th of December opened with pleasant weather; upward of two thousand people from the country were present, besides people of Boston. Mr. Savage⁸ was present as moderator. Mr. Rotch reported that the collector would not give him a clearance.

He was then ordered on his peril, to get his ship ready for sea *this day*, enter his protest, and go to the governor, then at Milton, and demand a pass for his ship to pass by the Castle. (Boston was the only port that had a military force that could control the ingress and egress of vessels.⁹) The meeting then adjourned to three o'clock,

⁸ Mr. Savage was a merchant of Boston, but he is called of Weston. Died in Weston, 1797. Pres. of the Mass. Board of War during the Rev. (Drake's Biog. Dic'y.)

⁹ "The inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia sent the ships back to London, and they sailed up the Thames, to proclaim to all the world that New York and Pennsylvania would not be enslaved. The

P.M., at which time Rotch had not returned. The meeting waited patiently for Rotch's return. The question to be considered was, shall we abide by our resolutions? Quincy advised discretion, but the people cried, "Our hands have been put to the plough, we must not look back," and the people of the whole assemblage voted unanimously that the tea should not be landed.

Just before six o'clock, Rotch returned and reported to the multitude awaiting in the dimly lighted meeting house the answer from the governor: That for the honor of the laws, and from duty towards the king, he could not grant the permit until the vessel was regularly cleared. "We can do no more to save our country," said Samuel Adams. The next instant a shout was heard at the door, and a number of resolute and determined men, disguised as Indians, gave the "war whoop," which rang through the meeting house, and which was answered by some of their confederates in the galleries. But silence was commanded, and a peaceable deportment *enjoined*, 'till the dissolution of the meeting. The Indians, as they were called, repaired to the wharf (then called Griffin's, now Liverpool) posted their guards, boarded the several ships, and in three hours' time, broke open and emptied into the sea three hundred and forty-two chests of tea. When the tide rose it floated the broken chests and the tea, so that it extended from the south part of the town to the Dorchester Neck, and lodged on the shores. Great care was taken to prevent the tea being purloined by any of the

inhabitants of Charleston, S. C., unloaded it, and stored it in the cellars, where it could not be used, and where it finally perished. The inhabitants of Boston tried every measure to send the ships back, like New York and Philadelphia; but not being able to pass the Castle, the tea was all thrown into the sea." (J. Adams to Dr. Calkoen, of Amsterdam, 1780.)

people. When the work of the Indians was accomplished they quietly dispersed.

George Robert Twelves Hewes, who died about 1840, and who participated in the destruction of the tea, informed his biographer that among the speakers in the afternoon was John Hancock, and that he gave the opinion very significantly not only that the governor had absolutely made up his mind to land the tea, but as things now were, "*the matter must be settled before 12 o'clock that night;*" and the last words of Hancock were, "let every man do what is right in his own eyes."

In the memoir of Hewes, written by B. B. Thacher in 1835, the names of sixty persons are given on the best recollection of Hewes, that were known to him to have been engaged in the destruction on that memorable occasion.

In this list appears the name of William Russell, of Boston. He was an active member of the Sons of Liberty, and a participator in the stirring scenes preceding the American Revolution.

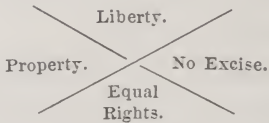
Born May 24, 1748, the son of Samuel and Elizabeth Hacker Russell of Boston. His father was a block-maker.

William Russell was prepared to enter college, but it is believed he never entered; owing to the troublesome times in trade and business, it was impossible for his family to incur the expense. We find him at an early period, and for some years, an usher in the school then taught by the celebrated Master Griffith, of Boston, who is believed to have kept his school near the site of the present Mayhew School.

He married in 1772 Mary Richardson, daughter of Moses Richardson, of Cambridge, who was killed in the Lexington fight.

William Russell took an important part in the stirring scenes in Boston, preceding and during the revolutionary period.¹⁰

As a teacher, his love of liberty and equal rights was impressed upon the minds of the youth of that day, for we find in some of his manuscripts, which were used in school on account of the scarcity of books, patriotic mottoes, with the liberty cap, as headings to the pages, viz. :



“Wilkes and Liberty.”

“Liberty to all Men.”

“Liberty! no Stamps.”

“The Sons of Liberty! may they shine with Lustre.”

I am indebted to the private memoranda of the late Col. John Russell, of Salem, who was the son of William Russell, of Boston, for the preservation of many of

¹⁰ Being young and of an ardent temperament, he entered with great zeal into the movements of the day. As a member of the “Sons of Liberty,” he was zealous in sustaining the objects of the organization. Mr. Edes, of the “Boston Gazette,” was one of his personal friends, and it is known that he contributed articles on public affairs for that paper. In some of his letters, written whilst a prisoner in England he addressed him as Bro. Edes. I find the following lines written by him whilst confined as a prisoner in Mill Prison, in England, among some letters in my possession. They are given as a specimen of the maledictory spirit of the Sons of Liberty.

“Great Marris, with me, come now, and view, this more than Hellish crew,
 Great Vulcan, send your thunder forth, and all their fields bestrew,
 Rain on their heads perpetual fire, in one Eternal flame;
 Let black destruction be their doom, dishonor be their names.
 Send mighty bolts to strike the traitors, North and Mansfield, dead;
 And liquid fire to scald the Crown from Royal George’s head;
 Strike all their young posterity with one Eternal curse,
 Nor pity them no more than they have ever pitied us.

Mill Prison, Nov. 29th, 3 P. M., 1781.

WILL^m RUSSELL.”

the incidents relating to the destruction of the tea, as told him by his mother. Being brought up to the trade of a printer in the office of the "Columbian Centinel," gave him more method and exactness in preserving every fact connecting his father therewith.

Having lived during his apprenticeship near the spot where most of the exciting scenes were transacted, he was led in 1835 to embody them into a lecture which he read before the Salem Mechanic Lyceum. In speaking of the "tea party" that gathered on Griffin's Wharf on the evening of the 16th of Dec., 1773, he says, "William Russell was one of the number, who, disguised as an Indian, assisted in throwing overboard and destroying the tea when on board the vessels lying at Griffin's Wharf.

On his return to his home on Temple street, after accomplishing the destruction of the tea on shipboard, he took off his shoes and carefully dusted them over the fire, being careful that none of the tea should remain; he then went to his closet and took from it the tea canister, and as carefully emptied its contents into the fire, nor would he leave it until every particle of tea was consumed.

The next morning he took the canister and had these words painted thereon; on one side, COFFEE; on the reverse, NO TEA. From this time henceforth this luxury, as it was considered in those days, was to be banished, and its use prohibited; to accomplish which the "Tea Destroyers" had bound themselves by a solemn oath.

One of the tea destroyers by the name of Eckley, a barber, was informed against as being one of those who assisted in the destruction of the tea. He was arrested and committed to prison, the Sons of Liberty supporting him whilst in confinement in a most sumptuous manner, and also providing for his family.

The government not deeming it prudent to proceed

against him, after some time set him at liberty. The person who gave the information against him was seized, and dressed in a Yankee coat of "tar and feathers," which were laid on his naked skin; he was then seated on a set of trucks and paraded amidst the huzzas of the multitude, from the Liberty Pole, South End, to the North Battery, with labels affixed, one on his back and another on his breast, with his name, which is now forgotten, in large letters, and underneath, the word "INFORMER." These labels were printed by William Russell with a pen.¹¹

The following extract from the log-book of the ship Dartmouth is from the appendix of Memoir of Hews.

"Thursday, Dec. 2. Cloudy weather; began to deliver our goods, and continued to land them from day to day, till Saturday, Dec. 11, having a guard of 25 men every night.

Tuesday, Dec. 14. Have had another town meeting, which is adjourned to Thursday.

Thursday, Dec. 16. This 24 hours rainy weather; town meeting this day. Between 6 and 7 o'clock this evening came down to the wharf a body of about 1000 people;—

¹¹ Col. Russell, in a communication to the "Boston Transcript" in 1850, in reference to the destruction of the tea, says, "Very few persons now know where to find Griffin's Wharf, the name of which should have been preserved through all time.

Having ever felt a great interest in the transactions of that eventful period, and knowing the late Major Melville had preserved a small quantity of the prohibited article, he having been, in common with my father and others, engaged in its destruction, he gratified me a short time before his death, with the sight of a small parcel of the veritable TEA, which he found in his clothing on his arrival home, although it was intended that not a particle of it should be preserved; he had it securely sealed up in a small phial; it was of a coarse twist and appeared to be in perfect order. It is to be hoped that this interesting relic is now in safe hands, and that it will eventually, if not so already, be in the possession of the Historical Society." (It is believed to be in the Cabinet of Harvard University.)

among them were a number *dressed and whooping like Indians*. They came on board the ship, and after warning myself and the custom house officer to get out of the way, they unlaid the hatches and went down the hold, where were 80 whole and 34 half chests of tea, which they hoisted on deck, and cut the chests to pieces, and hove the tea all overboard, where it was damaged and lost."

Several of the tea party were living in 1835, and from them Mr. Thacher gathered some information which he has inserted in his memoirs of G. R. T. Hewes. He says that Peter McIntosh was a blacksmith apprentice at that time. He remembers that some of the party came into the shop to disguise their faces with soot.

Henry Purkitt and Samuel Dolbier were apprentices with Samuel Peck the cooper on Essex street. Purkitt relates that whilst at their work that evening, they heard a loud whistle; they left the shop following the sound, which brought them to the wharf. Their part was to jump on to the flats by the side of one of the vessels, it being nearly low tide, and to break up with others by direction of the Commander, the fragments of boxes, and masses of tea which were thrown over in too great haste.

They affected to issue their orders from time to time, in an Indian jargon, and the interpreter then to communicate what the Chiefs ordered. The procuring of keys and lights, the raising of the derrick, trampling the tea in the flats, sweeping the decks at the close of the scene, calling the *mate* up to report whether everything (except the tea, of course) was left as they found it, being regulated through the medium of the Chiefs.

Purkitt and Dolbier went home early. Peck, who was believed to be one of the Chiefs, came in rather softly at 1 o'clock in the morning. The boys noticed some relics of

red paint behind his ears the next day. The only tools the boys used were both made of a *stave* before they started.

Major Ben. Russell was then a school boy, and he well remembered seeing his father and Mr. T. Moore painting each other's faces that evening with lamp black and red ochre, through the window of his wood-house.

(The late Rev. Dr. Prince of Salem informed Col. Russell that he witnessed most of these transactions, he being on the wharf most of the time.)

The destruction of the tea in Boston met the approval of the people, and most of the towns endorsed their doings and entered their vote in their public records.

Ipswich, on the 20th of Dec., voted "That the inhabitants of this town have received real pleasure and satisfaction from the noble and spirited exertions of their Brethren of Boston, and other towns, to prevent the landing of the detested tea, lately arrived there from the E. I. Co., subject to a duty."

Voted,—"That no tea be sold in town whilst this act is in force; that if any one sell it here he shall be deemed an enemy." (Hist. of Ip.)

1773. A committee was chosen in the town of Charlestown to collect all of the Tea in town, paying the owners what it cost them and to burn it in the public market place at twelve o'clock at noon. The same paper reports that it was burnt agreeably to the vote of the town.

A vessel which arrived from Cape Cod with a part of the cargo of Capt. Loring's vessel, which was reported to have sixty chests of tea on board, "was on the evening of her arrival thoroughly searched by Indians, and no TEA found on board. Such a good lookout being kept, what occasion is there for Tide waiters, Pimps or Informers." (Essex Gaz., Jan. 4, 1774.)

May 10, 1774, an arrival at Boston from London brought out a "Copy of one of the most CRUEL, ARBITRARY ACTS that ever disgraced the Reign of a Tyrant.

London, April 4."

The following is the much-talked-of Boston Port Bill, which on Thursday last received the Royal Assent, and after the first of June becomes a law.

"An Act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein maintained, the landing and discharging, the lading or shipping of Goods, Wares and Merchandize at the Town and within the Harbour of Boston in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America."

Troops were ordered to Boston to enforce the Boston Port Bill, and on the 14th of June two regiments landed and encamped on Boston Common. At Salem the 59th regiment from Halifax was stationed.

In the progress of the troubles betwixt the mother country and the colonies, Mr. Russell having made himself so well known and obnoxious to the loyalists in Boston, and from his small means to support his family whilst Boston was in the possession of the British troops, he concluded to leave the town, and went to Cambridge, leaving his family behind. He stood in such fear of being deprived of his liberty that he dare not visit his family except in disguise. During this time and up to 1776 he is believed to have taught a school in Newton. One of his children was born there in 1775. At the time the British officers suffered families to leave Boston for the country (on account of the scarcity of supplies) his family left with him for Cambridge, carrying with them such few articles of clothing as were permitted by the officers of the British troops.

May 17, 1775, when he left the town of Boston, the

town committee gave the annexed certificate, made necessary by the law against the entertainment of strangers without visible means of support.

"BOSTON, MAY 17th, 1775.

The Bearer, Mr. William Russell of Boston, and his Family, removing out of the Town of Boston, are recommended to the Charity and Assistance of our Benevolent Sympathizing Brethren, in the several Towns in the Province.

By Order of the Committee of Donations.

(5 in Family.)

ALEX^r HODGDON, Clerk.

To the Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence in the several Towns in the Province of Massachusetts Bay."

The departure of the British troops from Boston is thus noted on the leaf of one of his manuscripts.

March 17th, 1776. George's Butchers left the Town of Boston, and went on board the Transports (after plundering the town). The same day they sailed below the Castle.

The question may arise in the minds of some at the present day whether these proceedings were not the outbreak of a lawless mob. To resolve this question aright we must understand the relations of the colonists to the mother country. They prided themselves upon their loyalty to Britain, and fully believed that under the law they were entitled to the same rights and immunities that were the pride and boast of the people of Great Britain; rights secured to them by "Magna Charta," and reiterated in their own colonial charter. These rights the colonists of Massachusetts Bay were determined to maintain; and when they petitioned the British Parliament for relief from some of the most unjust and arbitrary measures forced upon them, through the advice of those

who were seeking for the rewards of their own treachery, they were answered by still more arbitrary measures being enacted.

When the Ministry of Britain claimed as the prerogative of the king, the right to collect impost duties for the support and maintenance of the executive and judicial officers appointed by him, and to appoint commissioners of customs for the collection of the same, they to be backed up by British troops, then it was that the people of New England understood the issue that was presented to them.

Massachusetts had ever enjoyed the right to regulate her own taxes and determine the salaries of her officials, and as Pitt well said in the British House of Commons,

"The Commons of America represented in their several assemblies have ever been in possession of this, their constitutional right, of giving and granting their own money. They would have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it."

The people of America found that the Ministry were determined to try the issue, and to crush out the irrepressible love of liberty that was growing up with the people. The question for the people to settle was, were they to remain as freemen, or slaves. The test question was understood to be the *landing* of a few hundred chests of *tea*, and the collection of threepence a pound duty thereon. The people, from the north to the south, from the east to the west, determined that the tea should not be used until the obnoxious law was repealed. The Ministry had thrown down the "gage of battle" in the shape of a few hundred chests of tea; the people of Boston accepted the issue, and in defiance of the acts of Parliament, the tea was cast into the sea, and the people were ready to abide the result.

The prediction of Lord Camden was now about to be

fulfilled. "It was *now* a revolution." The people appealed to arms to maintain their liberties, and the spirit of Magna Charta was rewrought into the Declaration of Independence, and after a seven years' war, AMERICA WAS FREE.

After the evacuation of Boston by the British troops, Mr. Russell returned with his family to Boston, where their furniture and effects had been left, to find that they had been plundered or destroyed by the British and their adherents.

1777. During the year 1776 a regiment of artillery consisting of ten companies for the defence of Boston was raised, to be under the command of Thomas Crafts, Esq., as Colonel, Paul Revere, Lieut. Col., and Thomas Melville, Major. William Russell entered the service in this regiment as Serg. Maj., and was afterwards Adjutant, serving in the campaign to Rhode Island.

(The Orderly Book of this regiment from June 8, 1777, to Nov. 10, 1778, is in my possession).

1779. In June of this year, he entered on board the privateer ship Jason, of Boston, John Manley, of Marblehead, commander, as captain's clerk, sailing on the 19th of June, 1779, on a cruise against the enemies of the United States of America.

On the 23d of June they chased and took two British privateer brigs, one of twenty, the other of twenty-two guns, and proceeded with them to Boston.

On the 30th of July the Jason sailed on her second cruise, and was captured by the British Frigate Surprise, of twenty-eight guns and two hundred and thirty men, on the 30th of September, 1779, and were carried into St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 6th of Nov., from whence they were transferred to Old Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, and committed on the 10th of Dec.,

1779, for PIRACY, HIGH TREASON, and REBELLION against his Majesty on the High Seas, where he remained a prisoner until June 24, 1782, a period of two years, six months and five days.

During the whole period of his imprisonment he taught school, in which he successfully taught the young American prisoners, and thus laid the foundation for their future usefulness.

He was again under the necessity of trying his fortune at sea, and was again taken prisoner and confined on board the Jersey prison ship in New York harbor.

He was granted a parole by Admiral Digby for the term of three months to go to Rhode Island. Peace being declared before the expiration of his parole, he returned home to his family in Cambridge.

His health was now daily failing, and on the 7th of March, 1784, he departed this life, aged thirty-five years, two months, fourteen days. He died of consumption brought upon him by the sufferings and privations he had passed through in the support and for the establishment of AMERICAN LIBERTY.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF
MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

Elm Street Burial-ground.

- { ABBOT, BENJAMIN, Sr., died, Boston. Oct. 24, 1844, aged 77.
" MARCY, wife of Benjamin. Mar. 16, 1802, aged 32. Erected
by Benjamin Abbot, of Boston.
- ADAMS, WILLIAM. May 13, 1837, aged 25 yrs., 2 m.
ALLEN, AMBROSE, tomb. 1843.
ANDERTON, JOHN, lost at sea. Oct. 25, 1845, aged 25.
ANDREWS, RUTHY, wife of Benjamin. May 4, 1812, aged 33 y., 9 m.,
4 d.
" BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin and Ruthy. Dec. 23, 1803, aged
1 y., 1 m., 22 d.
" WILLIAM, son of Benjamin and Ruthy. Jan. 23, 1812, aged
1 y., 3 m., 15 d.
" JOHN, son of Benjamin and Mary L. Sept. 6, 1814, aged
10 m.
" ELEANOR. Aug. 20, 1819, aged 80 y., 10 m., 7 d.
APPLETON, THOMAS, tomb. 1843.
- BALLARD, ELISHA. Feb. 7, 1838, aged 28 y., 8 m.
" SUSAN, wife of Daniel. Sept. 3, 1850, aged 33.
" SAMUEL H., son of Daniel and Susan. Mar. 30, 1842, aged
10 m.
" MEHITABLE, dau. " " " " Aug. 31, 1843, aged
5 m.
" P. J., tomb. 1853.
- BARKER, JOSEPH, tomb. 1804.
BARTLETT, MEHITABLE, wife of Thomas. Apr. 24, 1809, aged 44 y., 5 d.
" WILLIAM. Feb. 10, 1823, 82d y.
" ELIZABETH, wid. of William. Oct. 11, 1824, aged 76.
" WILLIAM, Jr. June 19, 1813, aged 31.

- BARTLETT, JOHN. Feb. 6, 1839, aged 55 y., 4 m.
 " ANN, tomb. 1843.
 " JANE, " 1846.
 " — " 1849.
 " REBECCA, wife of Simeon H. June 21, 1850, aged 25.
 " ELI V. and brothers, tomb. 1853.
 " ABNER H. Oct. 17, 1855, aged 19 y., 4 m.
 { " GEORGE P. July 31, 1860, aged 26 y., 11 m., 7 d.
 { " NATHANIEL. Jan. 4, 1863, aged 75 y., 6 m., 17 d.
- BASSETT, ELIZABETH, wife of John. June 18, 1836, aged 45.
 " S. P., tomb. 1842.
 " MATTHEW. Feb. 2, 1854, aged 39 y., 8 m.
 " PHILIP P. M., son of Matthew. Jan. 10, 1851, aged 3 y.,
 10 m.
 " SAMUEL H. R., " " " June 10, 1851, aged 8 y.,
 5 m., 6 d.
 " SAMUEL, son of Matthew. Sept. 10, 1854, aged 1 y., 7 m.
- BATEMAN, PETER. July 20, 1858, aged 49 y., 6 m., 25 d.
 " PETER T., son of Peter. Apr. 29, 1838, aged 1 y., 11 m., 22 d.
 " SAMUEL S., " " " May 21, 1844, aged 1 y., 11 m., 10 d.
- BEAN, WILLIAM. Nov. 14, 1829, aged 25.
 " HANNAH, wife of William. Dec. 17, 1839, aged 30.
 " WILLIAM, son of William and Hannah. July 1, 1847, aged 18.
- BESSOM, PHILIP, lost at sea. Jan., 1824, aged 38 y., 2 m.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Philip. Nov. 12, 1860, aged 74 y., 8 d.
 " RICHARD MARTIN, son of Philip and Elizabeth. Nov. 22,
 1832, aged 9 y., 6 m.
 " Capt. PHILIP, tomb. 1825.
 { " WILLIAM H. Feb. 7, 1836, aged 57.
 { " ANNA, wife of William H. Oct. 26, 1850, aged 74.
 { " SARAH A. May 21, 1852, aged 23.
 " EMMA L., dau. of Joseph H. and Hattie L. Feb. 8, 1866,
 aged 2 y., 6 m.
- BICKNELL, OLIVE VINCENT, wife of Simeon and dau. of David and
 Esther Morse, of Chateauqua, N. Y. Mar. 16, 1824,
 aged 25.
- BLANCHARD, JESSE. Nov. 25, 1830, aged 60.
 " SARAH, wife of Jesse. Nov. 1, 1822, aged 49.
 " ISAAC, son of Jesse and Sarah. Sept. 17, 1800, aged 1 y.,
 2 m., 21 d.
 " HANNAH, dau. of Jesse and Sarah. June 26, 1805, aged 3
 y., 11 m.
 " JOSEPH, son of " " " Aug. 25, 1811, aged 1
 y., 10 m., 2 d.

- BLANCHARD, WILLIAM R., son of Jesse and Sarah. Sept. 17, 1820, aged 8 y., 7 m., 6 d.
- “ SARAH B. Aug. 29, 1868, aged 62.
- BLANEY, ASA, tomb. 1826.
- BOARDMAN, THOMAS, tomb. 1826.
- BOND, JOHN, tomb 1848.
- BOWDEN, JOSHUA ORNE, tomb. 1838.
- “ JOSEPH. May 16, 1859, aged 80.
- “ RUTH, wife of Joseph. July 29, 1849, aged 76 y., 10 m.
- “ PRISCILLA, dau. of Joseph. Apr. 20, 1854, aged 50.
- “ Miss RUTH. May 26, 1857, aged 56.
- BOWEN, ELIZABETH. Dec. 2, 1860, aged 82 y., 9 m., 16 d.
- BOWLER, MARY, dau. of James and Elizabeth. Feb. 28, 1806, aged 3 y., 5 m., 16 d.
- “ LYDIA, dau. of James and Elizabeth. Feb. 10, 1825, aged 28.
- “ JAMES, tomb. 1830.
- BRAGDON, CHARLES P., son of John T. and Julia A. Oct. 2, 1842, aged 5 m., 8 d.
- “ FREDERICK W., son of “ “ “ “ “ Sept. 4, 1849, aged 4 y., 8 m.
- “ WILLIAM A., son of John T. and Julia A. Sept. 12, 1849, aged 2 y., 6 m.
- “ WILLIAM F., son of “ “ “ “ “ July 23, 1853, aged 2 y., 5 m.
- BRAY, SALLY. Aug. 6, 1859, aged 73.
- BRIDGE, ELLIOT, wid. of Joseph of Lexington. Oct. 14, 1807, aged 70 (stone between Sarah and Sarah B. Blanchard).
- BRIGGS, DR. C., tomb. 1841.
- BRIMBLECOME, SEAWARD, eldest son of Seaward and Alice. Oct. 26, 1823, aged 85.
- “ MIRIAM, wife of Seaward and dau. of Richard and Jane Pedrick. Jan. 28, 1817, aged 75 y., 6 m.
- “ NATHANIEL, tomb. 1850.
- BROWN, EDMUND. Aug. 10, 1823, aged 57 y., 8 m.
- “ LYDIA, wife of Edmund. July 13, 1828, aged 65.
- “ JONATHAN, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth. May 23, 1824, aged 12 y., 5 m.
- “ J. H., tomb. 1834.
- “ J., tomb. 1835.
- “ SAMUEL H., tomb. 1843.
- “ THOMAS, tomb. 1843.
- BUBIER, JOHN, tomb. 1838.

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XII.

OCTOBER, 1874.

No. 4.

THE THOMAS ALMANACS.

BY JAMES H. FITTS.

THE "Genealogical Register" for January, 1868, speaks of names which "arose from the mode of nomenclature by which the Christian name of the father becomes the surname of the son." The name Thomas, with five others from Wales, is cited in illustration.

Nathaniel Ingersol Bowditch, in "Suffolk Surnames," says, "Many *Christian* names appear among us as *surnames*." He includes the name Thomas in his list of one hundred and five examples.

There are two entirely different publications known as the Thomas Almanacs. One was published by Hon. Isaiah Thomas, LL. D., the most eminent publisher and journalist of his time. He is recognized as the "Father of American Printing," and justly celebrated as the "Patriot Printer."

Isaiah Thomas was born at Boston in 1749, and died at Worcester, April 4, 1831. It is exceedingly difficult

to fix the exact date of the first issue of his almanacs. They were commenced in the troublous times of the American revolution, which sorely interfered with the business of their author, and interrupted their issue. His well known patriotism made him obnoxious to the loyalists. He commenced business as a printer at Newburyport in 1767. In 1770 he moved to Boston, and commenced to publish the "Massachusetts Spy." In consequence of an article in his paper he was ordered in 1771 to appear before Gov. Thomas Hutchinson and Council, but refused. In 1773 he set up a press at Newburyport and started the "Essex Journal and Merrimack Packet." In 1774 he advertised "to carry on the Printing Business in all its branches, at his Printing Office near the Market, Boston." Here, probably, he printed his first almanac. But he was forced to leave Boston and removed to Worcester, April 17, 1775. Two days after he took an active part in the skirmish at Lexington. He issued the "Spy" from Worcester, May 3, 1775, which is still continued as a monument of his sagacity. Worcester is also honored in the American Antiquarian Society, founded by his munificence and incorporated Oct. 12, 1812.

The almanacs of Isaiah Thomas were not regularly and constantly numbered. Thus, in that of 1782, he says, "I here present you with my fifth Almanack." This would carry the first number back to 1778, and seems decisive. But then he calls the one for 1789 "my thirteenth Almanack," instead of twelfth as it should have been if that for 1782 was fifth. This error seems to be corrected in that for 1794 which is called "my seventeenth Almanack." But again he calls the one for 1800 "my twenty-fourth Almanack." Here the erroneous enumeration is resumed. So the matter of date is not settled at all.

Dr. Thaddeus William Harris, librarian of Harvard

College, in a newspaper article written many years ago, says, "These circumstances have rendered it somewhat uncertain what were the dates of the first five or six of Thomas's Almanacs. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that the following list will be found complete.

The first almanac bearing his name that I have seen is entitled, 'Thomas's New England Almanack, or the Massachusetts Calendar for 1775, Boston : ' etc.

2. 'Thomas's Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut Almanack for 1779, Worcester : ' etc.

3. Thomas's Almanack for 1780, with the same title as the last.

4. The same for 1781.

5. 'Thomas's Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanack for the year of our Lord 1782, Worcester : ' etc.

6, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11 for 1783, '84, '85, '86, '87 and '88 present little variation.

The twelfth for 1789 has the same title as the fifth. The almanac has now taken a fashion, which, with only slight variations, it continued ever afterwards to wear.¹

¹This was the first number fully illustrated. The central figure of the title-page is a divinity with compasses apportioning the globe. On one hand Father Time, a scythe in his right hand, an hour-glass in his left, and a ball under his left foot. On the other hand an astronomer gazing upon the heavens, his left hand pointing upwards, a pen in his right and a scroll near by. Mr. Thomas says, "The cuts on the Lunar pages are descriptive of the month they are in; also of the sign which enters the sun on that month." So for January we find the *Waterbearer*, a sleighing party, and a woman in furs. February, the *Fishes*, traveller on foot and fagot-gatherer. March, the *Ram*, a boy and a girl going to school. April, the *Bull*, a landscape and a lady with a linnet on her hand. May, the *Twins*, May-pole and fisherman. June, the *Crab*, a bather and flower-girl. July, the *Lion*, a ploughboy with oxen, dog and hoe, and a lady reading under a tree. August, the *Virgin*, a farmer ploughing, a woman carrying water, and another with her sun umbrella. September, the *Scales*, reapers,

In 1802 the name of Isaiah Thomas, Jr., first appeared as printer.

The almanac for 1803, being, according to my enumeration, the twenty-sixth, was also Isaiah Thomas's *last*.

The publication was continued by his son to 1810, and in 1811 it took the name of 'Isaiah Thomas, Junior's Town and Country Almanack, or Complete Farmer's Calendar,' under which it was published by him till 1817, when William Manning became the publisher and continued it with the same title two years more. The year 1819 was probably the last of its appearance, as none of any later date are known to me."²

Thus it appears that Thomas's Almanac was published and circulated forty-two years [?], twenty-six by the father, thirteen by the son, and three years [?] by William Manning.³

So much concerning an almanac which for a score of years had no equal competitor, but which in 1793 and for nearly thirty years after, found a sturdy rival in the Old Farmer's Almanac.

This almanac was published by Robert Bailey Thomas, of West Boylston. Mr. Thomas furnishes some bio-

mother and child. October, the *Scorpion*, a huntsman, and a lady on horseback. November, the *Archer*, a farmer with cattle, horse and swine, and a lady wrapped in her cloak. December, the *Goat*, skaters, and a lady in furs.

There is added a figure showing, as the author says, "the Anatomy of Man's Body as governed by the twelve Constellations." Also a diagram to illustrate "the Transit of Mercury over the Sun's Disk."

²To the above account by Dr. Harris, Samuel F. Haven of the Amer. Ant. Soc. adds the following, "The Almanac appeared in 1820 as issued by Geo. A. Trumbull."

I have a copy for 1822 by Trumbull.

³Isaiah Thomas, Jr., graduated at Harvard in 1825, married Mary Weld. Some account of William, the eighth of their eleven children, is given in Gen. Reg., 1872, p. 445.

graphical items relating to his family in his almanacs for 1833, '34, '35, '36, and '37. He says:⁴ "My grandfather, William Thomas, was a native of Wales (Eng.), and born there of an opulent family, and received a liberal education at Christ's College, Cambridge. It seems he emigrated to this country somewhere about the year 1718. Tradition says he, with other brothers, came first to Stonington, Conn.; of this I shall not undertake to say. It is well known that he came to Marlborough, Mass., sometime about the year 1720, and married Lydia Eager, a daughter of a respectable farmer of Shrewsbury, and resided in Marlborough until he died in 1733, two years after which my grandmother died. He had two sons and four daughters.

My father, William, was the eldest son, who was born in Marlborough, March, 1725.⁵ He, losing his parents at so tender an age, had but a very imperfect recollection of them. After his mother's death he went to Shrewsbury to live with his grandmother Eager; where, and at Jonas Morse's, of Marlborough, he resided some years. He attended the town school in the winter the limited time it kept. Being of a studious turn of mind, and fond

⁴Mr. T. gives the following reason for this biography: "It is not unfrequently observed to the Editor, by persons residing in neighboring states or remote from his residence, that they supposed him long since numbered with the dead; and that the Farmer's Almanack was calculated and edited by a connection of the former editor. To satisfy such, and conceiving it may afford amusement to our patrons generally, I have concluded, if my life and health should be continued, in our next to give a concise memoir of myself and ancestors."—*Almanac*, 1832.

⁵The children of William and Lydia (Eager) Thomas were: Levina, b. Aug. 15, 1721, m., 1744, Benj. Bigelow; Sophia, b. July 28, 1723; William, b. Mar. 10, 1725; Lydia, b. Sept. 30, 1727; Mary, b. Feb. 16, 1729, m. 1746, Joseph Morse; Ovardo, b. May 7, 1731. See *Hist. of Marlboro*, by *Hon. Charles Hudson*.

of reading, he purchased many books, and soon became quite a scholar for those days. In the year 1744 he commenced school keeping in Brookfield, at the age of nineteen years, which he followed winters, more or less, for upward of forty years. The same year, commenced in Hardwick, being the first schoolmaster in that town.

In April, 1747, he left this country for England, to obtain a patrimony justly belonging to his father in Wales, and on the 8th of May, in going north about, was taken by a French privateer out of Dunkirk, and stripped of all. Afterwards was ransomed, and arrived at Boston in October. In August, 1749, he made another voyage to London, where he stayed some time, and visited Wales, with the expectation of obtaining his right of inheritance, but was unsuccessful, on account of the lapse of time since my grandfather left Wales.

It would be difficult, not to say impossible, to follow step by step his various avocations and employments for a period of fourteen years. I would merely remark, in this time he received a lieutenant's commission in the army; not pleased with a soldier's life, he left the army, and followed his former avocation at intervals, of school keeping, and as an assistant in a store, and finally went into a small way of trade himself, until the year 1764, when he bought a small farm situated in the north parish in Shrewsbury. In 1765 he married Azubah Goodale, daughter of Joseph Goodale, a respectable farmer of the town of Grafton; at whose house the subject of these memoirs was born, April 24th, 1766."

The Thomas farm was pleasantly situated between the Quinnepoxet and Stillwater streams, near where they unite to form the south branch of the Nashua river. The district was locally known as "Shrewsbury Leg." It belonged to Marlborough from May 31, 1666 to Dec. 19,

1727, when it was incorporated as Shrewsbury. It remained Shrewsbury from 1727 to 1742. It was Shrewsbury North Parish from 1742 to Feb., 1768; Lancaster, Second, or West Parish from 1768 to April 25, 1781; Sterling from 1781 to June 13, 1796; Second Precinct of Boylston, Sterling, and Holden from 1796 to Jan. 30, 1808. Since 1808 it has been West Boylston. The present post-office address and railroad station is Oakdale. Mr. Thomas says, "It is rather paradoxical, but no less a fact, that I have resided in four incorporated towns and two distinct parishes, and one precinct, yet never moved from the same farm."

The father, William Thomas, buried his first wife in 1781. She was naturally of a feeble constitution, and died of apoplexy at the age of forty-three years. In 1782 he married Miss Esther Whitney, who survived him and died in 1831, aged eighty-eight. She had no children. He died in 1810, aged eighty-five years. Benjamin F. Keyes, in his "Genealogical Register of West Boylston," says of Mr. William Thomas: "He possessed a peculiar relish for literature and science, and devoted much time to reading and study, thereby becoming intelligent and interesting to those with whom he associated. He had also a peculiar taste for astronomical research and calculation, his bias and genius being strongly fixed in that direction."

Robert B. Thomas says, "I had one brother only, born June, 1768, named Aaron. We were the only children my father ever had. In our youth we were brought up to farming. Our father, who was thought to be quite a scholar for those days, instructed us at home, and sent us to the winter school. I had, when a boy, more of a mechanical than a literary turn of mind, though my father never indulged me much in it, wishing rather, as he said,

to make me a scholar, giving me the offer of a liberal education, which I foolishly declined. . . . In the winter of 1783-4 my father sent me to Spencer, with Major E. Beaman's two sons, to improve my hand in penmanship (which he was very fond of), with Dr. T. Allen,⁶ who, at that time, wrote the most superior and beautiful copy hand of any person in the country. I boarded with him at Mr. J. Stebbing's; and when his term was out, I followed him to Sterling, and continued with him till April, and much improved my handwriting. The succeeding winter, I was agreeably and closely occupied in the study of arithmetic under my father's inspection, who was well versed in this science, but had never before allowed me to pay it any attention, saying he could 'learn me figures at any time.'

My father was a great reader, and possessed a larger miscellaneous library than was generally to be met with in a country town; of consequence, I spent most of my leisure hours in reading. Among many scientific works, no one engrossed more of my attention than Ferguson's astronomy, from which I derived much pleasure and satisfaction, from the plain and familiar manner in which he treated the subject; and from the pleasing study of this work I first imbibed the idea of calculating an almanack. Previously, I had made a number of calculations of new and full moon, and taken out the elements, and projected several eclipses, but found it impracticable to make all the necessary calculations for an almanack.

In 1786, I had an application to keep school in my native town, in the Fairbank district, so called. I kept

⁶Dr. Israel Allen was a practising physician at Sterling from 1786 to his death in 1817, at the age of sixty years. He was justice of the peace from 1803 to 1817. He was the author of an interesting pamphlet of sixty pages on the Canker Rash, *Scarlatina anginosa*.

out the town's money, satisfactorily, I believe, and engaged to keep three or four weeks more, by subscription." Here Mr. Thomas describes quite minutely his seven years career as teacher in winter, farmer in summer, and student meanwhile. He notes nine schools in Princeton, Sterling and West Boylston. Under date of 1792 he writes:—"After finishing my school, I returned to my father's sometime in April, with a full determination never to resume it again. The business never was very congenial to my feelings; I had pursued it for want of some better employment."

The narrative continues, "In April, 1789, I returned to my father's, and pursued my favorite study of astronomy, occasionally laboring on the farm, and busying myself with book-binding, which business I had been partially fond of for years, binding up manuscripts and account books, and repairing other old books, for my neighbors. I found, with all my reading, the want of a practical knowledge of the calculations of an Almanack, which I could not obtain by reading—this was my *hobby*. In September I made a journey into Vermont, to see the then famous Dr. S. Sternes, who for many years calculated Isaiah Thomas' 'Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire and Vermont Almanack,' but failed of seeing him.⁷

In the course of the season 1790, I agreed with N. Coverly, a printer in Boston,⁸ to print for me 1,000 of

⁷ Samuel Stearns was a wandering philosopher sometimes employed by Isaiah Thomas. He published several works. In one of them, called "The American Oracle," he styles himself, "The Honorable Samuel Stearns, LL. D. and Doctor of Physic, Astronomer to His Majesty's Provinces of Quebec and New Brunswick; also to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the State of Vermont in America. London: 1791."

⁸ Nathaniel Coverly published many works in Milk Street, Boston, as late as 1823.

Perry's Spelling Book (being used exclusively in this section of the state) which I bound up, and other school books, and commenced Bookseller. There being but few books in the country, I found a good sale, to the store-keepers, schoolmasters, &c. Sometime in the fall, I called on Mr. Isaiah Thomas, of Worcester (no relation of mine, as I know of), to purchase 100 of his Almanacks in sheets, but he refused to let me have them, saying he did not sell in sheets only to those of *the trade*. I confess I was mortified, and came home with a determination to have an Almanack of my own. I very well knew that there were many things in his that were not generally approved of, and which I knew I could remedy. . . .

I had now [April, 1792] made up my mind to follow the book-binding business, there being a call from Boston and other places at this time for binding. My brother, whose health was not good, concluded to go into business with me. We contracted with a carpenter to build us a bindery and store adjoining, in the course of the following summer, near my father's; prior to which we had carried it on in a chamber in our father's dwelling-house.⁹ Still, I could not relinquish the idea of publishing an *Almanack* of my own. The last of June or the first of July, 1792, I went to Boston and agreed with Osgood Carleton, then a teacher of mathematics in Boston,¹⁰ to

⁹ Mr. Thomas' dwelling and bindery were near the Oakdale railroad station. The bindery has been removed. The dwelling is now, 1874, occupied by Mr. Charles Harris.

¹⁰ "An Astronomical Diary: or an Almanack for the Year of our Lord 1790. By Osgood Carleton, Teacher of Mathematicks, in Boston. Printed and sold by Samuel Hall, in Cornhill, Boston." Previous Almanacs had "appeared under a fictitious name." "The rapid sale of my former calculations, together with the general approbation of the purchasers, has induced me to lay aside obscure signatures, and to subscribe myself,

The Public's most obedient humble servant,
Boston, May 1, 1789. OSGOOD CARLETON."

instruct me in astronomy, so far as related to the practical part of calculating an almanack; which he readily consented to do for a stipulated consideration. I continued at Mr. Carleton's school, kept in an unfinished building in Merchant's Row, till the latter part of August, and made all the calculations for an Almanack for the year 1793, being my first number. Before I left town I disposed of my copy to two young printers, long since deceased—Joseph Belknap and Thomas Hall—for a certain percentage on all those that should be sold; which, with a very trifling exception, has continued ever since, though the copy-right has been repeatedly transferred.”

Robert B. Thomas sent out his first almanac with a "Preface" to the "Friendly Reader." The following is quoted from it. "Having, for several years past, paid some attention to that divine science, *Astronomy*, the study of which must afford infinite pleasure and satisfaction to every contemplative mind, it is this, with the repeated solicitations of my friends, that have [has?] induced me to present you with these Astronomical Calculations for the year 1793; which I have thought proper to entitle the *Farmer's Almanac*, as I have made it my principal aim to make it as useful as possible to that class of people." The title-page more in full was: "The Farmer's Almanac, calculated on a new and improved plan, for the Year of our Lord 1793; By Robert B. Thomas. Published according to Act of Congress. Printed at the Apollo Press, in Boston, by Belknap and Hall; Sold at their Office, State Street; also by the Author and M. Smith, Sterling."¹¹

The almanac has been published at Boston from the

¹¹ The store of Moses Smith, the town clerk of Sterling, was burnt with all its contents, Sept. 27, 1794; among which were all the public records of the town, from its first organization as a Parish.

first. In 1793 by Belknap & Hall; 1796, Joseph Belknap; 1797, John West; 1809, John West & Co.; 1813, West & Richardson; 1819, West, Richardson & Lord; 1821, Richardson & Lord; 1830, Richardson, Lord & Holbrook; 1823, Carter, Hendee & Co.; 1837, Charles J. Hendee; 1839, G. W. Palmer & Co.; 1840, Jenks & Palmer; 1848, Jenks, Palmer & Co.; 1852, Jenks, Hinkling & Swan; 1856, Hinkling, Swan & Brown; 1858, Hinkling, Swan & Brewer; 1861, Swan, Brewer, & Tileston; 1864, Brewer & Tileston.

Every copy of the Farmer's Almanac has had a stanza of poetry on the title-page, except for the years 1808 and 1813, when a single quotation from Ferguson takes its place. The calendar pages, from the first, have been headed by verses. The first number of the almanac had neither illustrations nor diagrams. The second number, 1794, had its title-page illustrated with a rural scene. In the foreground there is a farmer with a yoke of oxen ploughing. In the background there stands a farmhouse surrounded with orcharding. The embellishments are a globe marked by meridians, a parchment roll, scythes, sickle, wreaths and horns of plenty. This number also contains diagrams to illustrate two eclipses of the moon.

In 1797 the illustration on the title-page changes. A country prospect still. The central figure is Ceres, the goddess of agriculture, reclining on a bank of poppies beneath an oak, her temples crowned with a garland of corn. At her left lie scythe, sickle, hoe, pickaxe, shovel. Her right hand points out the landscape — a farmer ploughing, farmhouses, out-buildings, fences, cart, trees and hills in the distance.

In 1800 the calendar pages appear illustrated for the first time. January; boys skating and whipping top on the ice, dwelling house and forest in the background.

February; farmer at his barn, oxen and plough at rest. March; boys with satchels on their way to school, houses and woods in the distance. April; husbandman sowing grain, orchard, pasture. May; fisherman trawling for pickerel. June; shepherd, dog and flock reclining in the shade. July; haymakers and load of hay drawn by oxen. August; traveller with staff, bundle and dog, approaching an inn. September; harvesters reaping and carrying grain; the next year the grain is loaded. October; sportsmen, one sitting on the ground, another on a stump with a gun and pointing to the woods. November; drover and his herd. December; fagot-gatherer and greyhound approaching a house.

In 1804 the illustrations for the calendar pages were changed to the twelve figured signs of the zodiac. January; *Aquarius*. The water-bearer, beautiful Gannymede, cup-bearer to the gods in place of Hebe, is seated, not upon a flying eagle, but on the banks of the Nile, emptying his pitcher into the stream; Mt. Ida, a temple and rays of setting sun in the horizon. February; *Pisces*. Venus, who sprung from the sea, and Cupid, her son, frightened by the malignant Typhon, on the banks of the Euphrates, were changed into fishes. Tied to the extremities of a long, undulating ribbon, they lie exposed on the frozen banks of the stream, surrounded with a wintry landscape, a man with horse and sled in the distance, rays of the sun in the horizon. March; *Aries*. This celebrated ram bore on his back Phryxus and his sister Helle, from the inveterate fury of their step-mother, Ino. As if wearied by his swift aerial flight, he now reposes on the malarial heights of Colchis. Above him spreads the tree, at whose trunk stands the stony altar of Mars, on which his body is to be offered, and in whose branches his coveted golden fleece is to be suspended and guarded

by the dragon till seized away by Jason and the brave Argonauts. April; *Taurus*. Not rampant but contemplative now, for Jupiter is love-sick. The father of gods assumes the form of a snow-white bull, that he may mingle with the herds of Agenor in the meadows where his daughter, the beautiful Europa, with her handmaids, gathers flowers, till she shall venture, first to caress, then to mount upon his back, when he will precipitately bear her over the sea, to his home in Crete. May; *Gemini*. Castor and Pollux, twin sons of Jupiter and Leda, are now spruce young gentlemen, not sitting down, but on their legs walking arm-in-arm. They have finished their education at the college of Pallena on their right, and the temple of Minerva on their left; they have won enduring fame by prowess in the Argonautic expedition and in clearing the Hellespont from pirates. Henceforth, wearing shield, broad-brimmed hat and glittering star, gods of boxing and wrestling and patrons of sailors and navigation. June; *Cancer*. Infelicitous sea-crab! While Hercules strove with the Lernæan hydra, Juno, queen of heaven, envious of his fame, sent a crab to bite and annoy the hero's feet. But the crab was soon despatched. In the picture, not even Juno's powerful patronage, whose temple and grove appear in the background, is able to shield the unhappy crustacean from the scorching plagues of heaven. July; *Leo*. The furious lion still ranging at will over burning plains, and ravaging the Lernæan forest, awaits the massive club and hand-to-hand death-grapple of the youthful, wrathful Hercules. August; *Virgo*. The Virgin Astræa, as goddess of plenty, holds a sickle in her right hand, and in her left a sheaf of ripened grain. Her tresses are bound with a wreath, and one snowy foot protrudes from beneath the folds of her ample dress as she reclines on the fruitful earth. She is

adored in Egypt as Isis, who, fleeing from Typhon, who had basely murdered Osiris, his brother and her husband, dropped her sheaf, scattering ears of corn over the earth, and whose abundant tears, in view of her great loss, causes the annual overflow of the Nile. September; *Libra*. Astræa is the goddess of justice, and her appropriate emblems are a sword in her right hand and a balance in her left. During the golden age of the world, she dwelt on earth. Prosperity and happiness reigned among men, with equal days and nights. But wickedness and impiety came in with the brazen and iron ages. She lingered last of the gods, but at length flew away to Elysium. Now her scales, unpoised and neglected, lie on the ground beside the tree of knowledge. October; *Scorpio*. Sign by ancient astrologers accursed. Orion had vainly boasted there was no animal he could not conquer. But imperious Juno commanded the scorpion to spring out of the earth and sting the giant; of which venomous wound he died in excruciating pain. Mars, god of war, is tutelar deity of the scorpion. Together, malignant god and baleful sign render ill-starred October prolific in disorders, disease and death. November; *Sagittarius*. Fabulous monster, half man, half horse. The archer Chiron, chiefest of Thessalian horsemen, stands forth proudly mounted, with quiver, bow bent and arrow fixed. He was famous in knowledge of music, medicine and shooting. He instructed in the polite arts the greatest heroes of his time, Apollo, Achilles, Hercules, Jason, Esculapius, Æneas. December; *Capricornus*. The goat was sacrificed to Bacchus on account of its propensity to destroy the vine. No danger here in these barren, rocky, wintry latitudes. A miniature companion is perched on rock pinnacle in the distance.

The almanac for 1806 has diagrams to illustrate "a very

remarkable eclipse of the Sun." In 1809 the illustrations for title and calendar pages are changed somewhat.

The title-page has Father Time, with wings, scythe and overturning urn, seated beneath a tree. The designs for the calendar pages are less embellished now, and there are other changes beside. *Aquarius* has older grown, and, reclining, rests his bald head on his right arm. The *Fishes* are altered from respectable "cod" to detestable "devil-fish." *Aries* is turned about to face the right. *Taurus* has lain down to rest. The *Twins* are seated now, with spears in hand and halo overhead. *Cancer* no longer skulks in the bushes, but sprawls magnificently. *Leo* crouches for a spring. *Virgo* has changed her style of dressing the hair, and faced the right. The *Scales* are poised, justice shall be done. *Scorpio* has changed front. The *Archer* has got his horse into a run. The *Goat* stands facing the left.

The Almanac for 1830 contains a map of Massachusetts. That for 1831 a diagram to show an eclipse of the sun; 1832, a map of New England. In 1834, beside a diagram of the sun's eclipse, we have a supplement of ten pages and twelve illustrations of intemperance. We read in 1837, "In justice to myself I ought to state that my likeness is inserted in this number of the Almanack at the special desire of my publishers." The picture appears again in 1838, with a diagram of the moon's eclipse. The author's autograph appears for the first time in 1842; again in 1848, and onward.

The almanac for 1853 presents further alterations in title and calendar pages.¹² Father Time has a more youth-

¹² "For about forty years past, we have used upon our Title-page and Calendar pages, wood-cuts or engravings done when the art of engraving was not as advanced as now; but as time, the press, and constant use have worn down the surface of the cuts, we intend,

ful appearance. He sits more erect, is less bald, his beard has grown, and he has shouldered his scythe, which before lay at his feet. A winged hourglass stands beside him. *Aquarius*, too, has improved in hair and beard, but his urn is exchanged for a discharging street sewer. The *Fishes* present a more *outré* look than ever. *Aries* lies more contentedly. But *Taurus*, enraged, stalks the field. Juvenescent *Pollux* has adolescent, thoughtful grown. *Cancer* is developed to a more modern type. *Leo* crouches to the right as before to the left. *Virgo* has resumed her wreath and matronly appearance. The *Scales* are seen in the hand which supports them. *Scorpio* remains still a species puzzling to Essex County amateurs. The *Archer* has assumed a flowing mantle. The *Goat* now faces to the right again. These changes have produced the figures now grown familiar to the eyes of this generation.

The following is quoted from the first address to the "Friendly Reader," 1793. "The arrangement of this almanac is novel, though I have the vanity to believe it will be found to be as useful and convenient as any other almanac either of a double or single calendar."

Isaiah Thomas in 1794, the year following R. B. Thomas' first issue, thus addressed "Kind Reader:" "As a circumstance in favour of the contents of my former Almanacks, a new author has not only endeavored to copy our shape, in size and arrangement, but has given copious extracts in his work from those which I have

in our next number, to insert new and better engravings of the same subject, which we hope will please all."—*Almanac*, 1852.

"Our appearance somewhat changed by new engravings Father Time burnished up and improved in his outward adornings. signs of the constellations a little more artistic."—*Almanac*, 1853.

published for several years past, and which you will easily perceive by comparing his last year's Almanack with some of my old ones."

To this accusation R. B. Thomas replies in a postscript to his second preface, 1794. "*A selfish* editor, who for a number of years past has published an almanack of the same size with this, and who appears to be very much chagrined at our success, has not only privately endeavoured to injure us, but in the most ungenerous manner publicly attacked our reputation, in his preface of the present year, by charging us with making copious extracts from his former almanacks. The falsity of this assertion will be obvious to every observer; our similarity to his is no greater than an almanack of one year must necessarily be to that of a former; and no greater than his own of each year is to that of the preceding. To the judgment of a candid public, and not to the caprice of an avaricious printer, we submit the merits or demerits of our little publication, and doubt not, as in the last year, of meeting with that success which we have endeavoured to merit.

It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding the *puff* with which this mighty printer *introduces himself* to the public, in the present year's preface, his almanack will be found, to a nice observer, to be fraught with error and irregularity. In his astronomical calculations of the last year, there were no less than 56 real errors; it is also (as is that of the present year) destitute of every 'aspect,' although he has very modestly inserted the word *aspects* at the top of the columns where they *ought* to be. Two egregious errors were also made in the eclipses of the last year; one was inserted on a day in which there was none, and the other as a visible eclipse of the sun, when the greatest obscurity was before its rising.

His endeavor to cajole the public, by insinuating in his preface that he has given the value of two shillings and sixpence for the common price of an almanack, is conspicuously contemptible. It is well known that 48 pages of an almanac, be the matter what it may, has for many years sold for sixpence, and afforded a very handsome profit to the vender."

Isaiah Thomas replied in a second edition of his almanac for 1794. In 1795 R. B. Thomas continues his response to what he calls "an invidious criticism." "The readers of our last year's Almanack will recollect that we then mentioned an ungenerous attack upon its reputation by a certain self-important Printer; but we are happy to inform the friends of the *Farmer's Almanack*, that this attack was so far from effecting the intended purpose (injuring the sale) that we last year sold upwards of *nine thousand* of our Almanacks — being nearly three times the number of our first year's sale. This we conceive to be the most flattering proof of the approbation of the public we can possibly receive.

It is worthy of remark, that our *weak* antagonist was so much chagrined at our notice of his meanness, that he put himself to the trouble of reprinting *one page* of his Almanack (which he called a second edition) on purpose to answer us. The best reply that can be made to this *paragon of literature* will be to make one or two remarks on his ability to maintain the character for which he palms himself upon the public, *viz.*, literary rectitude. In his first line he says: 'the *dulcet* of Apollo is changed into a *squirter* of venom.' It is only necessary to remark here that there is scarcely a schoolboy who reads the above, but will know that the poor man does not understand even the rudiments of English grammar. He says, 'he has unfortunately by a random shot brokeꝝ their gall-bladders.' This is certainly a delicate expression, be-

cause in the next line he very confidently says, he shall not wound the feelings of his readers by scurrility. The truth is, he is incapable of writing anything fit for public inspection; and therefore, *after picking up a few dirty expressions*, he *very consistently* says he will *avoid scurrility*."

Here the open controversy ended.

The success of R. B. Thomas' almanac has been remarkable. He says of his first number, 1793, "The very kind reception it met with from the indulgent public was very flattering and deserves my most grateful acknowledgment. The demand for it was greater than my most sanguine expectations could have suggested." Three thousand copies were sold. The second number, 1794, had an "extraordinary reception;" "sold upwards of nine thousand Almanacks." In 1796, Mr. Thomas says that "the yeomanry and others have given it decided pre-eminence over any other Almanack." In 1802 he declares it "generally acceptable throughout this, and in many parts of the other New England States." In 1803 it "has received liberal encouragement beyond the Editor's most sanguine expectations, and he believes unprecedented by any other Almanack ever published in the New England States." Following numbers speak of "continued favours. . . cordial reception. . . flattering encouragement. . . the extensive and increased patronage. . . generous support. . . liberal remuneration. . . distinguishing marks of approbation and acceptance," of "an indulgent public. . . many patrons. . . numerous friends and correspondents." In 1853 the publishers say, "Except the Bible, we believe no work has been oftener consulted or is more read in our New-England than this." In 1863 "the sale of this almanac arose to 225,000 copies." In 1864 its editor "sifts the wheat from the chaff for the benefit of a million of readers."

Some trouble arose from this popularity. Other almanacs were started under similar names. There is no evidence that the "New England Farmer's Almanac" by Dudley Leavitt, 1798, Exeter and afterwards Concord, N. H., was started in opposition, or even rivalry. But soon the following among others appeared: The Yankee or Farmer's Almanack, by Thomas Spofford, Boston, 1817; The New England Farmer's Diary and Almanac, by Truman Abel, Windsor, Vt., 1818; The Maine Farmer's Almanac, by Daniel Robinson, Hallowell, 1819; The New England Farmer's Almanack, by Thomas Green Fessenden, Boston, 1828.

Mr. Thomas writes in 1820, "To show how well our little work has been appreciated by the public, we need no other evidence than to witness the many new publications of the kind annually springing up, whose Authors appear ambitious of a similarity to ours, by copying our *plan* and form, and some have assumed our title, which will make it necessary for our friends and patrons to enquire for the 'Farmer's Almanack, by R. B. Thomas,' to prevent any mistake." In 1825 he "finds that others are copying our 'manner and form,' and even in more instances than one have usurped our title. . . . We acknowledge that it is an animating reflection that the *old Farmer's Almanack* maintains the rank which it holds in the public's estimation, surrounded as it is by competitors and rivals of no mean fame."¹³ This year and 1826, '28 and '31 Mr. Thomas calls his publication the "Old Farmer's Almanack." In 1832, '33, '34, '35, and from 1848 onward this name appears on the title-page.

How much of this popularity is to be attributed to his

¹³ "The success our little work has been honored with has drawn forth a host of imitators in every part of the New England States."
—*Almanac*, 1826.

weather predictions I do not know. Nathaniel Ames affirms in his *Astronomical Diary* for 1759, "Although a Perhaps, with justice, might always be added to what I say of the Weather, yet I have collected the best Rules that Experience has taught me in that Affair, from the Aspects, and Configurations of the Planets: I am therefore constantly obliged to trace the *rambling Moon* and *wandering Planets*, in all their intricate Paths, which costs me much Labour and hard Study." Isaiah Thomas writes in 1800, "I have omitted The Anatomy of Man's Body, as governed by the Twelve Constellations; that, and Weather Making, can be of use only to those who deal in the marvellous."

The Almanac of R. B. Thomas has been thought quite reliable in this department. It early acquired this reputation. We find the following remark in the first number, 1793. "As to my judgment of the weather I need say but little; for you will in one year's time, without any assistance of mine, very easily discover how near I have come to the truth." The next year, 1794, we read, "I have been much complimented on my judgment of the weather for the year past, but whether they were mere compliments or not, I leave the unprejudiced public to judge." Again, 1798, "the author tenders his most grateful acknowledgement to the public in general, for their profuse and repeated compliments on his judgment of the weather."

It seems to me there is a fund of sagacious waggery in these remarks concerning his weather probabilities. The same humor crops out in many of his replies to correspondents. But he is careful not to offend good taste in this matter. So in 1797 he apologizes for "his indulging the printer, who took the liberty to retrench several useful matters to make room for a 'Sermon in

favour of thieving,' and several ludicrous anecdotes, which were highly disgusting to many, and for which he himself asks forgiveness. . . . In future he is determined to make all the arrangements himself, and with confidence assures his readers that whatever has a tendency to weaken the morals, or to crimson the cheek of modesty, will never find admittance in the *Farmer's Almanack*."

We cull a few samples of this Attic salt. He discourses thus in 1801. "Several favours received are deferred, for want of room; some, it is necessary to say, for want of merit." In 1802 we read, "The Editor's N—n friend is thanked for his kind intentions, but he conceives it to be a return of friendship to suppress the publication of his *Verses*, as he finds no friendship subsists between him and the Muses." In 1807, "P. is thanked for his good will, but his *Anecdote* is too obscene for admission." 1808, "Margaret Snufftaker's hints are unintelligible and futile." 1809, "We should have been better pleased with S. B's communications, if they had not been quite so stale." 1810, "E. W. and others will be kind enough to pay postage on answers to Riddles in future, or they will not be noticed. . . . Lines on inebriety have not sufficient spirit to preserve them even one year, nor correctness to entitle them to more than one perusal—the author has credit for one thing only, they are without a *name*." 1811, "Have no objection to G. S., of Boston, asking questions every day in the year, provided he pays the *postage*—he will find an answer to his queries, without a fee, at No. 75 Cornhill. . . . Suggestions of J. G. would place the Editor in the situation of the *man and the ass* in the fable." 1812, "E. F.'s *anecdote* is of the coarser kind, and not capable of being polished without injuring the pith. . . . J. D. might be better employed behind the counter than making riddles." 1815, "Z. H.'s Riddle

we think but ill agrees with *Johnson's* definition, viz.: 'anything puzzling; a dark problem.' . . . N. T.'s Riddle is found to labour under the same malady. . . . C. E. has favoured us with some lines which he is pleased to call 'a Riddle'—we think 'an epitaph' would be equally as appropriate." 1817, "S. H. has a genius for figures, but wants cultivation. . . . S. F.'s Riddle will not answer our purpose for several reasons, one is its *obviousness*; others we forbear to give, as they might wound his feelings. We are sorry our friend should have such an itching for writing Riddles." 1818, "*Hydrometry narean's* Poetry is too much allied to his name to be useful to us. . . . We have received a large packet with Northfield postmark, purporting to be poetry, &c. The author may have it again by sending to the Editors." 1820, "H. R. S.'s anecdote smells too strong of the marvellous. It is better calculated for Sam Hyde's Register." 1821, "P. N. R.'s Picture, though of the doggerel species, is not a bad likeness. If he will take the trouble to point his lines and correct the orthography and favour us with a copy, it shall embellish our next No. . . . B. E.'s *Acrostic* is destitute of rhyme or metre, two of the most essential parts in compositions of this kind." 1824, "B. B.'s Riddle we think is rather a dear one, containing only eight short lines, and to be taxed eighteen cents and a quarter postage!" 1826, "L. M.'s 'Jonathan's visit to a husking' is not sufficiently finished—his Pegasus seems more ready to amble and pace than trot—we advise him to transcribe it."

Another quotation from the Almanac for 1821 will close these selections. "It is painful at all times to reject the contributions of our Correspondents, but it is a duty we owe to ourselves and to our readers, not to admit half-finished, obsolete and hasty productions; we therefore

could wish they would revise their compositions before they send them to us; this would save us much trouble, and reflect greater credit on themselves."

Mr. Thomas himself prepared the matter for his popular manual for fifty-four years. A correspondent who is recognized only as "B. B." also furnished contributions from 1804 to about 1855, more than fifty years. These items were for the "Farmer's Calendar," which is claimed to be "a new feature, containing directions for young farmers and gardeners." In 1842 the editor entitles his preface, "Fifty Years Ago." He refers his friends and patrons to the great progress in government and science which the half century had witnessed. He says of himself and Almanac: "Though we have now accomplished what has seldom been done in this or any other country, as we believe, the getting up and publication, for half a century, of a manual, edited by the same person, even as unpretending as our modest and homely annual, we do not mean to rest here. Should we be spared, we shall go on, as we trust, to 'a good old age;' and though we may not reach the 100th number of the '*Old Farmer's Almanac*,' yet we shall endeavor to improve as we progress, and continue to unfold our yearly budget to our patrons as long as Providence permits,—hoping always to meet them with a smiling face, and that they will not be disposed to cut our acquaintance, as a modern dandy would a rusty cousin from the backwoods, because we look, as we pride ourselves in looking, a little old-fashioned; a little too independent to change our dress for each 'new-fangled' notion—a little 't'other side of fifty."

He closes thus, "Friends and Patrons! The form of the editor who has jogged along side by side with the older ones of you for fifty years, will, with many other forms now full of life and vigor, before another half-century be

crumbling in the dust! The world that now seems so joyous will ere that time have passed away from many millions now alive, it may be from the reader as well as from us. And if so, may we receive the reward of the pure in heart, may our sins be forgiven us, and may our virtues be held in fond remembrance by those who have best known us on earth—and may we pass to our final account as those

. . . . 'who wrap the drapery of their couch
About them, and lie down to pleasant dreams.'

Between four and five years later Mr. Thomas died. We read in the almanac for 1847, "In presenting to our friends the *Fifty-fifth number of the Almanac*, our pleasure is saddened by deep and heartfelt regret at having to announce the death of the senior editor of the work whose name it bears. He died May 19th, 1846, aged 80, after a long and useful life, beloved and respected by all who knew him, in deed and in truth 'that noblest work of God, an honest man.' We feel that it is due to him, that this testimony to the purity of his character should be recorded here. He was a man of strong practical good sense, 'kind of heart and open of hand,' virtuous, upright, and scrupulously honorable in all his dealings."

Notwithstanding this explicit testimony, there is a vague impression quite prevalent, that Mr. Thomas is still living; or at least that he furnished calculations by means of which the almanac is continued. Possibly the business shrewdness of the proprietors has had its share in fostering this popular notion. They say, 1847, "Previous to Mr. T.'s death, arrangements were made with the Publishers of the Almanac for its continuance, and matter for succeeding numbers having been furnished us, it will be issued annually as heretofore." They speak, 1853, of "eclipses computed and calculations made to the end of the

century." Since 1848 quotations have been made from earlier almanacs and signed with the autograph of Robert B. Thomas. Correspondents were notified in 1864 that "communications should be addressed to the undersigned," and in 1862, '63, '65, '66, '67, '68 and '69, "should be directed to me, *care of the publishers.*"

ROBT B. THOMAS."

So much concerning the description and history of the Old Farmer's Almanac. Robert Bailey Thomas is best known throughout New England by his Almanac. But his life was lived and his best work done in the town of West Boylston, so long loved, served and honored by him. Mr. Keyes says, "He was a prominent man in the town; was the first Town Clerk after the incorporation of the town, several times chairman of the Board of Selectmen, represented the town in the State Convention of 1820 for revising the Constitution, and was several years a member of the State Legislature." Near the close of his life he devised liberal things for the Congregational Parish, on whose prominent committees he had frequently served. He gave funds to be laid out in a building for school and society purposes. The money was invested in the building now known as the Thomas Hall. His benevolence was known abroad. I have heard the following story. The Rev. Joseph Vaill, D. D., once solicited him for money for Amherst College, fixing the sum at one hundred dollars. He returned from his visit looking very sober. The Rev. Joseph W. Cross, the pastor of Mr. Thomas, asked if he had been refused. Dr. Vaill replied, "O no, I was thinking what a blunder I made in asking only one hundred dollars. If I had not been such a fool I might just as well have got two hundred dollars."

Mr. Thomas married Hannah Beaman, of Princeton,

who survived him and died in 1855, aged 81 years. They had no children. He took into his family David D. Prescott, when a lad, to whom he gave the old farm, and who still lives on the place. Mr. Thomas accumulated a large amount of property besides. He died intestate, leaving his estate to his widow and two children of his deceased brother, who were his only legal heirs.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BURIAL-GROUNDS OF
MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

COLLECTED BY PERLEY DERBY, SALEM, MASS., SEPT., 1873.

Elm Street Burial-ground.

Continued from page 242.

BUTMAN, JOSEPH. Oct. 10, 1871, aged 71.

“ MARTHA, wife of Joseph. Jan. 15, 1835, aged 44.

CANDLER, JOHN, Jr., tomb. 1838.

CASS, J., tomb. 1828.

CASWELL, SARAH. July 30, 1821, aged 67.

“ WILLIAM. May 25, 1825, aged 64 y., 6 m.

“ HANNAH A., wife of William. July 4, 1849, aged 82 y., 8 m.

“ RICHARD B. Feb. 20, 1837, aged 49 y., 6 m.

“ WILLIAM, tomb. 1842.

“ RICHARD, d. Newbern, N. C. Sept. 4, 1863, aged 45 y., 6 m.

“ BENJAMIN F., son of Richard and Hannah. May 31, 1862,
aged 12 y., 6 m.

CHAMBERLAIN, JASON, tomb. 1834.

CHAPMAN, STEPHEN. Apr. 15, 1839, aged 62 y., 3 m.

“ JOANNA R., wife of Stephen. Apr. 27, 1846, aged 67 y., 2 m.

“ J. and J., tomb. 1842.

“ SAMUEL. Mar. 27, 1863, aged 30 y., 6 m., 17 d.

“ ELLEN P., wife of Samuel. July 23, 1858, aged 21 y., 2 m.,
22 d.

“ MARY K., “ “ “ Dec. 31, 1864, aged 40 y., 3 m.

“ MARY ELLEN, dau. of Samuel and Mary K. Jan. 21, 1863,
aged 4 m., 16 d.

CHASE, SARAH, wife of Daniel and dau. of John and Eleanor Michiel.
June 10, 1831, aged 27 y., 2 m.

CHIN, SAMUEL. Feb. 27, 1826, aged 60.

CHURCH, JOSEPH, died Friday, June 14, 1799, aged 46.

- CLARK, WILLIAM. Sept. 14, 1846, aged 47.
- CLOON, WILLIAM F. and ANNIS, tomb. 1850.
- CLOUTMAN, MEHITABLE, wife of Capt. Thomas. Nov. 16, 1831, aged 72 y.
- { " JOSEPH, b. Mar. 16, 1792, d. at sea May 10, 1821.
- { " THOMAS, b. Oct. 3, 1795, d. Apr. 15, 1836.
- { " JANE, b. Dec. 1, 1792, d. Aug. 13, 1872.
- { " JANE, dau. of Thos. and Jane, b. Sept., 1820, d. May 3, 1821.
- { " JOSEPH, son of " " " b. Feb. 20, 1829, d. Feb. 25, 1868.
- { " SARAH, dau. of " " " b. May 22, 1830, d. Mar. 17, 1869.
- { " THOMAS, son of " " " b. Oct. 26, 1831, d. July 22, 1834.
- { " MARY A., dau. of " " " b. Feb. 9, 1834, d. Oct. —, 1835.
- { " GEORGE, tomb. 1843.
- { " MARY B. Oct. 27, 1844, aged 73 y., 4 m.
- { " JACOB C., tomb. 1846.
- { " P. D., tomb. 1850.
- COLE, Capt. WILLIAM. Aug. 12, 1808, aged 48 y., 1 m., 19 d.
- COLLYER, MARY, wife of John. June 18, 1830, aged 30.
- " ISAAC. Nov. 4, 1847, aged 67.
- " MARY, wife of Isaac. Aug. 24, 1855, aged 81.
- " WILLIAM. Jan. 30, 1849, aged 66 y., 8 m.
- " MARGARET, wife of William. Dec. 30, 1845, aged 56 y., 2 m.
- " JOHN. Sept. 20, 1852, aged 84.
- " SARAH, wife of John. Mar. 20, 1844, aged 73.
- " JOSEPH H., d. Camp Benton, Poolesville. Nov. 23, 1861, aged 45.
- " SARAH ELIZABETH, dau. of Joseph H and Abigail Q. Sept. 19, 1848, aged 19 m.
- " SARAH HOOPER, dau. of Joseph H. and Abigail Q., b. May 20, 1853, d. Jan. 13, 1856.
- CONWAY, JOHN, tomb. 1829.
- COOMBS, MICHAEL D.. a native of Hamburg. July 9, 1850, aged 54.
Erected by David S. Simpson.
- CORNISH, BENJAMIN, tomb. 1845.
- COWELL, ABIEL, tomb. 1837.
- COX, HANNAH, wid. of James. Aug. 29, 1848, aged 59 y., 9 m.
- CRESY, JOSIAH, tomb. 1834.
- CROSS, JOHN, tomb. 1838.
- DANA, Rev. SAMUEL, tomb. 1848.
- DARLING, DAVID. Nov. 26, 1835, aged 28 y., 9 m.

- DARLING, EZEKIEL. Mar. 28, 1865, aged 76.
- DAVIS, JOB. Sept. 1, 1802, aged 53 y., 8 m.
- “ WILLIAM. Nov. 26, 1830, aged 60.
- “ HANNAH, wid. of William. Mar. 31, 1863, aged 92 y., 8 m.,
26 d.
- “ THOMAS A. Dec. 18, 1850, aged 55 y., 2 m.
- DENNIS, MRS. HANNAH, tomb. 1842.
- “ SARAH A., dau. Humphrey and Margaret. Dec. 22, 1857,
aged 12 y., 9 m.
- “ ELIZABETH A. B., dau. “ “ “ Jan. 14, 1858,
aged 2 y., 8 m.
- DEVEREUX, BETSY HILL, wife of John and dau. of Henry Leach. Sept.
5, 1826, aged 48.
- DOAK, MICHAEL. Jan. 9, 1836, aged 41.
- “ JOANNA, wid. of Michael. Nov. 25, 1857, aged 58.
- “ SARAH R. STORY, dau. of Michael and Joanna. July 12,
1834, aged 9.
- “ LYDIA C., dau. of Michael and Joanna. June 30, 1853, aged
21 y.
- DODD, ANNA, wife of Benjamin and dau. of John and Grace Gibbins.
Oct. 1, 1804, aged 42 y., 10 m.
- “ BENJAMIN, son of Benjamin and Anna. Oct. 25, 1803, aged
3 m.
- DOLIBER, THOMAS. Jan. 10, 1798, aged 34.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Thomas. May 4, 1843, aged 76 y., 5 m.
- EASTLAND, MARY ANN, wife of Edward T. Aug. 11, 1855, aged 36 y.,
2 m., 20 d.
- FADER, SARAH, wife of Frederick. May 18, 1851, aged 61.
- FELTON, ELIZABETH C., wife of John A. Mar. 14, 1858, aged 59 y.,
6 m.
- “ A. ADAMS, son of John A. and Elizabeth C. Mar., 1826, aged
10 m.
- “ JOHN A., son of “ “ lost at sea, Nov.,
1843, aged 20.
- “ WILLIAM H., son of “ “ drowned in Salem
Harbor, Dec. 9, 1857, aged 28.
- FISHER, JOHN, tomb. 1863.
- FOLLET, T., tomb. 1842.
- FOSS, SAMUEL, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Sept. 1, 1837, aged 2.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Sept. 2, 1842, aged
4 m.

- FOSS, WILLIAM, son of Samuel and Hannah P. Jan. 6, 1843, aged 5 m.
 " JOSEPH, " " " " " Aug. 15, 1845, aged
 6 m.
 " LYDIA, dau. " " " " " June 19, 1849, aged
 4 m.
 " THOMAS, son " " " " " Jan. 13, 1851, aged
 4 y.
- FREETO, FRANCIS, tomb. 1848.
 " " member of Co. A, 1st Mass. H. A.; d. from wounds
 received in battle near Petersburg. June 17, 1864,
 aged 29.
 " JAMES. Sept. 20, 1853, aged 65.
- FROST, RICHARD, tomb. 1850.
- GALE, THOMAS, tomb. 1846.
 " NANCY, wife of Thomas. (On stone of Benjamin Abbot.)
 Dec. 25, 1869, aged 81.
- GARDNER, ABEL, tomb. 1843.
- GILLEY, Capt. JOHN, tomb. Oct., 1823.
 " JOHN, tomb. 1843.
- GIRDLER, L. R. J.; tomb. 1833.
 " JOHN, tomb. 1840.
- GLOVER, HANNAH W., wife of Edmund. June 16, 1844, aged 24.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Daniel. Apr. 22, 1845, aged 26.
 " BETSY C., wife of John N. Aug. 27, 1853, aged 54.
 " WILLIAM. June 16, 1858, aged 34 y., 8 m.
 " SAMUEL. Jan. 13, 1862, aged 85 y., 4 m.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Sept. 2, 1849, aged 63.
 " NATHANIEL, son of Samuel and Elizabeth, d. at sea. June
 16, 1838, aged 17 y., 4 m.
 " JOHN, son of Samuel and Elizabeth, d. at sea. Sept. 19,
 1846, aged 18 y., 8 m.
- GOODWIN, JOHN, tomb. 1826.
 " JAMES, " 1838.
 " Lieut. JOHN, Jr., fell at battle at Roanoke Island. Feb. 8,
 1862, aged 35 y., 8 m., 4 d.
 " GEORGEY, son of Lieut. John, Jr. Mar. 5, 1861, aged 13 m.
 " SAMUEL H., Serg't of Co. I, 19th Reg't Indiana Volunteers,
 wounded at Petersburg, Va., May 23, 1864, d. at Ports-
 mouth Grove Hospital, R. I. Nov. 4, 1864, aged 40.
- GORDEN, SIMON, lost at sea. Oct., 1847, aged 55.
 " SUSAN, wife of Simon. Feb. 4, 1838, aged 41.
- GOSS, Mrs. CATHERINE. Jan. 1, 1822, aged 54.
- GRAVES, SAMUEL, tomb. 1844.

- GRAVES, J. B., Jr., tomb. 1853.
 " A. E., tomb. 1857.
 " MASON H., tomb.
- GREEN, JOSEPH W., " 1834.
 GREGORY, JOSEPH, " Nov. 15, 1824.
 " SAMUEL B., " 1853.
- GRIFFIN, DEBORAH, wife of Joseph. Jan. 3, 1805, aged 68 y., 6 m.
 GRISTE, Capt. JOHN. Aug. 22, 1804, aged 49.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. John and dau. of Stephen and
 Elizabeth Phillips. Nov. 26, 1835, aged 78.
- HAMMOND, WILLIAM, tomb. 1838.
- HARRIS, MASON, 3d. Aug. 3, 1831, aged 51 y., 7 m.
 " TAMSON, wife of Mason 3d. Apr. 20, 1846, aged 56.
 " ELIZABETH, dau. of Mason 3d and Tamson. June 22, 1809,
 aged 1 y., 9 m.
 " THOMAS, son of Mason 3d and Tamson. Jan. 8, 1844, aged
 19 y., 11 m.
 " ROBERT. Dec. 3, 1832, aged 44.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Robert. June 3, 1842, aged 49.
 " Dea. MASON. Oct. 2, 1833, aged 81.
 " MARY, wife of Mason. Feb. 27, 1827, aged 87.
 " GAMALIEL, tomb. 1838.
 " EBENEZER R., tomb. 1846.
 " EDWARD B., tomb. 1853.
- HASKELL, JOANNA, wife of Capt. William. June 19, 1822, aged 26.
 " WILLIAM T., tomb. 1852.
 " Capt. THOMAS. Feb. 22, 1855, aged 87 y., 7 m., 10 d.
 " MARY, wife of Capt. Thomas. Nov. 17, 1839, aged 70 y.,
 10 m.
- HAWKES, WILLIAM, tomb. 1821.
- HENDLÉY, ELIAS. June 13, 1813, aged 34.
- HINSMAN, MARY A., wife of William V. July 17, 1852, aged 29.
 " SARAH JANE, adopted dau. of Benj. and Abby Wormsted.
 Nov. 12, 1861, aged 18 y., 2 m., 3 d.
- HITER, FRANCIS, tomb. 1844; a native of Bilboa, Spain.
- HOMAN, PHILIP C. Apr. 4, 1841, aged 28.
 " LYDIA S., wife of Philip C. May 23, 1844, aged 26 y., 8 m.
 " SARAH LYDIA, dau. of Philip C. and Lydia S. Aug. 11, 1833,
 aged 3.
- HOOPER, GRACE, wife of Thomas. Aug. 12, 1810, aged 24 y., 7 m. 12 d.
 " JOHN, tomb. 1848.
 " J. G., tomb.
 " JOSEPH. Oct. 20, 1844, aged 3.

- HOOPER, JOHN P. Aug. 10, 1853, aged 17 y., 10 m.
 " NATHANIEL. Sept. 8, 1865, aged 16 y., 2 m.
 The last three on one stone.
 " WILLIAM M. Dec. 20, 1865, aged 22 y., 2 d.
 " ANNIE, dau. of William M. June 29, 1861, aged 3.
 " MARTHA, dau of " Sept. 14, 1865, aged 2 y., 2 m.
 " MARTHA } aged 3.
 " HANNAH } inscribed on tomb.
- HUMPHREY, JOHN. Aug. 18, 1801, aged 47.
 " MARCY, wid. of John and dau. of Israel and Mary Patton.
 July 13, 1803, aged 35.
 " LUCY B. GALLISON, wife of William. Aug. 1, 1843, aged 47
 y., 10 m.
 " SALLY. June 18, 1858, aged 65.
 " HARRIET. Nov. 22, 1858, aged 61.
 " AMOS, tomb. 1860.
- INGALLS, SARAH, wife of John. June 14, 1806, aged 20.
 " JOHN, tomb. 1858.
- IRESON, JOHN D., " 1846.
- IRISH, SARAH LASKEY, wife of Charles B. Apr. 26, 1831, aged 20 y.,
 1 m., 24 d.
 " CHARLES SANFORD, son of Charles B. Oct. 10, 1830, aged
 18 m.
- JAYNE, JOHN. Nov. 3, 1813, aged 29.
- JOHNSON, WILLIAM W., tomb. 1835.
 " JOHN, tomb. 1835.
- KENT, REBECCA, wife of James and twin sister to Mary T. Main.
 Nov. 8, 1863, aged 49.
- KNAPP, SARAH, wid. of Peter. Aug. 1, 1857, aged 88 y., 11 m., 14 d.
- KNIGHT, ROBERT W., b. Dec. 5, 1792, d. Oct. 7, 1814.
 " ROBERT, tomb. 1837.
 " GEORGE, " "
 " HANNAH H., tomb. 1841.
- LASKEY, REBECCA ANN, dau. of Philip and Rebecca. May 9, 1849,
 aged 19 y., 8 m.
- LEACH, RICHARD, of Beverly. Feb. 25, 1801, aged 87.
 " HENRY. July 1, 1805, aged 59.
 " CATA, wife of Henry (on stone of Betsy H. Devereux).
 Mar. 6, 1828, aged 84.

- LEACH, HANNAH, dau. of Henry and Cata, of small pox. Dec. 12,
1800, aged 11 y., 11 m., 17 d.
- LECRAW, Capt. WILLIAM. Sept. 20, 1802, aged 66 y., 3 m., 25 d.
- “ JOHN. Sept. 18, 1818, aged 51.
- “ MICHAEL R. Oct. 30, 1839, aged 6.
- “ Capt. WILLIAM. June 29, 1840, aged 27.
- “ Capt. EBENEZER. May 31, 1845, aged 56.
- “ EBENEZER 2d, lost in the gale of Sept. 19, 1846, aged 30.
The last four on one stone.
- “ DAVID R., tomb. 1852.
- “ DAVID R., son of David and Hannah R. May 10, 1855, aged
24 y., 7 m.
- “ WILLIAM L., son of “ “ “ Sept. 18, 1855, aged
19.
- “ REBECCA R., dau. of David and Hannah R. Feb. 22, 1857,
aged 15 y., 10 m.
- “ CHARLES H., son of “ “ “ Sept. 21, 1864,
aged 26 y., 3 m.
- LEGRO, HANNAH, wife of William and dau. of Capt. John and Marcy
Martin. Dec. 19, 1801, aged 23 y., 11 m., 19 d.
- “ WILLIAM, only son of Wm. and Hannah. May 7, 1802, aged
6 m., 6 d.
- LINDSEY, N., tomb. 1837.
- “ HANNAH, wife of the late Benjamin. Feb. 9, 1861, aged 79.
- “ NATHANIEL, son of Benj. and Hannah. Oct. 6, 1866, aged
59 y., 9 m.
- “ MARY A., wife of Benjamin. May 10, 1867, aged 29.
- “ ARTHUR L., son of Benjamin and Mary A. Jan. 20, 1866,
aged 6 m.
- MADISON, ELIZABETH, wife of Andrew. July 1, 1827, aged 26 y., 5 m.
- “ REBECCA, dau. of Andrew and Elizabeth. Oct. 13, 1819, aged
13 m.
- MAGOUN, ALBERT C. Oct. 21, 1856, aged 27.
- MAIN, MARY T. (twin sister to Rebecca, wife of James Kent). Nov.
30, 1854, aged 40 y., 8 m.
- “ THOMAS and sons, tomb. 1856.
- MANNING, SAMUEL and son, tomb. 1848.
- MARTIN, EBENEZER. Jan 10, 1800, aged 59.
- “ ALMIRA M., dau. of Eben'r and Jane. Feb. 10, 1804, aged
15 m., 18 d.
- “ PRUDENCE. Nov. 10, 1806, aged 61.
- “ Capt. THOMAS. Dec. 16, 1828, aged 96 y., 10 m.
- “ MARTHA, wife of Capt. Thomas. Jan. 4, 1816, aged 78.

- MARTIN, Capt. ARNOLD. Aug. 22, 1829, aged 63 y., 9 m., 29 d.
 " MARY, wid. of Capt. Arnold. Mar. 21, 1833, aged 73 y.,
 5 m.
 " OLIVER, son of Capt. Arnold and Mary. Sept. 24, 1816, aged
 21 y., 2 m., 14 d.
 " OLIVER THOMAS, son of Capt. Arnold and Mary. Mar. 25,
 1829, aged 7 y., 6 m., 17 d.
 " THOMAS. Jan. 29, 1833, aged 52.
 " MARY, wife of Thomas. Sept. 1, 1831, aged 49.
 " WILLIAM R. Feb. 13, 1833, aged 28.
 " MARY ANN, wife of William R. Jan 1, 1832, aged 30.
 " MARCY, wife of Knott (on stone of Benj. Abbot). Apr. 31,
 1833, aged 83.
 " RICHARD. July 25, 1833, aged 31.
 " MARY, wid. of Richard. Sept. 1, 1839, aged 35.
 " NATHAN B. Sept. 29, 1840, aged 78.
 " ANNA S., wife of Nathan B. Oct. 14, 1834, aged 69.
 " S., tomb. 1841.
 " Capt. KNOTT, 2d. July 12, 1848, aged 64.
 " HANNAH, wid. of Capt. Knott, 2d. Sept. 2, 1865, aged 83.
 " JOSEPH, tomb. 1848.
 " AMBROSE. July 16, 1851, aged 78 yrs., 4 m.
 " ELIZABETH, wid. of Ambrose. June 24, 1857, aged 78 yrs.,
 5 m.
 " JAMES LAWRENCE, son of Ambrose and Elizabeth. July 9,
 1844, aged 31 yrs., 3 m.
 " Capt. KNOTT, 2d. Oct. 18, 1855, aged 67 yrs., 9 m.
 MASON, ANNA, wife of Joseph. Nov. 26, 1845, aged 74.
 " GEORGE. Apr. 20, 1852, aged 39.
 MCHENRY, EZEKIEL, adopted son of Ezekiel and Maria Darling. Nov.
 23, 1859, aged 19.
 MCLEOD, JOHN, born Scotland, 1789, died Aug. 24, 1857, aged 68 y.,
 5 m.
 " MARY, wife of John. Sept. 22, 1868, aged 72.
 " Miss LAURA, born Scotland, 1834, died Feb. 14, 1862, aged
 28 y.
 MERRITT, FRANCIS, at sea. Mar. 29, 1816, aged 52.
 " MARY, wife of Francis. Dec. 25, 1837, aged 68.
 " Mrs. MARY. May 4, 1805, 97th yr.
 " JOHN, son of John and Elizabeth S. Apr. 25, 1839, aged 9
 m., 12 d.
 " THOMAS H., tomb. 1843.
 MILLER, MARIA ANN, dau. of Edw'd E. and Maria. Aug. 28, 1853,
 aged 11 y., 8 m.

- MILLET, ZEBULON. Aug. 14, 1828, aged 71.
 " MARTHA, wife of Zebulon. Oct. 5, 1834, aged 77.
 MORSE, LEVI. April 8, 1861, aged 73 y., 7 m., 7 d.
 " MERCY C., wife of Levi. Feb. 12, 1853, aged 61.
- NEWHALL, JOEL, tomb.
- NICKERSON, JOHN G., son of Joshua and Sarah H. Aug. 28, 1853, aged 9 m., 7 d.
 " RUTHY MAIN, wife of James. May 7, 1872, aged 79 y., 1 m., 3 d.
- NICHOLSON T., tomb. 1835.
- OLIVER, Miss MYRIAM. Jan. 18, 1838, aged 82.
 " JAMES, tomb. 1843.
- ORNE, AZOR, tomb. 1796.
- { OSGOOD, HOOKER, in memory of my uncle, who died 1818, and his wife
 { " NANCY, who died 1819. C. L. W. S.
- PAIN, MARCY, wife of Thomas, and dau. of Benj. and Marcy Abbot. Feb. 15, 1831, aged 31.
 " MARY E., wife of William B. Oct. 15, 1845, aged 29 y., 6 m.
- PAINE, H., tomb. 1850.
 " HENRY. Oct. 26, 1850, 69 y., 4 m., 28 d.
 " DEBBY, wife of Henry. Sept. 3, 1836, aged 54.
- PAPPOON, SOLOMON. Mar. 4, 1843, aged 60.
 " MARY N., dau. of Solomon. June 21, 1845, aged 25.
- PATTEN, MARY (our Mother), dau. of Capt. Edmund Bray, Mar. 15, 1866, aged 70.
- PEACH, LOT. July 5, 1848, aged 66.
 " RICHARD H., son of Lot and Bethiah. Dec. 20, 1817, aged 3 m., 7 d.
 " ABEL G. " " " " " July 1, 1831, aged 6 m., 25 d.
 " LOT, son of Lot and Bethiah, died Dec. 2, 1850, aged 35, at north fork of American river, Barnes' Bar, Cal. Erected by his son Stephen B. Peach.
- PEIRCE, ANNA (mother to Elizabeth, wid. of John Stacey), Oct. 5, 1816, aged 94.
 " ROBERT, tomb. 1846.
- PHILLIPS, STEPHEN. Mar. 1, 1801, aged 83.
 " Mrs. ELIZABETH. Sept. 30, 1805, aged 75.
 " SARAH, dau. of Stephen and Elizabeth. July 10, 1833, aged 69.

- PHILLIPS, NATHANIEL. Jan. 16, 1838, aged 77.
 " ANNA, wife of Nath'l, and dau. of Robert Smith. Oct. 4, 1824, aged 62.
 " LYDIA, dau. of Nath'l and Anna. Feb. 12, 1814, aged 15.
 " J. S., tomb. 1841.
 " JOSEPH S. Mar. 22, 1842, aged 45.
 " MEHITABLE, wife of Joseph S. Aug. 1, 1869, aged 69.
 " JOSEPH. Aug. 19, 1856, aged 76 y., 10 m.
 " POLLY, wife of Joseph. Feb. 16, 1804, aged 24 y., 8 m., 16 d.
 " DEBORAH " " " June 16, 1853, aged 66 y., 8 m.
- PITMAN, ELIZABETH. Nov. 10, 1831, aged 63.
 " BENJAMIN. Mar. 26, 1837, aged 72.
 " SARAH, wife of BENJAMIN. Oct. 12, 1845, aged 73.
 " J. and H. F., tomb. 1840.
 " WILLIAM, " 1852.
- POWERS, PETER S., tomb. 1858.
- PREBLE, NEHEMIAH. June 27, 1873, aged 77 y., 6 m., 16 d.
 " HANNAH, wife of Nehemiah, and dau. of Samuel Swazey. Dec. 24, 1871, aged 73 y., 8 m., 24 d.
- PRENTISS, J. E., U. S. Navy, tomb. 1837.
 " CALEB, Jr. " 1843.
- PRICE, HESTER A. Aug. 18, 1868, aged 2 y., 9 m.
- PRICHARD, BENJ., son of Benj. and Mary. Dec. 4, 1800, aged 12 m., 23 d.
 { " WILLIAM, lost at sea. — 1832, aged 53.
 { " SUSAN, wife of William. Oct. 29, 1862, aged 79 y., 4 m.
 { " WILLIAM. Sept. 4, 1857, aged 47 y., 9 m.
 { " JOSEPH W., brother to William. Dec. 6, 1850, aged 35 y., 9 m.
- PROCTOR, WILLIAM, born Nov. 6, 1794, died Apr. 25, 1869.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of William, born Oct. 8, 1783, died May 29, 1864.
- QUINER, Capt. JOHN, tomb. 1827.
- RAMSDELL, JAMES, tomb. 1848.
- RATHBUN, FRANK H., member of Co. E., 2d Mass. H. A., born Sept. 16, 1836, died Apr. 14, 1865.
 " SARAH D. ROUNDY, wife of Frank H., born Oct. 31, 1835, died Feb. 11, 1865.
- REA, HENRY, tomb. 1817.
- REXFORD, THOMAS TANNATT, son of Jordan and Mary. Nov. 24, 1807, aged 15 m., 8 d.
- REYNOLDS, JOHN. Sept. 29, 1822, aged 31 y., 2 m.
 " GRACE B., wid. of John. July 4, 1846, 53 y., 9 m.

- REYNOLDS, JANE, wid. of John. Nov. 29, 1864, aged 84 y., 10 m.
 " JUDITH H. HAMMOND, dau. of John and Jane. Aug. 17, 1847,
 aged 35 y., 1 m., 12 d.
- RICHARDSON, SALLY B. June 29, 1854, aged 68.
 " THOS. J. P. BLISS, son of Sally B. May 8, 1844, aged 21 y.,
 11 m.
- ROADS, SAMUEL. Nov. 23, 1836, aged 73.
 " ELLEN, wife of Samuel. Aug. 9, 1821, aged 45 y., 10 m.
 " MEHITABLE, wife of Samuel. June 4, 1837, aged 48.
 " SAMUEL, Jr. June 1, 1826, aged 29 y., 9 m.
 " GEORGE, son of Samuel and Ellen. Oct. 5, 1833, aged 25.
 " MARY, wife of Abiel. May 8, 1829, aged 20 y., 4 m.
- RODGERS, JAMES LAWRENCE, son of Wm. and Elizabeth. Mar. 8, 1873,
 aged 27 y., 6 m.
- ROUNDEY, NATHANIEL V. Nov. 3, 1848, aged 47 y.
 " EVELINE, dau. of Nathaniel V. Oct. 3, 1848, aged 16.
 " DEBORAH, tomb. 1842.
- ROUNDY, CATHERINE, wife of John. Aug. 10, 1830, aged 28 y., 6 m.,
 20 d.
 " WILLIAM S. May 20, 1852, aged 31.
 " HORACE, son of William S. Nov. 13, 1852, aged 3 y.
 " KATE MITCHELL, dau. of William S. and Rebecca, born Jan.
 1, 1844, died Mar. 23, 1867.
 " SARAH ELLEN, dau. of William S. and Rebecca, born Oct. 9,
 1851, died June 8, 1871.
- RUSSELL, J. and C., tomb. 1853.
 " ELIZABETH A., tomb. 1865.
 " SARAH, wife of Capt. John H. Nov. 9, 1862, aged 65.
 " MARY, wife of John H., Jr., and dau. of James Freeto.
 Aug. 1, 1861, aged 33.
- SALKINS, JOHN. July 18, 1849, aged 57 y., 3 m.
 " HENRY, son of John. July 7, 1837, aged 9 y., 23 d.
 " SARAH YOUNG, dau. of John and Hannah, born May 5, 1840,
 died Jan. 3, 1860.
 " JAMES, son of William and Elizabeth A. Sept. 4, 1857, 16 m.
- SANBORN, MARIETTA, dau. of Nathan P. and Mary A. Nov. 20, 1849,
 aged 1 y., 13 d.
- SELMAN, BENJAMIN, tomb. 1829.
 " EDWARD. Jan. 28, 1806, aged 22 y., 11 m.
- SHEPHERD, GEORGE W. Dec. 7, 1857, aged 43 y., 2 m., 17 d.
 " GEORGE W., son of Geo. W. and Lucy Ann. Oct. 17, 1835,
 aged 1 y.
 " LUCY ANN, dau. of Geo. W. and Lucy Ann. Oct. 4, 1851,
 aged 15 d.

- SHEPHERD, WARREN. July 6, 1840, aged 58.
 " SARAH, wife of Warren. Jan. 30, 1857, 54 y., 6 m.
- SHIRLEY, ANNAS, wife of William. Feb. 11, 1806, aged 51.
 " ELIZA, dau. of Wm. and Annas. Sept. 23, 1803, aged 4 y.
 " PHAREZ, tomb. 1835.
- SIMPSON, DAVID S., born Leith, Scotland, Oct. 4, 1796, died July 29, 1856.
- SMETHERS, GAMALIEL. Aug. 6, 1825, aged 35.
 " REBECCA, wife of Gamaliel. Oct. 7, 1849, aged 57.
- SMITH, ROBERT. Mar. 2, 1806, aged 82.
- SNOW, THOMAS, 1st, tomb. 1834.
 " " 2d " "
 " SARAH, wife of Capt. Jona. D. Aug. 29, 1853, aged 65 y. 2 m.
- SPARHAWK, JOHN, tomb. 1829.
- STACEY, ELIZABETH, wid. of John. Aug. 18, 1821, 73d yr.
- STANDLEY, S., tomb. 1852.
- STANLEY, ALEXANDER S. Feb. 18, 1859, 85th yr.
 " JANE WILLS, wife of Alex'r S. Mar. 18, 1837, 58th yr.
- STEVENS, BENJAMIN. Aug. 20, 1818, 26 y. 11 m.
 " SARAH ELIZABETH, dau. of Benj. and Betsey. Jan. 13, 1818, 11 m.
 " THOMAS, Acting Ensign, U. S. N., U. S. S. Pontiac, at Naval Hospital, Port Royal, S. C., from wounds received at Boyd's Creek, S. C., Jan. 19, 1865, aged 30.
 " JOHN G., tomb. 1852.
- STEVENSON, DAVID. Apr. 1, 1845, aged 47 y., 6 m.
 " SUSANNA, wife of David, and dau. of Benj. and Hannah Stone. Nov. 5, 1833, aged 23 y., 9 m.
- { STONE, JOHN, tomb. 1833.
 " ISAAC " "
 " W. and J. " 1833.
 " DAVID, son of David and Susanna. Mar. 2, 1834, aged 7 m.
 " ANN, dau. of David and Ann. Oct. 9, 1836, 5 m.
 " SARAH E., dau. of David and Ann. July 31, 1841, 16 m.
 " SIMON, son of Simon A., and Mary E., born Oct. 20, 1846, died Sept. 9, 1848.
 " ELLA A., dau. of Simon A., and Mary E., born Mar. 8, 1857, died Nov. 28, 1864.
 " BENJAMIN. Oct. 14, 1861, 79 y., 3 m.
 " HANNAH, wid. of Benj. Feb. 6, 1872, 87 y., 4 m., 7 d.
 " BENJAMIN, son of Benj. Nov. 11, 1858, 54 y., 2 m.
- STORY, WILLIAM, Esq., formerly of Boston. Nov. 24, 1799, aged 80.
 " ELISHA, Dr., M. M. S. S. Aug. 27, 1805, aged 62.
 " Capt. JOHN. Nov. 1, 1846, aged 77.

- STORY, JUDITH, wife of Capt. John. Sept. 8, 1824, aged 49.
- STRONG, SUSAN, wife of William. Oct. 11, 1829, aged 60.
- “ SUSAN MARIA, dau. of P. May 24, 1839, aged 3.
- SWAZEY, SAMUEL. Jan. 6, 1859, aged 84 y., 6 m., 11 d.
- “ NANCY, wife of Samuel. Sept. 29, 1840, 65 y., 7 m.
- “ NANCY, dau. of Samuel and Nancy. May 15, 1800, aged 3 m.
- “ BETSEY, “ “ “ “ June 25, 1802, aged 4 y.
- “ SAMUEL, son “ “ “ “ July 25, 1821, aged 20 y.
- “ NATHAN, “ “ “ “ “ Oct. 1, 1833, aged 22 y.
- “ Capt. BENJ. B. May 24, 1855, 48 y., 4 m., 9 d.
- “ BENJAMIN B., son of Capt. Benj. B., of wounds received at
Spottsylvania, Va. July 16, 1864, aged 36 y., 11.
- SWEET, MARY ELIZABETH, wife of Moses. June 11, 1833, aged 21.
- SWEETLAND, JOHN, born Nov. 15, 1803, died Apr. 21, 1857.
- “ ELIZABETH M., wife of John, born Apr. 8, 1801, died Oct.
22, 1857.
- SWETT, W., tomb. 1833.
- SYMONDS, ESTHER, wife of Benjamin. Nov. 30, 1865, aged 59 y., 2 m.
23 d.
- TESHEW, S. G., tomb. 1834.
- THAYER, ISAAC “ 1840.
- THOMPSON, JOHN “ —
- “ THOMAS “ Aug. 15, 1822.
- “ BENJAMIN, tomb. 1845.
- THORNER, PHILIP L. May 13, 1857, aged 48 y., 1 m., 25 d.
- “ NANCY S., wife of Philip L. Dec. 18, 1867, aged 56 y.,
11 m.
- THRASHER, JOHN, tomb. 1852.
- TOPHAM, JAMES, tomb. 1826.
- TOWN, — “ 1851.
- “ — “ 1865.
- TRAILL, JOHN “ 1838.
- TUCKER, NICHOLAS “ 1825.
- “ T. “ 1834.
- TURNER, SAMUEL “ —
- TUTT, RICHARD. Sept. 25, 1819, 34 y., 6 m.
- UNION, EDWARD, lost at sea. Nov. 10, 1833, aged 35 y.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Edward. Sept. 5, 1833, aged 8 y.
- VICKERY, ALICE, tomb. 1825.
- WIGGINS, S. E., tomb. 1852.

{ WILKINS, FRANKIE, son of Frank and Mary A. July 6, 1865, 7 y., 3 m.
 { " ——— a " " " " " " " " 4 m.

WILSON, JOSEPH, tomb. Aug. 1821.

WINSLOW, AARON. June 19, 1854, aged 70 y.

" ELIZA PICKELL, wife of Aaron. May 23, 1856, aged 82 y.

WOODBRIDGE, WILLIAM, tomb. 1835.

WRIGHT, JOSEPH T., Serg't., Co. E. 16th Regt. M. V., wounded in
 battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864, died M'h'd., Jan.
 20, 1865, 34 y., 9 m.

" JOSEPHINE, dau. of Joseph T. Sept. 4, 1861, 2 y., 3 m.

LETTERS FROM DAVID LIVINGSTONE, THE
DISTINGUISHED AFRICAN EXPLORER.

WRITTEN IN 1856.

THE two following original letters are deposited in the archives of the Essex Institute, through the kindness of John J. Coker, Esq.

They were addressed to Sir Edmund Gabriel, who was in 1856 the Commissioner of the British Government for the suppression of the slave trade, stationed at Loando, Southwestern Africa. Mr. Coker was at the same time located in Loando as agent of one of our Salem houses that had an extensive African trade. Being an intimate friend of the English agent, these were given to him as *souvenirs* of this daring and intrepid traveller.

An increased interest may be attached to these letters in consequence of the news of the unfortunate and untimely death of the writer, which has reached us during the present year.—J. K.

RIVER ZAMBESI, ABOVE TETE, 7th February, 1856.

My ever dear Friend Gabriel:—

You can scarcely conceive the amount of pleasure which thrills through my bosom when imagination leads me back to Loanda, or now when my approach to the haunts of civilized man reminds me I may now resume my epistolary addresses to you. My nature does not allow much of my feelings to come to the surface in presence of others. This is partly owing to my efforts to restrain a hasty temper. But though I may have appeared to you

cold, be assured I ever have regarded you with very great affection, and time and distance have not in the least degree diminished it. I am now some forty or fifty miles from Tette or Tete, otherwise called Nyunkue, and as you were in some considerable degree the means of enabling me to accomplish my journey thus far, it seems a plain duty to give you the earliest possible information. I wrote a note or two by an Arab from Zanzibar, who undertook to guide another party of the people of Sekeletu to Loanda and teach them to trade. I earnestly longed for another packet from you at Cabango, but it did not come while I was there. Consequently I have been obliged to repress all my longings for more information about the war, and everything else. I got some Cape papers of 1852 at Linyanti and one letter from Mrs. L. I am now indulging the hope of a packet from you when I reach Quillimane.

But I must proceed to the subject of my travels in *terra incognita*, and first of all I think the most important point is the form which the more central part of the continent has assumed. There are two longitudinal ridges on its eastern and western sides, separated from each other by 9° or 10° of longitude. The intervening valley is considerably elevated with respect to the level of the sea, but is really a trough or basin with respect to the ridges. There is a sort of partition in it at Dilolo clearly shown in the courses of the Lotembua, one portion going N. E. into the Casai or Zaire, the other S. into the Leba and Zambesi, or to extend our view, one portion is sent to the Atlantic by the Congo, and another to the Indian Ocean by the "Rio da Senna." The form of the valley is clearly seen by the courses of the rivers north and south of the Dilolo. They flow on both sides from the ridges towards the centre of the continent, making Northing or Southing in addition as they belong to the western or eastern outlets. A section of the western ridge is made by the Quango in the remarkable descent I mentioned to you. The point of ebullition of water shows the western ascent to be considerably lower than the eastern, though to the eye it is much higher. Thus, top

of eastern descent 202° , western or Tala Mungongo 206° , or the same as Lake Ngami, which is clearly in a hollow. I sent a little bit of that ridge from Cassange. You would remark it is of clay slate. We call it keel in Scotland, and it is from of old considered a certain indication of gold. The eastern ridge is differently formed, but of the same height, viz., 202° . I have no table by me, but I believe this indicates about 4,000 ft. The most remarkable feature connected with these ridges is their great salubrity. Bihé is situated on the flank of the western ridge, and is healthy. Are the "Pedras negras" not utterly unlike what was believed of them when transportation there was considered a severer punishment than to any part of the coast? The eastern ridge has very little water on it, and absolutely no marsh, and moreover has a universally good reputation for healthiness among the inhabitants. But I am going on too fast for you. Let us turn back to the Falls in the Zambesi, of which you may have heard me speak. I was accompanied down the river by Sekeletu and about 200 of his followers, including, of course, the principal men of the tribe. When we came to Kalai, otherwise named Sekote's island, it was decided by those who know the country well in front, that we must avoid the rugged country infested by tsetse near the river, and strike off to the north-east in order to meet the stream when it has become placid again. I therefore took a canoe and glided down to see the most wonderful sight I have seen in Africa—the "smoke sounding" falls of the Zambesi. The river is very broad above, and filled with lovely islands covered with luxuriant sylvan vegetation. It is at least a thousand yards broad. Being then low water a light canoe, and men well acquainted with the eddies formed by the islands, took Pitsane and myself to an island situated in the middle of the river and edge of the lip over which the water rolls. Creeping to the verge we peer down one hundred feet and see the stream of a thousand yards leaping into a rent made in the bed from bank to bank and suddenly compressed into fifteen or twenty yards at the bottom. I may use the same language to you as I do in

a letter to Sir R. Murchison. If you imagine the Thames filled with low tree-covered hills from the Tunnel as far as Gravesend, the bed of the river of basaltic rock instead of London mud, and a rent made in it from one end of the Tunnel to the other, down through the centre of the arch, the pathway being 100 feet down from the bed instead of what it is, and the lips from sixty to eighty feet apart—suppose farther the fissure or rent prolonged from the left hand bank away to Gravesend, and the Thames leaping bodily into the gulph, forced to change its course at the bottom, go from right to left bank, then turn a corner and go boiling and roaring through the hills, and you have some idea of what takes place in the case of the Zambesi. When it has penetrated thirty or forty miles it becomes placid and broad again, and wends away to the northeast, till it gains the latitude $15^{\circ} 37'$, where I now write. The falls, which I would like to name after her majesty, are in $17^{\circ} 57'$, south lat., long. $26^{\circ} 6'$ east. When within five or six miles of them at low water we see five or six columns of vapor ascending as if to the clouds. When looking into the fissure we see nothing on the right hand but a mass or stream of this vapor rushing with a force and in mass unlike anything I ever saw before. When 300 or 400 feet high it loses its steamy appearance, becomes dark, and falls down in a smart shower which soon wet us to the skin. On that side, too, nothing like the bottom can be seen; there is only a dense white cloud and two bright rainbows sitting on it. On the left a piece of the lip has fallen in, and from that appearing among the foam I conjecture the depth. On the opposite lip, or that over which the river does not fall, there is a dense hedge of evergreen trees, the leaves of which are always wet with the ever-falling condensed vapor, and from their roots run several little rills back into the gulph, but are never allowed to reach the cloud even,—the ascending vapor licks them clean off the perpendicular wall, and away they go as steam again. Formerly the falls were used as places where certain chiefs worshipped the Barimo gods, or departed spirits. Living on the islands of the Zambesi they were

perfectly secure, and showed in their treatment of such as fell into their power that they knew nothing of the true character of our great and good and holy Creator. Sebituane did a good service in rooting them out of their fastnesses. I have a number of their former subjects in my company now, and they have more of the slave spirit than any I ever had before. Makololo, Barotse, Bashubia and even other Batska tribes have representatives in the party who all behave like men. But with those referred to no motive actuates them but fear. Slavery is indisputably a curse and a blot wherever it is met with. I have one hundred and thirteen (!) in my party this time. How imprudent, you remark, to take such an army. I am quite of the same opinion sometimes. At other times I laugh at the "worldly wise" and quote some wise sayings, such as "never venture, never won," "faint heart," etc., and add, I shall get work for them when near the sea, and they will support themselves. They themselves applaud the plan. We have had no want of food hitherto. The tribes on this fertile river raise large quantities of maize and guinea corn, and are most liberal to the party. I hope to repay them one day. Before we came among them there was no want of large game. The "tameness" of elephants and buffaloes "was shocking to me." Some parts resembled what we read of in geology, when Megatheria roamed undisturbed by man. The men are very brave with elephants, but the bulls were our masters. I fired eight bullets of the large gun you saw at Loanda, and four of the double barrelled piece, into one at thirty or forty paces distance, and when night closed the combat he got clear away. We never saw him. Previous to this he fell in running and rose like a porcupine from the number of spears in him. It was Mr. Heysham's powder, too, each charge nine drachms. I never regretted more the non-possession of the peculiar bullets used by whalers than then. The people were very hungry at the time in consequence of the flight of the inhabitants. They thought we were a marauding host, and I would not allow anything to be touched dishonestly. Hence my exposure to the danger. They said they would

place themselves between me and it if he charged. We got several cow elephants and calves. When parting with Sekeletu he inquired if I thought Pitsane could conduct another party to Loanda, and on my replying in the affirmative he intimated that he intended to send him soon. The "Cavalheiro" has volunteered again for the same service. He is of a more respectable standing and family than Pitsane, but though a sensible fellow, manages somehow or other to get disliked. I got on well enough with him, as he was always very obliging and liked to be spoken to respectfully. The party under the Arab have no voice whatever in the trade, and I have learned he likes agoardente. It is curious that the tribes south of the Zambesi are in general proof against that nasty fluid, unless they have a dash of Dutch blood in their veins. And so of the venereal disease. It cannot propagate itself among the blacks. It dies out of itself. This is not climatorial, for the bastards have it in all its forms, the virulence being proportioned to the amount of European blood they possess. Does this not seem to argue the imperishability of the race? Its ravages among tribes apparently doomed to destruction are fearful, and so are those of small pox, while here small pox paid a passing visit some twenty years ago, and never returned.

The best of all the information I have to convey is that we seem to have water carriage up the river Zambesi to within 2° of the Makololo. Had we possessed canoes we should have been in Quillimane in two months after leaving Sekeletu. And suppose I move them on to the healthy ridge, we shall then be only two months distant from the sea, though near the centre of the continent. There is hope for the interior being civilized yet; for if the ridges extend far beyond the region to which my inquiries extend, stations for commerce and missionary operations may be formed in equally healthy parts to that I have discovered. Did the Niger expedition turn back when near such a desirable position for its stricken members? The Congo, as well as the Orange River, is discharged by a fissure through the ridge, as well as the Zambesi. Only on such a supposition can we account

for its great want of breadth above and immense volume of deep, fast flowing water near the mouth. But I must have wearied you with these points of physical geography. We often feel as if that which is intensely interesting to ourselves must be equally so to others.

The trade of this river has declined miserably. On coming to the confluence of the Loangwa and Zambesi we found the ruins of a church, fort and many stone houses, and could not get the name from its present inhabitants. Subsequently I ascertained it was named Zumbo, and was deserted in 1793 on the approach of a host of marauding Mashonas and never reoccupied. It is the finest trading station that can be conceived for the interior. There is water carriage in three directions beyond—the Bashukulompo river and Loangwa being one river divided into two and falling into the Zambesi about 1° apart from each other. There is thus water carriage up to near Cazembe, who is about 2° south of Matiamvo. Indeed, Pereira visited him by the Loangwa. Zumbo is, moreover, a spot of great beauty, and the merchants had their stone houses placed high up on the abutment of a tree covered hill, commanding thereby a glorious view of the broad Zambesi. It was to me quite unaccountable why it should thus lay waste, and chiefs in the vicinity lamenting that nobody now came except Babisa to purchase their ivory. But when we met a few days ago two Portuguese the mystery was explained. The tribes have kept them shut up in their fort at Tete for the last two years, and now only is peace restored. The natives appear a strong, muscular race of negroes, both men and women, much addicted to agriculture, the soil being fertile and yielding large quantities of grain. They have treated us well, though several musterings as if for fighting have taken place. The traders pay highly for the privilege of passing; we have paid nothing yet. This system of paying for passage belongs to slave trading exclusively and indicates a feeling of wrong doing on the part of those who established it. In the south a trader never thinks of asking leave to pass. They ask for a guide only, and payment of the guide is all that is

thought of by either trader or people. Here the people have a bad feeling to the slave trader. They say "only think! the whole of their village of Tete is composed of children we have borne," and if we hint that the fault is their own for receiving the prices, they seem to think we are wanting in sympathy. The slave trade carried on by the Mambari, first among Makololo and then among certain poor Batoka tribes on our east, is repressed in a most natural manner. They first allied themselves to a man who had some pretension to the chieftainship and whom Sekeletu put to death for conspiracy. Orders were then issued not to sell any children to them. But they passing to the east found that the Batoka would part with children for hoes and nothing else would induce them to sell them. They then bought hoes from Sekeletu's subjects, got ivory, too, on very easy terms, and as the slaves are needed for domestic purposes only, a tusk or two was absolutely necessary to make the journey from Bihé profitable. The Makololo, perceiving the very great value of ivory, proposed to stop the Mambari by force. But on getting a hint to secure all the ivory by supplying the Batoka with hoes themselves, it was so promptly responded to I anticipate small trade for the Mambari in future. I am now engaged in increasing the knowledge of the value of ivory. I have taken about twenty tusks to purchase a long list of articles for Sekeletu. Could I do less than try to serve those who have done everything in their power to serve me? He presented three of the best riding oxen he could purchase among his people, and ten slaughter cattle, besides meal and everything else he could think of for my comfort. I could not have accepted all if I had not indulged the hope of being able in various ways to repay him with interest. I have a much better chief man this time than Pitsane. My second is not so good as Mashuema, but all do wonderfully well for savages, and I have much reason to be thoroughly grateful to God for so far providing for me and enabling me to do some service of which my children will not be ashamed.

I have not had a touch of the fever since leaving Linyanti. This is partly owing to having been much of the

time on the eastern ridge, and more, I believe, from not having been subjected to the starchy diet of my former journey. I have had wheaten bread all the way. We are famous bakers. Would you like to learn? Here goes, then, for an "extemporaneous" oven. Make a good fire and when the spot is thoroughly heated put your dough into a shallow pan on the coals; invert any kind of pot over it, and make a little fire on it, heaping the coals or ashes against the sides and in an hour an excellent loaf is made. Fresh bread and coffee Arab fashion has kept me most comfortably all the way. I never tire of it. Sugar is long ago finished. Meat occasionally constitutes the only variation. We had oxen all the way down to the Zambesi, but tsetse killed all those which could be mounted, and I now wind along the banks on foot. It is very hot and steamy here. The number of rivulets which enter the great river make us go much in zigzag fashion. We don't make more than one and one-half miles per hour in a straight line, but snails and tortoises reach the end of their routes by perseverance, and so will we. Do you remember the bird you battered by the hour one day? It is common here, and is a cuckoo. It has a loudish cry, like that of our blackbird when disturbed, and ends in calling several times, "pula, pula, pula." = rain, rain, rain. It is usually heard about the rainy time, or before a continued rain. The natives call it "Mokua Reza," or son-in-law of God, and it takes possession of the nest of the white backed Senegal crow, throwing out its eggs or young. How do you get on with your collection? Had you come with me you would have seen some strange ones. The song birds here make a very pleasant chorus. I must not forget to mention making a garden on the island which overlooks the falls. Observing it covered with trees, many of which I had seen nowhere else, and that a whiff of vapor came over it every now and then, giving it proper moisture, I dugged a nook and planted a lot of peach and apricot stones, coffee seeds, fructa da conde, etc., etc., and if my hedge to keep off the hippopotami is made according to contract, I have great hopes of Mosioatunya's abilities as a nursery-man. The little

information I got of my family was satisfactory, children doing well at school. This is excellent, for what they now learn must be their stay through life. I hope you are equally happy in what you hear from your friends. I shall add a little at Quillimane; in the meantime may He who is near to and over all abundantly bless you. I am ever, with great affection,

Your friend, .DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

TETTE OR NYUNGUE ON ZAMBESI, EAST AFRICA,
3d March, 1856.

My Dear Friend:

Reached this by the mercy of God yesterday morning, pretty well tired out from marching through a rough, stony jungle during the last week or so. When we had a path it was easier. All the oxen were killed by tsetse, and as I could not purchase a canoe I had to rough it, and am as thin as a lath. I became so when I got to Barotse, renewed my flanks again with lots of milk! Am again thinner than when I reached Loanda, but am made of a piece of good clay, and will recover again. When I turn quack doctor I mean to set up travelopathy, and if I do not cure (or kill) every fat alderman who falls into my hands, "that's all." Your iron boxes did excellent service, kept my books and clothes famously. The daguerrotype got its glass broken, but you are safe. I shall write the Governor from Quillimane and I am thinking of taking advantage of the éclat of my discoveries to give the news to the young king of Portugal by way of acknowledgment for the kindness of his people, and put in a good word for Angola, all, of course, privately, and no answer expected. What think you? Would it be better to wait to send a copy of my book, should that ever see the light? This is going off at once. I cannot re-read what I have written, but you will take it all kindly.

From yours ever affectionately,

DAVID LIVINGSTONE.

Kind words to all my old friends whom you may see.

SOME REMARKS UPON THE "LIFE OF JOHN
ROGERS," BY JOSEPH L. CHESTER, Esq.

BY CAROLINE HEALEY DALL.

MR. CHESTER gives two pedigrees of the martyr Rogers. He seems to abide by the first, Robert Cooke's, probably because the order of its names corresponds to Daniel Rogers' admission that Ambrose was his youngest brother, living in 1591.

In 1575 Philip was alive, according to the Conway papers (State paper office, No. 222), but if the pedigree be right, and Mr. Chester omits no names mentioned in Daniel's will, in 1591, only Ambrose and John survived.

The correctness of Cooke's pedigree, if it named Daniel as the oldest son, seems to be confirmed by Daniel's going to the prison with his mother. Although only seventeen years of age, he was, in the eye of the law, his father's representative. Gorton and other early popular authorities stated that Daniel was born at Ashton in Warwickshire in 1540. This is another link to connect the martyr with John of Deritend.

Chester calls John Rogers of Dedham a Puritan. He was a conformist; so was his son Nathaniel, but the latter thought he had lived to find surplice and service book "stumbling blocks to the church." John of Dedham was given to "prophecy" as well as the martyr, and terrible results are said to have followed the curse of either.

Hooker, called John of Dedham, the "Prince of English

preachers." He was called a "Saint." The pulpit of Ipswich, Mass., was supplied by one of his name and family for one hundred and three years. It has been said that a belief in the descent from the martyr was never entertained in that family but that certainly is not true. No one can tell what was in the diary that Nathaniel Rogers ordered to be burned, nor does it seem strange to me, that the immediate descendants made so little of their claim. At first, even in Elizabeth's time, the general religious unsettledness made it dangerous to remind those who had recanted of him who had stood firm, and there was small need to tell what everybody knew. As soon as this state of things passed away, the nonconformist troubles began, and those who had inherited restless blood made no haste to draw public attention to the fact.

It would be less strange to find a hidden link between Deritend and Dedham, than to discover two families, of wholly distinct origin, so remarkable for the same traits of piety, ardor, reticence, learning, especially knowledge of many tongues. It is only an inherited impetus of no common kind that can account for the clergymen of that name in New England.

Traditions are full of error, but they stand upon something. All through Essex County can be found people who believe they are descended from John Winthrop's daughter. They are actually descended from the sister of his daughter-in-law.

Half a dozen volumes of the Historical Register and numerous entries in Savage's Dictionary tell us of those who are descended from Baruch Whittingham and Katharine Calvin. Yet these last errors were easy of correction. Katharine, the sister of Calvin's wife, and Daniel her youngest son by Dean Whittingham, were waiting calmly to be called into court.

In 1770 this tradition had existed long enough to be inscribed upon a tombstone but it existed a long time before, strengthened by various relics held by various members of the family and connected with the name of John.

My grandfather was the son of Lucy Rogers, and her father, Doctor Samuel Rogers, was the great grandson of John of Dedham.

One of the relics, to which I have alluded, Lucy Rogers received from her father. It was an account book and personal memorandum book kept at Antwerp and elsewhere in the Low Countries. The entries were begun by one John Rogers and finished by another. My grandfather told me that when he was a little child he used to amuse himself by spelling out the charges. The only entry he could remember was a contrast of the piece of a day's work in the Brabant at 4d English, with that in England itself. My grandfather was dead before Chester began to write, but I spoke to my father who lived with him before his marriage, about this book as soon as the Chester life was published. My father remembered it perfectly, but thought it perished in the fire of 1812 at Newburyport, where the family then lived. On the contrary my grandfather's only surviving son thinks it was carried to Illinois by a brother of my grandfather, who emigrated before I can remember.

Many of the descendants of John of Dedham bear a strong likeness to the portrait engraved by Chester as that of the Martyr. Observe, also, the peculiar arch formed by the veins of the hand nearest the thumb in the picture. That also has been inherited and called a Rogers trait.

If there were two families at the beginning both transmitted:—

1. Great love of learning.

2. Singular proficiency in languages, shown by the martyr in his preaching to his Wittenberg congregation, in German, and his editing of the Matthew Bible.

3. A remarkable moderation of character equally removed from dulness and fanaticism.

The martyr neither sought nor refused martyrdom, and Nathaniel of Ipswich showed the same spirit.

4. A most manly absence of personal ambition; witness the power of the men while living and the few monuments left to attest it.

Mr. Chester says there is the very "slightest chance" that there may be some kinship, between John of Deritend and John of Dedham. On the whole I prefer to cling to that "slight chance."

Boston, Jan. 3, 1873.

WILLIAM ROGERS' PETITION TO BE APPOINTED
ADMINISTRATOR OF THE ESTATE OF HIS
GRANDFATHER, THOMAS SCOTT.

COMMUNICATED BY F. G. WATERS.

To the Honoured Colonell Gidnye, Judg of the pro-
bate of wills and Granting of Administration for the
County of Essex the Humble Request of william Rodgers
Humbly sheweth that Thomas Scott my Grandfather
dyed in Ipswich about thirty and eight yers agoe and
made noe will. he left my Grandmother with onely two
children viz margerett Scott my mother and thomas
Scott; my s^d Grandmother was made an Adminestratrix
to my s^d Grandfathers estate but there was noe settlement
made of the s^d estat by the Court at all; and my s^d uncle
thomas Scott went into old England and dyed ther. and
when I was about foure yers old my mother dyed. and in
a short time after my Grandmother dyed; about sixteen
yers agoe; my s^d Grandfather dyes seased of a good con-
siderable estat in land in Ipswich; I am the onely sur-
uiuing person decended from my s^d Grandfather, and now
I am come to the age of twenty one yers doe humbly
craue that your Honnour will grant Administration to me
of the estat of my s^d Grandfather that hath not been
leagally disposed of and shall Remaine

your Honnours humble servant

WILLIAM ROGERS.

Janewary the 14th 1694.

To Capt. Steuen Sewall,
att Salem.

SIR I present this as a caution to prevent William Rogers his administrating upon the estate w^{ch} was Thomas Scotts of Ipswich deceased: for I can produce a legall administration (and quiet possession) near twelve years sinc from a County Court held at Boston. if the sayd W^m should moue for any such thing I desire he may be put by: or I have notice of it.

Sir yours to command

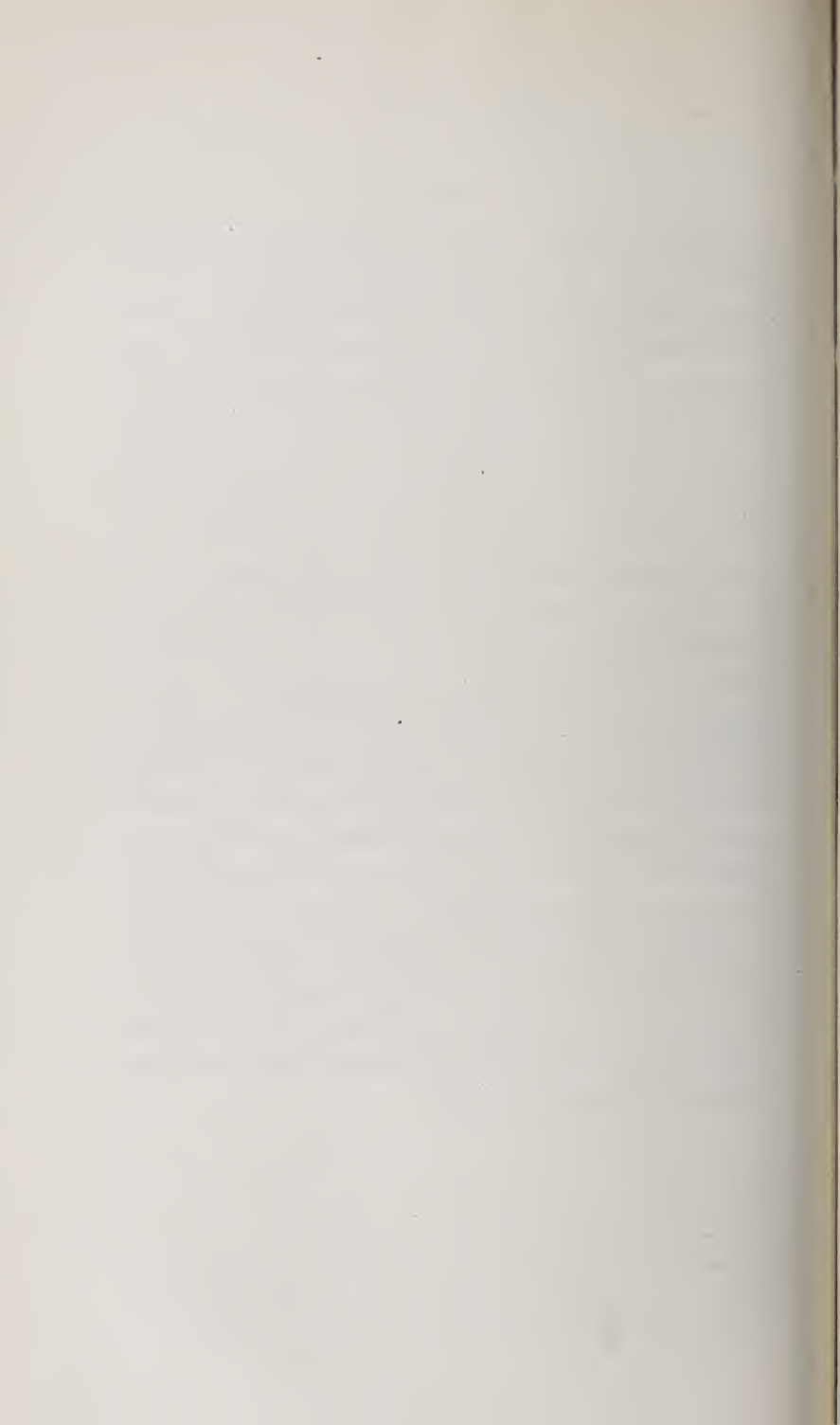
Newbury feb: 15:
1694-5

JOSEPH WOODBRIDGE.

REMARKS ON THE ABOVE.

AMONG those who took passage for this country from England, in the ship Elizabeth, late in April, 1634, were Thomas Scott (aged 40 years), his wife, Elizabeth (40 yrs.), and children, Elizabeth (9 yrs.) Abigail (7 yrs.) and Thomas (6 yrs.). In the same ship came Martha Scott (60 yrs.) perhaps the mother of Thomas, and Richard Kimball (39 yrs.), with wife, Ursula, who may have been his sister. The will of Thomas Scott, signed 8th March, 1653-4 and pro. 28, 1^{mo}., 54, mentions the children above named, and, in addition, daughters Hannah, Sarah and Mary, and brother, Richard Kimball. His son, Thomas, is spoken of as at Stamford, in the jurisdiction of New Haven. It was this Thomas Scott² who is called "grandfather" in the petition. He married, at Ipswich, Margaret, dau. of Mr. William Hubbard and sister of the historian, by whom he had two children, Margaret and Thomas. Of the sisters, it is known that Elizabeth md. (John?) Spofford, Abigail md. Haniel Bosworth, Hannah md. Edmond Lockwood, and Mary

md. Thomas Patch. Thomas Scott² dying intestate in 1657 (in May or June, according to the testimony of Capt. John Appleton), administration was granted, 29th Sept. following, to his widow, Margaret, who afterwards md. Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, and was the mother of his children. July 5, 1674, she was again left a widow, and died four years later. Her will of June 22, 1678, was presented 2, 6^{mo}. of the same year. Of her two children by her first husband, Thomas Scott³, as the petitioner says, "went into old England and dyed ther," about 1677, leaving, by an informal will, written on the leaves of his acc. book, all his estate to his mother. His sister Margaret md., probably as second wife, Mr. William Rogers, of Boston, merchant, by whom she had one child, the petitioner. Her husband dying, she md., secondly, William Snelling, of Boston, and by him had Mary, b. 20 June, 1677. These two (William Rogers and Mary Snelling), I suppose to be the persons named in the will of their grandmother (Scott) Rogers in the following terms, viz. : "my son and daughter, Snelling's two children, viz : Rogers and Snelling." Perhaps this William, who signs the petition, may have been the father of Captain William Rogers, of Wenham, who md. Elizabeth, a dau. of Sergeant John and Mary (Fiske) Perkins, of Wenham, and granddaughter of Sergeant Jacob and Elizabeth Perkins of Ipswich and of Capt. Thomas and Joan (White?) Fiske of Wenham.



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ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

VOLUME XIII.

SALEM:
PUBLISHED BY ESSEX INSTITUTE.

1877.

PRINTED AT
THE SALEM PRESS,
SALEM, MASS.

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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

OF THE

ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

JANUARY, 1875.

No. 1.

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

AN ADDRESS BY A. C. GOODELL, JR.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The communications between the Governor and the

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A PROCLAMATION

FOR DISSOLVING THE GENERAL COURT.

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

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

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

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

T. GAGE.

By his Excellency's command,

THOS. FLUCKER, Secretary.

GOD save the KING.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 320.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Essex Gazette, 1774, No. 320.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

clatter of preparations for distinguished guests: there was an odor of savory herbs, and spits creaked before the open fires. Gilded and painted beaufets, now freshly dusted and thrown wide open, proffered decanters of choice cordials, or wines from Lisbon and the Western Islands, and on the sideboards, home-made raisin-wine, gin and West-India rum were holiday companions of the universal beverage prepared in the neighboring distilleries.

Along the wharves, the shipping lay, idly flying the united crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, but deserted except by a few stevedores, or, possibly, some gauger or other officer of the impost. Merchant and mariner, smith and shipwright, caulker and graver, had gone up to the neighborhood of the town-house, to see the Representatives and to discuss the momentous questions of the day with the carpenters, masons, tanners, shopkeepers, and husbandmen who thronged the place, usually the exclusive haunt of the patriarchs of the town, idle gentlemen and town officers.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before this reorganization, the established tribunals of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Essex Gazette, 1775, No. 345.

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

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

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

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

If the spirits of the departed were ever permitted to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whether the anniversary of our separation be thus

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

THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. JOHN CLEAVELAND,

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON,

NEHEMIAH CLEAVELAND.

Continued from page 196.

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

A "battoe" from Rogers came in to-day, bringing a man who belonged to Lord Howe's Reg^t, but who deserted before we went down the Lake. 'Tis said that Rogers would have cut off the enemy returning with their

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Sat. Nothing special.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"French Advance Guard, 8th July, 1758.

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

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

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

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

A true copy errors excepted."¹¹

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

A NOTICE OF THE PEELE FAMILY.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

their Daughter Hannah was Born June 22, 1738.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

their son Robert was Born April 19, 1767.

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

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

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

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

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

"father Peele Dide Aprel the 11, 1790.

My Brother Jonathan Dide March the 5, 1790.

"I was married November the 15 day 1709.

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

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

Robert Peele born on thursday, August 29th 1712.

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

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

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

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

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

- BECKETT, ELIZABETH (foot stone).
- BEST, DAVID (obscure).
- BETHELL, HANNAH, wife of Richard. Dec. 22, 1733, aged 47.
- BLANCHARD, AARON. July 30, 1799, aged 48.
- BOWDITCH, Capt. WILLIAM, Merchant. May 23, 1723, aged 64 yrs., 9 m.
- “ MARY, wife of Capt. Wm. ———, 1724, aged 54.
- “ EBEN'R, son “ “ “ Feb. 2, 1768, aged 64.
- “ children of “ “ and Mary, “which died in their infancy.”
- “ WILLIAM, son of Eben'r and Mary. Dec. 29, 1752, aged 18.
- “ MARY, dau. of “ “ “ Apr. 22, 1757, aged 15.
- “ HABAKKUK (son of “ “ “) July 23, 1798, aged 60.
- “ EBEN'R (“ “ “ “ “) Aug. 3, 1771, aged 42.
- “ ELIZABETH, relict of Capt. Eben'r. Feb. 11, 1824, aged 91.
- “ EBEN'R (son of Capt. Eben'r and Eliz'th). July 23, 1830, aged 63.
- “ MARY, wife of Capt. Eben'r. May 17, 1819, aged 47.
- “ EBEN'R, son “ “ “ and Mary. Aug. 22, 1825, aged 25.
- “ SARAH (probably wife of Capt. Joseph, Jr.), born Mar. 25, 1734, d. Dec. 8, 1797.
- “ JOSEPH, Esq. (son of Wm. and Mary, above). Oct. 6, 1780, aged 80.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Joseph and Elizabeth. June 26, 1729, aged 2 y., 5 m.
- “ SARAH, dau. of Joseph and Elizabeth. Oct. 2, 1764, aged 27.
- “ EUNICE, “ “ “ “ “ June 11, 1765, aged 25.
- “ Capt. THOMAS. July 29, 1803, aged 74.
- “ SARAH, wife of Capt. Thomas. Feb. 26, 1803, aged 66.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Nathaniel. Oct. 18, 1798, aged 18.
- “ JOSEPH. Aug. 30, 1824, aged 48.
- “ LOIS, wife of Joseph. July 29, 1809, aged 28.
- “ JOSEPH (son of Capt. Joseph, Jr.). Apr. 29, 1800, aged 42.
- “ CHARLES INGERSOLL (son of Nath'l and Mary). Feb. 21, 1820, aged 11.
- “ STEPHEN. Aug. 30, 1821, aged 48.
- BRAY, DANIEL. June 24, 1798, aged 63.
- “ MARY, wid. of Daniel. Sept. 28, 1805, aged 68.
- “ BENJAMIN. June 2, 1808, aged 33.
- “ BENJAMIN, son of Benj. and Margaret H. Jan. 19, 1798, aged 15 m.
- “ ALBERT (son of Benj. and Margaret H). Jan. 1, 1808, aged 7 m.

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

- CHEEVER, WILLIAM. Nov. 29, 1786, aged 34.
- CHIPMAN, MARY, wid. of Henry, son of John Chipman, of Beverly.
June 29, 1801, aged 84.
- COLE, ALEXANDER, mariner. June 27, 1687, aged 34.
- COMFORT, SAMUEL. Mar. 25, 1704, aged about 38.
- CONAN[T], CHRISTIAN, wife of Joshua and dau. to Richard More.
May 30, 1680, aged 28.
- CONKLING, JAMES, son of James and Hannah. June 30, 1807, aged 2
y., 7 m.
- COOK, ELIZABETH, wife of Joseph. Aug. 15, 1799, aged 51.
- “ WILLIAM (from Cambridge; his end was tragical. — *Dr.
Bentley's Records.*) Sept. 27, 1803, aged 50.
- “ REBECCA, wid. of William. May 11, 1824, aged 77.
- “ CAPT. CALEB. June 4, 1837, aged 66.
- “ CALEB, Jr., died at Pulo Penang, Prince of Wales' Island.
Mar. 19, 1837, aged 39.
- COREY, MARY, wife of Giles, Aug. 27, 1684, aged 63.
- COX, MARY, wife of Edward, Sr. Nov. —, 1737, aged 63.
- CLEVELAND, Capt. STEPHEN. Oct. 8, 1801, aged 60.
- “ MARGARET, wife of Stephen. Nov. 27, 1784, aged 39.
- CROMWELL, PHILIP. Mar. 30, 1693, aged 83.
- “ DORATY, wife of Philip. Sept. 27, 1673, aged 67.
- “ MARY, “ “ “ Nov. 14, 1683, aged 72.
- “ JOHN. Sept. 30, 1700, aged near 65.
- CROSBY, PEGGEY, wife of Capt. Nicholas. Sept. 25, 1795, aged 33.
- CROWNINSHIELD, Capt. JOHN, mariner. May 25, 1761, aged 65.
- “ ANSTIS, wid. of Capt. John. Sept. 10, 1774, aged 72 y.
- “ CAPT. JOHN. June 24, 1766, aged 67.
- “ JOHN, son of Capt. Clifford. June 1, 1777, aged 49.
- “ MARY, wife of John. June 4, 1794, aged 66.
- “ Mrs. SARAH (wife of John), dau. of Capt. Daniel and Rachel
Hathorne. Jan. 14, 1829, aged 66. (Her husband was
son of Jacob and Hannah, and died Feb. 19, 1786, aged
24.—*Dr. Bentley.*)
- “ CAPT. CLIFFORD. June 3, 1809, aged 47.
- CUMBS, ELIZABETH, wife of Frederick. Jan. 24, 1800, aged 25.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of Frederick and Abigail. Apr. 20, 1773,
aged 6.
- “ SUSANNA, dau. of Frederick and Lydia. Jan. 1, 1813, aged
2 y.
- DANIEL, STEPHEN. Feb. 14, 1686-7, aged 54.
- “ STEPHEN. Mar. 12, 174-, aged 48.
- DEAN, THOMAS. Feb. 10, 1705, aged 42.

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

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

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

- HATHORNE, SARAH CROWNSHIELD, dau. of Capt. Daniel and Rachel.
Jan. 14, 1829, aged 66.
- “ ELIZABETH, wid. of Joseph. Jan. 19, 1836, aged 88.
- “ EBEN'R. Dec. 5, 1858, aged 69.
- “ CATHERINE, wife of Eben'r. Apr. 6, 1854, aged 50.
- HEROE, ABIGAIL, wife of Rowlen. Feb. 13, 1765, aged 36.
- HERRICK, SARAH. Nov. 28, 1849, aged 62 y., 8 m.
- HEUSSLER, GEORGE. Apr. 3, 1817, aged 66.
- “ ABIGAIL, wife of George. Apr. 21, 1799, aged 46.
- “ ELIZABETH, wid. of George. Mar. 10, 1821, aged 60.
- “ ELIZABETH, dau. of George and Abigail. Nov. 1, 1825, aged 33.
- HERBERT, BENJAMIN. Jan. 20, 1761, aged 51.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of Capt. Benjamin. Oct. 23, 1772, aged 55.
- HIGGINSON, SARAH, wife of Rev. John. July 8, 1675, aged 55. (He died Dec. 9, 1703, aged 92.—First Ch. Rec.).
- “ MARY, wife of Rev. John. Mar. 9, 1708-9, aged 72.
- “ THOMAS, son of John (jr.) and Sarah. Sept. 18, 1678, aged 9 m.
- “ MARGARET, dau. of John (jr.) and Sarah. June 18, 1688, aged 2 y., 2 m. (He died Mar. 23, 1720, aged 73; md., Oct. 9, 1672, Sarah, dau. of Thos. Savage, of Boston. She was buried June 26, 1713).
- “ JOHN, jr. (called 3d, son of John and Sarah). Apr. 26, 1718, aged 42 y., 6 m.
- “ HANNAH, wife of John, Jr. and dau. of Capt. Samuel Gardner. June 24, 1713, aged 37.
- “ FRANCIS, son of John, 3d, and Hannah, born and died Nov. 29, 1705.
- “ HENRY, son of John, 3d, and Hannah. Dec. 1, 1709, aged 14 m., 7 d.
- “ A son and dau. of John, 3d, and Margaret (2d wife) born July 22, 1715, buried next day.
- “ MEHITABLE (dau. of John and Mehitable). July 19, 1840, aged 82.
- HILDRETH, LYDIA K., wife of Alvin. June 26, 1820, aged 24.
- “ LYDIA L., dau. “ “ and Lydia K. Jan. 28, 1822, aged 19 m.
- HILL, BETHIA. May 7, 1689, aged about 33.
- “ PHIPPEN, son of Stephen and Sarah. Oct. 25, 1794, aged 14 m.
- HILLARD, MRS. MARGARET (dau. of Robert and Mary Peele). May 4, 1826, aged 84.
- HIRST, JOHN, son of William and Mary. Oct. 9, 1687, aged 1 y., 9 m.

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

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

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

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

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

[To be continued.]

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

APRIL, 1875.

No. 2.

MEMOIR
OF
BENJAMIN FREDERICK BROWNE,

[READ MONDAY, FEB. 15, 1875.]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He went into business as an apothecary with William

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PROBATE.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

	Oliver Purchis
	Mary & Purchis
Tobijah Perkins	John Bradstreet
John Perkins	Sarah Bradstreet.
Timothy Perkins	John Baker.
	Catherine Baker.
	John Ramsdel ^{his} _{mark}
	Elizabeth Ramsdel ^{her} _{mark}
	Thomas Fiske &
	Rebekah Fiske his
(Pro. Rec'd ii: 11.)	wife

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

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

DEEDS.

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

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

ABRAHAM and Mary had:—

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

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

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

Timothy, b. 29, 4 mo, 1657.

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

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

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

ISAAC and Susanna had:—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

OLD NORFOLK DEEDS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IPSWICH DEEDS.

ABRAHAM OF ROWLEY bought of Geo. Hadley of same town 14 acres of upland, seven acres of said land bounded "by the great River called the Merrimack River." Others who owned next to the various pieces were Geo. Hadley, Benj. Kimball, Rob. and John Hazleton and John Griffin, 20, 4 mo., 1665. ii: 245. He with wife Hannah sold 20 acres of the above purchase of G. H. to Augustis Stedman of Newbury, June 26, 1666. iii: 35.

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

ABRAHAM OF IPSWICH, bought of Daniel Hovey $\frac{1}{2}$ acre south side of the river. iii: 227. Bought of Sam'l Cogswell of Ips. 10 acres of marsh at Chebaque in Ips., 1674. iii: 319. Took Freeman's Oath at Ips., 1677. iv: 166. Witness to deed of land owned by Anthony Crosby, 1678. iv: 201. Gave with John Perkins their deposition in regard to land of Borman, 1666. iv: 284. Bought of Robert Collins of Haverhill $3\frac{3}{4}$ acres, 1679. iv: 304. With wife Hannah sold to Anthony Potter of Ips. $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of thatch bank, 1679. iv: 485. So to Rob. Lord, sen'r, the house and barn, etc., that he had lately bought of Collins, situated in Ips. 1683. iv: 503. He with wife Hannah sold to Benj. Marshall of Ips. 10 acres, south side of Jebacco River, being a part of that farm which was leased of Ips. for 1,000 year dated Sept., 1680, ack'd 1686. v: 226. Abraham sen'r and wife Hannah ordinary keeper, sold to Joseph Fuller, 6 acres at Plumb Island, Ips., 1691. v: 385. An Abraham aged about 50 years, in 1691, testified in regard to the beach south side of Little Neck in Ips., of which he says he had been acquainted 41 years or more. v: 503. See (Abraham) ALICE sold land previous to 1655. i: 223.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SALEM SERIES.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOHN, of Wenham, in Co. with Daniel Kellam and John Gilbert of Ips., yeoman, bought of D. Epps two or three hundred acres of the land that was granted to Sam'l Symonds, of Ips., bounded southerly on Wenham line and Perkins' land, and easterly on land of K. and Gilbert, Aug., 1693. 119. John of Topsfield, farmer, bought of James Russill, Esq., of Charlestown, 500 acres, together with 28 acres of meadow in Lynn, with house, etc., which land had formerly belonged to three generations of the "Holiock" family, viz.: Elizer,¹ Elizer,² and Edward³, and the meadow to the Bancrofts, Apr. 21, 1694. x: 189. He had a right to dry fish on a beach in Ips. x: 16L.

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

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

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

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

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

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

RETURN OF MARRIAGES, BIRTHS AND DEATHS.

MARRIAGES IN TOPSFIELD.

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

Thomas m. Sarah Wallis, June 6, 1683.

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

Luke m. Martha Conant, May 31, 1688.

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

BIRTHS IN TOPSFIELD.

Mr. William (no wife mentioned) had

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

Thomas (no wife mentioned) had

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

John (no wife mentioned) had

Thomas, b. Nov. 4, 1667.

Tobijah and Sarah had

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

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

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

Elisha and Catherine or Katherine (from 1690).

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

Thomas and Sarah had

Sarah, b. Jan. 20, 1684.

Timothy and Edna had

Timothy, b. Sept. 21, 1687.

DEATHS IN TOPSFIELD.

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

MARRIAGES IN IPSWICH.

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

BIRTHS IN IPSWICH.

Jacob (no wife mentioned) had
 Mary, b. May 14, 1658. Matthew, b. June 23, 1665.
 Jacob, b. —, 1662.

Abraham (no wife mentioned until Aug., 1676) had
 Hannah, b. Mar. 7, 16[62?].
 Abraham, b. Aug. 5, 1665.
 John, b. Feb. 25, 1667. { Mother Hannah and recorded at request
 John, b. Aug. 23, 1676. { of Mrs. Hannah Perkins.
 Abraham, b. Dec. 22, 1685 (mother Hannah).

Matthew and Esther had
 Matthew, b. Apr. 14, 1687.

Jacob, Jr. (no wife mentioned) had
 John, b. Jan. 31, 1668; died Apr. 6, 1669.
 Phillip, a daughter, b. — 20 [1669?].
 Phillip, a daughter, b. Nov. 28, 1670.
 Francis, b. Dec. 18, 1672.
 Beamsly, b. Apr. 7, 1673.
 Wesley, b. Mar. 13, 1674.
 Sarah, b. May 18, 1677.

Isaac (no name of mother given) had
 John, b. July 1, 1670. Jacob, b. Nov. 9, 1673.
 Abraham, b. Sept. 15, 1671. Elizabeth, b. May 29 [1680?].
 Hannah, b. Jan. 31, 1673. Elizabeth, b. May 29, 1681.
 Isaac, b. May 23, 1676. Mary, b. Mar. 27, 1687.

Sarg't Jacob, no wife (mentioned) had
 Joseph, b. June 21, 1674. Jarvis, b. May 15, 1677.

Samuel and (Hanna [West?], June 1685) had
 Samuel, b. Nov. 26, 1679.
 Eben'r, b. Feb. 3, 1681.
 Elizabeth, b. June 23, 1685 (mother Hanna.)

Nathaniel and Judith had
 Jacob, b. Feb. 15, 1685.

Isaac of Chebacco had
 Mary, b. Mar. 27, 1687.

DEATHS IN IPSWICH.

Elizabeth, wife of Q. M. John, Sept. 27, 1684.
 ———, wife of Sarg't Jacob, Feb. 12, 1685.
 Q. M. John died Dec. 14, 1686.

SALEM.

Luke and Martha Conant m. May 31, 1688.

NEWBURY.

Elisha and Catherine had
John, b. Aug. 2, 1685.

William and Elizabeth had
Rebecka, b. Sept. 4, 1685.

RECORDS OF JUDICIAL COURT.

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

DAVID on the jury Nov. 25, 1684.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued from page 80.

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

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

- PICKMAN, BENJAMIN (born Bristol, Eng., 1645), d. Dec. 31, 1708, aged 63.
- “ ELIZABETH (wid. of Benj.). Dec. 19, 1727, aged 77.
- “ Capt. JOSHUA, mariner (son of Benj. and Elizth). Jan. 24, 1750, aged 69.
- “ ABIGAIL, wife of Joshua, and dau. of Nehemiah and Abigail Willoughby. Aug. 24, 1710, aged 30.
- PITMAN, MARY, wife of Capt. John. May 31, 1802, aged 42.
- “ THOMAS SIMMONS, son of Capt. John and Mary. Jan. 17, 1792, aged 3 m.
- PRATT, JOHN. Mar. 12, 1729-30, aged 65.
- “ Mrs. MARGARET (wid. of John). Mar. 22, 1759, aged 87.
- “ ELIAS, son of John and Margaret. Nov. 17, 1706, aged 4.
- “ Mrs. MAVERICK. Jan. 23, 1763, aged 49.
- “ Mrs. HANNAH. Feb. 9, 1765, aged 53.
- “ Mrs. LYDIA (footstone).
- PRESCOTT, Mrs. MARY. Sept. 1, 1825, aged 59.
- PROCTOR, ELIZABETH, wife of Thorndike. Dec. 15, 1834, aged 65.
- PULLING, EDWARD, attorney-at-law. Dec. 1, 1799, aged 44.
- “ LOIS, widow of Edward. Nov. 4, 1818, aged 53.
- PUTNAM, Dr. EBENEZER. Aug. 12, 1788, aged 70.
- RAMSDELL, HULDAH, wife of Capt. William. June 8, 1801, aged 35.
- “ ALLEN, son of Wm. and Huldah. July 6, 1800, aged 1 y., 4 m.
- “ WILLIAM, “ “ “ “ May 14, 1801, aged 9.
- “ GEORGE, “ “ “ “ Oct. 23, 1802, aged 2.
- RAND, MARY, widow. Sept. 3, 1819, aged 84.
- RANTOUL, MARY, wid. of Capt. Robert. July 17, 1816, aged 61.
- “ WILLIAM, son of Mary. July 7, 1816, aged 22.
- REED, ELIZABETH HOLYOKE, dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth. July 22, 1793, aged 2 y., 2 wks.
- “ MARY, wife of Daniel, Jr. Sept. 29, 1796, aged 20 y., 6 m.
- “ PAUL, of Boothbay. Jan. 21, 1799, aged 64.
- “ HENRY, son of Benj. and Seaby. Oct. 11, 1810, aged 1 y., 11 d.
- RICHARDSON, JOSHUA. Feb. 26, 1774, aged 28.
- “ NATHANIEL. Jan. 25, 1796, aged 54. His death was caused by the pressure of a building he was assisting to remove.
- “ BETSY, dau. of Nath^l and Eunice, b. Dec. 24, 1788, d. Dec. 5, 1789.
- ROBINSON, Mrs. HANNAH. Oct. 12, 1828, aged 80.
- ROGERS, JOHN. Nov. 30, 1715, aged 68.
- “ ELIZABETH, wife of John. Feb. 11, 1713-14, aged 68 y., 5 m.

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

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

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

- WARD, ANNE, dau. of Miles, jr., and Elizabeth. May 2, 1737, aged 1.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of Miles, jr. Apr. 13, 1737, aged 27.
 " NATHANIEL, A. M., late Librarian of Harv. Coll. Oct. 12, 1768, aged 23.
 " JOSHUA, Esq. Dec. 2, 1779, aged 80.
 " RUTH, wid. of Joshua, Esq. June 5, 1787, aged 73.
 " DEBORAH, wife of Benj. (Sr.). Apr. 6, 1736, aged 35.
 " BENJAMIN (son of Benj. and Deborah). Aug. 11, 1806, aged 82 y.
 " MARY, wife of Benjamin. Apr. 30, 1796, aged 73.
 " ELIZABETH, wife of (Dea.) Benj. Oct. 17, 1797, aged 59.
 (He was a son of Eben'r, d. June 11, 1812, aged 73.)
 " MARY, 2d wife of Dea Benjamin. Dec. 29, 1810, aged 61.
 " EBEN'R (son of Miles). Mar. 3, 1791, aged 80.
 " RACHEL, wife of Eben'r. Jan. 7, 1789, aged 71.
 " SAMUEL, Esq.. July 31, 1812, aged 73.
 " PRISCILLA, wife of Samuel, Esq. June 2, 1822, aged 72.
 " JOHN DODGE, son of Steph. and Abigail, and grandson of Sam'l Ward, b. June 6, 1818, d. Jan. 16, 1822.
 " HANNAH, dau. of John. Dec. 30, 1795, aged 18.
- WATSON, ABRAHAM. July 6, 1790, aged 78.
 " ELIZABETH, wid of Abraham. Oct. 11, 1797, aged 85.
- WEBB, PETER. Feb. 12, 1717, aged 59.
 " RUTH, wife of Michael. June 24, 1790, aged 22.
 " Miss PRISCILLA. Mar. 8, 1856, aged 80.
- WELCOME, ELIZABETH. Oct. 20, 1793, aged 20.
- WHITE, HENRY, son of Capt. Henry and Phebe. Sept. 16, 1778, aged 14.
 " JOHN (jr.). Oct. 26, 1792, aged 70.
 " ABIGAIL, wife of John, Jr. Aug. 2, 1776, aged 50.
- WHITFORD, REBECCA, dau. of Sam'l and Rebecca. Apr. 14, 1744, aged 6 y.
- WHITTEMORE, ELIZABETH, wife of Samuel. Oct. 23, 1799, aged 52.
- WIGINGS, JOSEPH. Nov. 4, 1821, aged 77.
 " MARY, wife of Joseph. Aug. 11, 1821, aged 67.
 " RICHARD, son of Jos. and Jane, b. Apr. 4, 1784, d. Sept. 16, 1816.
- WILLARD, Dea. JOSIAH (son of Dea. Simon). Apr. 7, 1731, near 49.
 " JANE, wife of Dea. Josiah. Apr. 25, 1726, aged 44.
 " MARTHA, wife of Dea. Simon. Oct. 14, 1721, aged 72.
- WILLIAMS, Capt. GEORGE, b. Salem, Feb. 10, 1731, O. S., d. June 12, 1797.
 " HANNAH, wife of George. Oct. 30, 1756, aged 26.
 " Capt. SAMUEL. Oct. 11, 1801, aged 65.

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

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

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

Head Quarters Boston June 8th 1777.

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

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

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

Thomas Crafts, Col.

Paul Revere, Lt. Col.

Thomas Melville, Maj.

Increase Newhall, Adj.

William Russell, Serg. Maj.

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

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

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

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

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

By Order of Col.^o Crafts.

Increase Newhall Adjutant.

Head Quarters Boston June 13.th 1777.

Ordered

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

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

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

By Order of Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston June 14.th 1777.

Ordered.

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

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

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

Cap.^t Winthrop Gray Judge Advocate.

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

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

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

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

Cap.^t Winthrop Gray Judge Advocate.

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

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

Jon.^a W. Edes President.

I approve of the Oppinion of the Court.

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

The Court is dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston June 18.th 1777.

Ordered

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

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

Orders for the Centinal at the Colonel's.

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

Head Quarters June 20.th 1777.

Orderd.

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

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

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

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

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

By Order Col.^o Crafts

Increase Newhall Adju.^t

Head Quarters Boston June 22.^d 1777.

Order'd.

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

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

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

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

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

The Adjutant will send an Orderly Serjeant to the

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

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

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

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

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

Head Quarters Boston. 27th June 1777.

Order'd

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

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

Leiu^t Hinkley.

July 27th, 1777.

Sir.

You are ordered to hold your detachment in readiness

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

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

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

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

Lieu^t Lambert.

27th July 1777.

Sir.

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

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

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

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

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 1.st 1777.

Order'd.

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

By Order Col.^o P. Revere.

Head Quarters Boston July 1.st 1777.

Order'd

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

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

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

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

By Order of Col.^o Paul Revere.

Head Quarters Boston 2^d July, 1777.

Order'd. • Signals for the Castle.

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

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

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d. 1777.

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

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

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d 1777.

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

Ordered.

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

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

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

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

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

Head Quarters Boston July 3.^d 1777.

Orders.

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

N. B. The Overseers of the Poor is to pass in and out.
P.^r Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Order'd.

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

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

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

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Ordered.

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

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

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

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 5.th 1777.

Order'd.

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

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

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 6.th 1777.

Order'd.

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

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

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

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 9.th 1777.

Lieu.^t Prince

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

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

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

You are to draw your Provision of Mr. Salsbury.

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

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

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

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

Head Quarters Boston July 11.th 1777.

Order'd.

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

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

Judge Advocate Leiu.^t White

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

July 12.th 1777.

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

President Maj.^r Tho.^s Melvill.

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

Judge Advo.^t Leiu^t White

Prisoners Crime Desertion.

Pleads not Guilty.

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

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

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

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

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

The Court having duly Considered the Evidence are

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

Sign'd Tho.^s Melvill, president.

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

Head Quarters Boston July 12.th 1777.

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

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

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 13.th 1777.

Ordered.

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

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

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

That the Court Martial held Yesterday be Dissolved.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston July 19.th 1777.

Order'd.

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

Head Quarters Boston July 27.th 1777.

Guards as Usual.

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

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

T. Crafts Col.^o Artill.^y

Head Quarters Boston July 27.th 1777.

Order'd.

That their be a General Court Martial held at the

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

Major Tho.^s Melvill President.

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

Judge Advocate Cap.^t Gray

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

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

President, Major Tho.^s Melvill.

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

Judge Advocate Cap.^t Gray.

Prisoner's Crime Sleeping on his Post.

Pleads Guilty.

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

Tho.^s Melvill, president.

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

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

Head Quarters Boston July 29.th 1777.

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

Head Quarters Boston July 31.st 1777.

Orders for Hull.

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

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

Orders for y^e Castle.

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

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

Order'd.

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

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

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

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

Ordered.

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

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

Head Boston Aug.^t 1.st 1777.

Order'd.

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

By Order T. Crafts, Esq.

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

Order'd

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

Cap.^t Todd, President.

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

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t Audeburt.

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

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

Boston Aug.^t 4.th 1777.

President Cap.^t Todd.

Cap.^t Lieu.^t Meinziez

Lieu.^t White

Members

Lieu.^t Bell

Lieu.^t Moores

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t Audeburt.

Prisoners Names.

Edmond Morse, Emanuel Thomas.

Crimes.

Corporal Edmond Morse for leaving Guard, pleads
Guilty.

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

Pleads not Guilty.

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

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

Will^m Todd President.

I approve of the Sentence of the Court on Corp.¹
Edmond Morse, and Order it to be put in Execution
immediately.

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

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

Ordered

That the Court be Disolved.

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

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

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

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

Per Order Col.* Thos. Crafts.

[To be continued.]

GLEANINGS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE
COUNTY OF ESSEX.¹

No. 3.

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In presence of
 Hillyard Veren
 John Gedney

J. Browne
 William Stevens"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Before us,

William Browne,

Bartholemew Gedney,

Assistants."

(B. 5, p. 498.)

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

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

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

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

(B. 5, p. 497.)

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

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

William Browne,
Bartholemew Gedney,
Assistants."

"Essex ss. Anno Regni Regis Georgii Tertii
Magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Decimo Quarto.

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

ORDERED, by this Court, & the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas, now sitting in Salem, that the following Address be presented to his Excellency Thomas Gage, Esq., Capt. General & Governor, &c., over his Majestie's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Viz'.

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

May it please your Excellency.

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

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

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

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

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

PAPERS RELATING TO THE REV. SAMUEL SKELTON.

COMMUNICATED BY W. P. UPHAM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 8 of Aprill 1629.

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

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

ffrancis Higgeson,
Samuell Skelton.

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

MR. SKELTONS ACCOMPT WITH THE COMPANIE.

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

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

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

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

	lb	s	d	
Item w 9 ^{lb} of Iron att 3 ^d is	0	02	3	} lb s d
It. w one syth	0	03	0	
It. w one fishing line	0	03	0	
It. w 30 pound ocum	0	07	6	
It. w 2000 Nails 6 ^d w C	0	10	0	
It. w 660 Nails 10 ^d w C	0	05	5	
It. w 1 reame of paper	0	10	0	} 02-01- 2
Item borrowed of C.P Endicot of ye Comp ^s .				
7 yds of bays att 2 ^s 6 ^d w yrd is	00	17	06	
halfe a elne of ffustian att	00	00	10	
It. 2 yards & half of yellow Carsey 3 ^s 4 ^d	00	08	4	} 03=07=10

Suma to l^{is} 31-19- 5

Ite 2 gall of Metheglen 8^s 0-08- 0

REC^d OF MR WINTHROP GOVERN.^R

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

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

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

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

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

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

MR. SKELTON IS CREDITOR, VIZ.

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

Now de Increase

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

JULY, 1876.

No. 3.

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

COMMUNICATED BY WM. P. UPHAM.

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

The shutting up the port of Boston by the Boston Port

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Boston, May 16th, 1775.

Dear Sir :

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

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

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

(Endorsed by O. W.)

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

Watertown July 13th 1775.

Dear Sir :

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

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

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

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

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

May the happy time come speedily when we may return to our native town in the enjoyment of peace & happiness; but if we must fight it out first I see no reason to despond. I expect to share the fate of my Country & shall endeavour to possess a state of mind for whatever may be y^e event

I am affectionately &c.

John Pitts.

(Endorsed by O. W.)

Watertown July

M.^r John Pitts Letter.

In a letter to Mrs. Wendell from her cousin Hannah

⁴The British forces.

Lincoln,⁵ June 9, 1775, are the following references to the troubles of the time :

The pleasure I received to-day in finding your brother⁶ at Papa's on my return from meeting is more safely conceived than expressed; therefore I shall only say that I was very glad & proceed to let you know that I could feel at the relation of your flight almost as much as if I had been with you, for we here have experienced so many alarms as to make us know how to sympathize with such of our Bretheren as are under similar circumstances. Your Brother has just said this is but the dawning of sorrows—if he is not mistaken (tho' I sincerely wish he may be) what calamities have we yet to dread? What can Great Britain do more to distress us? Can they have sharper [quivers] to goad us with than what we have already felt? How, without permission from above can they proceed to afflict us more? * * * * *

What a revolution in a few months! I dare not think of what has been; then how shall I endure more? I want to write all that has happened since the 19th of April in our little Circle, but time won't allow; therefore I shall only remind you of the advice given by our favorite Young, not to abandon fortitude; it must be our support let our trials be ever so severe.

Mrs. Margaret Phillips, wife of William Phillips and mother of John Phillips, the first mayor of Boston, writes to her brother Oliver Wendell, from Watertown, June 21, 1775, four days after the battle of Bunker Hill, a letter which shows the energy characteristic of the women of the time.

Dear Brother,

We have been in great trouble for this week past. On Friday last M.^r Apleton & wife with his

⁵ Hannah Lincoln was the daughter of Josiah Quincy, brother of Dorothy (Quincy) Jackson the mother of Mrs. Wendell.

⁶ Jonathan Jackson.

Brother brought up Doc.^t Apleton⁷ to tarry till the beginning of this week when M.^r Apleton was to return & carry him to Andover. He accordingly returned a Wednesday but the doctor is so low that he cannot be removed. On Saturday we had an alarm & on Saboth morning Sister Wendell⁸ tho't it best to go further off, but I could not think of leaving Doc.^t Apleton & Sister Hunt. The children beg'd hard to go away. I at length consented to go with sister Wendell to Weston,⁹ where I left her with Sarah & the children at Baldwin's & returned home at night alone; but on Monday (as Sister Wendell intended to go further to the Westward & the children were at a Tavern) I thought best to bring them back. We are in constant fear of some alarm. I have had a very kind invitation from Springfield both from Coll. Worthington & M.^{rs} Dwight, another from Coll. Porter to Hadley. Sister Wendell has returned but intends to go westward. I am greatly Perplexed haveing Doc.^t Apleton so low & Sister Hunt to take care of in addition to Seven that I must take care of which is more than I am able to do. * * * *

During a journey to the South in the previous fall and winter Jonathan Jackson wrote many letters to Oliver Wendell, from which I take the following extracts. He writes from Bowdoin's Ferry, Virginia, Dec. 15, 1774, that he had been a fortnight in reaching that place from Philadelphia, 300 miles.

"Pomp is in good health & behaves very well & my horses as yet hold out pretty well, tho' hay is not to be met with here. They have had none for 150 miles back & I expect not to meet with any again, till the Spring, when I have got back into Maryland; the Western shore their feed is Corn-Blades & Oats. As for Politicks, or rather what is going on in your northern World, I have

⁷This was the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton, D. D., for sixty-six years minister of the First Church at Cambridge. He was born at Ipswich, Dec. 9, 1693.

⁸Catherine (Brattle) Wendell, wife of John Mico Wendell, a brother of Oliver.

⁹About six miles west of Watertown.

not heard any thing for a long while : every Body in this country is solicitous to know in what situation you are, & whether like to hold out ; thro'out this shore of Maryland & Virginia, they appear very hearty in the Cause. * * * * I have been very genteelly treated from place to place by the Gent.ⁿ on this Shore, who handed me from one to t'other generally by letter. The gentleman who keeps this Ferry is a kinsman of Mr. Bowdoin's of Boston & served his time with Sam^l Hughes (the hard & sharp) he fondly enquired after your M.^r Appleton & the two Amorys his quondam Associates. * * * I lodge at a public ho. on his Plantation which he set up to accomodate strangers."

Charlestown¹⁰ 24.th Jan^y 1775.

My dear Friend

I have the pleasure to date from this place which I reached two days ago. * * * * my horses are mere skeletons. I long to hear in what situation you all are, from many flying Reports, I fear something of the violent kind has or is nearly taking place with you. May God preserve you all in Peace. My cowardly heart sometimes tells me I am better away ; but I often wish eagerly to be among you, that I may know & see the worst. It would give me great pleasure if all the Tory Gentry with you had passed the Extent of Country I have this Winter, to have seen how staunch & fixed all kinds of People are to the American Cause. Even Custom House officers this way don't hesitate to scan the Minister's measures & condemn him. If you once draw the sword in good earnest (w.^{ch} Heaven avert) may you not stop till you have compleated a Disbandry of all the Soldiers, to people the Country ; & I would advise re-shipping all the Officers in one Bottom to their native Country, upon their Paroles of honour never to return here again upon a like Errand. * * * *

I am with great Regard your affectionate Brother

J. Jackson.

In a letter to Mrs. Wendell of the same date he says he fears matters are gathering to a crisis at Boston, and asks her to make Newbury her "refuge."

His son Edward Jackson writes at his father's request from

Newburyport, April [16th ?] 1775.
Sunday Evening.

Dear Uncle :

I write you at my Father's desire, as he is so much taken up with public affairs that he can't find time to do that nor scarcely anything else. He says that he will send you furniture for two rooms p.^r first opportunity. My mama & children are going to Exeter to-morrow, they would have gone to-day had it been fair weather. I had not time to tell you anything you went off so soon after I got here a Friday. I came out of Boston a Wednesday morning with hopes to get a passage to Salem in the Stage, but it did not go neither cou'd I get a horse in the Town; however I got to Salem with walking part of the way. I left Mrs. Phillips well that morning; her Children were at Cambridge; she was in as good spirits as cou'd be expected, as was Lydia also. I did not bring any of my Aunt's things, I was in such a hurry lest the stage should go. My reason for staying at Salem so long was because M.^r Appleton wanted the horse & chaise. This Town have chose a Committee of two to meet the Committee from Salem and other Sea Ports, to determine what is best to be done concerning them in this critical Situation. We have no late Intelligence from the army. Marshfield is certainly burnt as we see it from our house, but by which party is uncertain. We are all very well and in good Spirits and wish you may be so. We all join in love & good wishes to you, my Aunt & two Cousins. [I] remain Sir, your dutifull Nephew

Edw.^d Jackson.

Do, Sir, desire my Aunt to send home a riding Hood my Father brought to her as it belongs to Eunice.

Mr. Jackson writes from

Exeter, Tuesday Morn.^g 6 o'clock.

D.^r Sir :

I got here safe last night with my little Flock & if it was the next most necessary thing would come to you to-day, to confer upon placing you all together or near each other, but I am hurrying home to dispatch a Team I suppose is gone along and the most necessary things I chose to have immediately gone, as we may reasonably expect an armed Ship with Requisitions severe eno' to say no more of 'em. Marbleh'd had them made to 'em on Saturday, & it is reported have submitted. Salem expects the same Demand every moment & they are moving w'th all precipitation, & we have no Reason to expect less. As to the Armys they neither of 'em have any Idea of giving way that I can find, but I believe no capital Movement is soon to be looked for. Mrs. Emery is confined to her Chamber. They asked for you & expected you, & if you cannot find a comfortable Retirement, I would have you put along here & take up for a few days at Folsoms ; but by the Return of the Bearer, if I can get one to you to-day, do write Hannah your situation & whether she may be comfortable along side you with her two children, Maid & black Girl & Boy & her nurse soon. With my tender love to my Sister & your little Folks & with a recommendation to you both to keep your spirits good, I am D.^r Sir,

Your affectionate Fr.^d & Bro.^r

J. Jackson.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell at _____

(Endorsed) Jon.^a Jackson & his Son Ned's Letter, 1775.

Thursday Morn.^g Apr. 27.th 1775.

Dear Sir :

I fear you think I've quite forgot you but my more urgent Necessitys have hitherto kept me *other* ways. Hannah sent over her Boy last night to let me know where you were and how. I have sent one load of Goods

over to Exeter & shall send another Tomorrow & follow it myself so as to be there at night if possible. Hannah seems inclined to stay at Exeter, at least till she is well again. In the Confusion of moving, our Things got so mixed, that without making the Rendezvous of them at Exeter, it will be impossible almost to sort them for her & you. I wish on Saturday morn.^g, if the Weather is good, you would be early at Exeter, leaving Polly with the Children & we will engage one Team with the most necessary things to get to you by (Saturday) night, & I will ride over with you to Kingston—this is upon supposition you are situated to your mind or can be, *there*. Our apprehensions are so lulled, we begin to think this place secure, & *a fortiori* Exeter, but I propose neither of them to you unless your mind is fully composed; indeed 'till public affairs have taken a more certain Turn, we know not what may happen. I inclose you a Letter from Brimmer with the happy news that our Friends in Boston are like to be liberated. I send you the last Paper, with their last most cruel but artfull Act, & you'll find they are framing another for some of the Southern Governments. The Reinforcement from England is hourly expected, but we can get no certainty of their numbers. Cap.^t Callahan's Papers all went to Boston. Cap.^t Lyde arrived yesterday at Cape Anne. His papers have gone to our Congress. Our Cousin, J. Quincy, was a passenger with Lyde & the report is, died two hours after he got ashore with a Consumption; if so, he is gone from trouble eno', I think. Our Congress have determined upon an army of 30 thous.^d Men, for the four Govern.^{mts}, of which we raise 13 or 14 thous.^d The Inlisting Orders are issued; they talk of a paper Currency to support the Expence, the worst manœuvre I've yet heard of—Heaven avert it. Nance can best tell you how and when she got here. I hurry her to you, Polly can guess why. My tenderest love to her, your little ones & yourself.

Excuse me further,

your affectionate Friend & Bro.^r

J. Jackson.

Give my Compliments to M.^r Noyes (& his lady, tho' unknown to her). Mrs. Bromfield is in your Neighborhood at Kensington, & so is old Mrs. Lowell. Mr. Bromfield set out yesterday for Boston to take care of his mother &c, & John Tracy for his Mistress. Dispatch Ned as soon as possible. What you want, *write* by him for.

(Endorsed by O. W.) J. J.'s Letter.

The following letter is from Simon Tufts, son of Dr. Simon Tufts of Medford (see N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, vol. 9, p. 117).

Boston May 1775.

Sir :

I have made several Attempts last Month to forward a Letter to you but miscarried; hope this will arrive hereby to acquaint you that amidst the Confusion distress & difficulty of the times, I have remained here till yet. As to your Part of the Store, I have kept it Shut and my own great part of the Time since the last Quarter for want of any kind of use or employ, owing to the above Reasons. As most of my Friends & acquaintance are gone & going out of Town I expect to be one of the Number; if so shall leave the Keys of your part of the Store and those of M.^{rs} Wendell's either with M.^r Jacob Wendell or at your House. Otherwise if I stay will do as much as is in my Power in the Care of your Property within my Sphere. This accompanys a Letter from my Friend M.^r Henry Prentiss per Cap.^t Hammond, tho' suppose you have rec.^d later.

If I could have had any Advice from you, would have let your part of the Store if any application had been made, but now there is not the least probability. May the Supreme Disposer of all Events & director of all Men & things appear for the Relief of this unhappy & distress'd Capital and relieve us from our present Confusions & Disorders & avert those Evils we fear impending on us. I am with due Respect, Sir,

Your very obedient & oblidg'd Friend & Humb. Serv.^t

S. Tufts.

P. S. The Letter referred to is the first M.^r Prentiss wrote after his arrival at y^e W. Indies and as his arriv'd at Newburyport, it may not be sent. Cap.^t Freeman had took out the Letter for M^{rs} Ruthy.

(Endorsed) M.^r Simon Tufts Letter May 1775.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell at Newburyport.

Mr. Wendell was concerned with Nathaniel Appleton, and also with Henry Prentiss, in mercantile business. They were fortunate in securing the services of a friend and neighbor of Mr. Wendell, James Lovell, of Boston, to take care of their property, which was now in great danger of injury and depredation. There are a number of letters from these correspondents relating to their business affairs and the protection and removal of goods, furniture, etc., extracts from which are here given.

Nathaniel Appleton was at the time living in Salem with his brother John. They were sons of Rev. Dr. Appleton of Cambridge, already mentioned. Nathaniel was a member of the first Committee of Correspondence and a zealous patriot during the Revolutionary struggle. He was a distinguished opponent of the slave trade.¹¹ John Appleton was a successful merchant in Salem. In his store the celebrated Count Rumford (Benjamin Thompson) was an apprentice from 1766 to 1769.¹²

Henry Prentiss was the son of Rev. Joshua Prentiss of Holliston, who married for his second wife Margaret, the daughter of Rev. Dr. Appleton, and the sister of the above named Nathaniel. He was a captain in the Revolutionary Army, and had been before a sea captain.¹³

James Lovell was for some years master of the South Grammar School in Boston. His residence during the

¹¹ See Appleton Memorial, p. 31.

¹² See Ellis' Life of Count Rumford, p. 16.

¹³ See The Prentiss Family, p. 110.

Revolution was on the estate where the Parker House now stands, and his family witnessed, on the housetop, the burning of Charlestown during the battle of Bunker Hill. He was imprisoned in the Boston jail, Gen. Howe having discovered a prohibited correspondence proving his adherence to the Revolutionary cause. During his imprisonment his devoted wife was daily accustomed to convey his food to the prison door.¹⁴ He was carried to Halifax on the evacuation, but was exchanged in 1776. He was afterwards a member of the Continental Congress, Collector, and, for a long time, Naval Officer.

The following are the letters referred to, arranged in the order of their dates.

Salem, Jan. 10th, 1775.

Mr. Wendell

Hope you got home safe and found all well. I have this day sent by Mr. Henderson's Sleds seven casks pressed Head q.^t 446 Gall.^s and also 6 casks by Young's Sleds 324 Gall.^s the particular Guages have forwarded to Nicolls. I have sold Mr. Rob.^t Jinkins of Boston 10 Boxes Candles, to be deliver.^d tomorrow morning. Cap.^t Bruce has spoken to me for 20 more i. e. 40 in all to be delivered begin.^g next week, hope you will be able to send me a quantity down this week—do enjoin Nicols in packing the boxes that he fill up the Crevaces with paper to keep them from moving as much as possible. I have got some boards in my Pasture barn, if you want for boxes you may take 'em, the chief of 'em are 1½ inch boards or planks, perhaps they may be sawed to advantage these scarce times. Presume our children are at Boston by this time, hope Thomy will not be troublesome. I wrote Nath. a letter this morning, if he has not got it let him apply to Cap.^t Hood. I Rec.^d an order this day from Mr. Russell to ship the Oil to Plymouth. Don't forget to send down the Candles; in hast, all well, y.^r friend N. A.

¹⁴Loring, in the Hundred Boston Orators (See Drake's Old Landmarks of Boston, p. 65) (also see N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. 19, p. 257 (note)).

P. S. do inquire of Mr. Hewes whether he does sell for 2-6 as I have had it affirmed by Mr. Jinkins, and consult with him what is best to be done as to price.

P. S. you need not mention Jinkins name, but you.¹¹ do as you please.

P. S. please to tell Nat. to go and see Jinny Hewes and know how she does and whether Mrs. Hovey purposes to continue in Town. .

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell
Merch.^t

In Boston
Near the Kings Chapel.

(Endorsed) Salem Jan. 10.th 1775

Nath.¹ Appleton's Letter.

Fryday Morn.^s Mch. 30, 1775.

Sir

I Rec.^d yours last evening. I should rather sell the Oil than ship it, am sorry you did not strike immediately with Mr. Lloyd for Oil from Salem, as I am now fearful that it will be too late as *Laha* is most ready to sail, hope you will git an order immediately (if not allready) to ship as much as you can, as to the Lond.^o vessel it is uncertain whether she will take any more freight but shall do my best—as to times being dark I don't know that it is yet so dark as to stop our business, let us proceed on regular and leave the event. Y.^{rs} in hast,

N. A.

P. S. best body Oil is sold here £40 L. Mo. You'll perceive in Alp.^{bt} mem.^o that Mr. Russell owes ab.^t £65. I believe if you could git an ord.^t on Mr. Curwin the Deputy Impost master, he would pay it. Cap.^t Laha sails next Tuesday and if advised tomorrow, he will reserve freight room for 2 or 3 Tons, he says Mr. Lloyd told him he believed he should ship some Oil by him.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell, Merch.^t
In Boston.

(Endorsed) Salem, March 30.th 1775.

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem, March 30.th 1775.S.^r

I wrote you yesterday about Laha bound to Halifax. I understand that he will sail in a few days, was in hopes to hear.^d something from you before now, respecting this Oil for Halifax & shiping our Oil to London. Cap.^t Brown for London is nearly full. I have bou.^t 5 or 6 Ton head but don't know how to pay for it unless I draw on Heyley & Hopkins, or receive some from Newburyport. We have just heard of a number of soldiers marching out of Boston this morning, but don't learn upon what design. All well, in hast. Y.^r Friend & Serv.^t

N. Appleton.

I have not had a line from you since you left Salem.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell, Merch.^t

In Boston.

(Endorsed) Salem, March 30.th 1775.

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem, Apr. 10.th Monday Morn.^sS.^r

Having so good an opp.^o of writing by Deacon Boynton, I improve it to let you know I wrote you particularly last Saturday by the young man that lives with Mr. Benj.ⁿ Andrews, to which I hope to receive a reply this forenoon, I want your opinion of Drawing and whether as much as we can. I understand severall are moving, let me know what you purpose to do, and all other particulars that occur to your mind. I am exceeding anxious about the Congress. I heartily pray you may be directed to that which God will bless for the deliverance of America from her present troubles, & tho' at present there is an impenetrable darkness that involves us, yet I have strong faith that light will yet arise. I have allways seem.^d to think it would come from some unexpected quarter; let us trust and pray & do our duty & leave the event. Y.^r Friend,

N. A.

(Endorsed) Mr. Nath.^l Appleton's Letter.

Salem 15.th April, 1775.S.^r

Hope you had a good journey & are better in health. Yesterday arrived Cap.^t Collings from Lond.ⁿ brings some interesting news, inclosed is some of the particulars taken off by Mr. Hall who had the papers but a short time. The Charm seems to be broke, how far we shall be able to comply with the requisitions can't say, but hope something will arrise out of it that will restore peace; by present appearances our Port is to remain shut, but I can't think our friends in England will be easy 'till they git the Port open. I believe we shall have no fighting this season. I have rec.^d a letter from Harrisons, they had not sold the Oil 13.th Jan.^y Bro. Haven delivered that Letter to Mr. Wentworth which offer'd him credit & Mr. Wentworth has wrote us since & sent for 50 Boxes. I shall draw on G. Hayley for £200 sterl.^g fav.^d [A. T.] & Rogers; shall git £200 L. M.^o insured on Oil in Brown, hope to hear from you soon. I have wrote incoherent as I am in great haste. Mrs. Dockwood the bearer just going away and I preparing [] last night that [] day — Mr. J. — [] we are all pre [].

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell

at Mr. Jon. Jackson's

In Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Salem, April 15.th 1775

N. Appleton's Letter.

Salem May 1.st 1775.Dear S.^r:

I wrote you yesterday, but in so much hast I don't recollect what I wrote. Lidia, your young woman, came to us last night, & Mingo who informs me that the Works are stoped as Mrs. Phillips had the old horse the day after the battle to send ab.^t her children and could not git in again. Nicol's is working up the refined stuf. I should be glad of your advice where it will be best to place our candles & movable stock. As to Cap.^t Erving,

perfectly fearless of the Consequences. An ill Turn, of a most violent Diarhea, from being too long in a damp place, has confirm'd Doct.^r Gardners advice to me not to go into the Trenches, where my whole Soul lodges nightly. How then can I be more actively serviceable to the Friends who think with me, than by keeping disagreeable post among a Set of Villains who would willingly destroy what those Friends leave behind them.

Once more, about y.^r Health. Newbury is not a place for you. The people there are in Fears like Boston Folks. Come to Cambridge and recruit y.^r Spirits. Think as little as you can about any other Thing but the future happy Days of America, which are fast coming up the great wheel. 3 times 30 Days will make a Sampson of you, if you will only patch yourself up for the present. Will Britain see that we count Seaports and all the Merchandize they contain of no Value in Comparison of our Rights; that we fly to the Country with them and dare her to invade them there; and will she madly persist in the present Humour? What is America to her more than the habitable Moon if Commerce ceases? 3 times 30 days will inform us of her Recovery. Why should Boston be the Seat of Government? Why not the great Menadnock? We act as if Commerce and not Acres was our Foundation. Cheer up my D.^r Sir you shall be Member for one of those Towns where your Oaks stand unmolested by the covetous haughty yet base and spendthrift Parliament of Britain. The Villains in this Town hang their Heads like Bullrushes while the honest Beggar walks erect.

You must be sure of y.^r Bearer if you write any Thing that must be under Seal whether private or public in its nature.

Adieu for the present

J. L.

(Direction) To M^r Oliver Wendell

at

with Dispatch

(Endorsed) James Lovells Letter.

May 5.thD.^r Sir :

I have wrote to you lately in a circumstantial Manner, but such Impediments rise from one Hour to another to prevent a free Egress, that I am doubtful whether that Letter has yet left Town ; Balch had it ; he goes for England with M.^r *Sollicitor*, oh ! and M.^r Amory & wife, and many others male & female the middle of next week. Brother Harry Hill takes Charge of this ; therefore upon a Certainty of its reaching you, I charge you, by your own Worth, that you visit Salem & Cambridge. The first, to converse with Brother Appleton ; upon which you will feel yourself so greatly mended as to carry you to Cambridge for full Recovery. I feel happier on Saloop and water Gruel, with the present glorious publick Prospect, than I ever did full of roast Beef & Wine, while there remained a Chance of the Establishment of Tyranny on the horrid ministerial Plan, which has brought us to this Crisis. Pray Doctor,¹⁵ come nearer ; come where no Fear is.

4 o'Clock P. M.

Balch has passed the Lines. He said, when he had once accomplish'd That, he would cry out "I made my Prayer to thee from the Depths of Hell ; thou hast heard & delivered me." There has been the most scandalous dishonourable, Shilly Shally Conduct towards the Citizens that can be conceiv'd of ; the General is truly *worthy* of his Post & Errand.

I had the Club last Evening ; it cost *you* but one Bottle of Madeira, as they seem'd determin'd to finish off Doct.^r *Jos's* Raspberry. Noses counted against me, but they were stuck upon drooping Heads & I will leave it to Balch if you meet him, whether I did not stop all their Mouths as fully by Argument, as by Beef & Cheese.

I have omitted all Mention hitherto of what has been near the Nib of my Pen often. I cannot refrain longer. I wish you may view it as I do.

'Tis glorious to dye for one's Country. Our Friend

¹⁵ A familiar name applied to him in College.

Quincy died by *thinking* for it, as much as any one has lately died by *fighting* for it. And thro' the Merits of the Mediator he is doubtless happy in his Exit. The *guilty* living are the only Objects of Pity; I sincerely hope & believe the Number of such is exceedingly small, in Comparison of the mighty Legions of the *frail*.

Do let me speedily hear from you; and besides a minuteness concerning y^r own affairs, let me know the State of y^r Brothers Family. Direct to my Friend Joseph Trumbull Esq.^r Commissary General at Cambridge, and give him a Line about Secresy of Conveyance. I write & hear freely & Safely tho' I know of a Deal of Negligence in the Matter of Letters.

Make a thousand Enquiries, I will do my best to answer them, tho' it will go against my Grain to do a Thing which may make you less likely to come to Head Quarters, by satisfying y.^r Curiosity in part, where you are.

Adieu my Friend for the present, for I will not tell you what it is only fit you should receive from the *Mouth* of y^r Brethren at Cambridge.

J. L.

(Endorsed by Oliver Wendell) M.^r Lovell's Letter.

Salem, May 8.th 1775.

Mr. Wendell:

S.^r: I rec.^d yours p.^r Mr. Prentiss. Note what you say of So. Battery, but I think it safer to have our effects dispersed; we shall be obliged to have a quantity of Oil there & all our Works. Mr. Cooms did not give his note hand. Mr. Will.^m Coombs is charged in the Books Feb.^y 7.th 1775, £ 32. 16. 7. Mr. Jn.^o Cooms gave a receipt for the Candles on acc.^t of his brother, which he may think was a note of hand. I have given credit for £ 24. 8. I understand some Tories or Officers have attempted to take possession of your House, but Master James Lovell has prevented, & as I hear, lodges there himself. I don't know why Voax is not there. I find it grows extreme difficult to get out of town.

Mr. Walley writes me he has been trying a week with all his diligence & can't effect it. We had the same alarm at Salem that you had, many expecting them every moment, but I gave no credit to so unlikely a story, and felt very calm. How long it will remain is uncertain, but I much doubt whether they will make any further attempt. No troops yet from England; a few have arrived from Halifax; a number of N. Yorkers have recanted, even Rivington has acknowledged that he has been hired to falsify and counteract all our measures and begs the favour of the public. N. York rises high. L.^d North told Mr. Quincy that he had no great faith in the Measures, but he must pursue 'em and try the event. He told him Hutchinson had missed it in his politicks. I must just drop a tear with you over Bro. Quincy, a short, but I hope a usefull life; he told Cap.^t Lyde he longed to hear there had been a Battle. Manduit writes Hallowell an intercepted Letter, Mch. 3.^d, I saw, that he hoped "ere this reaches you some of your Leaders will have felt the power of Parliament &c." from whence it is strongly suspected they had a design upon A——s & H——k. Connecticut Govern.^t have voted 6000 men upon the same footing as our men. Our men inlist very fast, hope you New Hampshire men will act your part well. Manduit says Mr. Hutchinson strove hard to git an exclusive privilege for the friends of Govern.^t but could not. Mr. Triscott of Dorchester has been at Salem & bro.^t Sharper with him in hopes to see you here, but finding you so far of, determined to return, but Mr. Triscott said he should be glad to have the black Children taken from him as he expected to remove farther back and they would be cumbrance to him in git^g into a family, therefore thought it would be best for Sharper to go back and find a place for himself and children, but then he wanted a credit from me to enable him to git such a place, supposing you would like it, I gave him a pass and requested that some person would take them in & keep them on as cheep a lay as they can including Sharper's work 'till further orders, & engaged in your behalf that all necessary charges should be paid. If you disapprove of this give me early notice

& I can write Mr. Triscott and prevent the operation of it. This day we have a large emission of Recantations from Marblehead Viz.^t King Hooper and all his family, Messrs. Marston, White, Foul, Gallison, Lewis, Bowen, &c., &c., lament.^g their errors. engag.^g their lives & fortunes in the service of their injured Country. This I take to be voluntary. There is not now a resident Addressor in Marblehead, hope Salem will follow their example. You have doubtless seen the resolve of Congress that Gen. Gage has disqualified himself to be Governor of this Province & therefore no obedience is due unto him, but to be avoided as an Enemy to the Colony, this I take to be the *Revolution of 1775*. God of his infinite mercies grant that those who steer the Ship of State may have wisdom to conduct her safe to the Haven of peace & the best civil Government. Am sorry you are settled so far from us. What think you of ship.^g our remaining Oil to Loud.^o by Cap.^t Coffin. Poet Joseph Green & Lady, Messrs. Jun.^o Amory & wife, Jos. Green Jun. & wife, Jos. Barrell & wife & Neighbor Balch &c., &c., have taken passage in Calahan for London; many to Halifax, Nantucket, Kenebeck River, all parts of Connecticut, &c., &c. It is like the dispersion of the Jews. Our love to you all.

N. A.

Charlestown May 9.th 1775.

S.^r,

I got here last Sabath day, since which I've wrote twice to Master Lovell. In answer to my first he writes me that he choses to have me to assist him in Removeing your furniture & that he would Apply to the Generall for a pass for me if I would come in to Town, upon which I wrote him that if he could obtain a pass & repass for me that I would come in, in Answer to which he wrote me this Forenoon that the General promis'd that he would send Orders to the Ferry for me to pass & repass with your Goods & I now am waighting for the pass to go into Town. Shall do the best for you in my Power. M.^{rs} Phillips was here this morn.^g She & all here are well; she

wants to see you very much. She has got your Works Horse. She has got a House somewhere in Watertown. All friends this way are well. Inclos'd are letters from Master Lovell which I suppose will give you a particular account of your affairs. I took an Account of your things in Lynn. Harris continues [at the] Island & sells to every one that comes [] being waiting for this Obliges me to conclude. [Please] to give my regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself & Believe me to be your friend & Humb^{le} Serv.^t

H. Prentiss.

N. B. I have Mingo here with me.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

To be left at M.^r Jon.^a Jackson
Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Charlestown May 9, 1775.

H. Prentiss Letter.

D.^r Sir

There is such a severe Scrutiny at the Ferry that what Trunks are in the House must be opened there. On which Acc.^t and the Infirmary of my Health, I have got M.^r Prentiss to consent to come over upon the General's granting Pass & Repass.

His Intimacy in y.^r Family will warrant my Opening y.^r Pacages to take out any Thing which may have been put up by accident that can be called Merchandize, which you are now to *learn* is not comprehended in the Term *Effects*.

Very little of y.^r Furniture can be sent, I think, under such hourly-increasing Embarrassments.

Y.^r Bedding & Trunks with *useful* Furniture rather than the *best* must be chosen. The best will be grossly abused.

I this Minute have yours of the 4.th I wish you would refer to any of my Letters rec.^d by naming the Date of them.

9.th 11 A. M.

J.^s Lovell.

(Directed) M.^r Oliver Wendell

at Newbury

(Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's Letter.

1 Pepper Box		{ E I }
		{ M I }
1 Lamp	4 Stamps	
1 Sug ^r Tongs	no mark	
2 large Spoons	I Symmes	M I
1 do	I Clark	O W
1 do	W C	S+P
1 do	Hurd	{ D Q }
		{ M I }
1 do	T. Edwards	{ E ^I D }
		{ M I }
1 do	I E	E T
4 Tea do		{ D Q }
		{ M I }
3 do		O. W.
1 p ^r Shoe Buckles square open-work.		

My d.^r Friend

I now take up my Pen to write to you more particularly, than in the Morning, on the Article of Embarrassments. Such a Trifle as a little Oatmeal or Starch in a Paper is looked upon as unpassable being ranged under the Head of Provision, which it seems lays at the Arbitrium of the Searcher, who is a refugee from N. York, placed at the Ferry; while good Benj.^a Davis performs the same offices at y^e Lines upon the Neck. Thus you see it will be impossible to send you anything eatable or drinkable, therefore you will be quite particular in Answer to my former Hints.

It seems impossible that Matters can remain long in such a Situation as the present. God knows what will be the next Alarm, but I trust He will direct it in Favor of the oppressed.

Upon a Second Look I find y.^r Letter rec.^d by me was written 2 days before M.^r Prentice left you, perhaps in that Time you rec.^d one of mine. By y.^r recommending

that I sh.^d strow y.^r Garden with Something usefull you think it will not be taken from you. You surely are not in the Thought of paying Rent for it as a Store for the Remnant of y.^r Goods which may be left in it. Most probably Laughton will strive to *let* it to some of the high governmental Men.

I wish you would follow me with a Line daily as Things may happen to occur to you. I will do you all the Service in my Power, and conform strictly to y.^r Directions.

Mrs. Lovell begins to mend; her alarming sweats lessen. 'Tis a miserable little Baby in comparison of her former ones; but that is not to be wonder'd at, considering it as hitherto nurtured by Anxiety.

If I succeed in getting much the greater Part of y.^r Effects away and a tollerable Tory should have the Protection of the Remainder; and if M.^r Balche's & Doctor Gardner's Matters go on well, and 20 more ifs take Place, I cannot say but that my Wife will persuade me to turn Farmer; but it will not be in the Neighbourhood of this Place. One of the ifs is, if I am not in the *black* List, which I have the best Reason to suspect is past Doubt *against* me.

Present my best Regards to M.^{rs} Wendell and tell your young Folks I remember them with Love. I thought Mart. Brimmer would have been able to give me account of you thro' M.^r Jackson; but I am disagreeably convinced of the Contrary. I hope M.^r Jackson is not confined. If he is well he can certainly pick up Carriers at such a Time as This. You must however give us no State Matters; for 'tis but "you are the General's Prisoner," and whip! away to the Man of War; as is the Case of poor John Peck. I carry'd him Breakfast to main Guard yesterday, and again this Morning but he was carry'd off last Evening and put on Board Ship. Inquisitorial this!

your affectionate Neighbor.

May 9.th 4 P. M.

May 10.th P. M.

(Directed) For M.^r Oliver Wendell

at Newburyport.

(Endorsed) James Lovell's Letter.

Charlestown May 12.th 1775.

Dear Sir,

I've been here ever since last Sabath day waiting for a Pass into Town or for your things to come over neither of which I am able to obtain yet. Master Lovell wrote me last Evening that he had y^e Promise of a Pass for me which I believe is all I shall get. The trouble & Difficulty of getting a Pass is much greater than I cou'd possibly Conceive, & cou'd a Pass be obtained I shou'd almost as lives (did the furniture belong to me), leave it in the Town to take the common fate of things there. I must beg you to take a ride this way I think your interest demands it. I would not desire you to come this way if there was the least danger. You may come to Charlestown with the Greatest safety. Coll. Marshall sent over here to know what Stock you had upon the Island, upon which I sent Mingo to the Island to bring an account to me. He tells me M.^r Harris is very uneasy, the people from the Men of War frequently go to the Island to Buy fresh Provision, his own safety obliges him to sell to them, on the other Hand the Committee of Safety have thretned if he sells anything to the Army or Navy, that they will take all the Cattle from the Island, & our folks tell him they shall handle him very ruffly. M.^{rs} Phillips Furniture came over the Day before yesterday, & M.^{rs} Hunt came with them. Our other friends are still confin'd in Town but enjoy good Health. Inclosed is a Letter from Master James Lovell. Please to present my best regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself, & Love to M.^r Ned and Miss Sally. Y.^r friend &c.

H. Prentiss.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver WendellTo be left att M.^r Jon.^a Jacksons

Newbury Port.

(Endorsed) Charlestown, May, 1775

H. Prentiss Letter.

Charlestown May 13.th, 1775.

Sir,

I wrote you Yesterday by the Stage & inclos'd a Letter from Master Lovell, which will be left at M.^r Jackson's for you. I've been waiting here ever since Sunday last in expectation of a Pass into Boston. My Patience is quite worn out, but from what Master Lovell wrote me last Evening I expect to have my Pass this morning. I wish you'd come here yourself. I would not desire it if I did not think you might come with safety, but I think there is not the least Danger. If you do not incline to come please to write me where I shall send your furniture when I get it out of Town. Direct your Letters to be left at Woarts Tavern to the care of M.^r Andrew Brimmer who keeps there. Please to give my regards to M.^{rs} Wendell & accept the same yourself & believe me to be your friend

H. Prentiss.

(Endorsed) Charlestown May 17, 1775.

H. Prentiss Letter.

Salem, May 18.th 1775.

D.^r S.^r

Inclosed are sundry Letters rec.^d at sundry times & forwarded by the first opp.^o I have rec.^d a Letter from Mr. Prentiss who has got back again to Charlestown. He informs me that some of your Goods are coming by Water to Marblehead. I am going over to [see] ab.^t them & some of my own. Shall be glad you'd send me word what you.^d have done with your goods. I cannot yet learn how we are like to succeed ab.^t giting out our Candles. There has been a very great fire at Boston last night but don't yet learn the particulars but in generall that it broke out near draw-bridge & consumed many buildings; some say 30, some say 100, oh poor Boston! We are pretty well, but think of removing if we could fix upon a good place. We want to avoid the extremes of a seaport & too great obscurity. We have so many articles of News every hour I don't know which to write

you. Hallifax have burnt the Kings Hay & attempted the Dock yards. Dartm.^o have taken a Cutter & got the sailors and marines prisoners. S.^o Carolina seized ab.^t 1000 small arms with some ammunition. A Dutch ship arrived at New York with military stores for the Colonies, got all safe on shore. Ticonderoga taken with a large train of artillery. 3 or 4 transports arrived at Boston, part of a fleet of 6 Ships with ab.^t 800 troops; 4000 are destined to N. York. D.^r Franklyn arrived at Philadelphia. Several fishermen been taken out of inward & outward bound vessells. Yrs. with great regard to your family.

N. A.¹⁶

Boston May 26.th 1775.

Sir,

I was a thinking to stay in Boston till I had work up all the stuff that is Refin.^d and then to leave the Town, for I can't any ways content myself to stay in Town for their is not anything to do at the works that makes it worth while to open it. I don't take money enough to pay for my board. M.^r Hughes has Left his business in George Erving's hands which is the Reason that no body dos call at the works for Candles. Your Stores at Fort hill Remain as you left them. M.^{rs} Hovey is going out of Town & J[enn]y is going with her. M.^r Mines has been about the Oil and he be glad if M.^r Russell would not want him to take more Oil than is for him Self, for their will be a disadvantegd attend it. I cant Pay Collo.¹ M[arshall] at present. Mother is gone & your house is emty. I will tell Voax to Move in it directly. I have been to work at M.^r White's off & on some time & have got some more to do. As their is but Little work to do at the works I shall be glad you would Let me know about [shu]ting it up, for the Provision that I get I can not content my Self upon and being discontented withall I find it is too much to withstand. Be kind enough to Let me know what I shall doe with the works. I call.^d

¹⁶(No direction or endorsement.)

at M.^r Constable & he says that he has not any business to do & he can not pay that Rent any ways for he dos not business enough to find him in Provision & he thinks as people are glad to git anybody that will take care of their houses to live in them Rent free he hopes that you will consider him in these times.

John Nicoll.

(Directed) To M.^r Nath.¹ Appleton
Merchant
Salem.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Boston May 16th 1775
John Nicoll to N. Appleton.

My good Friend Wendell

I write much in a Hurry and shall therefore be short. Mad^m Alford has sent for the Key of her Trunk. She is at Reading. M.^r Prentice must have deliver'd it to you, if it was not left by him at the Widow Stevens's in Charlestown; about which Enquiry shall be made before this is sent to you.¹⁷

M.^r Nichols has left the Key of the Works with me. I am ready for all y^r orders within my Capacity.

I have placed every Thing remain.^g of y^r Furniture snugly away in Chests, Boxes & Trunks in my own dry boarded Cellar; if there is a possibility of sending you any Thing useful, name it, and I can easily lay my Hand upon some small Package which contains it.

Yrs. Affectionately

J.^s L——ll.

June 6.th

Brother Appleton

By seing M.^r Nichols you will know the exact state of y^r matters, and you are already assured of my services. Is Jn.^o safe with you?

¹⁷ In the margin it is stated that the key was "not to be found at Mrs. Stevens's."

The above letter from James Lovell was directed to "Mess.^{rs} Nath.^l Appleton & Co. at Salem." Mr. Appleton re-directed it to "M.^r Oliver Wendell to the care of M.^r Jonathan Jackson, merch.^t in Newburyport."

Saturday Noon.

My d.^r Neighbour

Just after I wrote you last Doct.^r Morris Phisician of the Army an Elderly Gentleman took the House, and was so complaisantly pressing to come in that I work.^d all night from yesterday Noon, and admitted him at 10 this morning. He wishes to have the Furniture committed to his Care, nay is willing to pay for it, and makes the strongest Promises of the extremest Care. I think what I have left is better there than carry'd to Jeffries's, my House or the Store. I think *giving* the use a much greater Security against Abuse than letting. I therefore told Him that I would leave as p.^r Mem^{dum} for the *present*, for which he is greatly thankful, but that I should attend y^r *Order* respecting all or any Part. As to that "He shall be very thankful for present use, as it will give Opp^o to provide if y.^r Commands make it necessary."

"Your Desk & Case shall have the same Care as if the Papers were his own or I may remove it at my pleasure, if free access is too troublesome to me."

Monday.

Voulks was out a-Fishing & I intirely forgot Jacob so that my own School Runners perform'd the whole; and I assure you without breaking 6^d value of any sort. I had the House swept from Garret to Cellar removing every Thing new & old but the following.

In the *front room*.

Wax Work & chimney Glass each with Branches, a Look.^g Glass, a marble slab, a Card Table, a Japan Tea Table, a mahog.^v stand, Desk & Case, 10 Chairs, 2 China Vases, a Japan Plate Tripod, a leadⁿ Cooler, 2 Family Pictures, a Lamp Tea Kettle.

In the *Entry*.

A Glass Lanthorn.

On the *Stairs*.

An oval Japan Tea Table.

Middle Room.

A Clock, a Breakfast Table, a Desk, a Look^g Glass, 1 Family Picture, 8 Metzintitos, 1 Fudling & 4 small red leather Chairs, 1 Hearth Brush.

Kitchen.

3 Trammels, 1 p.^r H.^d Irons, 1 p.^r roast.^g do., 1 Jack, 2 Spits, 1 Dripping Pan, 1 Gridiron, 1 Shovel & Tongs, 1 Fender, 1 Warm^g Pan, 1 fry.^g d.^o, 1 Checker Board &c.,¹⁷ 1 Jack for Boots, 1 Barn Lanthorn, 1 Bread [Pul], 1 flesh Fork, 1 Iron spoon, 6 scewers, a large & small pine Table, 1 Brass Kettle, 1 large & 1 small iron Pot, 1 Dish Kettle, 1 Stew pan, 2 long Brushes & a Broom, 1 short Brush & Dirt pan, 1 large wooden mortar, 1 flat tin & 2 iron Candlesticks, salt-Box, 1 p.^r Snuffers, 1 Tobacco Jar, 1 large Lead.ⁿ d.^o (found in the Kitchen Loft), 2 folding Boards.

In the *front Chamber*.

1 Chest of Drawers & Table alike, 1 looking Glass, 6 Chairs covered with Check (1 broken in the closet with p.^{ts} of the Bed ornament [and] the Family Arms¹⁸), 1 Coach top Tester with easy Ch.^r like it, 1 folding screen, M.^r Jacksons Picture & a Thermometer.

In the *Entry*.

Chest [on] Chest of Draws, Mehogany Fire Screene.

In the *middle Chamb.^r*

Chest¹⁹ of Draws & Table alike, 1 Look.^g Glass, 5 Chairs red covered with Callicoe, 1 Hearth Brush, 1 Family Picture, 1 red Coach Top Tester.

Kitchen Chamber.

1 Chest of Draws, 1 Easy & 3 small red Chairs, 1

¹⁷ There is another copy of this inventory, in Lovell's handwriting, in which is entered instead of "&c." " & checkers."

¹⁸ In the other copy "the Family Coat of Arms."

¹⁹ In the other copy "Japan Chest."

Look.^g Glass, 1 Pine table, 1 p.^r H.^d Irons. In the Closet an old Cabinet & 5 mingos & a Bed pan. a View of the Colledges.

1st *upper Chamb.*^r

1 Couch, 1 armed, 1 Fudling, 1 low leather, & 1 flag Chair, 1 Pine Table, map of new Yk, Chest of acc.^t Books lock.^t & an old Trunk of Books in the Closet.

2^d *Chamber.*

1 Bedstead & Bed & old green Coverlid.

3^d *Chamb.*^r

Pallet Bedstead & 2 Cots, 1 Bed & bedstead, 4 red leather Chairs alike, 1 Pine Table, 32 metzintinos, 4 painted on Glass, 1 Sampler & 2 views.

Cellar Stairs, a Candle Box.

Cellar.

A Cloath's Horse, a Bread Trough, 5 Greese Pots, pickling Tubs, a few Casks & a Beer Barrel, wash.^g Tubs.

In the *Shed.*

1 Fish Kettle, 1 Dining Leaf.

In the *Wood House.*

1 Cloaths Horse, 1 Window Ladder, 1 Washing Bench, iron bound Water Cask & 3 other Vessels for Water.

I have given the Gentleman an Inventory. He promises 10 fold Recompence for Damage, appears mightily pleased with appearances and the Landlord, prays for you to come in upon the present Tenant quitting.

He is a very grave Gentleman w.th a very small Family.

You will see that I consulted a mixture of use & ornament tho' the former in very small proportion. If either you or y^r Lady chose to have me remove any particular Thing or all, I will do it instantly. Especially give me Direction ab.^t the Desk & Book Case whether you would have me trust any of the Papers there or move all out of the Desk and leave the Book Case or take the whole

Home & send my own Desk to fill the Place. I must do that or send D.^r Gardner's for want of good Room, either of which I can do and will sooner than you shall have the least Uneasiness ab.^t the Papers remaining or being mixt by moving, or I can remove the Book Case as it is and leave y.^r Desk standing if the Papers of the Desk may be moved more easily than the others. You know I can take a Draw at a Time and lay them in the same mann^r into D.^r Gardners.

I am now ready for the Commands of young master & miss as you will see by my next Invoice. I have pack'd every Thing of China Glass in small assorted Packages which are then to be put into lock't Chests in my Cellar.

I can give you a Specimen
Box No. 1 cont.^s several different Boxes Ned, Sally & Mama.

2 Pamphlets.

3 Apothecary's Shop chiefly.

Trunk 1 Variety of Light Things the Draw being full of Books.

2 China & Glass the Draw fill.^d w.th light Things.

No. 4 *Indian* Box Cake Pans & illumination molds, both reserved for our coming Days of *American* Jubilee.

No. 5 5 Burnt china Punch Bowls
1 Sugar Pot & 5 Coffee Cups
3 blue & white Tea Pots
1 burnt & 4 blue & white breakfast Bowls
6 bl. & wh. Patties 1 burnt Saucer
&c. &c.

I rejoice at hearing by Appleton that you are better. Do let me know Something ab.^t Prentice & Gardner, how have they sojourned?

I think to put a Brass Shovel & Tongs in the Front & Iron d.^o in the middle Parlor.

N. B. 80 Boxes of S. C. to Butler's Row Counting Room.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell or Mess.^{rs} Appleton & Co. at Salem. To Care of Joseph Trumbull, Esq.

(Endorsed) Boston, James Lovell. Received June 26.th

The following fragment of a letter in Lovell's hand-writing appears to have been written at about the date of the above letter :

I shall follow y.^r Direction in all Things when I can get it, and [use] conscientious Discretion till I have the Pleasure of hearing from you.

And now, D.^r S.^r, as to the most important Point. Be confident in the Deity, throw of an anxiety which is evidently undermining y.^r Health. This Country; nay this very Town will soon rise to Glory and Peace from its present Condition; therefore take the best Care of y.^r Health, that you may yet again as heretofore be a great public Ornament and private Blessing.

God Almighty defend & cherish you & all yours; to whom pray name me & my wishes.

The following letter has no date :

It is my great Misfortune in my Desires to Serve you that I cannot frequently have y.^r Directions. Tho.^s Voax is in Possession of the House in G——s Lane; but the natural Consequences of the indiscrete Disposal of the Key took place before his Entrance. It seems some Man of War's men broke in last Saturday Evening, and went directly up into the Garret Chamber forcing off the Bolt of it, and then broke open *the only one place of which M.^r Dove had not the Key*, without entering any of the lower Chambers. They turn'd Things up side down, and forced the Lock of a Box of Papers; whether they stole any Thing much or little I cannot judge. I think it is probable all the muster did not end in Breakage alone. Had I been one Moment later the Lady-Tenant the sober Friend of M.^r D. would have been gone clear off. I arrived just in Time to receive her sacred assurances of Innocence. I acknowledge I should have thought her so if she had not let slip that neither M.^r D. nor she knew what was in the Room because he had not the Key. If you recollect the Number & sort of Glasses or China and will mention it I shall be able to see whether the Room

has not been thinned. I shall repair the Lock of the Box and put up the Papers in an orderly Way so as to give you some future acc.^t of them.

It has been utterly impossible to make the desired Removal of Stock. And, as to the Note of Hand to be discharged, the Proprietor of it is desirous of having 80 Boxes or as many more as will pay the whole at 2^s 6. M.^r Hewes let son George have a large Quantity at that Rate, who will keep up the Market at 2^s 8 I suppose. Having try'd in vain to get a Letter down to you to know whether you would consent, I consider with myself the Risque of the whole, and the corroding Nature of Interest, and the Length of Time which would naturally be taken up in retailing the Quantity already fabricated, among the few Customers which I should obtain in the Face of so industrious a Merchant, and therefore have said I will deliver what are now on Hand at 2^s 6. I think to have more made as long as Custom can be found, which G. E. says is not to be had. Most on Hand were at 2^s 7 according to Directions left as to 3's 4's & 5's so that I hope y^r Approbation in the fall of a Penny. I hope for 2^d on every Box I may sell hereafter, as I know that is the determined Price of the expecting monopolizer. As to the past 2 only of 9 were Fives & therefore at 2^s 8.

Whatever is not expeditiously done to serve you, you are charitably to put on the Page of Fate rather than Indolence. Oil will not Sell. I have had it cooper'd & will watch it constantly. The Day Book sh.^d not have been carry'd away. Smith the Lighter wants to settle with the Select Men.

I have never had a Line from My dear Neighbour to disapprove my Conduct in Regard to Doc.^t Morris. I hope he thinks as well therefore of the Proceeding as I continue to do.

The Bearer will see D. G——r and will be instructed by you in the History of the little matters sent long since to y^r care.

Need I say I wish you & yours every Blessing?

James Lovell.

No mention was ever made to me by N——s about the Chance of a Market hinted at by y^r worthy Partner.

(Endorsed) Boston J. Lovell. Letter to N. Appleton.

Some of Mr. Lovell's letters were intercepted and the information obtained from them proving his bitter hostility to the royal side rendered him particularly obnoxious. He was imprisoned with John Leach, teacher of a navigation school, and Peter Edes, printer, June 29, 1775. Leach and Edes kept journals which give an authentic and vivid account of the brutal treatment which they and their fellow prisoners received. They seem to have found nothing so hard to bear as the incessant "swearing and blasphemy" of the British officers and soldiers evidently intended for their annoyance. Leach's Journal is printed in the N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. XIX, p. 255. Another letter, written by Lovell while imprisoned, Dec. 9, 1775, will be found below.

The following letter was written by Mr. Appleton :

Andover, June 21, 1775.

Brother Pilgrim

This informs you that (mother Rowlandson like) I have made a second remove, have got a very commodious House, considering the times, about 2 miles from the grand country road—if you come to see me, take your directions of Mr. French, or if you write direct to his care. I have been hoeing my Potatoes & Beans to-day. You^d say bro.^r Nat is in good spirits, but be assured extremely anxious for our public affairs. I went to Cambridge last fryday. Father remains poorly, but we removed him to y.^r good Sister Phillips's that afternoon. Next day as wife & I were returning home thro' Cambridge met the Express going to Congress informing the regulars had Landed at Charlestown, we tacked about, went thro' Woburn to Salem & was constantly presented with the melancholy appearance of the fire at

Charlestown. I must drop a tear over Bro. Warren. I could have wished he had never accepted the Military Character, not but that he was very capable, but being so capable in [other] Departments makes his loss greatly felt. These are dark circumstances, but not discouraging. I think we are right, tho' ill-deserving. The number slain on our part much less than first supposed, not exceeding 60 or 70, while that of the enemy much larger. Oh, may our Good God yet preserve us & direct us in the present most important crisis. Hope you & Lady & enjoy health. Hope bro.^r Jimmy will do something for us. Nicolls conduct has been odd at least. Late at night, Candle going out. Y.^r Friend.

Send word where the Chelsea head matter is, it ought to be removed.

P. S. an old letter from J[immy] just come to hand.

P. S. Father is coming to live with us, his Effects removed today.

(Directed) To Mr. Oliver Wendell

to the care of M.^r Jonathan Jackson, Merch.^t
In Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Andover June 21.st 1775.

Chelsea 26 June 1775.

M.^r Wendell

Sir, The people in Chelsea have been & are now moving thear Effects away further back into the Country and it is the Opinion of all that we are in Danger of another visit from the Regulars. I do wish if it is agreeable to your Judgment that you would give me Orders to Cary your Cattle further back for I am afraid that unless they are Remov'd you will loose them. I delivered two Cows according to your order. I have gott some people to go on the Island & how the Corn & potatose & Garden to the halves & I do design, God willing, to mow what I can. The Cow that was Sent up last Summer to M. Williams is Calved & the Calf is dead the Cow being hurt as I suppose. I should be Exceeding glad to be directed by you at this difficult time that I may

know how to proceed for I should be Exceeding Sorry to see any further loss to you.

I am Sir your hum.^{ble} Serv.^t W.^m Harris.

P. S. I have brought one Cow & Calf up to M.^r Uphams. I have sold one calf to M.^r Stowers, also sold 126 of wool at 8^s 3.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell in Kingstown.

To the Care of M.^r Appleton at Salem.

(Endorsed) Chelsea 26 June 1775 W.^m Harris Letter.

The following list is in the handwriting of Henry Prentiss:

Account of things at M.^r Timothy Uphams²⁰ in Lynn.

2 Feather Beds & Bolsters & 2 Pillows.

Nancy's D.^o

3 Ruggs & 2 p.^r Blanketts.

1 Trunk of Linnen that M.^{rs} Wendell sent to Island.

Bundle of Plate that M.^{rs} Wendell pack.^d up & sent to Island.

1 Trunk with y^e Island Linnen.

1 Silver Porringer & Spooone.

At M.^r Joshua Cheevers.

Box of Books.

Bag of Papers in M.^r Harris Ches[t].

Andover June 28.th 1775.

Dear S.^r

I have wrote you once (I think severall times) since I saw you last, but have rec.^d none from you. We are settled in a commodious House tho' 2½ miles from the meeting house on the Road to Dunstable. We see many of our Friends tho' we dont live very nigh any. My Father is at your Sister Phillips's. I went down last Sabbath in hopes to bring him up to my House but found

²⁰ Timothy Upham of Saugus, weaver, was a brother of Jabez Upham of Brookfield, physician, who was the grandfather of the late Charles W. Upham of Salem (see N. E. Hist. & Gen. Register, Vol. xxiii, p. 37).

him so weak that he could not bear removing, we fear he will leave us soon. I purpose to go tomorrow to Watertown. I have rec.^d a Letter from bro.^r Jimmy which [I] inclose you. I believe he will be of great service to us, I pity him, hope to reward him. Nicolls conducted very oddly. He left the key of my House with *Dove* who let in a woman of the army, who let in Men of Warr's men who have broke into my lock'd Chamber as you see by J. L.'s Letter. Nicolls can't find the last Mem.^o book (not the red one) in which all latter matters are enter.^d He thought he brought it away in his pocket but can't find it. He came out with a young woman to whom (as John says) he pays his addresses; to this acc.^l I would charitably ascribe his late conduct. You have never informed me exactly where our Head matter is that was carry.^d to Chelsea. I want to remove. Do let me know where your sheep's wool is, & how much you have & what the price. I have some expectations of giting you a market. We are all pritty well, hope you & Family are so, but shall be glad to hear it.

Y.^r Friend, N. Appleton.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell to the Care of
Mess.^s Jackson, Tracey & Tracey Merch.^{ts}
In Newburyport.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Andover 28.th June 1775,
N. Appleton's Letter.

(Also endorsed) Monday noon Received & p.^r first
opp.^o to be forwarded by your aff.^{te} J. Jackson.

Andover July 13.^h 1775.

S.^r

Having a good conveyance I improve it to write you. I presume you.^{ll} be at Concord notwithstanding M.^r Al[onz^o] Hill's timidity. I think it will be a slight upon the Congress not to have a considerable attendance, besides it will be a good opp.^o of seeing a number of Friends. If you sett out very early Monday Morning you can git to my house to an early dinner & then we can proceed to Watertown or Concord that afternoon. It is

said Gen.¹ Washington has laid some messages before our Congress from Gen.¹ Gage but what I can't learn. It is said Cap.^t Darby is arrived & that the Parliament are summon.^d, to meet immediately, how true I can't say. We are all pretty well, messenger just going, our best regards to yourself & good Lady &c.

Y.^r Friend & Servant, N. A.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

In Kingston.

(Endorsed) July 13.th 1775 N. Appleton.

Andover Aug.^t 16.th 1775.

S.^r

Having opp.^o to send to Newbury, improve it to let you know we are well. I hear^d from Father yesterday. He continues to grow better. Mrs. Phillips family well. Do write me where you are & what about for I can't learn. Hope you possess.^d yourself of molasses from Toppan &c. Query how stands our contract with Messrs. Tracey, about Rum. We were to take Rum in April. Are we benefited by the rise of it? If not our debt ought to be on interest. I hear there is a plan at Court for redeeming our friends out of Boston.

Y.^s N. Appleton.

(Endorsed) Aug. 16.th 1775 N. Appleton's Letter.

Andover Aug. 28 1775.

S.^r

I was at Watertown last Saturday. Mrs. Phillips is desirous of seeing you ab.^t your Bro.^r Hunt who is at her House very unwell with his Daughters & Servant. She is at a loss how to accomodate them, wants to consult you. I have not heard from you for some time. I Rec.^d a Letter last Saturday from Master Lovell who is still confined, but in good spirits. He writes me he has sold 80 boxes & better than two tons Oil, paid Mr. Erving²¹

²¹George Erving, a loyalist merchant of Boston? (see Drake's Dict. of Am. Biography, p. 309).

£280 & has more to pay him. The Works have been broken open once or twice but no great damage as he can learn. They took old Blls. Tubs, &c. &c. for fuel. Tho' Voaks also writes me a long Letter. He has the key and says he visits the Works every day & promises to take the best care he can, but proposes that we should appoint some person to manage our affairs while M.^r Lovell is confined. I was in hopes you had wrote to M.^r Brimmer when at Chelsea. I understand he is still in Boston. I think he would be a very proper person, it is said that it is necessary to give a Power of Attorney to some person. I shall be glad if you will come down this way that we may consult what is proper to be done. Mr. Lovell intimates that he expects to be out soon, tryumphant over his Enemies & then hopes to serve us more effectual than before, not spending his time idly schooling the children of a pack of Villians as he calls them. Gen.^l Robinson has taken Possession of my House but can't learn whether he proposes to pay any Rent. Deacon Boynton not yet out. It is very sickly in Town, it is said more die weekly of the Inhabitants than when all the Inhabitants were there. M.^r Scollay has lost his eldest son.

Father was very clever last Saturday P. M. We are all pretty well, hope you and family are, hope to see you soon. Y^r friend.

N. Appleton.

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell

In Kingston

Newhampshire.

to be left at M.^r Ju.^o Appleton's

In Haverhill

(Endorsed) Andover 28th Aug. 1775 N. A.'s Letter.

Andover Sept. 28 1775.

S.^r

I was at Newbury a few days after you & understood you did something with my Cocoa, but I could not learn what. I wish you'd write a line to Nicolls & direct him where it is, & order him to receive the Chocolat & put it up into Boxes to wait for my orders. A few days since

I rec.^d out of Boston a Letter from Messrs. Dupuis & Co. acknowledging the receipt of our Oil and that they had sold it at £38 p.^r ton. They expect to send acc.^t Sales next Vessell. They enter a little upon the Times, but excuse themselves from enlarging on that subject, as they expect their Letter will be opened. I have not rec.^d a letter from Deacon Boynton since I saw you, but in one he writes his wife, he desires her to inform me he is busy at the Works & will write me soon. There were no boats passed all last week & I do not understand that any have this week. I don't hear any late news. I was at Watertown last Wed. Thurs. & fryday, Mrs. Phillips & family well. Father continues very comfortable. Write me word when you expect to move & where. We are all pretty well. In hast

Y^r Friend & Servant, N. A.

P. S. When you come next, bring your acc.^t with the Comp.^a

(Directed) To M.^r Oliver Wendell at Kingston, New hampshire.

(Endorsed) Andover Sept. 8.th 1775 N. A.'s Letter.

Andover Nov.^r 1st 1775.

S.^r

I Rec.^d son Nat's Letter dictated by you, & note the Contents. I have not yet wrote to the Deacon not know.^s exactly what to write; considering the impractability of giting money out of Boston I approve of what you wrote, for it was with that view that I proposed a suspension hoping to git some out & afterwards to pay them. My two last Letters to Boston with the orders upon several persons & all the particulars I could think of relating to the Works still remain at Winisimet ferry, therefore I have thought of going down as soon as I can & tak.^s up those Letters &c., & from them collect such particulars as I may think necessary to write. I shall observe your caution of secrecy. I should be glad to know what you wrote the Deacon about disposing of & distributing our Effects. I would have him remove everything from the

works as fast as he manufactures, that we may have as little as possible in the works, if he has any money left after pay.^r those Gentl.ⁿ I would have him keep it in Gold & sell of as fast as possible, especially the Oil. Your hhd. of sugar came up to my House safe with the hhd. of press.^d stuff & the Ton of Oil. I apprehend from the late allarms on the sea coast that you will hardly move from your old quarters, tho' I think Newbury the safest seaport. Mrs. Appleton was, thro' Divine goodness, safely deliver.^d of a son last fryday Evening. She had a pretty comfortable time & very seasonable assistance. She has been about as well as usual ever since, tho' much troubled with the headake. The Boy I named, last sabath, George Washington. I have long thought of George as a good name to call, & there being none of that name in our family is a circumstance I always chuse, & the addition of Washington as a memorial of the times in which he was born. Hope to have a line from you soon with all the particulars you think of, relating to our affairs in Boston or Elsewhere. I have given you credit for the Bond. With respects to your good Lady & Children

I remain

Y.^r friend & servant N. A.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. at Kingston.

(Endorsed) Andover Nov. 1st 1775 N. A. Letter.

Andover, Decemb.^r 6.th 1775.

Dear S.^r

It is so long since I saw, or hear^d direct from you that I most forgit you. It is certain I don't know where you live, however no news is good news therefore presume & hope you are all well. I Rec.^d a Letter some time ago from Amory & Rogers, offering 1^s 8^d for our Candles, but I had no oppo. to answer 'till last Thursday. I wrote into Boston by a Flagg. I wrote the Deacon we could not by any means accept Messrs. Amory's offer (I think it was a very mean offer). Just after I had wrote

into the Deacon I Rec.^d a line from him dated Nov. 20.th He acknowledgēs the receipt of yours, he writes as follows: "I am still in your business endeavoring to do all in my power to save your Interest, it is with the utmost difficulty I have paid Cap.^t Erving & Mr. T. Boylston. I must let Messrs. Amory & C.^o this day have 40 boxes Candles to prevent further trouble. I should have by this time got through your business, but have been obliged to do some business for some other persons, which I have not time [to] be particular." He then mentions some of his own affairs, & concludes "the times is vastly altered & altering, which makes it extremely difficult to do business." He incloses me a letter from George Hayley inclosing an acc.^t sales of oil per Robson & acc.^t Currant. He sold the best £35 & ab.^t 1½ Tons black at £30, with amazing charges, which reduces our Oil to ab.^t £285 old p.^r Ton, it was charged £300. Messrs. Dupuis & C.^o rec.^d their oil 2 month after Hayley [and?] sold it two months before him at £38 p.^r Ton. He paid the ballance to Jn.^o Amory £86. 7. 6. but he has rec.^d nothing from Bilboa as we order.^d Lynch & Marony. I give you joy at the great Prizes lately taken, let me hear from you or see you soon.

P. S. What can you understand by the Deacon being obliged to let Amory have 40 boxes to save trouble. I hear Tallow Candles are 18^s p.^r lb. I can't learn how ours are sold.

Do inquire of M.^r Ellis Gray where his brother Edw. is that we may apply to him if we incline for his Debt ab.^t £100 Ster.^{ls}

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell, Esq. In Newburyport.
favor.^d by M.^r Searl.

(Endorsed) Andover Dec. 6, 1775 N. Appleton's Letter.

My worthy Friend

The Goodness of y^r own Mind will prevent you from reaching, by the Power of Imagination, the Height of the infamous Conduct which appears from Day to Day in this Town. But, as you may happen to

light upon some of the Scape Goats from Point Shirley, you may be brought nearer to the Mark than otherwise you could arrive.

During all my Confinem.^t your Bureau has been in my Mind, and lately, in particular, has given me great Uneasiness; for Doct.^r M——s was warned out, that the House might be made a Barrack. At length, however, that is over; and the Owner being of Age, has become Boarder to slim Jn.^o Hunt, who is forced out of Sherburn's and has got into y^r former Tenem.^t, by which Saltonstall keeps both sides from the Light Horse, having also dropped £15 st.^s to the Doct.^r who was offered another House for Nothing not so handy to his Charge. The Doct.^r promises as honorably as at first respecting y^r Furniture, about which I became uneasy; because the officer who got suddenly into Neighbour Holbrook's, (upon a Stormy Day without the Key so as to prevent my poor worried Polly from taking away several valuables) being since forced to Master Carter's House, to leave the other for a Barrack, has taken away every single Article; saying that "the Gen.^l knows no such Thing as Houses & Furniture left under Charge of any Body but *himself*;" and had given his Orders accordingly.

My Situation is such that the Villians may force me away in some of their Freaks without a Minute's Warning. I therefore sent to Doct.^r Jef—s, who has altered his intention of going to London, and I desired him to take Charge of what is in y^r Bureaux, and what is pack't up in my Cellar, and the House Furniture when D.^r M——s quits; But his House will not receive his Father's Goods which he is obliged to move now after having filled himself up with other People's. All I can do is to take the Papers & every other Article from the Bureaux, and box them so as to put them under D.^r J——s Charge; and get M.^r Saltonstall & your Relation to take a full & friendly Care of what is under the Roof of their House, when the present Tenant of the west Part leaves it, and also of what is in my Cellar, more than Polly will transport as her own, if we leave Boston.

I was packing y^r Papers from the Bureau *Draws* last

Night by myself, after my 4 brother Jail Birds were in bed. Your little amiable Partner, as well as yourself, may be assured that the greatest Delicacy will attend this Measure as I have not thought myself entitled to overlook those Papers upon the *Packages* of which either of you had made any note signifying the Contents, except one, which I burnt being only a few Touches wrote in *troublesome Times*.

Whatever I light of in the *Slope* or *Case* regarding Pence or Land, I shall see conveyed to you with what Little I have of my own that is worth saving; as you may be wanting them to look into Titles in the Country in some of y^r Rides for Health. Perhaps you may give some small Hints of Direction thro' Deacon Boynton for me by a round about Description; for no Line can get to my Hand, or, my Friends *never* make the Tryal.

I grudge not my past Sufferings to that private Friendship which was the Cause of them. Nay, I glory in them; as my Treatment is a most evident Proof of the *just* Jealousy of the many who fled from Apprehensions of a similar Fate. The Wantonness of the Exertions of military Power against me and my most innocent Family should excite all who are out of the Reach of it to prefer Death rather than to come under it. The Savages of our Western Borders are Children of Nature, unworthy to hold a Candle to these scientific Barbarians from Oxford, Cambridge, and the middle Temple, who lead the servile Tribes of Sixpenny Murderers.

(Endorsed by O. W.) Boston Dec. 9, 1775 J. Lovells
Letter about my affairs.

Andover Dec. 25 1775.

Dear S.^r

I Rec.^d a Letter last Saturday from Deacon Boynton dated Dec. 9.th He does not acknowledge the receipt of my two last that I sent in by Roxbury lines, the one was dated Dec. 1.st the other 13.th He wrote me I learn by a woman who fearing she should be searched destroyed the Letter; in this last he incloses an order on Cap.^t Geo.

Williams for £60 L. M.^o which I shall present as soon as possible. He also incloses M.^r Jn.^o Gray's acc.^t with you & desires orders to pay it. I inclose it to you for your examination and orders upon it. The Deacon writes no particulars except that he is at the works. I Rec.^d a Letter from M.^r Hodgdon the Taylor dated latter end Sept.^r: he says he has been at our Works & they go on swimmingly under the care of the good Deacon. Cap.^t Procter tells me he hear.^d sperm Candles were 3^s L. M.^o Tallow 2^s 8. I wonder the former don't have a higher price. The Deacon does not say anything ab.^t Amory.^s I have wrote him to day to go by Cap.^t Procter who goes to Point Shirley tomorrow. Another cargo of Inhabitants is expected soon. I hear nothing new since the paper, except that two vessels are arrived at Casco bay from West Indies with molasses & Cotton &c., hope its true. We are all in good health. With compliments to Mrs. Wendell & family I conclude at present Y.^r Friend & Servant

N. A.

P. S. Coll.^o Abbot, brother to Sam.^l died last fryday night.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. at Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Andover Dec. 25, 1775. N. Appleton's Letter, p.^r [S.] Dashwood.

Andover Feb.^y 24.th 1776.

M.^r Wendell,

S.^r: M.^r John Van Emburgh, a gentleman from New Jerseys with whom I had some acquaintance ab.^t four years ago, is now with us. He with some others had a vessel, taken by the enemy, bound from Lisbon to the Jerseys & afterward retaken by one of our Privateers. He came to claim his Interest, & has asked my advice what attorney to apply to in case of need. I have recommended M.^r Lowell of Newburyport. This is to ask the favour of you to introduce him to that Gentleman; this may perhaps be a perticular favour to a stranger, & a well

wisher to our Cause, which are circumstances I know that always recommend to your notice. With esteem I am S.^r

Y.^r Friend & Servant

Nath.¹ Appleton.

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq. In Newburyport.

(Endorsed) Feb.^r 24.th 1776. Nath.¹ Appleton.

Andover 26.th Feb.^r 1776.

S.^r

I Rec.^d yours from Watertown, note the contents, & your caution, but why you should attribute How^s treatment of the Deacon to poor little Geo. I can't conceive, as we are all Rebels in their construction, & I can't imagine that one is worse than another, especially of two *Congressions*, neither in arms; you say they hate me. Who? Surely amidst the 10,000 of Israel, little N. A. in Andover woods can't be of importance enough to be enquired after; can you conceive that Grig, Will.^m or Dan (for I know of nobody else) could inform the Gen.¹ that I was one peg higher than you, therefore for my sake no more work shall be carried on. No Sir! we are both, nay all out of Boston, are Rebels, that have not by some means, conveyed a different sentiment. However I am no way displeas'd at your caution, anything consistent with truth and the public good, so that we can but git our Interest. I have received a letter from Lynch, Killikelly & Morony of Bilboa with an acc.^t Sales of our Candles & having remitted the Net proceeds to Mes.^s Hayley & Hopkins agreeable to order. I don't understand the Spanish currancy therefore can't tell the price they sold for, nor the whole amount, but I imagine it to be £51. 16. 11.^d Sterl.^s, if so it will save the first cost. I suppose M.^r Amory will of course take up this money also, upon the strength of the bill we gave him. If I have a safe conveyance shall send their letter to you for explanation. Last Saturday one M.^r Van Emburgh of New Jersey.^s with whom I had some acquaintance ab.^t 4 years ago, came to see me. He is this way to claim a Vessell that was taken by a man of war & afterwards

retaken by a Privateer out of Beverley. He asked my advice what attorney to apply to in case of need. I recommended M.^r Lowell & have wrote a line to you to be so kind as to introduce him, it is uncertain when he will present it. We are all well, hope your Family are, want to know how you succeeded with M.^d Fry; hope you will be able to remove nearer to us. I shall depend upon a hhd. Rum & Molasses. Please to write first opp.^o

Y.^r friend & Servant

N. A.

Pray don't forgit to purchase from the Prize,

{ 1 Bll. Beef
1 firkin Butter
a few tongues
a cheese

(Directed) To Oliver Wendell Esq.

In Newburyport.

To the Care of Mr. Jon.^a Jackson.

(Endorsed) Andover, Feb.^y 26.th 1776.

N. Appleton's Letter.

All of Mr. Appleton's letters written at that time and now in the possession of the writer have been given above in full. There are three other letters written a few years afterwards which are interesting as showing the changed condition of business. He was still connected with Mr. Wendell, but, instead of commercial transactions, agriculture now claimed their attention.

April 19, 1779.

[S.^r]

We have a p.^s of Diaper at M.^r Sam Phillips's [in] Andover, which we want to have brought down, if you can bring it shall be glad. I propose you should carry some chestnutts to plant at Reading in a good spot in the Garden. You may carry some to M.^r Phillips & French &c. I am for trying some Rye, flax, Oats, & Barley to

see which suits our place best. Do see how the young Apple trees are & have the old ones trimmed. Perhaps you'll think it best not fully to determine with Nutting about the wall till I see you again, after knowing his whole proposals. Remember that we have potatoes enough sowed. Wish you a pleasant journey & am

Y.^r friend &c.

N. Appleton.

(Directed) O. Wendell Esq.

(Endorsed) N. A. Letter 19th April 1779.

Boston, Sept. 26, 1780.

S.^r

M.^r Parker has been with me, and it now becomes necessary that we determine what to do with the Cyder on the Farm. I suppose we shall have 10 Bll.^s at least, therefore if you will contrive to git 5 Bll.^s up, I will git 5 & have them brought down together either to the ferry orround by Roxbury. Parker is to send word how cheap he can git a Teem for either case.

Let me hear from you soon.

Y.^{rs}

O. Wendell, Esq.

N. Appleton.

(Endorsed) N. A. about Cyder at Reading 1780.

²²M.^r Burnham has been with me about buying the Shoemakers Shop on reading Farm. He says you are willing to sell, so am I provided we can git a proper price, but it seems as if Parker ought to have some notice, or Brown who works in it, least they should say, they would have given as much as we sold for or more, either for the building itself or for a Rent. I am of opinion it will be as well to be out of the way. Burnham says it cost 40 Doll.^s when built, at 75 is 3000 Doll.^s but as everything is so much higher I should think it

²² No date but probably about 1780.

worth 5000 Doll.^s If the above difficulties are removed in your mind I shall be willing to sell at that price, & shall leave it with you.

Y.^{rs} N. A.

(Directed) Oliver Wendell Esq.

Present.

(Endorsed) N. Appleton's Letter ab.^t selling Shop.

The family letters of Dr. Edward A. Holyoke, whose practice in Salem covered a period of nearly eighty years, contain interesting allusions to the events of the Revolution. Dr. Holyoke was born Aug. 1, 1728, old style, at Marblehead. He commenced the practice of medicine at Salem in June, 1749, and died here March 31, 1829. An excellent memoir of this eminent physician, written by Dr. Peirson, was published by the Essex South Medical Society in 1829. Another memoir by Rev. John Brazer, accompanying an "Ethical Essay" written by Dr. Holyoke, was published in the following year.

Dr. Holyoke was residing in Salem, in 1775, in the house now the furniture warehouse of Mr. Israel Fellows, No. 205 Essex street. He sent his wife and family to Nantucket, whither many other Salem people repaired for security and refuge. It was thought that that island would be treated as a sort of neutral ground. Mrs. Holyoke went to Nantucket April 27, 1775, and returned to Salem July 22d. A number of letters passed between them meanwhile, and these have been preserved by the family, who have kindly allowed me the use of extracts from them.

Mrs. Holyoke writes from Nantucket, April 29.th, that "there is no provision to be bought here, neither salt nor fresh. There is not a tree upon the whole island, except

two or three round some of the doors. The town looks much like Marblehead, and the same kind of stairs with bannisters to get into the houses." "The people are very kind, particularly the Friends."

May 2d. "Friend Hussey of Lynn & his wife have been here to see me. She is one of the prettiest faces I have seen. I live with their nephew"

May 20th. "I accidentally met with Peter Glover of Salem this afternoon in a shop; we were very glad to see each other. He kindly offered to carry a letter for me. The brig has not yet arrived but is daily expected."

May 22d. "A Brig from Salem arrived last night. I was much disappointed at not having a letter, but was glad to hear by Mr. Pynchon's letter that things were no worse at Salem." "Friend Hussey and his wife of Lynn have called upon me several times and the women who have been at my father's²³ and grandfather's²⁴ at Boston. I live now with a nephew of theirs and am going to live with a daughter of one of them. The house I am going to is the only one on the Island that has Electrical Points."

June 1st, 1775. "We were alarmed last week with the arrival of a Company of Provincials, as they didn't let their business be known at first, but it soon appeared they came for flour & whale boats, of which they carried off a large number & 750 Barrels of flour, some arms, &c." "I hear Salem is quite alive. I wish we were all there in peace & safety." "I shouldn't chuse to be in Boston now, as it is supposed the whale boats are designed for that place. We hear 10,000 troops are at Boston, a new governor & three new Generals; but we have sometimes such surprising news, that now we hardly believe anything we do hear. I went yesterday with 2 Mrs. Folgers &c. in a Calash alias Horse Cart (which sort of riding is in taste here)."

June 2d. "I have heard this afternoon that Mr. Whetmore goes tomorrow or next day." "Drank tea yesterday at old Friend Husseys with Friend Vassal." "We hear

²³ Capt. Nathaniel Viall.

²⁴ Jonathan Simpson.

there has been another skirmish. I think our people succeed in all their undertakings, if our accounts are true; it grieves me to hear of so much bloodshed." "The people I live with are exceeding kind; we live very well. They have a handsome clock, points to the house, a fine walk on the top which commands the prospect of the whole Island."

June 3rd. "Received a line by Capt. Folger this morning, but as it was of the 15th of last month it afforded nothing new. We were all terribly disappointed, as we depended on this vessel for supplies." "Dr. Guilson has the chief practice and is in high esteem. I hope to return soon, or I don't know but we shall starve or beg. This world is chequered, & I believe we are now in one of the black checks, & if the game is as long as chess, we may never get into a white one." "Mrs. Fitch has just called to tell me her husband will sail this afternoon for Salem."

June 5th. She writes that she dined with Mrs. Fitch in company with Capt. Folger, Mr. Brattle, Capt. Calef, lady & two daughters. "Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Orne, & Mrs. Goodale were so rejoiced at seeing their husbands, that Mrs. Pynchon & Sally talk of coming to live with me, as we can sympathize with each other."

"As to the place it is hilly & sandy, no rocks no more than there is in Carolina, nor trees except a few in gardens. As to the number of inhabitants I can't learn exactly, some guess 8000, some not so many. The houses are almost as compact as in Salem, they are all wood, shingled instead of Clapboard, the foundations brick instead of stone. I believe the chief produce of the Island is corn; there is one cornfield of six miles long." "Great meeting will be here this month, & Sheep shearing, high Frolicks, both, but I believe not this season." "Mr. Nutting wonders we came away, says we should have been safe at home, I told him we were more afraid of a man of war, than any thing else & were subject to constant alarms."

June 14th. "The Governor's Proclamation has just arrived here, they say, offering pardon to all, but Mr.

Hancock & Adams, on their laying down their arms. I hear you were under arms at the time of the alarm."

June 21st. "We hear there has been a terrible battle & that Charlestown is destroyed, how my heart aches for the poor sufferers. I pray Salem may be spared, as well as every other place." "We have just had an account that Mr. Porter the lawyer was shot going to Quebeck with a letter.

June 26th. "I went last Thursday in a Calash to a part of the Island called Shimmer where a number of Indians live. We carried our provision with us. They treated us with roasted Paqwaws (a sort of clam). It is as pleasant there as at our fort—there is one wigwam left, which was a great curiosity to me." "Mrs. Caty Pynchon has received a letter from Mr. Whetmore at Cambridge; he says the Country is in dreadful confusion, & he thinks the Sea Ports stand a bad chance."

July 10th. "I spent this afternoon at Mr. Jn.^o Coffins with Mr. Vassal's family & Mr. James Bowdin & Lady, who are here upon a visit from Middleborough. He speaks so much like our old friend Judge Ropes that I hadn't him out of my mind this afternoon."

Dr. Holyoke writes to his wife from Salem:—

May 1st, 1775. "There is no news of any consequence saving that the people are coming out of Boston. I hear Mr. Wm. Davis and family are bound to Halifax, where your Uncle Simpson's family is already. Dr. Prince sailed for the same place yesterday noon." "A vessel from Boston, last evening, brought about sixty of the inhabitants into our harbour, some of whom are bound to Connecticut and Halifax, and I believe some will tarry here." "We hear to-day that the General has again put a stop to inhabitants going out, on account, as is supposed, of the New York news."

May 7. "Mrs. Higginson sailed yesterday for Halifax, with her brother, Mr. Robie." "Miss Polly Glover received a line to desire her to return to Boston as soon as she could. She will go up to-morrow with Billy Davis, in a sloop of his father's, which sails to-morrow from

Marblehead." "We remain as quiet at Salem as ever; the appearance of business in the streets but very little. Just now indeed a number of families coming in from Boston occasions a little bustle."

May 19. "A terrible fire broke out in Boston the night before last (we saw y^e light very plainly at Salem), which destroyed a great number of warehouses, 1100 barrels of flour, and a large quantity of English goods. It seems as if that poor town was devoted to destruction."

June 3d. "Mr. Davis and his wife and family, and one negro boy (for his other four negroes ran away), came and dined with us and have put up here for the present; but he gives one piece of intelligence which makes me anxious about you, which is that a Capt. Richard Coffin, of Nantucket, whom he saw at Boston just before he left it, told him there were three hundred men of our provincial soldiers, under y^e command of one Capt. Davis, were gone to Nantucket to prevent the King's troops or ships from getting any supplies from that island." Boston "is in a most deplorable distressed situation, they are continually alarmed & I fancy soon expect an attack & 'tis said here to-day that the Gov. will not let any more persons come out of the town."

June 6th. "Mrs. Hitty Higginson is arrived safe at Halifax."

June 7th. "Mr. Davis & Billy are gone to Mrs. Gibbs's at Newton upon a visit & to see the camp at headquarters (as y^e fashionable phrase is) at Cambridge." "The town watch and the military watch, which is kept every night at the fort, &c., make us more than commonly still."

June 10th. "You desire to know how your friends are disposed of. Mr. Mascarene and family remain as they were, as also Mrs. Sargent. Mrs. Crowninshield, who went down eastward, is returned home again. Mrs. Johnston is here yet, but talks of going to Rowley. Mr. Cabot and Family still abide here, as does also Mrs. Lowell. Mr. Jno. Appleton's family are at Haverhill, Mr. N. Appleton's are here yet, but going, I believe, to Andover." "The English goods begin to fail here already. Our men are listing very fast here, between three

or four hundred are gone from this town: the sailors and fishermen, as they have no other employment or support, go to ye army, and we are told there is a whole regiment of fishermen gone from Marblehead—good riddance!”

June 12th. “You enquire about the alarm; it was nothing that need have terrified anybody, but our people seem determined to be afraid of everything; it was all over in an hour.” “Peggy writes for paper, but it is not in my power to send any, as I have none by me, not a sheet, and there is not a single quire to be bought in the town of Salem, though Williams expects some soon from Milton, which, such as it is, must answer.”

“Salem, Friday afternoon, June 16, 1775.

As to the Military Operations here, I am not in the secret, so can give you no news of that sort, tho’ the general voice is that there will soon be an Engagement, and perhaps it may happen before this reaches you. It is said our People intend to take possession of Dorchester Hill, tonight, and whenever they do, it is also said they will be attacked by the Regulars. I pray God to prevent bloodshed, but I fear there will be a good deal. * * * I have some thoughts of sending off to Boxford a load of necessary furniture proper for housekeeping, but am a little at a loss about it. M.^r Davis has engaged M.^r Hooper’s house in Danvers; which he thinks far enough out of ye way and I don’t know but he is right enough, but it is a situation I should not admire upon several accounts.

Saturday, P. M. I have just rec.^d a letter from your uncle at Hallifax; he tells me his situation is very disagreeable and that he shall not continue long where he is, if he can get away, which there is very little prospect of as there are no vessels there but from Salem & Marblehead. Provisions very scarce & dear, no mutton, beef at half Pisterene per pound, Pork & Veal at 6^s 8 O. Ten.^r Butter 10.^s He was very much surprised to think you were gone to Nantucket, or anywhere from Salem; but if you were obliged to remove he thinks Nantucket the best place you could go to; and he heartily wishes he was there &c. * * * I suppose before you receive this you will have heard of the resolves of the two Congresses

about supplying Nantucket & we must get leave of the Committee of Safety at Cambridge for every article we intend to put on board for you—this will render the difficulty of supplying you much greater than it has been—however I should hope that you will not be obliged to tarry longer than August; and if necessity obliges you to decamp sooner you can at any time leave the Island without any difficulty.

Sunday, P. M. Well, my dear, I am heartily glad you are not here just at this time; you would, I know, be most terribly alarmed. We had an appearance yesterday of a most prodigious smoke, which I found was exactly in the direction of Charlestown and as we knew our men were entrenching on Bunker Hill there, we supposed the Town was on fire, and so in fact it proved, for in the evening (that is last evening) we were told the Regulars had landed at Charlestown under cover of the smoke from ye buildings they had set fire to, and forced the Entrenchments on the Hill and had beat our men off with loss, & this morning our intelligence was that 400 of our men were killed & the Regulars had pursued our men as far as Winter Hill; (tho' we just now learn that the Regulars still keep possession of Bunkers Hill, & that our men are entrenched upon Winter Hill) & that there is a probability of further action soon, and that our loss amounts only to about 150 killed. Among the missing is Dr. Warren who it is said commanded a Regiment; Col.^o Bridge of Billerica is said to be among ye slain, and Col. G[ardne]r of Cambridge had one of his thighs shot off. The commotion here was so considerable, though none of our men went to ye Battle (as the northwest part of the Province and not the sea coast were called upon the occasion) that we had but one meeting house open in ye morning,—and this afternoon while some were at meeting and others talking over ye action of yesterday, we were alarmed with an appearance of smoke at Marblehead, which broke up ye meeting, & the people with their engines & buckets went over to extinguish the fire, and I among the rest, tho' I should have been glad to have been excused on account of the prodigious heat of the weather,

but as I thought that under Providence I owed the preservation of my House to the assistance from Marblehead, when we were in the utmost hazzard, I could not dispense with going; but we were stopped when about half way there, with an account that ye smoke arose from a field of grass on fire, and that no building was hurt, so I returned home, and am now set down to rest and cool myself, and to give you this account. * * * Tuesday noon, June 20, 1775. The destruction of Charlestown by fire (for it is all burnt down) has struck our People at Salem with such a panic, that those who before thought our Town perfectly safe, now are all for removing off;—but I cannot be apprehensive of any danger we are peculiarly in. * * * As almost every one is moving away, particularly Cap.^t Williams, Derby, Gardner, Ashton, our neighbour Gardner & Dodge, &c., &c., I have it in contemplation to send off some necessaries for house keeping, if we should be driven away, but as to expensive furniture, such as looking glasses, chests of drawers, &c., the risk is so great in removing them that I think unless we are in greater jeopardy than I think we are yet, I shall let them abide.

Wednes.^d Morn.^s Dr. Warren is since known to be killed. Col. Bridge escaped with the skin of his teeth, & Maj.^r McClarra is killed in ye action.”

July 4th. “Our last accounts from Boston of the loss sustained by the Regulars, is much larger than at first apprehended. It is now said to stand thus: 700 private men killed or died of their wounds, 92 Officers, 3 if not 5 were field Officers, Col. Abercrombie, Col. Williams & Maj. Pitcairn and some say Maj. Duncan, & 104 Sargents & 90 Corporals; a most terrible destruction for an action said to have continued but forty minutes.”

July 6th. “I wrote you very largely by Cap.^t Benj. Johnson of Lynn, who is for Nantucket by land. M.^r Whetmore tells me he believes either Miss Catey or Miss Sally Pyncheon will come home soon, they would be good company for you on the passage. You enquire about the Pickman family, they are all here & well, but the town is very empty.”

July 17th. "Mrs. Curwen, who went to Dunstable for an asylum, could not stand it but about 10 days or a fortnight & was as glad when she got home as a Galley Slave when released from his chains, & she is determined nothing shall start her again till she hears one Gun, at least, fired against the Town."

APPENDIX.

The following letters written by James Lovell, while he was a member of the Continental Congress, to Samuel Holten, also a member of the same Congress, are appended here as having a special interest in connection with Lovell's letters printed in the foregoing article. They exhibit the same vivacity of style and fervent patriotism so conspicuous in the earlier letters, and also present us with a graphic description of some of the most serious and perplexing questions and difficulties of that anxious period of the Revolution. Samuel Holten, though by profession a physician, was always in public life. He was for many years Judge of Probate for the county of Essex, and for thirty years a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. The letters are in the possession of Mrs. Mary C. Putnam, widow of the late Philemon Putnam of Danvers, who was a grandson of Judge Holten.

Sep.^r 5.th 1780.

Dear Sir

I was yesterday much obliged by your favor of Aug. 21.st which relieved me from a great deal of anxiety that I had been thrown into by my children under date of the 17.th Mrs. Lovell has indeed been very ill; perhaps she will not again be able to go thro' with the Care of so large a Family without me. My children catch at the Hope that you will contrive to get me Home. I wish for such a thing much, unless you can give me such

Grounds from the Settlement of your account as to lead me to conclude that I am not ruining myself past Remedy by staying here. I am willing to involve myself as far as my Quota.

We have recalled the Com.^{tee} from Camp, have aimed to do Justice to the officers without giving in to Whims. Their Widows and Children are to have the 7 years half pay; and the Clause which stopped the Pension upon an officer being elected to a civil office is repealed.

3 millions Tax against the last of Dec.^r is called for and Justice is to be done to all who have supplied the public.

We must have money at all adventures. Nothing Else is wanting to raise us again into Reputation, and prevent stupid plans of creating absolute Dictators to get supplies without paying for them.

I write at the Post office having been forced to borrow a sheet of Paper from a Stranger in the neighborhood of it, such is its poverty.

Your obliged and affectionate humble Servant,

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Mr. Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from Mr. Lovell Sep.^r 5.th 1780.

N. B. rec.^d Sept.^r 21.st ans.^d 28.th

Sep.^r 10.th 1780.

Dear Sir

I send you by Cap.^t Barry an Index to the Journals of 1778. We have not yet the particulars of the Defeat of our army from Gen.^l Gates but we have an account from Gen.^l Nash to the Delegates of North Carolina much more favorable than we had reason to look for after the first Letter on the Subject. Mankind are so much governed in Judgment by Events that I fear Gen.^l Gates will lose much Reputation. He thought he should have as much Influence with the militia in that Quarter as in another and therefore made several attempts [to rally] there till he was drawn far from the Spot where the action began; and had a right to conclude on the

ceasing of the fire that the small Remains of his army was cut intirely off or dissipated. Being also among very disaffected people he would have been momentarily exposed to be betrayed as he was without even a guard of Horse. He thought it his Business to endeavor to get from the general assembly at Hillsborough Something of a new Army.

Had he stayed luckily with the small Body of Continentals he would only have been blamed for not exerting himself to rally the militia, a trifling Slur to what he now meets with.

I am persuaded there is a good Body of Men together by this time. I only fear about magazines & arms. We have recommended Provision to be made there for 15,000 as it is to be hoped that something may be done at the southward if *nothing* should be done in this Quarter.

Indeed, my dear Sir, with a View of public affairs and my own domestic, just at this period, I cannot cordially pronounce "all for the best" tho' I have had Experience enough to be far from Despondency. It was very unlucky that the money of our State should be seen in *Sodom* till the Quota of Pennsylvania had been offered to the people of that execrable City.

And now, to our Family Matters. Mr. Pickering's Employment destroys our plan of being with his wife. He had made some purchases for us, but we have so little prospect of finding a place in which to use the Furniture that I think we must dispose of it. It is small in Quantity and will even make a profit. He expected to be able to furnish us with money but is disappointed, and I am beat out from drawing on the State to the amount of my Wants by only a Sight of the nominal Sum. I have succeeded to Jerry Sheldon but I charge nobody with Quotas. Exchange is here 73 & 75, surely you are more reformed at Danvers and Boston.

Affectionately y.^r humble Serv.^t

J. L.

(Endorsed) Letter from Mr. Lovell Sep.^r 10.th 1780.

Ans.^d Sep.^r 21.st

Sep.^r 12.th 1780.

Dear Sir

We have been obliged to draw on the Treasurer for a great *nominal* Sum in favor of Col. Pickering 79,296 old dollars 16,935 of w.^{ch} are to pay him for those articles of Bedding which he procured for us when we had a plan for living decently with him instead of most disreputably where we are. The Bill ought to be paid in the old Emissions if your new is, as it ought to be, as good as silver. Because we have only rec.^d, at 72 for 1, 1101 $\frac{1}{3}$ dollars, but the Treasurer will pay, at 40 for 1, 1982 $\frac{2}{5}$ which will give a profit 881 $\frac{1}{5}$ Col. P took all the articles to himself except the 3 Beds & Bedding which I hope will sell to profit or at least not to a loss.

I think you told me you paid 400 Board from the 12.th of June. I am charged from May 15.th 400—from the 3.^d of April to that time only 320. In addition to the news Paper you will find a Paper tucked into the Letter for M.^r Gerry that contains favorable Intelligence. *Sump-ter* has had two good Strokes upon Parties of the enemy since his Surprise. I will really, my dear Sir, write to you, one of these days which are to make up the year 1780, with a good Pen unmuddy Ink and not in a Hurry.

Your Friend and most humb. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten.

Hazard tells me of the Buckles.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Sep.^r 12.th 1780.Oct. 3.^d 1780.

Dear Sir

I thank you for your Remembrance of Sep.^r 21.st I hope your absence of four weeks was for the purpose of *enjoying* Health, not to *seek* it. Oh Doctor, I feel at this moment, Let me say it without wilful offence to any Class of Men!—I feel, Doctor, like a forlorn old cold sour Batchelor. Tartar Emetic warmed me a little but Sal *Sennet* has made me blue to the Fingers Ends. A pretty

Figure of a Gentleman I am indeed to go to Congress in raw northeast drizly weather to contrive how to raise feed cloath & pay an Army without one dollar in the Treasury! Very genial Employment to be sure it will be to listen to all the minute Detail of the Circumstances of a black-died treason! By the Bye Doctor, you are so good a Soul that "Altho' you have been a *little perplexed* about his accounts, you could not have thought that the *honorable Gentleman* would have done *just so* as he has done."

You see I am not too sick to divert myself by taking you off in *your own Style*: for I am sure you have not been brought to say any Thing more *uncomplimentary* of Major General Benedict Arnold. Oh, dear Doctor, this Laugh of mine has its attendant Sigh. To what alas! are we exposed in this best of earthly Struggles! When will our Country be at Rest & her Liberty secured?!!!

I have I think already done myself the pleasure of sending you the Journals you mention. I renew the numbers which you may give into the Secretary's office for common Use if you find your own compleated since your Date of Request.

Your Friend & h. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Compliments to Mr. Avery. I thank him for returning the Index. I will not omit water Carriage for the Journals of 1778 for him tho' he has not yet acknowledged those sent by Cap.^t Burke for 1777. He told me once he had not got them but I suppose he afterwards had them. Burke went in a little Boat to Providence Rh. Island.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell 1780.

Philad.^a Oct.^r 17, 1780.

Dear Sir

Yesterday I had the Pleasure of receiving your kind Letter of Sep. 23.^d I wish indeed that I could give an account from this or other Potent States as favorable as what you tell of M.^r Appleton. I cannot come near it. I am sorry that Sheldon has been so unfortunate in

his Health when he has made so good a Change of Climate. The poor Fellow must be quite off the Exercise of his Talent for Commerce. I expected he would have shined in the trading Line.

M.^r Partridge was so kind as to send me a scale of Depreciation. I imagine it will not be so acceptable as our continental one, but I leave that Subject to another who is more touched with it than I.

I expect in a short Time to see a printed account of your Elections on the new Constitution. There is one degree above "high Spirits;" when a "gouty" man can show such, it may be expected that upon laying aside his Flannel he will be in a "tip top" Flow. Under a weeping Cold I must close, with assuring you of my Esteem and Affection as a Friend at your Service.

James Lovell.

Gen.^l Ward delivered me the inclosed & not being able to write particularly to you presents his Regards.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^e M.^r Lovell

Oct. 1780.

Oct.^r 30.th 1780.

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 19 is a pleasing Testimony before my Eyes that you were then well. And I thank you for the kind memorandum in regard to the Health of Mrs. Lovell.

If I at any time send you a surplus Journal you can deliver it to M.^r Avery. I now forward July & Sep.^r I suspect you will find one of the former in the Secretary's office with your name. It is not however a matter of Importance equal to the Search. Gen.^l Green & Baron Steuben are going to the Southward. The Enemy have landed in Virginia and I presume mean to take Post at Portsmouth according to what was long ago mentioned in Campbel's Letter which has been printed, but the *Kentuck's mad* Folks have not been alarmed by that notification. Gov.^r Jefferson *writes* with a proper Spirit and

Nelson *acts* with the same. But the latter is not able to prevent the invaders from securing such Passes as suit their Views. I fear we call for too many men to have a proper Army. I think myself Soldier enough to do the Business of this Continent with 25,000 well armed well clothed and well fed Effectives, much better than with double the number deficient in those three points. I hope Mass. will rival all the other States in Vigor for the next Campaign. I am persuaded you do not comprehend how much depends upon her. You did not carry home contemptible Ideas enough of the negro States or of this great Braggadocio.

My Eyes are better than when I last wrote but alas I have lost my Spectacles and have had 3 laborious writing Days without them to which were added Evenings and Nights therefore now to Bed.

Affectionately yours

James Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from Mr. Lovell Oct. 1780.

Dec.^r 5 1780.

Dear Sir

Your favor of Nov. 16.th with a Gazette reached me yesterday. You suffered so much in your mind & Body when here that I will not send you any of the ill pictures which with various Signatures come daily on to our Table. I hope you will find much Satisfaction in the short Letter from Gen.^l Gates. Wemyss was a very valuable officer to the Enemy.

You may amuse yourself also as one of the medical Class by reading the Epistle of Rush to Shippen in which you will find the Writer has *relieved* himself a little upon me. Shenstone's Benevolence made him *wish* that he could *afford* to have his Pockets picked frequently. I feel a portion of his Spirit operating upon me at this Time; When I see poor Rush swelled near unto Bursting, I cannot doubt but that he finds some Relief by throwing about his Slaver and Froth, therefore when it falls upon

my Cloaths I slight the Injury because he finds so much Ease in his terrible Case.

I have said to some of you my Friends last Week that Mr. Adams had in a masterly & Independent stile defended the Resolves of March 18 against the opinions of Count de Vergennes.

He showed that the *true value* of our Paper was its *currant Rate*. That the *public Faith* which is said to be broken is a *mutual Contract* between the public and the Individuals who compose it, that either may break it, the Public by not paying the promisory Note when it has had an equivalent or the Individual by not giving that Equivalent when he takes the Note. That Government will wrong the Public by paying off Notes, current at 40 for 1, by 40 hard for 40 paper as much as if they paid 40 hard for 1 paper when the Emission was current at par.

He says no Distinction can be made between Frenchmen & other Foreigners or between any Foreigner and native Citizens. That all Foreigners become temporary Citizens. That they made such Profits as to be able to lose 3 Ships in 5, and this he proves by the prices of purchases and Sales. That they run no more Risk of Sea & Enemy than the Natives did in Trade.

That France is as much benefitted by trading with us as we are by trading with her. That the merchants of England had much more due to them when Mass. called in a Currency at $7\frac{1}{2}$ and that the King ever partial to his own Subjects in England against those in America would not have confirmed the Law of Mass: if both he & his Council had not thought it just in Regard to the British as well as wise in the Americans. That France will doubtless form the same Judgment upon the present measures when she is as fully informed. That he (M.^r A.) cannot attempt to persuade Congress to alter a Resolve the Wisdom and Justice of which has the fullest Approbation of his own Judgment and his most cordial Wishes for its Success; That as a plain and candid answer to a Question, he must say he thinks *such Proceedings* the *only Way* to gain & preserve Credit abroad because they discover Wisdom Justice & also Vigor in the American Governments.

I have injured his long Letter by these Extracts, but I give you and other friends *some* Satisfaction.

Y.^r affectionate

J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell, Dec.^r 5.th 1780.

Dec.^r 19, 1780.

I was unable on the last postday to thank you for y.^r favor of Nov.^r 23.^d—then, thro' want of time—now, I am scarcely able thro' much Indisposition of Body to notice largely all the Points to which you expect my attention. As to Bermuda you seem to have conversed more with merchants who own Privateers than with Politicians who know the great Portion of our friends in Bermuda above our Enemies a Portion which ought not to *be driven* into the mode of fitting out Cruisers who would be as troublesome to us as they were to the french formerly. As to the Duck in the Agents hands orders have been given. As to the Resolve of Nov.^r 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ respecting our Delegation, Circumstances at this moment make Remarks very requisite.

I have been ill 4 days tho' I have had a pen in my hand all the Time in my Chamber. Gen.^l Ward is quite unwell, he has attended Congress & the B.^d of War while he ought to have been in his Bed Room. M.^r Adams is not out, I fear he is also unwell. It was to make up a Delegation that I have risked myself this very vile day. Questions on European important Concerns are agitating; and single Voices serve several States, as always heretofore. I do not mention this because I am averse to the Rule of our State that 2 should be the least to give her Vote here especially when she directed 5 or 4 to attend "*upon the Duties of the Delegation.*" Nay if she does not enjoin *that* upon more than 3. But when she makes 3 necessary "*to give the Voice of the State*" she puts a great hardship upon 3 when only 3 are *attending the Duties of their Delegation* and runs a treble Risque beyond several States of losing her Vote here daily. Mass. has been at

extraordinary Expense beyond many states in furnishing heads and hands to perform Congress Drudgery, and her members have more of the Work of standing Boards & Committees than most others, because their Residence has been more usually permanent; This has exposed her to lose a Vote when she has made *numbers* necessary to give it. One of her Delegates may often render tenfold Service on the Board or Com.^{tee} of which he is a member by serving an entire day on it than by being in Congress merely as a *make-vote*. You well know these things by your past Sufferings, and M.^r Gerry has felt them at the Peril of his Life. Whatever may have been the Intention of a remarkable Variety in the Course of 4 years respecting the *Voice* of Mass: here, I do believe that in the present Case the Words do not speak the Intentions of the Movers of the Resolve. I am so persuaded of that, as to determine not to present the latter Vote to Congress with the proceedings of Oct. 4, more especially if one of us here shall be unwell;—till I hear more from you. I am almost determined not to write any more to you for either my Letters must be quite insignificant or I must tell Tales to the Enemy. 10 or 11 of those I wrote Nov.^r 20 & 21 are gone into N. Yk. Among them those to M.^r Gerry (inclosing one I think from M.^r J. Adams), Doct.^r Holten Docter Whitwell Mrs. Adams (inclosing one certainly from her Husband) Gov.^r Hancock M.^r S. Gridley with my Rhode Island & Family Letters. I am told two mails from hence are laying at Fish-kill. There are some immense Genii in the Post office Department but I am told they say the Faults of Congress marr their Plans.

Y.^r Friend and h. serv.^t

James Lovell.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten

Philad.^a

Boston.

Ja.^s Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Dec.^r 1780.

rec.^d the 4.th Jan.^y answer.^d 11.th

Jan.^{ry} 2.^d 1781.

Sir

Some days ago I got Sight of one of my Letters to M.^r Gerry published by Jemmy Rivington, but tho' I wrote to you on the same Nov.^r 20.th I do not find thro' the same Chanel what was the nature of the Scrawl. I have, at some time, told you that I should aim to persuade my Colleagues to keep back the last Rule laid down by the Assembly for the Government of the Delegates of Mass: in Congress because from the very wording of the Resolve as well as from your Letter of a Date which I cannot now recollect, I am convinced that the intent was to *oblige not more than 3* to attend on the *Duties of the Delegation*. I have so far prevailed as to get the Gentlemen to wait for some Explanation, but we have agreed to be *all* together punctual in attending to give our Voice, that we may not become culpable if such was the real intent of the Resolve; but this very day proves what I before wrote, that I could be much more usefully employed in my Chamber than here in Congress, a packet boat being under absolute order for Sailing to France.

The Paper of Dunlap is not a *news* Paper Today.

Yours affectionately

J. L.

hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Jan.^y 2.^d 1781.

16 Jan.^{ry} 1781.

Dear Sir

We had yesterday no Post from the eastern Side of Hudson's River. I inclose a paper for M.^r Jay which you will be pleased to send to the Navy Board. I am mortified by knowing from M.^r Laurens that the Letters "given to him by M.^r Lovell and the Admiralty are in the Enemy's Hands."

J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Jan.^y 1781.

Jan. 23.^d 1781.

Dear Sir

You will have found, on seeing M.^r Gerry that I endeavor to economize. I told him that "M.^r Dana had a Commission" for Russia, and I referred him to my "Scrawl to you" for other Points. Maryland confederates, Virginia *seems* to give away *Something* for the good of the Union and recommends to others to do the like. I will aim to get the Act long enough to find Time to copy it, if M.^r Otis does not leave this City today. The Com.^{tee} of April 10.th, 80 on Depreciation for the Staff was filled up Jan.^y 5.th 81 and the Instructions to the Delegates of Mass: were referred. Money is exceedingly scarce here yet Exchange is from 100 to 115 old for Silver. Loaf Sugar 2^s 6 or 36 dollars p.^r lb. I pay 200 for Stockings and the same for Shoes. Compulsion is urged as a congressional measure by Jersey & Pensylv.^a but I think we are become too wise. Things appear to M.^r J. Adams Oct: 24 to indicate a malignant Continuance of War on the Part of Britain.

I should have mentioned that Maryland has limited the Time beyond which she will not receive the old money. I wish I could purchase up all your new. It will most assuredly be high in Credit soon, tho' it seemed a little while ago as if the other States meant not to act in concert upon the Plan of the 18 of March.

We are determined it shall have its Chance of Success; We, mighty Men, totally dependent upon 13 Legislatures different in Views, for Support in our smallest Endeavors to carry on the War. Indeed, my dear Sir, we are in a Condition as to payment of our Debts that is most tormenting. All our Creditors *must* loan to us, and I suppose most of them would willingly do it if they saw their interest certain against the due Day. I wish you w.^d tell me upon what Resolve it is that our Court have acted in Regard to advances to Allen the Indian Agent. I can only find Jan.^y 8 and May 13 1777 which my Colleagues say is not what they have supposed to be at all. I will continue my Search. M.^r Gerry had a memorand.^m of the secret Resolves of all the years. We have some *cold*

Weather at last, but it is more *wholesome* than the past wet warm Season. I hope you have Health. I wish you that & every Happiness.

Affectionately J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten Esq.
 fav.^d by Mr. Otis Boston.
 (Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's letter Jan.^y 23.^d 1781
 [Rec.^d] Feb.^y 28 Ans. March 1.

Feb. 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

I have received your Favor of January 18.th and have delivered the one inclosed to Doctor Duffield.

The Speech of the King of Engl.^d to his Parliament, and the narrative of Brigadier Morgan's Success shall be inclosed for your Information at the latter you must rejoice with Fear. It was *in itself* the most compleat action of this War, but I do not foresee adequate *Consequences*. Our Army there is no match for Cornwallis, and if he pushes suddenly he will ruin Gen.^l Green, who from dire necessity has been obliged to conduct himself by Detachments one of which being ruined the whole will probably be involved in the Fortune; But if he had the 6000 he wants he could not feed them *together*. As to the King of England's Speech it may be construed for War or Peace; for, the only Thing that can be gathered from it is that he thinks he has got a Parliament absolutely devoted to his Will. It is that which gives him *more than ordinary* Satisfaction.

Our Prospects as to Money do not brighten, you may be assured that 115 were yesterday given for 1 and this at a Time when every Body complains of the Want of old Bills. I think much of this Harm arises from the Tender Acts of this State. It is supposed that the next publication of Exchange will be at 100. This is the Story propagated as the foundation of demanding upwards of 100 for 1. But, why should I say any Thing on this

Head you well know the People here and their vile Practices.

I am affectionately Yours J. L.

(Directed) Honorable Samuel Holten Esq.^r

Expr. M.^r Brown Boston.

(Endorsed) Hon.^l M.^r Lovell's letter, Feb.^y 8, 1781.

March 23, 1781.

Dear Sir

I am to acknowledge your kind attentions of Feb. 10 and March 1.st I hoped to be able to give you a better account of Cornwallis than you have of Arnold: But we must wait some Days longer before we can judge whether he will fail in his Retreat. As to Arnold He is yet too safe. I shall have opportunity of writing again next Thursday and will forward any Intelligence that may happen to arrive before that Time. I wish you had been a little more diffuse as to the Calculation of Interest at y.^r Treasury Office. I do not well comprehend your Hint in your Postscript. I will give you on the next page the Result of that Appointment of a Com.^{tee} of which you was one April 10. It is only giving *Good Words* to some of the Staff.

You will find that we got very happily through a Resolve respecting Allen's Department at the Eastward. The Resolve has been transmitted.

Y.^r Friend and affectionate humb. Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doctor Holten.

The Resolve was reconsidered and recommitted. I therefore tear it off.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Honble M.^r Lovell,

March 23, 1781.

March 27.th 1781.

Dear Sir

I yesterday received your Favor of the 15.th, as I did also some Letters from M.^r Carmichael through M.^r

Gerry's Care; But still I have none from M.^r Jay, which is very mysterious.

I am rejoiced to find the Spirit of our State so high in the common Cause notwithstanding all its particular Burthens.

You will know the Conduct of the french Fleet off the Capes of Virginia before this reaches you; but you are now also to hear that Green has lost a Battle. The french were under an absolute necessity of fighting, they would otherwise have sacrificed a little Glory to the main purpose of their sailing from Newport. They behaved most gallantly. We have only to lament their and our Disappointment by a Fog first and afterwards by a Want of Swiftness in 5 of their Ships which obliged the 3 fast Sailers to tarry for them and risque the Battle. You will have your wish as to Bermuda. All saving Clauses of former Resolves respecting that Island, and respecting Settlers and the Importers of Arms &c. will be repealed unless so far as that the Repeal sh.^d not condemn Vessels now in port or *Bermudians* with *Salt only* arriving before the 1.st of May. You will not publish my Communications unless I send the Acts of Congress. I hope you will see that the unparalleled Distress of Congress in Money Matters leaves no Remedy but calling upon such States as are *able* to furnish enough for our Necessities without affecting the true Quota which individual States ought to pay upon the confederal Principles.

I wish you Happiness being sincerely and with Esteem

Your Friend and humb. Serv.^t J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Honble. M.^r Lovell

March 27.th 1781.

Apr. 24, 1781.

Dear Sir

I am to thank you for your Favor of the 12.th and can only make Return at this Time by inclosing Gazettes which I hope you will show to M.^r Gerry before you send them to the Navy Board as usual to be forwarded. He will in return let you know how little we know from

Europe. Some very particular Engagements public & private prevent my enlarging further than to add affectionate and respectful assurances of being

Yours J. L.

(Endorsed) A letter from M.^r Lovell Apr.¹ 24.th 1781.

April 17, 1781.

Dear Sir

I have this day rec.^d your Favor of March 29.th and am as barren of news as you were at that date. The Post is become useless for Politicians to a very great Degree but I cannot refrain from giving you a Return made to Gen.^l Washington on the 1.st of April and by him forwarded to Congress.

Recruits, April 1, 1781.

	<i>joined</i>	<i>unfit</i>	<i>retained</i>	<i>none.</i>
N. H.				
Mass.	59	5	54	
R. I.	125	—	125	
C.	270	35	235	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	454	40	414	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	after the Return.			
N. Yk.	67		67	

Cornwallis has retreated quite out of Green's Reach. The Time of the Virg.^a militia being expired our army is weak. There were the greatest marks of Distress left by the British. Their Dead were buried by our People. You were in Congress at an *easy happy* Period of Business tho' you did not know it, nor did I then guess it.

Yours affectionately J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten
 Philad.^a Boston
 Ja.^s Lovell.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^l Mr. Lovell, Ap.¹ 17.th 1781.

[Rec.^d] May 6, 16. Ans.^d y.^e 7.th May.

May 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

I yesterday rec.^d y.^r favor of April 26.th I am glad to hear from you that the Massa: Troops are coming on in large numbers. Indeed Doctor the States in most Credit in Compliance with the Requisitions of Congress are very very backward and the affairs of the Continent are consequently in a most alarming Situation. I scratched a Letter and would not trust it to the Post. Perhaps I shall send it by M.^r Payne who goes tomorrow.

I inclose a Paper which will show something of the Shock of the old Continental Currency.

If the Weather is fair Tomorrow I think I shall be able to get up to the State House.

Your Friend & h. S.^t

James Lovell.

Hon. Mr. Holten.

May 8, 1781.

Dear Sir

Your Favor of the 26. of April reached me yesterday. Your Troops are coming on "in large numbers." The General informs you that Tents &c. will be much wanted; and the Court will make their "usual Exertions." Indeed Doctor I am persuaded that in a comparative View Massachusetts will appear to have been among the most vigorous States; but we are at this moment in the most disgraceful and hazardous Situation from the Backwardness of every individual State. Foreign Troops are to garison West Point because foreign Troops *can* feed themselves, and *are* paid. Our Quar.^r Mast.^r gen.^l has been obliged to sell some of his provision to enable himself to *transport* the rest to a Skeliton of an Army in Want of the very Pounds of meat or Flour which he has been forced to part with. If you know of a Compliance with one Requisition of Congress, *in Time & Quantity*, do let me have it that I may show it to the Delegates of the 12 States who cannot produce a single Instance.

We are in an Uproar here about the Money. Sailors

with Clubs parade the Streets instead of working for Paper. The Beer houses demand hard for a Pot of Drink; and all this because the Council have published that the difference between Silver and old Continental was 174, the latter having been sold 180 & 200 for one several Days. Did Massachusetts sink its Quota by the 1st of April? Some States had not then begun to sink a Shilling.

You say M.^r Partridge and M.^r Osgood are coming on: I ask with what money in their Pockets? That of our State is not counted money here. The old continental is dying by Yards not Inches. And if my Friends purchase Gold with their State money, They become Speculators, say all the Villains who have created the Necessity. Are you not aware of the Perdition that awaits my Family while the Paper System goes on. I take a Thousand Dollars here whether in old or 5 & $\frac{5}{7}$ State I draw for 1000 or 25 State. I lose the Interest on the 25 as I have twice or thrice done on 250 and I pay above 1500 for patching my Coat, &c.

May 9.th 1781.

My dear Sir

I had begun to write to you, to go by Post yesterday, but fell upon a Topic not fit to be trusted in that way, and therefore covered you a news Paper under a few Words of Intelligence. I had a private Occasion to write afterwards to M.^r Gerry somewhat largely about money, and therefore do not add any Thing to the inclosed Scrawl, persuaded that he will converse with you respecting my Letter and the Position of your Delegates here. But I must not refrain from adding that their private Embarrassments are but a small Clue towards explaining their public. Congress without their money Presses, depending on the punctual Supplies of the States are, at this critical Period of the Campaign, as a Set of Clockmakers from whom an Orrery or Microcosm is expected tho' their Hands are evidently struck with the dead Palsy.

I shall trouble you not again with any private Concerns.

If I can hobble up Street I will endeavor to make the Backwardness of the Printer of the Journals less & less a Disadvantage by giving you often manuscript Heads of what you ought to know.

Affect.^{ly} & with Esteem

Hon. Mr. Holten.

Y.^{rs} J. L.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten Esq.

Philad.^a

Boston.

Jas. Lovell.

(Endorsed) Three Letters from Mr. Lovell ye 8 & 9 of May 1781. Ans.^d May 24.th

May 22.^d

D. Sir

I am to thank you for your Favor of the 7.th The Militia at the Southward have behaved very ill at Times and most gallantly also in Turn; and Gov.^r Jefferson says they have had their Triumph in seing picked british Regulars run like Sheep before very inferior Numbers of our Men.

I have already mentioned to M.^r Adams his Namesakes Plan of a Loan in Holland and our Receipt of a most cordial Letter from the King of France upon the Representation of our Finances last November. We have not yet the Detail of his friendly Intentions. They are communicated in Cyphers.

I think Cornwallis will certainly join Phillips but I hope G.^l Green will succeed at Campden.

Y.^r Friend & humble Serv.^t

James Lovell.

Hon.^{ble} Doct.^r Holten.

(Directed) Hon.^{ble} Samuel Holten

Philad.^a

A Counsellor of Massachusetts

Ja.^s Lovell.

Boston.

(Endorsed) A letter from the Hon.^l M.^r Lovell, May 22.^d 1781.

rec.^d June 20.th Ans.^d—21.

May 29, 81.

D.^r Sir

I have y.^r Favor of the 17.th doubly and trebly agreeable as it proved your own Health Mr. Gerry's and his success. I had really fixed him to a sick Bed.

You will be anxious about our Intelligence from Europe. We have much but I am too greatly overcome by the Heat, to sweat over the Consideration of what I ought to communicate to be consistent with an Obligation to Secresy imposed at this Time with a propriety not always connected with that Injunction in our continental Assembly. However, I may tell you that your own Printers have given you quite enough to show you that the Wheel of Time will not afford you another such six months as the Coming. Political Glory or Infamy of a lasting Kind is most assuredly depending on them, more especially on the two first of them, in which there must be an almost universal Change of Manners. Every Requisition already made must be fully complied with, and even more must be in forwardness. Let not the former Calls of *once for all* make us callous on this Occasion. The Execrations of Posterity will fall more justly perhaps on the Inattention & Negligence of the States distant from the immediate Carnage of the War than upon the Despondency and Cowardwice of those in which it centers should we finally be disgraced by a Combination of all those Circumstances.

Y.^r Anxious Fr.^d

J. L.

Oh this stagnated Air of Philad.^a I cannot write to M.^r Adams am happy to hear he is well at home.

(Endorsed) M.^r Lovell's letter May 29.th 1781.

Among the papers of Dr. Holyoke is the following bill against the Colony for professional services. It was written by him on very coarse brown wrapping paper, and is without any signature. It would appear by his

books of account, which are in the possession of the Institute, that the bill, of which this was probably a duplicate, was not paid except the last five items.

The Colony of the M. Bay to E. A. Holyoke D.^r

To Surgery, to sundry medicines administer.^d & attendance on sundry Persons, as follows Viz.^t

1775	Nath. ¹ Cleaves of Beverley wounded in Lexington Battle.		
Apr. ¹ 20. th	To amputating his finger, sutures &c.	8_	} 12_
to May 24. th	To 5 Dressings D. ^o	4_	
Apr. 20. th	A Regular Soldier (a Prisoner) wounded in Lexington Battle.		
	To Dressing his Leg & Jour. to Danvers	3_	3
.. 20. th	Dennis Wallis, wounded in Lexington Battle.		
	To Dressing his Thigh & a Journey	3_	3
	Tho. ^s Manning of Col. ^o Mansfield's Reg. ^t (Pleuritic)		
May 23. ^d	To phlebot. ^r 2_8 To 10 Visits 13_4	} 1_ 2_ 2	
to 30. th	To sundry med. ^s 6_2 at 6 several times		
June 15. th	Edw. ^d 25 Rogers of Col. ^o Little's Reg. ^t (Pleuritic)		
	To phlebot. ^r 2_8 To 9 Journeys & Visits to Danvers 18_	} 1_ 4_ 6	
to 24. th	To med. ^s at 7 several times 3_10		
	Cap. ⁿ Eben. ^r Winship of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuritic)		
June 22. ^d	To phlebot. ^r 2_8 To 19 visits 25_4	} 1_19_	
to July 16. th	To med. ^s at 14 several times 11_		
June 23. ^d	Pike of Col. ^o Little's Reg. ^t Pleuritic.		
	To phlebot. 1_4 To 2 Journeys 4_	} 5_ 8	
	To med. ^s _4		
July 2 ^d	Eben. ^r Kenney of Mansfield's. Cholic.		
4 th	To 2 Visits & Journeys 4_	} 5_10	
	To med. ^s at twice 1_10		
July 1.	Jn. ^o Rice of Col. ^o Mansfield's. Pleuritic.		
	To visit 1_4 To med. ^s 1_		2_ 4
Aug. 17	Thomas Williams of Col. ^o Mansfield's		
	To visit 1_4 Med. ^s _8		
	Math[ews] Jackson of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuritic)		
Sept. 10. th	To 4 visits 5_4	} 7_ 2	
To 13. th	To med. ^s at 3 times 1_10		

²⁵ Edmund of Newburyport in Dr. Holyoke's ledger.

1775	Bro. ^t forward		
	John Preston of Col. Mansfield's (Rheumatic)		
Oct. 13 th	To 8 visits 10_8	}	15_10
To 30	To med. ^s at 7 times 5_2		
	Isaac Taylor of Col. Mansfield's		
Oct. 14	To 2 visits 2_8	}	4 10
To 16	To med. ^s at 3 times 2_2		
	David Newhall of Col. ^o Mansfield's		
May 26	To 2 visits 2_8	} 3_4	
29	To med. ^s _8		
Sep. ^r 7	To Dressing his scalded feet 4 times & cerates 5_4	}	4_12_ 8
Oct. 10	To Amputating his Arm 40_26		
To Nov. 20	To 30 Dressings 40_ & med. ^s 4_ £4_4		
	Wa[tts] of (Dysentery)		
Nov. 9	To 6 visits 8_	}	13_
	To med. ^s at 5 several times 5_		
	Burrows		
Nov. 16	To visit 1_ 4 To med. ^s 1_		2_ 4
	Jn. ^o Marble soldier on board Cap. ^s Adams		
Dec. 17	To phlebot. 1_4 To med. ^s _8	}	3_ 4
18	visit 1_4		
	Ralph Taylor a captive (carpent. ^r of y. ^o store ship) []		
Dec. 28	To 8 visits 10_8	} per order of	13_10
to Jan. 24	To med. ^s at 6 several times 3_2		
			M. ^r Felt
1776	Jn. ^o Sinclair (captive) of y. ^o ordnanc stor Brig. ^o []		
Jan. ^r 3	To phlebot. 1_4	}	3_ 4
4	To visit 1_4 med. ^s _8		
	Joshua Bickford soldier in Col. ^o Mansfield's (Fever)		
Aug. 29	To phlebot. ^r 2_8 To 11 visits 14_8	}	1_ 2_
to Sep. ^r 15	To med. ^s at 8 several times 4_8		
	Pickworth of Col. ^o Mansfield's (Pleuropneumonia)		
Aug. 17	To plebot 1_4 To 6 visits 8_	}	12_ 6
22	To med. ^s at 6 times 3_2		
			<u>£15_10_ 4</u>

(Endorsed) Acc^o ag.^t Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

The following minutes, made at the time, refer to some of the events of the revolution.

Dr. Holyoke has these entries in his almanac :

1774, August 10, Delegates from Boston set out for Philadelphia.

“ “ 13, The 59.th Regiment landed at Salem.

²⁶ Lost in defending a Privateer of a Ship of War.

- 1774, Sept. 10, The 59.th Regiment marched from Salem for Boston.
 1775, June 17, Battle at Charlestown. Charlestown burned.
 " " 19, Great numbers removed from this town.
 1776, July 13, Declaration of Independence published.

Dr. Holyoke's wife writes to her uncle, Jonathan Simpson :

1780, Feb. 27, We are put to the greatest difficulty to provide for our family, even the common necessaries of Provision & Clothing. Wood has been frequently sold at one hundred pounds L. M. per cord & the lowest £60 & other things in the same proportion, so that it is almost impossible to live. * * * We are obliged to wear now what we should have been ashamed to have given away.

In the diary of John Mascarene, then the Collector at the Port of Salem, are the following entries :

1775, April 19, Hostilities begun between the King's Troops & our people.

1775, April 28, Capt. John Derby sailed for London with an account of the battle on the 19.th

1775, June 17, A fight in Charlestown & the town burned by the King's troops.

1775, June 18, A melancholy sabbath. No public worship. The country in confusion.

1775, July 18, Boston town meeting at Concord. Capt. Derby arrived from England.

1775, Oct. 12, Gen.^l Lee came to town, viewed the Companies.

In a memorandum-book of preachers and texts Jonathan Gardner of Salem occasionally refers to public affairs.

1775, April 23, No meeting on account of the grate surprise the people were in, and fearing that Ships of War should come in to Salem and Distroy the town. It was also expected a seasure of Provisions so that there was from three to four hundred teams in for Provisions & Goods, which made grate Confusion.

1775, June 18, No meeting by Reason of a battle at Charlestown last night by the Regular troops and the Provincials, wherein fifteen hundred of the former was slain & wounded, only about one hundred of the latter, which was a Miracle.

1776, March 18, This day the Regular troops Imbarked from Boston hall.^d down to Nantasket & part saild 25 & the remainder saild 27 day.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS
OF THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE.

VOL. XIII.

OCTOBER, 1876.

No. 4.

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

. [Continued from Vol. XIII, page 134, Part 2.]

COMMUNICATED BY JAMES KIMBALL.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 5.th 1777.

Ordred

That a Reg.^{tl} Court Martial Be held to Morrow at
the Labouratory at 10 oClock for the Tryall of Isaac
Pilsberry in Cap.^t Grays Company.

Cap.^t Amos Lincoln President.

Leiut. White Judge Advocate

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

Proceedings of a regimental Court Martial held at the
Laboratory in the Reg.^t of Artill. Command.^d by Col^o
Tho.^s Crafts.

By Order of the Col.^o for the Tryal of Isaac
Pilsberry, Matross in Cap.^t Grays Comp.^y in said Reg.^t
Boston Aug.^t 8.th 1777.

Cap. Amos Lincoln, President.

Leiu.^t White Judge Advocate.

¹The most of this number is recorded in the handwriting of Adj. Newhall.

Prisoners Crime, Drunk on Guard and Not able to Do his Duty.

Pleads Guilty.

The Court after Impartially Judging the Nature of the Offence are still of Oppinion and Do sentence the prisoner to Receive Ten Lashes on his Naked Back with a Cat O Nine Tailis.

Amos Lincoln, Presid.^t

The Col.^o Disaproves the sentence of the Court Martial & Pardons the Prisoner.

P.^r Order Col.^o Crafts

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 8th 1777.

Ordred.

That Leiu.^t Marston with the Detachment that went first down to Hull with him return to Boston the first Convenient Opportunity.

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 10th 1777.

Order'd

That Eighteen Non Commission'd Officers, Serjeants, Corporals, Bombardiers, Gunners, & four Matrosses, be draughted every day to do duty at the Laboratory to work the same hours as the last Orders.

That all the Non Commission'd Officers and Matrosses of Duty Punctually and Strictly follow the late Orders for Exercising the Cannon and small Arms.

The Major and Adjutant will see that these Orders are Strictly Executed both by Commission'd, Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses.

By Order Col.^o Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 12.th 1777.

Order'd

That their be an addition of three to the Guard and that one Centinel be placed at or Near the Marque as Centinel in the Camp.

That the Serjeants be very attentive in seeing that the

Straw in the Streets in Camp are swept every Morning and that all sorts of Dirt, Rags &c., are removed from within the Park.

That one Sec.^d Lieu.^t mount Guard every Day, and Report not only the Occurances of the Guard & Reg.^t, but the State of the Park and Camp.

By Order of Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 15.th 1777.

Order'd.

That a General Court Martial be held at the Laboratory to Morrow at 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them.

Col.^o Revere, President.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 16.th 1777.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the State Reg.^t of Artill.^y Com.^d by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts for the Tryal of John Griffith Serg.^t in Cap.^t Marrett's Comp.^y and Nath.¹ Trowles, Gun.^r in s.^d Comp.^y by Order of y^e Col.^o

Lieu.^t Col.^o Revere, President.

Prisoners Crimes.

John Griffith Neglect of Duty. Nath.¹ Fowles, Gun.^r leaving his Detachment at Castle Island without Liberty of the Commanding Officer.

Both Pleads Guilty.

The Court after Mature Deliberation are of oppinion that John Griffith be reprimanded at the Head of y^e Reg.^t by y^e Adjutant at such time and Place as the Col.^o shall appoint.

That Nath.¹ Fowles be Reduced to the Ranks.

Sign'd Paul Revere President.

The Col. approves of the Sentance of the Court and Orders it to be Executed at Roll Call this Evening, and that Cap.^t Marrett send Fowles to his Station at the Castle.

Order'd that the Court be Disolv'd.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 17.th 1777.

It is with great Uneasiness and Regret the Col.^o finds himself under the Disagreeable Necessity in this Publick Manner to say he finds so little regard has been paid to his Orders of y^e 22^d June he not having yet receiv'd one Return of a Size Roll, or a Description Roll.

It gives him Pain to find so many Officers Deficient in Attending Roll Call and Exercising notwithstanding his positive Orders for that Purpose of July y^e 1.st and since renewed by Orders of Aug.^t 10.th

Altho' he has only mentioned Officers he finds the Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses have almost lost every Idea of Military Subordination and Discipline, and that many of them Totaly Neglect their Duty and make the miserable Plea of Forgetfulness there Excuse.

As Court and Cashing for Commiss.^d Officers as well as severe Punishments for Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matrosses is Extremely Disagreeable to him the Necessity of the Military Laws being put in Execution appears to him absolutely Necessary, he has, therefore, come to a Determination they shall be executed without favour or affection in future both on Officers and Men.

He is sorry to hear that some Officers have taken upon themselves to Judge of the Propriety, or impropriety of Orders, by Voluntarily having entred the Army they give up their Right of Private Judgment, and are to look on themselves as Machines, to obey Orders implicitly.

He is by no means pleas'd with the Advantage that has been taken of his Lenity, in granting leave to the Cap.^{ts} to suffer some of their Men to lay out of Camp as he finds it is so general that there is perhaps not more than one in a Tent and Expects this great Evil will be remedied Immediately.

As every Cap.^t is or ought to be Furnished with the Regulations of the Army as order'd by this State.
Order'd.

That they be read at the Head of each Comp.^y the last Tuesday in the Morning in every Month in future, and the standing (orders which are ready to be Deliver'd) on Tuesday, every Fortnight.

That each Cap.^t make an immediate return of the Non Commiss.^d Officers and Matros.^s what Blanketts, Cloathing are wanting, and the necessary Equipments for their Arms.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 19.th 1777.

Order'd.

That Edmond Morse be restored as Corporel in Cap.^t Bradle's Company who was lately reduced to the Ranks by a Court Martial, as his Good behaviour since has Merited a restoration.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 19.th 1777.

Order'd

That a Regimental Court Martial be held to morrow Morning 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

Cap.^t Phillips President.

Paul Revere, L.^t Col.^o

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 20.th 1777.

Proceedings of a Regimental Court Martial held in the State Reg.^t of Artill.^y Commanded by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

By Order L.^t Col.^o Revere.

Cap.^t Turner Phillips, President.

Prisoners Names—Samuel Peabody Matross in Cap.^t Lincoln's Comp.^y Ephriam Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt, all of Cap.^t Balches Comp.^y

Prisoners Crimes.

Sam.^{ll} Peabody being absent from Roll Call and not appearing for Guard when warned. Ephriam Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt, Destroying the Barracks.

Samuel Peabody Pleads Guilty. Ephriam Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt not Guilty.

Sam.^{ll} Peabody says he was mistaken in the time of Day, Thought it was but Eight oClock when it was Nine.

Ephraim Norcutt, W.^m Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt Pleads not Guilty.

Tho.^s Pelham being duly sworn says he saw Ephraim Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt carrying away the Pieces out of the Barrack Yard:

Jere.^h Blanchard Sworn Says he saw Eph.^m and Zenus carry away the pieces to their House.

Ephraim Norcutt and Zenus Norcutt say in their Defense that they had no wood, and that Gowen told them to go and get some at the Barrack.

The Court having Duly considered the Evidence, are of Oppinion that Sam.^h Peabody, Ephraim Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt are Guilty of the Crimes alledged against them, but that W.^m Norcutt is not Guilty, and do Sentance that Sam.^h Peabody, Ephraim Norcutt, and Zenus Norcutt be employed in Diging a Vault and Cleaning the Camp and Park, exclusive of their other Duty, and that W. Norcutt be released from his Confinement.

Turner Phillips, President.

The Col.^o Approves of the Sentance of the Court and Orders the Adjutant to see it executed.

They are to begin to Dig this Afternoon.

The Court is Dissolvd.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 21.st 1777.

Ordered.

That a General Court Martial be held to morrow at 10 oClock for the Tryal of such Prisoners as may be brought before them.

Major Melvill President.

Lieu.^t White Judge Advocate.

Paul Revere Lieu.^t Col.^o

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 22.^d 1777.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the Reg.^t of Artill.^y Comma.^d by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts, by Order Col.^o Revere.

President Major Tho.^s Melvill.

Judge Advocate Lieu.^t White.

Prisoners Names : John Gowen, John Grigory.

John Gowen for Destroying the Barracks. Pleads Guilty.

John Grigory for being in Liquor making a Disturbance in the Streets and refusing to go to his Quarters, abusing and striking Serj.^t Reidel. Pleads not Guilty.

John Grigory Dammaging the Guard House. Pleads Guilty.

John Grigory Deserting from under Guard, and entering on Board the Washington Privateer, Threatning to kill the First Man who should come to take him. Pleads not Guilty.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Gowen are of oppinion he is Guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge and Sentance him to be Muled Twenty-Four Shillings out of his wages.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Disobeying the Serj.^{ts} Orders are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Charge, and do Sentance him to Receive ten Lashes on his Naked Back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

The Court after maturely Considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Striking the Serj.^t are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Crime and do Sentance him to receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

The Court after maturely considering the evidence for and against John Grigory of deserting from under Guard are of Oppinion it is no Crime.

The Court after maturely considering the Evidence for and against John Grigory for Entring on Board the Washington Privateer are of Oppinion he is Guilty of the Charge and do Sentance him to Receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked Back with a Cat of Nine Tails. And also for Threatning with his Knife Drawn to be the Death of the first of the Guard who should come to take him and actually wounding one, and otherwise being very abusive, sentence him to receive Thirty Nine Lashes on his Naked Back with a Catt of Nine Tails.

Tho.^s Melvill President.

The Col.^o approves of the Sentance of the Court, both of Grigory and Gowing, and Orders that Gowing be

releas'd, and that Grigory Receive his Punishment on Monday Morning one Hour before Roll Call and that the whole of the Reg.^t now in Town be paraded for that purpose.

The Court is Dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 24.th 1777.

Guards as Usual.

Order'd

That exercising be Omitted tomorrow morning. That Roll Call in the After Noon be at half after Six oClock. By Order Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 24.th 1777.

An Address to the Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses.

The Col.^o is extremely sorry, & it gives him pain to think, he is at last Obliged to Consent to the Corporal Punishment of one in his Regiment. He had flattered himself altho' he had pardoned so many, that his last declaration, not to pardon in future, would have deter'd the Men from presuming on his lenity.

Punishments are extremely erksom & disagreeable to him; but he is Obliged to say he finds they are Absolutely Necessary. The enormous crimes of the present Offender are so Great that he could not pass it over in Justice to the State, the Reg.^t, or himself. He cannot but please himself, the men will look on this punishment as strictly Just & Right, that their Conduct will be such in future as that he will never have the hard & selfdenying task of either Judging on, or approving of such another punishment.

Altho Gregory's crimes are so great the Col.^o thinks proper to take off all but fifty Stripes.²

² Gregory was sentenced to receive 118 lashes; by the above order they are reduced to 50.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 27.th 1777.

Order'd

That Lieu.^t Col.^o Revere, Major Melvill, Capt.^t Edes, Cap.^t Gray, Todd, Phillips, Bradle, Cap.^t Lieu.^t Ingersol, Scollay, Bussey, Meinzie & Warner, First Lieu.^{ts} Revere, Grant, Marston, McClure & Bell, Second Lieu.^{ts} Hudebert, Metcalf, Meinzie & Ingersol, Quarter Master, Sergeant, five Drums & five fifes, one Hundred & twenty, Sergants, Corporels, Bombardiers, Gunners & Matrosses, the whole to hold themselves in Readiness to March at a Moment's Warning with six days provisions.³

The Commissioned Officers & Men are to Carry no other Cloaths than their Regimentals, two pair Stockings & two Shirts.

The whole of the Above Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses to appear tomorrow Morning at Roll Call completely equip'd for Marching. Their provisions will be Drawn for them which they are to Carry, except what they now have by them, which they are to Cook to Night.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Aug.^t 28.th 1777.

The Legislature of this State haveing Appointed this day 28.th Aug.^t as a Day of Humiliation and Prayer :

Order'd

That the Commission'd Officers, Matrosses, &c. Appear at the park dressed in their Uniform Clean & Powder'd precisely at half after one oClock P. M. and from thence March to the late Rev.^d M.^r How's Meeting House to hear a Sermon preached to them by the Rev.^d M.^r Thatcher.

After worship is over the whole of the Detachment Under Marching Orders will form at the Meeting-house Door & March from thence in Regular Order to the Common, receive their Arms and Baggage & immediately March from thence out of town to their destination.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

³ Sent to Worcester to take charge of the Prisoners captured at Bennington by Gen. Starks. (Note by Major Melvill in 1833. J. K.)

Watertown Aug.^t 29.th 1777.

As Strict Discipline, and Good Order is the life & Soul of a Soldier, the Lieu.^t Colonel expects that there will be the best Order observed on the March, the Commissioned Officers are to see that the men behave well, that they by no Means hurt or destroy any man's property, that they Abuse no person, but in everything behave like men Belonging to the Massachusetts State Train of Artillery. When their is a halt the Serg.^{ts} are to be Accountable for the behaviour of the Men. Should any of the Non Commis'd Officers or Soldiers be so hardy as to act Contrary to the Above directions they may depend upon being punished with the utmost Severity.

By Order Col.^o Revere.

Head Quarters Worcester Sep.^r 2.^d 1777.

Order'd

That there be a Guard Rais'd this evening to consist of one Cap.^t L.^t, one first & one second Lieu.^t, two Serg.^{ts}, four Corp.^{ls}, one Drum & one fife and twenty-seven men to mount at the Meeting-house. The whole Detachment will draw four Days provision to Morrow Morning at 7 oClock & cooke it by nine so as to be Ready to March at Eleven.

By order L.^t Col.^o Revere.

[NOTE.⁴ The detachment marched to Worcester and took charge of several hundred prisoners,⁵ Highlanders, Germans, Canadians, &c., and escorted them to Boston. John Marston, 25 May, 1833.]

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^r 7.th 1777.

Order'd

That the Quarter Guard and the party for the Labora-

⁴ (This NOTE was entered by Lt. Marston, living at this date. J. K.)

⁵ These prisoners were taken by Gen. Stark at Bennington, and the trophies of this campaign, now suspended in the Senate Chamber of Mass., placed there by order of the General Court (Ho. Jour., Dec. 4, 1777), were sent by Gen. Stark to the Authorities of Mass.

tory be the same tomorrow as it was before the Detachment March'd for Worcester. That Roll Call in the Afternoon be at six oClock.

That their be a General Court Martial held tomorrow at 10 oClock at the Laboratory for the trial of such Prisoners as shall be brought before them.

Col.^o Revere President.

Judge Advocate L.^t White.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters.

Proceedings of a General Court Martial held in the Reg.^t of Artillery Commanded by Col.^o Tho.^s Crafts by Order the Col.^o Boston Sep.^r 6.th 1777.

President L.^t Col.^o Revere.

Judge Advocate L.^t White.

Prisoner's Names.

John Gowin, Thomas Cleverly, Caleb Southward.

Prisoner's Crimes.

John Gowen for Stealing, being Drunk, Deserting a file of men & Abusing Serg.^t Griffith.

Pleads not Guilty.

Tho.^s Cleverly & Caleb Southward for playing Cards on the Sabbath.

Pleads Guilty.

The Court after maturely considering the Evidence for & against John Gowin are of Opinion he is not Guilty, no Evidence appearing for his being Drunk, & that his Deserting the Guard & Abuse of Serg.^t Griffith was while a prisoner & not Punishable by this Court & therefore do acquit him.

The Court are of Oppinion that Cleverly ride the Wooden Horse for a Quarter of an hour with a Muskett at each foot & that Southward Clean the Streets of the Camp.

Paul Revere Presid.^t

The Col.^o Approves of the Sentance of the Court on Each Prisoner & orders it to be executed tomorrow Morning after Roll Call.

The Court is Dissolved.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^r 16.th 1777.

Order'd

That the Captains who Commanded in the Detachment that went to Worcester see that the Cartridges which were Deliver'd out to the Men under their Command be Return'd to the Commissary of Ordnance tomorrow Morning.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 16.th 1777.

Order'd

That a Corporal & three Matrosses be sent this Morning as a Guard to the Magazine at West Boston.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 21.st 1777.

Order'd

That the Commission'd, Non Commissioned Officers & Matrosses in Town & at the out port hold themselves in readiness by Thursday 25th Instant to go on a secret expedition. The time the Reg.^t will be employ'd in s^d service will not exceed 6 weeks. Ordered that the Officers & Men take no more baggage than what will be Absolutely Necessary.

Ordered, That an immediate return be made of the Regiment with the waiters sick, on furlow, & at the Out posts and that the Adjutant have s^d Return ready by to Morrow 3 oClock.

By order Col.^o T. Crafts.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 23.^d 1777.

Order'd

That the tattoo be beat this Evening at 9 oClock to sett of from the Laboratory down the lane & through the Main street & then up Winter Street to the Laboratory again.

Ordered, That every Non Commission'd Officer & Matross sleep in Camp this Night, except those who shall

receive leave in writing from their Captains to the contrary & any one who's taken up in the Streets after Tattoo beating shall be committed to the Main Guard at Fort Hill, or to the common Goal, & the Commission'd Officers will be particularly attentive to the Verbal Orders they have received respecting this Matter.

By order Col.^o T. Crafts.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

In Council Sep.^t 23.^d 1777.

Order'd that the several Captains in Col.^o Craft's Regiment of Artillery in the Service of this State who have receiv'd or shall receive Warrants upon the Treasury of this State for Money for the use of the Men borne on their respective Rolls for wages to the first day of October next be & they are hereby directed not to pay any of their Men who have signed & presented to Col.^o Crafts a certain mutinous writing wherein among other things they have absolutely refused to March according to orders duly & regularly issued, untill the further Order of the Board, such Warrants Notwithstanding.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

Council Chamber Sept.^r 26.th 1777.

Sergeant Mathew James of Capt. Balch's Company,
 Sergeant Henry Sibley of Capt. Gill's Company,
 Sergeant Thaddeus Gale of Capt. Phillip's Company,
 Sergeant Ephraim Durant of Capt. Edes's Company,
 Sergeant Ebenezer White of Capt. Todd's Company,
 Sergeant Benjamin Hodgkins of Capt. Bradle's Company,
 Sergeant John Griffith of Capt. Marrett's Company,
 Sergeant Ephraim Bullard of Capt. Gray's Company,

All of Col.^o Thomas Craft's Regiment of Train tried at a Special Court Martial whereof Lt. Col.^o Revere was President for exciting, beginning, causing & joining in a Mutiny & Sedition in said Regiment, and Sentanced by said Court each of them to be whipped Thirty Nine Stripes on his bare back & that each of them be reduced to the Ranks.

The Council approves of the said sentences & order them to be put in Execution this Day at five oClock Afternoon in presence of the Reg.^t to which they belong in such place as Col.^o Crafts shall direct.

Sign'd Jere. Powell President.

State of Massachusetts Bay,

Council Chamber, Sept.^r 26,th 1777.

Whereas, Mathew James, Henry Sibley, Thaddeus Gale, Ephraim Durant, Ebenezer White, Benjamin Hodgkins, John Griffith, & Ephraim Bullard, all Sergeants in Colonel Crafts' Regiment, & Sentanced Yesterday by a Court Martial to be whipped & reduced to the ranks, & said sentence having been approved by the Council & Order'd to be put in execution & whereas the said Persons have all of them Petitioned this Board praying that a Pardon may be Granted them & they exempted from suffering the said sentence & Col.^o Crafts & Lieut. Col.^o Revere having requested mercy for them, Therefore,

Ordered, That the Pardon be & hereby is granted to the said Mathew James, Henry Sibley, Thaddeus Gale, Ephraim Durant, Ebenezer White, Benjamin Hodgkins, John Griffith & Ephraim Bullard, all sergeants in Col.^o Crafts' Regiment, & Col.^o Crafts is hereby directed to discharge them from their confinement without punishment & they are directed to return to their duty, the sentence of the Court Martial of Yesterday & order of the Council of this day directing the said sentence to be put in execution notwithstanding.

And Col.^o Crafts is also further directed to Order his Captains to pay the Men who were represented to this Board as Guilty of Mutiny & the Order of the Board of the 23.^d instant to the contrary Notwithstanding.

[NOTE. The above mentioned Sergeants & others refused to march out of the State and to go on the expedition to Rhode Island. J. Marston, May, 1833.]⁶

⁶ Note made by J. Marston as of date. J. K.

Head Quarters Boston Sep.^t 26.th 1777.

Order'd

That the whole of the Regiment hold themselves in readiness to March to Morrow at 10 oClock.⁷

That the Non Commissioned Officers & Men have three Day's Provision cook'd.

By Order Col.^o T. Crafts.

There appears to have been no entries made in the Orderly Book during the first Campaign to Rhode Island; but finding a few family letters written by Sergeant Major William Russell, they are introduced as tending to illustrate incidentally the duty devolving upon the command of Col. Crafts. (J. K.)

Tiverton, Oct.^r 2.^d 1777.

My Dear :

These few Lines comes with my Love to you & family, hop'g they will find you & yours as well as they leave me. I have not time to write all I want to for M.^r Hamilton is waiting. We are in good Quarters & about 4 miles from the Enemy. The Militia comes to us fast. Every thing on the Roads is very dear. Rum is 20s. a Quart. Pray write to me by M.^r Hamilton as he is to come back quick. Excuse my shortness. I am my Dear your ever Lov'g Husband till Death.—W.^m Russell.

Hearsay & Griffith Desires to be Rememb.^d to all. My Love to all friends.

Tiverton, Octob.^r 8.th 1777.

My Beloved Wife :

These few lines comes, with my Sincere love to you & family, hoping they will find them as well as they leave me (God's Name be Praised for it). I never had my health better than I now have, & God has cast my lot in a Good family, where the Gentlewoman

⁷This expedition was to be a secret one; its object was not fully understood. It was to consist of several thousand troops from the nearest counties, the State Train of Artillery under Col. Crafts, with the Militia of Mass. under Gen. Hancock, the whole under Gen. Spencer of Connecticut. Its failure was attributed to the inability of concentrating troops promptly and in sufficient force. It was severely criticized in the Boston Gazette of January, 1778.

makes of me as a little child (M.^{rs} Durfey). My dear, I only want your Company and family to make me completely happy in this World, but that can't be obtain'd yet. I trust it wont be long before I shall be at home again. This day M.^{rs} Jemima Wilkinson was at my Quarters, and Spoke with us, & Exorted us to Repent, and turn to the Lord and he would have mercy upon us. It is the same Woman that was at Boston, & I like her much, & I beg of you to seek the Lord while he may be found, and pray for me, that God would cover my head in the day of Battle, which I expect before this day week. My dear, I long to have a letter from you & pray send every opportunity. Pray send me some Sugar, for I can't get any here. I live well, have Apples & Milk for Breakfast & Supper, Good Meat & Sauce for Dinner.

You may send me some writing paper & Sugar by M.^r Hamilton, he is a good friend to me. My Dear Wife, my heart is with you. Pray excuse my shortness. I am & ever shall Remain your lov'g husband till Death us part,
W^m. Russell.

P. S. Remember me to all my friends, duty to my mothers, love to M.^r Pierce & Wife, &c., love to M.^{rs} Farnum, &c.

Hearsay, Griffith, Wilson, &c., are well, desire to be Remember'd. This is the 4.th Lett.^r, Rec.^d only one.

Tiverton Oct.^r 15.th 1777.

My Dear :

I am well, & glad to receive your Letters, it gives me Joy to read your Writing. I should have been glad to have got the Sugar, however, the Boats are ready, for to carry us immediately to Newport, where I hope to get some. My dear Wife, excuse my Reprimand that I sent and Accept my love. I am sorry to find that Sammy has been ill, glad to hear that he & Mame is better. I am in such haste, that I can't enlarge. My dear, excuse my shortness. Your Lov.^g Husband till death,

W^m. Russell.

When you write send to the Laboratory. My duty to my Mothers. Love to my friends. This Night I am a going on the Island.

[To be continued.]

EARLY RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF ROWLEY, MASS.¹

COMMUNICATED BY GEO. B. BLODGETTE, A. M.

[1648]

At a Town Meeting the 20th of the 11th 48.

Thomas Barker, Humfrey Reyner, Mathew Boys, William Acee, Thomas Lever were chosen to order the affaires of the towne this yeare.

Thomas Dickinson was chosen to be constable this yeare.

Mr. Richard Swan, William Law, William Jackson and John Scales were to be overseers of the Hy wayes and Common Gates and fences, and to see to the execution of all such orders as shall be made this yeare.

John Pickard is chosen Marshill for gathering all the fines and forfeitures this yeare.

Ed Carleton, Francis Parrot are chosen to assist the five men in laying the ministry rate this yeare.

Ed Carleton, Capt. Briggam, Thomas Mighell, Francis Parrot, Mathew Boyes, Joseph Jewett were chosen to Judge and determine every mans proportion of land in the midows.

¹ The book from which the following was copied seems to have been the first book used by the early town clerks for recording the doings of town meetings. About 1672 a new book was begun, which is now called "Book No. 1" of the town records, and into it was copied everything in the old book, except the following names of persons who were elected from time to time as officers of the town. The old book was then discarded and suffered to go to ruin. Many of its pages are gone, and in a few years the names will be effaced.

[1649]

5 men chosen for this yeare ensuing,

Capt. Briggam, Thomas Mighel, Maximilian Jewet,
Thomas Barker, Thomas Lever.

Thomas Dickinson chosen constable this yeare 1649.

Overseers for the execution of towne orders and hy
wayes this 1649

Hu Smith, Samuell Brokelbanke,
John Smith, John Person.

Brother Joseph Jewett and Deacon Mighell to vew the
bounding of midows by the 4 of 3rd month.

John Person, John Pickard and Will Boynton are
chosen to warne towne metings this 7th of february 49.

february 7th 49

Tho. Mighell, Math: Boyes and Joseph Jewett were
chosen to determyne any difference that may arise be-
twene any about ther fence and allsoe bounds of midows.

[1650]

January the third 50 at a Towne Meeting the Select
then chose for this yeare folowing—

Mathew Boyes, John Trumble, Thomas Leaver.

Constable, the same that was.

Overseers, Joh Smith, Edward Hason, Hugh Chaplin,
Samuell Brocklbank.

Marshall, Will Law.

For warning Town Meeting, Thomas Teny, who is
allsoe to call towne meetings, William Stickney, William
Boynton.

Pinder, John Pallmer.

[1651]

December the 19th

Chosen for prudentiall men

Francis Parrot, William Asie, Hugh Smith, William
Boynton, Samuell Brocklebank.

Overseers, Edward Hasen, William Teny, Hugh Chaplin, John Boynton.

Marshall, William Law.

Constable, John Pickard.

[1652]

Richard Swan, William Hobson, William Stickney, Samuell Brocklebanke, William Tenny, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 20th of December 1652.

[1653]

William Hobson, John Pickard, Thomas Dickinson, William Tenney, John Smith, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 16th of December 1653.

for constable, Thomas Leaver.

for Marshall, Thomas Tenney.

for overseers, James Bayley, John Person, John Barker, Petter Couper.

for ponder, Charles Browne.

for calling towne meetings, Thomas Teney.

for warners, John Trumble, Tobiah Collman, John Tenney.

[1654]

Thomas Dickinson, Ezekiel Northen, John Pickard, William Law, William Tenny, are chosen to order the affaires of the towne for the yeare ensuing upon the 12th of December 54.

Those that are chosen to judge defects of them that are fined for not comming to towne meetings, Levetenent Reminton, James Barker, Richard Swan, Thomas Lever, 12th December 54.

Richard Swan & Thomas Tenny are chosen for overseers for the plaine.

for constable, Will Tenny.

for Marshall, John Tod.

for overseers, Hue Smith, John Boynton, Marke Prime, Edward Hasin.

for Pinder, Andrew Headen.

for calling towne meetings, William Asee.

for warning towne meetings, John Trumble, Tobiah Colman, John Tenny.

[1655 no record.]

[1656]

At a legall towne meeting were chosen for towne office as folowing.

For five men, Rich. Swane, Jo. Trumball, Tho. Dickenson, Wiliam Stickney, Wiliam Lawe.

for overseers, William Jackson, Rich. Clark, Jon. Jonson, Tho. Abbot.

for cumstable, Jon Pickard.

for marshall, Jon Pickard.

a clarke to call towne meetings, Tho. Leaver.

to warn towne meetings, Jon Trumbal, William Stickney, Tho. Leaver, William Law.

for a pinder, Tho. Abbot.

to judge of such are delinquent at towne meetings, Levetenant Reminton, James Barker, William Asa and Tho Leaver.

Levetenant Broklebanke and Corperall Northen was chosen to lay out a country hy way betwixt Topsfield and Meremak according to law.

Also Ezekell Northen and John Person was chosen to run the Lyne betwixt Nubery and Rowly.

[1657, 1658, 1659, no record.]

[1660]

Officers for the towne for the year 1660 and 1661.

Will Teny constable & marshall.

for Selectmen,

M.^r Nelson,
John Pickerd,
Will : Stickney,
Ezekill Northend,
Thomas Teny.

For Overseers,

Richard Clark,
William Jackson,
Richard Longhorne,
Edward Hazen.

For the great plaine overseers,

Richard Swan & Will : Teney.

For calling towne meetings, Samuell Platts.

For warneing meettings for our end, Thomas Teney.

For the other end, Joh. Pickerd.

For pounders for our end, James Bally or son John.

Sam. Stickney.

Searlher of leyther, Deacon Jewet & Joh Dresser.

Judges of Delinquents, Ensign Brocklbank,

James Barker.

[1661]

At a generall Towne Meetinge held the 7th 10 : 61,
were chosen Town Officers for the Towne of Rowley for
the remaininge time of 61 and 62.

Imprimis John Todd for Constable & Marshall.

For Selectmen, Richard Swan, Thomas Tenny, Ensigne
Brochellbanke, John Dresser, Abell Langly.

Overseers for this yeare, John Burbanke, Richard
Clark, Edward Hassen & Richard Holmes.

For Newbury fence, John Johnson, John Lambert.

Overseers for Pentucket side, John Gage and Henery
Kingsbury for fences and highways.

Overseers for ye Great plaine, Will Teny and James
Bally.

Clarke for calling Town Meeting, Samuell Platts.

For warneing Towne Meeting Joh Drusure at Midl of Towne & ye end & Richard Swan & Tho. Teny for east end.

For Pounders John Spofferd, Joh Grant & Thomas Burhebee.

Searlher of Leather, Deacon Jewitt & John Druser.

Judges of Delinquents, Left. Broklbanke, James Barker, Will Teny, James Bally.

[1662 no record.]

[1663]

At a legall Towne Meeting held the 3th of January, 1663 were chosen Towne oficers for the remaineing part of the same yeare and part of the yeare 64.

Imprimis, for constable & marshall, William Law.

For Sellectmen, Richard Swan, Ezekiell Northend, Samuell Brocklebanke, Abell Langley, Jeremiah Elseworth.

Overseers at East end, Richard Hollmes, Samuel Plats.

West end, John Burbanke, Laonard Hariman.

For calling Towne Meetings, William Tenny.

Overseers Nubery fence, John Jonson, Thomas Nelson.

For Pounders, John Spoferd, John Pallmer, Samuell Stickney.

Pinder for west end, William Jackson.

Pounders for the farme, Mr. Nelson and Henery Reyley.

Judges of delinquents for not comeing to Towne meetings, James Bayley, Marke Prime, James Barker, William Stickney.

[1664]

Officers of the towne for the remaineing part of the yeare 64 and 65 chosen at a legall towne meeting 7th of January 1664.

for constables and towne marshalls, Richard Swan and William Tenny.

For moderator of town meetings, Deacon Jewett.

For selectmen, Thomas Leaver, Samuel Plats, Thomas Nelson, John Brocklebanke, Leonard Harriman.

Overseers for east-end of the towne, Thomas Tenney, John Pallmer.

for west end, John Burbanke, John Boynton, senior.

Overseers for Nubery fence, John Jonson, John Lambert.

for pounders for east field and farme, Mr. Phillip Nelson, John Spoferd, Samuel Stickney, Andrew Hiden.

for calling towne meetings, William Tenney.

Judges for to fine delinquents for not comming to towne meeting, Marke Prime, James Bayley, Samuel Brocklebanke, James Barker.

[1665]

January the 9, 1665. For y^e yeare 1665 & 1666.

Thomas Teny & John Palmer ar chosen constables.

Ezekell Northend, James Bally, John Dresser, Lenord Haryman, Thomas Leaver. [Selectmen.]

Overseers at our end, Abell Langley, John Grant.

for y^e other end, John Spoferd & James Dickinson.

for Merymake, Joseph Pike, Lon Gage.

Pinders for our end, Henery Ryley, Samuel Stickney, Andrew Hiden, Anthony Austin.

Judges of Delinquents,

for our end, William Asee, Edward Hazon.

for Bradforth streete end, James Barker,

Jonathan Plats.

[1666]

A generall Towne Meeting January ye ninth 1666.

Thomas Teny & John Palmer, chosen for constables this folowing yeare being 1667.

Ezkell Northen, John Tod, John Person, William Tenny, Richard Clarke, chosen 5 men this year.

John Lamberd, John Johnson, overseers for east end.

James Dickisson, John Spawford, overseers for west end.

James Baley, Hennerly Ryley, overseers for Nubery fence.

Thomas Tenny & John Palmer are to be marshals for ye yeare following.

Thomas Wood and Samuel Stickney are chosen for pinders for ye yeare ensuing.

Thomas Tenny is chosen for calling Towne meeting for ye year ensuing.

William Asa & Edward Hasen, James Barker and Jonathan Plats are chosen for judges for ye yeare ensuing. Deacon Jewet and John Dressir, senier, chosen to seale Lether for ye year ensuing.

Benjamin Gage & Joseph Pike are chosen for overseers for ye yeare ensuing.

[1667 no record.]

[1668]

At a leagall Towne meeting held January the eight, 1668.

Ther was chosen by the towne to serve as constables for the yeare ensueing, Ezekiell Northend, Abell Langley. Also they are chosen for Towne Marshalls to gather fines.

For Sselectmen, Samuell Plats, Edward Hasen, Leonard Harriman, Samuell Mighill, Jonathan Plats.

Overseers for the west end of the Towne, James Dickinson, Ezekiell Mighill.

Overseers for the east end of the Towne, James Bayley, John Acie.

Pinder for the north east feilld on the east side of Satchwell Brooke, James Barker, Junior, Gorge White.

For the west side of Satchwell Brooke, Richard Swan.

For Clarke to call Town Meetings, Thomas Leaver.

For Judges to have the case of delinquents not coming to Towne Meetings for the east end of the Towne, James Bayley, William Tenny. For the west end of the Towne, James Barker, Senior, Gorge Kilborne. For Seallers of Leather, Maximillion Jewet, John Dresser, Senior.

[1669]

Officers chosen for the service of the Towne for the remaineing part of the yeare (69 and 70) the 10th of January 1669.

For constables, Jeremiah Elseworth, Richard Hollmes, and Marshalls.

For Sselectmen, Ezekiell Northend, Thomas Lever, John Pearson, John Pickard, Leaonard Harriman.

Overseers for vuing fences and hywayes and vuing chimneys, Thomas Tene, Edward Hasne, James Dickinson, Samuell Pallmer.

[1670]

At a leagall Towne Meeting held the 17th of January 1670 were chose by the Towne for the yeare ensuing.

Constable, Jeremiah Elsworth.

For Sselectmen, Thomas Tenney, Samuell Brocklebanke, John Jonson, John Trumble, John Pallmer.

Overseers for west end of the Towne, John Burbanke, Danniell Wickam.

for the east end, Richard Hollmes, John Acie.

Overseers for Newbery fence, Mr. Nelson, John Grant.

Pounders for the north east side, James Barker, Junior, Thomas Wood and his son John, Joseph Boynton.

Pinders for the west end of the Towne, Timothy Pallmer, John Boynton Junior.

[1671]

At a Leagall Towne Meeting Held the 16th of January, 1671, for the yeare ensueing.

for constable, Jeremiah Elseworth.

Selectmen, Samuell Brocklebanke, John Pickard, Jonathan Plats, Samuell Plats, John Grant.

Overseers at the west end of the towne, John Burbanke, Daniell Wickam.

At the east end, James Bayley, Thomas Tenney.

Pinders for the northeast field, John Watson, Timothy Pallmer, John Wood. For that part of field toward ox pasture, Joseph Boynton.

THE DEAN FAMILY IN SALEM.

BY EDWARD STANLEY WATERS.

THE following account of the above family by no means claims to be thorough, complete, or exhaustive. A complete history and genealogy of a large family require an amount of time and research only to be bestowed by one having abundant leisure. To clothe the dead names of a genealogy with the facts and incidents in their lives which make them interesting to their descendants, and give them personality, requires a knowledge of their collateral circumstances and events which a lifetime would fail to furnish. Family tradition generally preserves the interesting incidents in an individual's life only in his own immediate line, and in a country where relationship is hardly acknowledged beyond the third remove, an acquaintance with much more than the bare names of distant branches is unusual and almost impossible.

It follows, then, that in an attempt to preserve the names and circumstances of one's family, the compiler will give more prominence to his own immediate line from a more intimate knowledge of it, but were some member of each distinct branch to write its particular history, the result would be a collective record, really true to its name, a *family* history, and which could hardly fail to interest every one belonging to it.

Usually, however, an account of all the branches devolves upon one individual, and as his knowledge has in

great part to be obtained from public records, it must, especially about other lines than his own, be exceedingly meagre.

The accompanying family sketch, slight and fragmentary as it is, has consumed much time and labor in its preparation, but the record being once made, and our knowledge put in a definite and accessible form, it is hoped it may prove a basis for future additions.

THE NAME.

In an article upon the Deane Family in the "Genealogical Register" for Oct., 1849, there is an account of the origin and changes of the name of Dean at once accurate and complete; from it we learn that "the name Den or Dene, which is the ancient way of spelling what is now written Deane, makes its appearance in England soon after the introduction of surnames. It was apparently derived from the Saxon word *den* or *dene*, a valley, which word is not yet quite obsolete, being preserved in the proper names of certain valleys in England, as Taunton Dean, Castle Eden Dean, &c. * * From *Dene* or *Den* at first but different modes of spelling the same word, have arisen two surnames, which at the present time are entirely distinct, viz. : *Deane* and *Denne*. Though the name is of Saxon origin, it is by no means certain that all the families that bear it are so." The particle *de*, the Norman prefix, "at first was generally used in conjunction with the name Dene, but as the Saxon element became more prominent in English society, it was gradually abandoned for the Saxon *at*, and its variations, which finally became the prevailing prefix." Rev. J. B. Deane,*

* Rev. John Bathurst, F.S.A., of London, Eng., an eminent antiquary, who is perhaps better acquainted with the history and genealogy of the various families of Deanes in England than any other person."

F.S.A., furnishes us with the following interesting remarks upon the subject: "The prefix *atte*, *at* or *u'*, is common to many old English names, and was chiefly affected by those who prided themselves upon their Saxon descent. The name Deane is reckoned by Verstegan among the Saxon families, and accordingly the prefix *at* is frequently found in connection with it in the 13th and 14th centuries." After the reign of Henry the Eighth, "generally throughout the kingdom the Norman prefix *de* vanished and the Saxon *at* was absorbed into the family name. A few, however, retained the latter, as A'Court, A'Becket, A'Deane, &c. The letter *a* was introduced into the name in the reign of Elizabeth, and *Dene* became *Deane*." "There are in England at least four distinct families of Deanes, from which all the others are offshoots or branches."

"The name of DEAN (without the final *e*) is generally thought to be derived from the title of the Church dignitary, and possibly in some families this may have been the origin. Lower, in his 'English Surnames,' derives it from both the church dignitary and the valley."

The ancestor of the family in Salem seems to have generally spelled his name *Deane*, though it formed no exception to the general custom of that time, which seems to have been to spell the same name in as many different ways as possible. Afterward the final *e* was more often dropped, especially by Joseph, the son of George, and his descendants. Thomas, his brother, however, retained it. Sometimes, though rarely, it was spelled *Dane*, though oftener the name of *Dane* (borne by an Essex County family of no known relationship to the Salem *Deanes*) was spelled *Dean* or *Deane*. There was also a family here named Dym,* now extinct. At present (1866), I

*See Appendix.

believe no member of the family spells the name with the final *e*; it has yielded to the tendency of these latter years to lay aside all superfluous vowels. It is still retained, though, by descendants of other early settlers of the same name.

Among the early settlers of this country of the name were Stephen, who arrived at Plymouth in 1621, Rachel (a widow), in 1635, and the brothers John and Walter, who arrived at Boston about 1637, and after a sojourn there of about a year went to Taunton, and who came from Taunton Dean, Somersetshire, Old England. "They were the progenitors of many of those now bearing the names Deane and Dean in the United States."

Rev. John Bathurst Deane inclines to the opinion that John and Walter Deane belonged to the family of "Dene of Denelands," whose coat of arms was A lion * *Or* on a field *Gules* in chief *Argent* three Crescents *Gules*.

"A tradition among their descendants exists that a younger brother of theirs came to this country after them and settled in Connecticut; there was a Thomas Deane in Connecticut 1643, who may possibly have been the brother referred to."

Felt says a "Thomas Dean was living (in Salem) in June, 1691, aged 95" (should it not be 25?), and an Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, was baptized at First Ch., 28 d., 4 mo., 1668. George named one of his sons Thomas, and the name has been found in each generation since. A Thomas Deane, merchant, was of Boston as early as 1664; he returned to England and died there in 1686.

A Thomas Deane also was of Hampton Falls and Salis-

* Capt. Thomas Dean of Salem, who died July, 1802, possessed two silver tankards, on which was engraved, as related by his granddaughter in familiar parlance, "a lion on a silver field."

bury, who d. 1737; he m.^d Deborah, dau. of Rev. John and grdau. of Nath. Clarke; April 28, 1726, Archelaus Adams of Newbury, Innholder, sells his dw. ho. in Salisbury for £100 to Mr. Thomas Dean of Hampton:—one bearing the same name is found at Charlestown, one at Taunton, and one of Concord was made Freeman, May 15, 1672. Thomas of Exeter, who m.^d Eliz. Woodbridge of S.^m was perhaps son of the above and father of Benj. Woodbridge Dean of Exeter.

FIRST GENERATION.

(1) GEORGE DEANE¹ (2), b. ab.^t 1640, was of Salem 1660, prior to which year he married Elizabeth ———, who was the mother of his children and who survived him; his will was offered for probate July 2, 1696. In the records he is sometimes called "cordwinder" and sometimes "mariner;" the latter I am inclined to think was his principal employment, and that he was captain of the sloop of which he was partly owner, and engaged in the West Indian or coastwise trade, in which Salem at that time so largely engaged. The following entry in the County Court Records is evidence upon this point, as the names are those of large merchants of their time. "27, 9, 1677. Edmond Bridges attorney of George Deane, Mr. John Ruck, Mr. Bartholomew Gedney and Mr. John Higginson, plaintiff against John Griffin" in an action of debt.

John Griffin came into Court and acknowledged judgment due to Edmond Bridges attorney of the above parties in the sum of £31, 2s. 3d. to be paid according to the terms mentioned in an instrument drawn between said parties dated 23, 9, 1677. The following is an abstract. Be it known that whereas John Griffin of Bradford hath acknowledged a judgment of Court in the sum of 31£.

2s. 3d. payable to Jn.^o Ruck, Bartholomew Gedney, Jn.^o Higginson & George Deane, & by writing under his hand & seal hath delivered over to execution fifteen acres of his land at Bradford ferry as full satisfaction, &c. By these presents the above named doe declare that upon receipt of fifteen bushels of wheate fifteen of ry & thirty of Indiane corne all marchantable & one thousand and a halfe of marchantable pine boards & what white-oak marchantable staves he can procure, all to be delivered att or before the last of aprill next ensuing the date hereof at some convenient landing place at Bradford unto the said parties &c., & the remainder of the afsd. sum of 31£. 2s. 3d. that shall not be made good in the afsd. specie to be paid in neate fatt cattle delivered at Salem to the said parties &c. at or before the last day of October next &c., being fully performed that then the said parties doe fully release their claim to the said land &c. &c. this twenty-eight day of november 1677.

In presence of
John Pickering,
Edmond Bridges.

John Ruck,
Bartholomew Gedney,
John Higginson,
George Deane.

He perhaps received a grant of land from the town, although I have not as yet met with the record of any:— the first conveyance of any real estate to him being the above mentioned, from John Griffin of Bradford, and that perhaps was redeemed. But in Oct. 14, 1674, he sold to the noted Thomas Maule "Tailor" for £40 sterling the house, and piece of land containing "neere twenty poles as it is now fenced in," bounded West by Richard Croad, North by Thomas Robbins, East by George Deane's land, "the house and land fronting upon the street southerly with the freedom and privilege of an Inlett five foot wide and free egress and regrees between the housing of said Deane and the eastern pt. of the said Thomas Maule's

house now sold him for his convenientys of going in and out to his own land and for importing or exporting such things as the said Maule or his assigns may see good to or from the said land of his." George Deane to have the same rights. His wife Eliz.^h joins him in the sale giving up her right of dower.

In presence of Richard Croade,
Ephraim Marstone.

According to this he owned two houses, and among the claims for common lands in 1713-4 Matthew Estes, to whom Maule's above portion went, and who with Mr. Robert Kitchen afterwards bought the rest, appears for "his house and one half of Deen's right" and Mr. K. "for the house where Deen lived, one old and half new one."

Thomas Maule seems to have got into difficulty in things temporal as well as spiritual, if we may judge from the following records.

The Testimony of George Deane aged about 40 yeares, & his son Thomas Deane about 16, & William Longstaff about 50. That on the 21st day 11.th mo. 1680, they heard Tho. Maule say unto Richard Croade why doth thy wife say my new house stands two foot on thy land; then Richard Croade made this answer to Thomas Maule & said that it was but woeman's talk & he could not help it their talk for saith Richard Croade I sett downe the fences between my neighbor Maule & me & sett it in the same place where it did stand always before & my neighbour Maule & I did agree very lovingly about it till we came to the back of the oven near the streete which went about two feet further than the outside of his new house now stands & what words then passed between me and my neighbour male about the oven were not worth the minding for it was not all that wee then contended about

worth a farthing, soe when I had set down the fence my neighbour Maule and I divided it equally between us & my neighbour Maule paid me for my labour and after this was all done I made Thomas Maule's bill of sale, which runs as now bounded & fenced in, and also I became a witness to the bill of sale, And to the truth hereof we the above-mentioned" &c. have set our hands & seals this 21, 11, 1680.

"This testimony refers to ye bill of sale of George Deane to ye said Maule."

And again, "John Reeves aged about 72 testifyeth y.^t to his knowledge the house of Thomas Maule bought of George Deane doth stand wholly on the townes ground & the fence that fenced the heads of the lots left the said house without it about two foot, and the front of Thomas Maules new house standeth about fourteen feet on the townes ground being set upon a seller that John Kitching had made in ye townes comon.

June 22, 1681, Swore to before me Bartholomew Gedney Ass.^t"

Tho Robbins testifieth to the same at the same time.

It was perhaps to gratify some ill feeling towards his neighbors that the following accusation was brought:—

27, 4, 1682. Thomas Deane and Charles Phillips being bound over to this Court upon suspicion of their cutting downe severall apletrees of Thomas Maule's they desiring to be tried by a jury. The Court granted it. The (evidences) being read comitted to the Court & are on file,* the jury brought in for their verdict, they find for the defendants not guilty."

Thomas Maule was then "presented for breach of peace striking George Deane's children; the case being heard

*Qu. Are they still in existence?

the Court sees cause to admonish the said male * * * & each to bear their own charges."

The exact situation of the land sold Thomas Maule I have not been able to ascertain. In an interesting biographical sketch* of him, he is said to have owned several parcels of land, the one upon which he built his house and which was afterwards associated with his name being on the south side of Essex St., and conveyed to him by Joseph Neale, July 7, 1681. The contract for building the house by Joshua Buffum is also given, by which it appears that it was to be finished by the last of the 8.th month, 1679.

As this was two years before the purchase from Joseph Neale, and as the above testimony dated 1680, the year after the house was built, refers to Thos. Maule's "new house" as built upon the land bought of George Deane, and as there is no positive evidence that the one built by Joshua Buffum was the same as that afterward known as Maule's I am inclined to think that such was not the case, but that that was the one about which the above evidence was taken, and which therefore must have stood on the opposite side of Essex St. The Kitchen family owned land on the corner of Essex and Beckford Sts.; there until within a few years stood their mansion-house, afterwards owned by Dr. Stearns, and probably in that neighborhood were situated the premises in question.†

March 18, 1683-4, George Deane bought of Andrew Foster, Jr., of Andover for £12, 10s. a parcell of land lying for 10 acres in the town of Bradford, bound on the west by Ezekiel Mighill, north by ye great river of Merrimack, south-east by land of Richard Kimball, and south by ye country road y^t leads from Bradford to Newbury.

*Essex Institute Collections, Vol. III, p. 238. †See appendix.

The grantor also binds himself in the sum of £14 that his wife "when desired thereto and health and wealth permit shall with convenient speed take some opportunity to appear before a magistrate or Authority thereto authorized & voluntarie & without fee from said George" &c., resign up her right of Dower in said land according to usual custom in law &c. &c.

Before Sam. Hasleton.

Again:—Samuel Hazleton of ye town of Bradford Yeoman for £9 well & truly paid him &c. by George Dean of Salem Shoemaker and Mariner, conveys to him a considerable parcell of meadow being three acres more or less in ye town of Boxford adjoining to the meadow of John Hazleton now in possession of Nathan Webster, and otherwise bounded. This 14.th of December 1687.

Elizabeth Palfrey,
Nathaniel Brown.

Nov. 23, 1686, he buys of John Cole Sen. of ye Town of Linn and Sarah his wife for ye sum of 15£ near half an acre of land in Salem bounded on the South by land of Priscilla Bowres, West by the King's highway, North by a path running along ye North River & East by Joshua Buffum's land.

Hugh Joanes,
Joseph Foster,
Abraham Wilkinson.

The next year he bought the lot next south of the above as appears by the following deed :

"This Indenture made ye 21st of 4 mo. called June in the year of our Lord according to ye English account 1687 being ye third year of the reign of King James the Second over England," &c. "Between George Bowres of ye County of Kent in ye Territories of Pensilvania &

Priscilla his wife on ye one part and George Deane of Salem," &c., &c., on ye other; they sell to him all that their messuage or tenement in Salem with seven rodd square of land being all fenced with one house on ye same being 18 feet long and 15 wide, bounded E. by Joshua Buffum, S. by Stephen Sewall, N. by said George Deane, & west with ye street.

W.^m Bowditch,

W.^m Nicholls,

W.^m Berry.

The King's highway or street here mentioned was probably Dean St., as that got its name from the land in its vicinity owned by the family of the name, but this I have no other data to confirm. Federal St. was not then laid out, but a path or way lay along the bank of the North River.*

However, without doubt in this neighborhood, somewhere between Dean and Bickford Sts., his homestead stood, and after his death his descendants even to the last generation continued to live.

This particular locality extending from what is now Warren St. over to the North River seems to have been especially inhabited by Quakers; at the present day it contains the two meeting houses and the graveyard of that sect in the city, and the estates in the neighborhood were, about one hundred and fifty years ago, very many of them in their possession. A respectable, prosperous, and thoughtful set of people they were, and many of their descendants bearing their honored names, or through female lines, still live upon the same premises. From the fact that George Deane bought an estate in their midst, with Joshua Buffum on one side, and George

*See appendix.

Bowers on another, both of them Friends, the former being one of the leaders of the sect, from the studied plainness of the form of his will, so contrary to the usual long prefaces and formulas of the time, and from other corroborating evidences I am strongly inclined to think that he too was one of those peaceful people.

We find from the Co. C.^t Records that upon the "25, 4, 1667, The wife of Geo. Deane was convicted for not frequenting ye publicke ordinances of God on ye Lord's day." This absence, from the probable character of the parties, could only have arisen from a strong counter religious conviction, and not from any depravity or thoughtless negligence.

The general associations too, and family connections for the next generation or two, partook largely of the Quaker element, and one branch of the family at least has continued in that belief down to our own time. A very interesting page of local history remains yet to be written by some one having access to the records which may exist of the early Quakers, in Salem, Lynn, and adjacent localities, and industrious enough to gather up the traditions of them which yet remain. Perhaps from those we might obtain some information in regard to the subject of these remarks, interesting at least to those who derive their descent from him, and which would throw a little more positive light upon his life and surroundings. I find nothing more in the records concerning him except his Will; this is as follows:

"The Last will & Testament of George Deane of Salem the 23.^d November 1688.

I George Deane being of perfect memory doe make & constitute this to be my last will and testament after my debts & ffuneral Expences defrayed out of my estate. I dispose of the remainder as ffolloweth.

1. I give unto my dearly beloved wife my now dwelling-house and lands with all my household goods and the house and land which Ezekiel Lambert liveth in with barn and fences and all belonging thereunto, provided she pay unto my five children five pounds apee. which are these as followeth. John my eldest son, Joseph my 4th son and Benjamin my 5th son with my two daughters Elizabeth and Hannah each of them five pounds a piece.

2. The land at Bradford both upland and meadow I leve it to my overseers to defray any just debts as shal appear against my Estate they to make sale thereof for the same purpose but let it be with the advice of my son Thomas Deane.

3. I do give unto my two sons Thomas and George my part of the sloop: Thomas to have two-thirds: and George to have the other third: it is to be understood that but one-half of the sloop is mine which is to be so disposed of. Finally I request and appoint my Trusty friends Mr. Robert Kitchen & Mr. Stephen Sewall to be overseers to see to the performance of this my last will and testament. In Witness to all the premises I set to my hand seal this 23.^d of November 1688.

George Deane.

Signed Sealed in the presence
of us

William Furber * Sen.^r

Thomas Packer †

William Furber Jun.^r”

July 2, 1696, William Furber, Jun.^r appeared and made oath to the above signing &c., &c., and that his Father

*William Furber, Dover, 1643, had Wm., b. 1646, who was of Dover, 1684. Savage.

† Thomas Packer, Portsmouth, 1686, a physician from London, was Col. Judge of Prob. and a counsel in 1719; d. 1728. Ibid. Hepsibah, ye wife of Thomas Packer, d. Jan. 22, 1684, aged 25 years, 5 months. Charter St. Graveyard.

William Furber, Sen., dec.^d & Dr. Thomas Packer subscribed with him, &c.

Dec. 18, 1696, Dr. Thomas Packer also made oath to the above signing.

Nov. 16, 1697, Stephen Sewall declined the above trust.

The names of the above witnesses are not those of residents in Salem, and we find that the attestations to the signing of the will were not of the same date, giving reason to suppose that the witnesses were present in Salem at different times. As these parties were all residents of or about Portsmouth it may have been that the testator was at Portsmouth, on a coastwise voyage, and being taken sick, then and there made his will, but recovered from his sickness, and though surviving several years afterwards saw no reason to change the disposition of his property. It is certain that Dr. Packer attended him at some time, as I find in the Probate files, a charge from him for medicines. I fail to find in the records any inventory or further account of administration upon the estate. His widow Elizabeth survived him a few years. Dec. 22, 1698, she sells to her son Joseph, mariner, for the sum of £60 all that her homestead situate in Salem, being a dwelling house and quarter of an acre of land, bound on the West by land of Matthew Eastie,* North & East by Mr. Robert Kitchen, and South on ye main St., being the same given & bequeathed her by her late husband George Deane.

John Hathorne, Jr.
Stephen Ingalls.

She probably continued to live here with her son.

May 8, 1698, she sells unto Thomas Stickney of Bradford, Husbandman, for £21 in money and provisions a

* To whom it probably came from "my neighbour male."

considerable parcell of meadow being three acres in ye Towne of Bradford adjoining to the meadow of John Hazletine *sometime in possession of Nathan Webster; also another parcel of land in Bradford of ten acres, being the same sold to her husband in 1684 by Andrew Foster, Jr. Dec. 2 of the same year "Thomas Deane, eldest son of George Deane," consents unto and confirms the sale.

She died probably Dec., 1704, and administration upon her estate was granted to her eldest son Thomas, Nov. 29, 1705; the delay in administration may have been caused by his absence at sea.

But he himself died before he had time to fulfill the trust, and it was therefore granted to her now "only surviving son Capt. Joseph Dean," July, 1706. He, July 8th of that year exhibited an inventory of her estate; it comprised only "one small dwelling-house & small barne orchard and garden" equal to about one half an acre of land and valued at £40, she having sold the rest of the real estate left her by her husband. This house with one half of the land was sold by her son and administrator Joseph to John Cooke, Jr., Dec. 19, 1706, for £22.

In the Probate Files we find a few items relative to her estate.

"Estate of Eliz.^h Deane debted unto estate of Thomas Deane deceased."

1690.	To Thomas Maule for my father's debt	£ 7. 09. 09.
Dec. 12, 1691.	To cash paid mother Deane	£ 3. 0. 0.
	" mony " Timothy Robinson	" 10. 0. 0.
Jan. 19, 1696.	" " Coll. ^o Higginson	" 10. 12. 0.
Aug. 25, 1698.	" pd. dr. packer for medicines for father deane	£3. 00. 0.
Dec. 26, 1704.	To funeral charges & the docter	£5. 10. 10.

Eliz.^a Dean.

1688—my son Thomas Deane Dr.

To 16 months hier for my son Joseph on Board the sloop at 20s. per mo. £16 0. 0.

To 50 lbs. Porke att 4d. 16s. 8d.
2 pair of Jersey stockings 7s.

Salem, May 3, 1704.

Mr. Thomas Deane is Dr.

30 Elles Osinburgs at 12d. per £1. 10. 0.

Jos. Dean.

Mch. 24, 1702.

Mother Deane Dr. Cash lent yo^r selfe £3. 10s.

Charges in administering £1. 8s. 0.

Jos. Dean.

Her estate owed "Mr. Thomas Deane deceased" £40. 4s. 12d., and was owed by him £25. 8s. 8d.: free and clear of all charges it amounted to £19. 11s. 8d., which was "to be divided among ye children of ye deceased and ye legal representatives of ye deceased's children, viz.:

Ye three children of Thomas Deane

Ye only son of Jonathan Lambert

Elizabeth dau. of Mr. John Deane

Hannah Deane alias Cook

Capt. Joseph Deane.

SECOND GENERATION.

(1) GEORGE¹ by his wife Elizabeth had children:—

(2) I. ELIZABETH², b. 2d. 11 mo. 1660, d. 22d. 11 mo. 1660.

(3) II. JOHN² (10) b. —, d. before Dec. 2, 1698, m.^d — —.

(4) III. THOMAS² (11), b. ab.^t 1665, d. ab.^t 1706, m.^d 1.st Mary —, * m.^d 2dly, Dec. 9, 1701, Eliza-

*This genealogy was compiled about 1866; circumstances have delayed its publication until now. Returning temporarily to Salem, I find that Mr. Fitz-Gilbert Waters, my kinsman, by industriously following up the one clue to the name of our ancestress, the first wife of Thomas Dean, which I possessed, the inheritance of certain land in the South field hereafter mentioned, has succeeded in determining her name and parentage to his own satisfaction and mine.

She was Mary, dau. of Stephen and Mary (Prince) Daniell, b. ab. 1670. She had an only brother Stephen, and was a grand-daughter of Richard Prince. This marriage may account for her husband's change of home from the upper to the lower part of the town, her family and connections living in the vicinity of Daniel, Essex and Pleasant Sts. Her successor, Elizabeth Beadle, lived on the corner of Pleasant and East Sts. (my own present home); within a stone's throw is the house of a Stephen Daniell, and opposite that built by a Richard Prince.

eth,* dau. of Abraham Drake of Hampton (Marshall of the old Co. of Norfolk), and widow of Thomas Beadle of Salem, b. July 11, 1660, d. after Nov. 14, 1718, as at that date her name appears among those petitioning the First Church to be set off as a separate church (the present East), being dwellers in the easterly part of the town. He was a shipmaster, and also probably engaged in trade in the same manner as his father. He may have lived upon the homestead with his mother, as I find no record or deed of a separate dwelling-house to him.†

“March 30, 1691. Thomas Deane, being aged about 25 testifieth & saith that according to ye best of his knowledge he doth remember yt ye partition fence between ye orchyard land where ye widow ffrancis Croad now dwells and ye garden land belonging to ye now dwelling house of Mathew Eastes where his family now liveth yt ye said fence at ye head of ye orchyard and garden aforesaid when standing was always about two foot distant to ye Westward of a plumb-tree standing upon ye land of Matthew Eastes which plumb-tree is yet standing in the same place as aforesaid and when ye same was standing it was a comone thing for such as gathered plums to goe between ye fence & ye said plumbtree which now stands neere the head of ye said garden land of Matthew Eastes.

Sworne before me Jn.^o Hathorne assist.

Joseph Deane aged abt. 20 testified to ye same.”

*Among those appointed retailers of strong drink in ye Towne are John Higginson, Esq., Sam. Brown, Esq., Dea. Gerrish, Major Jno. Turner, Wm. Hirst, Esq., Capt. Tho. Barton, Mrs. Mary Gedney, Mrs. Eliz. Derby, Mrs. Elizabeth Dean, Sen., Mrs. Elizabeth Dean, Jr., Mrs. Experience Flint, and others.

June 23, 1712.

† Or perhaps upon the estate now bounded in part by Essex, Pleasant, and Forrester Sts., which his wife Elizabeth inherited, at least partially, from her former husband, Thomas Beadle, and which Nov. 12, 1715, she with her sons Benjamin and Thomas Beadle sold for £225 to Benjamin Ives.

He died in the prime of life being about 41 years of age, leaving his brother Joseph now the head of the family, as all his other brothers were dead. These perhaps had been lost at sea, or slain by the Indians, or in some of the expeditions against Canada, by all of which causes Salem lost so many young men in her early times. He died probably in the spring of 1706,* before he had time to administer upon his mother's estate, which trust had been assigned him the preceding November. The administration upon his own estate was granted to his widow Elizabeth, July 13, 1706.

His inventory taken Sept. 1, 1706, by Jos. Wolcott and Simon Willard was presented June 25, 1707. It contained household goods, &c., including 55 oz. of household plate, amounting to £96. 09s. 4d. $\frac{1}{2}$ ye sloop Union with her appurtenances appraised by Bowditch, Gardner & Bacon at £40. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of upland in ye Southfield £15. To $\frac{1}{4}$ part of the Sloop Sparrow being old & much out of repair £12. 10. 0.

The account of administration was presented June 26, 1707: after paying sundry credits & disbursements it amounted to £161. 18. 0. which was divided as follows:

To the widow $\frac{1}{3}$ of real & personal = £53. 19s. 4d.

*I am doubtful whether the following refers to him or to Thomas of Boston.

"Thomas Deane's Bill of Lading recorded Sept. 12, 1705.

Shipped by ye Grace of God in good order and well conditioned by me Albert Dinine Merchant of fairfield in and upon ye good Sloop called ye Industry of Boston, whereof is master for this present voyage Thomas Dean & now riding at anchor at Fairfield & by good grace bound for Boston to say one hundred bushels of wheat & are to be delivered in like good order and well Conditioned at ye aforesaid port of Boston ye dangers of ye Seas excepted to Michael Clugston his assignees they paying ye freight at sixpence per bu., in witness whereof ye master of said Sloop hath affirmed to two bills of Lading of this tenor and date ye one of which two bills being accepted ye other to stand void & so God send ye said Sloop to her desired port in Safety Amen dated at fairfield this 15th of March 1695.

Tho. Dean.

Indors'd, Boston Ap. ye 20th 1695. Rec'd ye within contents.

Michael Clugston."

Not. Rec.

To son George a double portion = £53. 19s. 4d.

“ “ Thomas £26. 19s. 8d.

“ dau. Mary £ “ “ “

(5) IV. GEORGE², b. —, d. before July, 1706.

(6) V. ELIZABETH², b. —, d., as we should gather from the division of the estate of Mrs. Elizabeth Deane, before July, 1706, but there is evidence to the contrary. I consider it probable that she was the next child to George, considering the difference of years between Thomas and Joseph;—the order in which the children are named in the will gives us no help upon this point, as it is as common to name all the sons first and then all the daughters: m.^d Jonathan Lambert, perhaps a shipmaster of Boston, who died there in 1710; perhaps m.^d 2dly, John Buchanan, and had Thomas.

By Jonathan Lambert, her husband, she had issue:—
 1. Jonathan³, b. Mar. 20, 1697, a shipwright of Boston 1718–9, perhaps m.^d Mar. 4, 1717–8, Mary Buchanan. May 15, 1711, Daniel Bacon, Jr., of Salem, shipwright, and George Locker, yeoman, of the same place, with Samuel Swasey of Boston, shipwright, give bond to Isaac Addington for the guardianship of Daniel Bacon's kinsman Jonathan Lambert, a minor upwards of 14, son of Jonathan, a mariner, late of Boston, deceased, in the sum of £600.

Jan. 12, 1718–9, being in his two-and-twentieth year, the said Jonathan releases them from said trust. The inventory of Capt. Jonathan Lambert, mariner, dec.^d, amounting to £713, 12s., including among other things a dwelling-house valued at £160, and £65, 16s. in Mr. Eives's hands in London Dec. 5, 1710, is presented Jan. 30, 1710, at Boston, by Elizabeth his widow and adm.^x, who in another account Oct. 31, 1717, is called “Elizabeth Buchanan late Lambert.”

The above evidence, together with the fact that I find no record relating to him in Salem, leads me to suppose that the said Jonathan Lambert was the husband of Elizabeth Dean, and that the Jona. and Benj. Lambert whose births are found in the Boston Records, children "of Jona. and Eliz.^h Lambert," were her children.

There is, however, contradictory evidence to this, in the fact that among the heirs of Mrs. Eliz.^h Deane, dec.^d 1706, her name does not occur, but her son Jonathan Lambert seems to inherit her portion. I know no reason why this should have been were she living, though such may have been the case. II. Benjamin³, b. June 1, 1699, probably d. young.

(7) VI. JOSEPH² (14) b. ab.^t 1671, d. 1709, m.^d Mch. 16, 1696-7, Elizabeth, dau. of Edward and Elizabeth (Hart)* Flint, b. ———, baptized at First Church "at age" July 12, 1702, d. 1731-2. He, like his father and brother, was a shipmaster and merchant. I suppose him to have attended the First Church after 1702, as its records contain the baptisms of his wife and children after that date, though she only may have been a member. In Dec., 1698, as has been said above, he bought of his mother the dwelling house and a quarter of an acre of land, and May 7, 1706, we find that he buys of Capt. Thomas Flintt, Sen., of Salem, alias Salem Village, yeoman, for £30 a piece of land of about 60 poles, being three-quarters of that which "I formerly bought of Elizabeth Spooner late of Salem dec.^d, having sold ye other quarter to Edmond Bridges dec.^d bounded West by a lane y.^t leads from ye Maine S.^t to ye North River, North

* Samuel Hart, 4th mo., 1671. Inventory of est. of Samuel Hart lately deceased at sea, and appraised by Edmund Bridges and Richard Croade. Edward Flint and Jonathan Hart preserved the above inventory and the court granted administration to them 28, 4, '71.

& East by land of Joseph Duglass, South by ye Main St.," according to his purchase from Eliz. Spooner in 1672.

John Higginson Tertius, Margaret Sewall, Jun.

The affidavit of John Cooke, blacksmith, aged about 30, and William Reeves, slaughterer, about 60, testifieth that to our certain knowledge Capt. Thomas Flintt did about 30 yeares since purchase about $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre of Elizabeth Spooner aforesaid widow bounded as above, & that said Thomas Flintt and those deriving from him have quietly possessed it ever since to this day without let or hindrance as ever these deponents heard & being next neighbours thereunto &c. do further testify that the said Thomas Flintt was in lawful possession Oct. 1, 1692, & into Oct. 1, 1704, & so down to date May 11, 1706.

June 24, 1706, he sells to Robert Kitchen, merchant, for £60 a small piece of land 120 feet long, $47\frac{1}{2}$ wide, bounded E. & N. by land of said Kitchen, W. by do. of Matthew Esty, S. partly by do. of said Easty & partly by the Main St. This was the land which he bought of his mother in 1698. Dec. 19, 1706, he, as administrator upon her estate, sells to John Cooke, Jr. mariner, for £22 a small house with $\frac{1}{4}$ of an acre bounded S. & E. by land of ye Buffams, N. by land of me ye conveyer, W. by ye lane or highway, being $\frac{1}{2}$ ye land belonging to me ye vendor.

His dwelling-house was upon the land bought of Thomas Flint, upon the corner of Essex and Deane streets, and it was from his children that that estate passed into the family of its present owners. He died about 1709, at the age of thirty-eight, the last of the brothers; he seems to have prospered in his business, and in marriage to have made a good connection.

Administration was granted to Elizabeth, widow of

Capt. Joseph Deane, Dec. 29, 1709, who gave bond with Joseph Duglass and Benjamin Flint as sureties. The former of these, together with John Higginson, Jr., took an inventory of his estate Jan. 18, 1710-11. It included

His dwelling-house, out-housing, and about 60 poles of land adjoining	£250
Abt. 36 rods of land by John Simpson's	" 15
Money & bills of credit	" 56
In plate	" 15. 12s.
Goods in ye shop	" 57. 14. 10d.
An Indian Woman named Flora	" 30
6 hhd. of salt, 110 gall. of rum 3s. sd. apce.	" 17. 17. 6d.
30 gall. of molasses 20d. apce.	" 2. 10s.
8 lbs. whalebone 10 apce.	6s. 8d.
28 lbs. Brasceletts	6s.
60 lbs. Paint	" 1. 5s.

Amount of Inventory £601. 19. 2.

Due from ye estate to Tho. Deane's children	} £ 8. 0. 0. .
& Jona. Lambert's son	
" " " " " a pson. in Suranam abt.	£13. 0. 0.

Inventory presented Feb. 15, 1710-1.

June 26, 1712. More added to ye inventory in cash £50. 0. 0.

His widow Elizabeth survived him many years.

July 30, 1713, for 70£ she sold to Thomas Lee of Boston a piece of land in the form of a gusset or triangle, bounded toward ye Northwest partly by ye great street leading into ye Town & partly by land of David Flint, N. E. ptly. by ld. of David Flint & ptly. by another street, S. E. by land of Thomas Flint, & S. W. by land of Robert Orange, being her portion of the estate of her late Father Edward Flint.

Jacob Willard.

Josiah Willard.

The same date she buys of the sd. Thomas Lee and wife Deborah for £65 a piece of land bd. toward the N. W. as above, N. E. by Jacob Willard, S. E. by Thomas Flint, & S. W. by Benj. Gerrish, being Deborah Lee's part of her Father Edward Flint's estate.

Same witnesses.

Aug. 4, 1729, an agreement between Elizabeth Deane, Widow, and her children, provides that whereas her husband Joseph Deane died possessed of a certain dwelling house & land, bd. E. & N. by land of Joshua Hicks, S. & W. by highways, also of another piece of about 40 poles bd. W. & N. by highways, E. by land of John Bullock, & S. of John Cook dec.^d, with two common rights, all of which have been in possession of the said Elizabeth without any settlement thereof; in order to an amicable division they agree that Capt. Sam. King, Mr. Jos. Orne, and Capt. Joseph Andrews be chosen a committee to apprise the estate and adjudge what of the personal estate each child hath had.

2dly, that the said Eliz.^h shall have her thirds in ye homestead wholly and only in common with her son Joseph so long as they agree therein, and in case of disagreement, her thirds shall be set out in said homestead.

3dly, the said Joseph shall have the said homestead and the two common rights, he paying to his sisters the excess of the value of the homestead, and the common rights over his proportion of the whole estate, viz. : two-thirds of one-fifth to each within three years, and the other third after the decease of the said Elizabeth, they to give him a good deed, &c.

4th, John and Mary Ropes to have the above said 40 poles as apportioned by said committee towards their proportion. The parties to abide by this in the sum of £100.

This latter piece of land, then in the occupation of Nath. Archer (who md. Hannah³ Cook), the Ropeses sold to Samuel Cook, Fisherman, Oct. 23, 1746, for £95 O. F., and he with his wife Abial sold the northerly half of t to John Bullock, Jr., Cordwainer, Mch. 31, 1753, for £13, 6s. 8d.

In the Quaker Records I find the names of Elizabeth Dean 17, 7, 1702, and Benj. and Eliz. Flint, as witnesses.

She died 1731-2. Her estate was not regularly administered upon, but her children entered into an agreement that Whereas Elizabeth Dean late of Salem, widow, deceased, died seized of some personal property, consisting of about 50 ounces of silver, two gold rings, &c., &c., whereof administration is not nor intends to be taken by any of her children, who have divided said goods equally, in order to prevent any future dispute this record should be made, &c., and each hereby acknowledges the receipt of his or her share, any debts due her & that part of ye personal estate of their grandmother Flint & uncle Benjamin Flint, late dec.^d, that may be allotted to them are excepted: March 1, 1732.

The said Benj. Flint's estate was administered upon 1732-4, and was of considerable value, but of his real estate valued at £1682, the heirs of his sister Deane were entitled to one-seventh part, this as set off to them consisted of a front lott* in the homestead measuring South on the Main S.^t 72 feet, North on the rear land 75 feet, & was in length about 14 poles, bd. East on the portion numbered, in the division, "4," & West on another lott; also 1½ acres of marsh land on Forest River & three cottage rights.

In the records we find that administration upon the estate of Eliz.^h Dean, widow, was granted to her son Joseph, Dec. 18, 1733, but nothing farther seems to have been done in the matter.

The following is from a manuscript in the possession of Mr. John Ward Dean of Boston, to whom I am indebted for information relative to members of the later genera-

* In E 82X St., where Mr. William Ives now lives.

tions of his branch of the family. I think it was prepared by his late father or uncle, probably from traditions, as I found no evidence of original authorities, but its first statements are manifestly incorrect.

"Capt. Joseph Dean was b. in Somersetshire, Eng., came to Salem about 1695, was lost at sea 1715, aged 63; m.^d Elizabeth Flint, by whom he had four children; she died 4 m., 1, 1733, aged 74. Now he could not have been born in Somersetshire, because his father had been here many years before *he* was born; it is a mistake too to assume Joseph to have been the original ancestor; his father George was here long before, as we know; Joseph too died before 1715, since adm.ⁿ upon his estate was granted in 1709; neither could he have been 63 years old at the time of his death, as in 1691 we find by his deposition, that he was only 20. His wife too was deceased and her estate divided Mch. 1732-3, and if she was 74 years old, she must have been 12 years older than her husband at time of marriage. The "Flint Genealogy" may decide this, though at present out of my reach.

(8) VII. BENJAMIN², b. ———, d. before July, 1706.

(9) VIII. HANNAH², bap. Oct. 22, 1720, an adult, d. ab.^t Feb., 1745, m.^d June 11, 1701, John, son of John & Mary (Buxton) Cook, b. 20th 6 mo., 1674, d. ab.^t 1721, by whom she had: —

I. John³, b. April, 1702, d. before 1724.

II. Joseph³, b. Apr. 11, 170—, d. 1769-70, m.^d Nov. 14, 1728, Eunice, daughter of Samuel and Exercise (Smith) Pope, b. Aug. 12, 1700, who survived him, by whom he had: 1. Eunice⁴, b. Sept. 6, 1729, m.^d, Sept. 29, 1751, George, son of George and Eliz. Bickford, who d. before 1785; 2. Hannah⁴, b. June 19, 1732, m.^d Sept. 20, 1752, Benjamin Dalaad, and had Joseph⁵, and perhaps others; 3. John⁴, b. July 22, 1735, m.^d Dec. 1,

1762, Susannah Webb; 4. Joseph⁴, bap. Dec. 18, 1737, d. young; 5. Abigail⁴, bap. June 22, 1740; 6. Joseph⁴, bap. Sep. 5, 1742. His will is dated July 18, 1769; in it he mentions wife Eunice, grandson Jos. Daland, two daughters Eunice Bickford, and Hannah Daland. Pres.^d Feb. 6, 1770. His estate was div.^d May 13, 1784; Eunice Morgan, an heir of Eunice Bickford dec.^d, mentioned, & Eben.^r Bickford, adm.^r on estate of Hannah Bickford, also.

II $\frac{1}{2}$. George,³ b. May 5, 1710, d. young.

III. Benjamin³, m.^d Dec. 24, 1730, Elizabeth, daughter of John Phippen, by whom he had: 1. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Apr., 1736, m.^d Aug. 28, 1750, W.^m Twiss, Jr.; 2. Benjamin⁴, bap. same day, m.^d Nov. 8, 1764, Sarah Cook; 3. John⁴, bap. Mar. 27, 1737, m.^d Sept. 23, 1760, Margaret Webb; Aug. 5, 1761, he with mother Eliz. and wife Margaret sell land bought of father Benj. to Benj. Punchard; his wife was a great-grand-daughter of Daniel Webb, dec.^d, and apparently a sister of Eliz., wife of Joshua Bickford, and of Mehetable, wife of Richard Nutting, Jan. 16, 1768; a Daniel Cook of Mendon, Worcester County, also mentioned in the same connection as their attorney, 1765; 4. Susannah⁴, bap. Sept. 30, 1739, m.^d ——— Tarrant; in 1784 she was a widow, then buying of her brother John the easterly end of the dwelling-house bought of his father, as in Lib, 121, f. 142.

IV. Samuel³, was living Mar. 8, 1745, md. Oct. 22, 1730, Abigail, daughter of Benj. Henderson; June 29, 1739, he and his wife, with her brother Benj., Glazier, and wife Eunice* sell to David Glover, for £32, the westerly end of a dwelling-house with ten poles of land adjoining,

* She was a Daniel, and md. Dec. 9, 1734.

and bounded N. on a lane, E. on land of Eliz. Henderson, S. on do. formerly Mr. Gedney's, and W. by do. of Capt. Bowditch, being formerly the estate of their father Benj., dec.^d, &c.

Mch. 31, 1753, he sells to John Bullock, Jr., for £13, 6s. 8d. the Northerly half of the forty poles of land bought of John Ropes in 1716. Mch. 4, 1756, to secure a payment of £107 to Isaac Williams, Cordwainer, he conveys to him his moiety or part of the dwelling-house wherein he now resides, formerly his father John Cook's, being the northerly end, with his part of said homestead land, and a strip bought of his brother Joseph, bd. W. on a lane, N. by his brother Joseph's land, E. by land formerly Daniel West's, dec.^d, S. by John Punchard's, then E. by said P.'s, and then S. by the part of his father's homestead belonging to brother Benj. Wife Abial joins in the sale. Jan. 20, 1757; he sold land in the same vicinity bd. W. by Bickford's Lane, to John Bullock, Jr., and to Nath. Archer; and to Edw. Norris, Jr., a common right bought of Daniel West, Dec. 1, 1756.

Again Sept. 14, 1761, he sold part of his homestead to Geo. West, Jr., and Apr. 10, 1765, to Geo. West, "Fisherman," an additional strip. To Sam. Buffum, Glazier, also, Mch. 14, 1771, a piece of land with a house and well.

They had: 1. Abigail^t, b. 1731, perhaps md. Apr. 28, 1751, George West (see West Family); 2. Samuel^t; 3. Margaret^t; these three with their mother were baptized Sept. 18, 1737; 4. Mary^t, bap. May 7, 1738; 5. John^t, bap. July 18, 1741.

V. Mary³, m.^d Apr. 24, 1729, Joseph, son of Jona. and Abigail (Henderson) Glover, an uncle of the Gen. John, who is the subject of a memoir in the Collections, Vol. V; his brother David md. Nov. 5, 1730-1 Sarah,

Millet. He was a "fisherman,"* and b. June 27, 1706; d. Dec., 1747. They had: 1. Joseph⁴, bap. June 14, 1730; 2. George⁴, bap. Jan. 5, 1734; 3. Jonathan⁴, bap. Aug. 29, 1736, d. young; 4. Jonathan⁴, bap. Nov. 6, 1737, d. young; 5. Mary⁴, bap. June 17, 1739; 6. Jonathan⁴, bap. Oct. 25, 1741; 7. Samuel⁴, bap. Nov. 13, 1743; 8. Hannah⁴, bap. Oct. 30, 1748.

VI. Elizabeth³, m^d. Nov. 11, 1730-1, Joseph Henderson, "fisherman," by whom she had: 1. Joseph⁴, bap. June 6, 1736; 1½. Elizabeth⁴, bap. June 6, 1736, d. young; 2. Mary⁴, bap. Sept. 18, 1737; 3. Benjamin⁴, bap. Dec. 31, 1738; 4. Sarah⁴, bap. Sept. 14, 1740; 4½. Rachel⁴, bap. May 23, 1742; 5. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Sept. 11, 1743; 6. Abigail⁴, bap. Dec. 15, 1745.

VII. Hannah³, b. Mar., 1714, bap. Apr. 29, 1722, "took on her the obligations of her minor baptism," Mar. 21, 1736, d. May 21, 1767; m^d. Aug. 2, 1733, Nathaniel,† son of Jonathan and Abigail (Williams) Archer, "cooper," b. Apr. 17, 1710, d. June 10, 1772; both buried in Charter St. ground. During the lifetime of his first wife he seems to have lived in the vicinity of Beckford or Dean St., but in his will, he gives to his wife Hannah, who survived him until 1803, his dwelling house, &c., bounded W. by Long Wharf Lane, so called (Union St.), N. on land of his sister Brown, E. on a lane, and S. on land of Jona. Phelps; he mentions a son George long absent, whose part, if he be not living, is to go to his three children. His son Jonathan was made executor. They had: 1. Nath.⁴, bap. Mch. 21, 1736, m^d Mch. 30, 1760, Hannah Chever; 2. Hannah⁴, bap. Sept. 12, 1736; 3. Ste-

*It would be well if some one of our competent local historians would give the readers of the "Collections" a little more definite knowledge of the occupations pursued by those so often called "fisherman" and "shoreman."

†He md. Apr. 3rd, 1768, Widow Hannah Ives, daughter of Gamaliel Hodges.

phen⁴; 4. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Nov. 23, 1740, who was blind; 5. George⁴, bap. Nov. 14, 1742, m.^d Dec. 16, 1764, Martha Needham; d. ab.^t 1772, leaving her a widow, to whom Sept. 17 of that year, guardianship of his children, George⁵, aged 7, John⁵, aged 4, and Nathaniel⁵, aged 1½ years, was granted; 6. Abigail⁴; 7. Jonathan⁴; 8. Sarah⁴; 9. Benjamin⁴, non compos, who died July 4, 1787, aged 37; his brother Jona. and two sisters survived him.

VIII. George³, b. 1719-20, bap. Apr. 19, 1722, d. young, as he is not mentioned in the deed of gift, from his brothers and sisters to their mother, Jan. 14, 1735; was "dec^d." Nov. 18, 1745, when his share of his father's estate was sold by his heirs, brothers and sisters, to his brother-in-law Archer.

By the deposition of Cook, Sen., above given, we find that the two families were neighbors, and in 1706 John Cook bought a house and land from the Deanes, and here perhaps he lived. He was a mariner and died probably in 1721, as Dec. 29 of that year administration upon his estate was granted to his widow Hannah, who gave bond with Mr. John Chapman and Samuel Hayward.

By her acc^t. of administration, June 20, 1723, his Real Estate, being two old dwelling-houses and ½ of an acre of land, an orchard, amounted to £132.

Personal property " " £ 56. 12. 10.

Among the charges were

To funeral charges of my son John Cook ye whole £6.

To allowance towards bringing up ye youngest child (one year old when ye father dyed) to this day, £16.

His real estate, including a dwelling-house in the present tenure of W.^m Beckford, was appraised and divided by Sam. King, Jos. Orne, Jr., Joseph Andrews and John Higginson, Jan. 11, 1731.

A further account of administration was presented Jan.

13, 1731-2, when guardianship of George, aged about twelve, son of John Cook, deceased, was granted to his mother Hannah, and the said John's real estate was divided ("the eldest son being dead") among "Joseph, Samuel, George, Benjamin, Mary, Elizabeth, and Hannah."

Dec. 13, 1731, the said Hannah being about fifteen, chooses her mother Hannah as guardian.

April 29, 1722, her six younger children were baptized at the First Church, and at the same time Joseph, James, Wm. and Margaret, the children of Joseph and Margaret Cook, went through the same ceremony, making ten of the same name.

Jan. 14, 1735, her children convey to her "from love towards our mother," all their rights to a certain strip of land with a barn thereon, being a part of her dower in her late husband's estate, bounded W. on a lane, E. by land of Dr. Toppan, S. & N. by land of Joseph Cook, Jr.; and

Jan. 16, 1735, she sells to her son Joseph, Jun., Fisherman, for £30 this same strip of land containing 15 poles.

Administration upon her estate was granted to her son Joseph, who gave bond with Abijah Estes and John Bickford, Mch. 25, 1745. In the files is a bill from Dr. Bezaleel Toppan for medicine and attendance Sept., Nov., and Dec., 1744, = £1. 8. 6. O. T. A note also for £10 from her to her son Joseph, dated Jan. 16, 1744-5.

Her estate was divided among her five children then living, Apr. 8, 1745.

Dec. 26, 1730, Joseph Cook³ bought of John and Esther Ruck for £360, Province Bills, his dwelling-house and 140 poles of land, bounded by land of Derbe, Ropes, and Bickford and others, which estate he sold June 6, 1784, to Samuel Sibley, in whose tenure it then was, and

he sold it to John Ropes. The front part of this is now Capt. Bertram's residence. (See Ropes Family.)

THIRD GENERATION.

(3) JOHN², by — his wife, had issue:—

(10) I. ELIZABETH³, b. —, d. —; was living Nov. 28, 1706, as we find her in the list of heirs to her grandmother's estate.

(4) THOMAS², by wife Mary, had issue:—

(11) I. GEORGE³ (20), b. Aug. 7, 1692, admitted to the First Church Nov. 2, 1718, d. ab.^t 1727, m^d., 1st., June 10, 1713, Hannah, daughter of Thomas and Damaris (Buffam) Ruck,* who d. ab.^t Nov., 1718; m.^d, 2^{dly}, Sarah Archer, b. ab.^t 1700, d. Feb. 3, 1771.

June 26, 1707, being upwards of fourteen, he chooses his "honored uncle Joseph Deane to be his guardian," who was also at the same time appointed guardian to Mary about eleven, and Thomas about nine, all children of late Thomas Deane deceased. But his guardianship

* Joshua Buffam, about 70, mentions in his will land bought of Cosen Goose, daughter Damaris Ruck, her husband Thomas, and three children when they come of age, Hannah, John, and Thomas, June 5, 1705. Pres. Nov. 29, 1705.

Said Joshua died 19, 8, 1705.

June 30, 1704, Thomas Ruck, being sick in body, etc., makes his will, giving to two daughters Hannah and Damaris 20 poles each next Jos. Douglass and £50 in all to each. To two sons John and Thomas all ye rest of real estate, etc. Executor to be children's guardian. Father-in-law Joshua Buffam to be sole executor. Pres. July 5, 1704.

Sam. Pope, Eliz. Darby, John Higginson, tertius.

Inv. = Old Spooner's house and barue and seven acres in ye towne, £200.

House and land was formerly John Symson's.

John Pickering, Jos. Douglass. June 27, 1705.

John, of John and Hannah Ruck, b. in Boston, Dec. 4, 1702.

Thomas of Boston to John of Salem, 9, 11, 1651. Reg. of Deeds.

John of Salem to his sons John and Thomas, land in Topsfield = 100 acres, Dec. 8, 1660.

John of Salem, Merchant, to Matthew Woodwell, land adjoining South River; also wife Sarah. Aug. 19, 1653.

John of Salem, to Matthew Woodwell, land adjoining South River; also wife Hannah? 8 mo., 3 d., 1660.

being cut short by his death in 1709, they chose Major Stephen Sewall and Mr. Robert Kitchen, merchants, as their guardians, Feb. 9, 1710-1, whom the Court therefore appointed.

George Deane followed the same occupation as his father and grandfather before him, that of a ship master. He commanded and partially owned a sloop in which he traded with the South and with the West Indies.

He seems to have owned no dwelling-house in Salem, but to have lived in a house owned by Hannah Batter, and sometime in Boston. The only conveyance of real estate to him which I find is as follows:—Thomas Deane, mariner, and Mary Deane, singlewoman, for and in consideration of the good will which they bear to their eldest brother George Deane, mariner, and for £7, 10s. paid to them by him, convey to him all their right, &c., in and to a certain piece of land situated in the South-field, so called, in Salem, containing one and a quarter to one and a half acres, which said land descended to them by ye death of their late father and mother, Thomas and Mary Deane, deceased, bounded west by ye marsh lying on ye mill-pond, east by the road-way, south by land of Samuel Swasey, north by land of Jona. Glover. Nov. 5, 1719.

Stephen Sewall, Edward Thompson.

This land probably came to them by their mother.

Nov. 4, 1723, W.^m Mackie, coaster, & Samuel Elson, mariner, sell to him for £63, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the Sloop called the William, of about 40 tons Burthen, with $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the mast, boom & bolesprit, Sailes, Cables, Anchors, rigging, tackle & apparrell and $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the boat and all other the appurtenances unto her belonging or in any way appertaining.

Benjamin Sewall, Edward Thompson.

He died about 1727, and administration upon his estate was granted to his widow Sarah Nov. 7th of that year.

His estate was administered upon as follows :

His inventory presented Dec. 7, 1727, was taken by John Brown & Warwick Palfray. Mr. Nath.^l Osgood being now at sea Capt. Josiah Williard was appointed in his place Apr. 29.th, as an additional appraiser. It contained among other things

½ acres of upland lying in the South field	£ 45
bond payable by Miles Ward, Jr.	£ 60
½ of Sloop William now at sea or at Boston (sold to Rich. Buckley, Boston, Aug. 20, 1728)	£ 45
Pue in meeting-house	£ 5

Her acc. of admin. presented Apr. 21, 1729.

Said estate was Cr.

by real estate	
personal estate	£ 45
	£404. 3. 8.

Dr.

pay'd James Bowdoin	£ 78. 8. 0.
house rent in Boston	£ 8. 18.
Wm. Gale, Shoemaker, £3. 9. 11. Abijah Goodale for Cyder £3. 9. 0. =	£ 6. 18. 11.
General Charges	£

Mr. Carswell mentioned, that bought part of the cargo.

Sarah Dean alias Britton.

In the files we find a few items :

Dec. 20, 1727. Rec.^d of Sarah, adm.^x of George Dean, Dec.^d, &c., £6, 15s. for house-rent. Hannah Batter.

May 21, 1728. A receipt fm. Hannah Batter* for £2, 15s. in full for the same.

Jan. 27, 1728-9. Rec.^d of Mrs. Sarah Dean 11s. 2d. on acc. of a Venter to North Carolina. Miles Ward, Jr.

Shipped, &c., &c., by Tho. Lauchlin, &c., now in North Carolina upon the good sloop called the William, whereof s Master, &c., Geo. Deane, now in the Port of Roanoke

* Perhaps wife or widow of Edmund, who lived on the western side of Washington St., just north of Essex.

bound for Boston 45 barrels of pitch on account of the owner and freighters of the sloop Jan & Elizabeth lately Wrackt on Roanoak Barr & are to be delivered to Thos. Steel, Esq., Merchant in Boston—10s. per barrel.

Roanoak, N. C.

July 12, 1726.

George Dean.

Endorsed.

Boston, Aug. 31, 1728. In consid.ⁿ that the within mentioned pitch was shipt in bad ord^r & as Mrs. Dean sayd many of em leakt out & the rem.^r left at Barbados came to small acc.^t I have accepted of £12, 10s. for my interest in the within pitch & bill of lading. The freight if any due in Mrs. Dean's hands.

Thomas Steel.

His widow married Feb. 13, 1728, David Britton,* died Feb. 3, 1771, aged 71, and was buried in Saint Peter's Church-yard, where her grave-stone is now standing in the rear of the Church.

(12) II. MARY³, b. 1695-6, bap. at First Church "at age" Jan. 22, 1715; m.^d April 28, 1719, John, son of Samuel and Mary (Poore) West, bap. at First Church May, 1695, d.

July 10, 1728, Sam.¹ West, Sen., Saddler, conveys to his son John, Saddler, one half of his dwelling-house in

*He had a second wife Hannah, who died Sept. 25, 1782, aged 57. He died about Dec. 22, 1783, aged 80. They both are buried in the churchyard.

"He was the last," says Rev. Mr. Fisher, his rector, "of those worthies who first united, and formed the Episcopal Church in Salem; a sermon preached in Church."

Administration was granted to Dea. Thomas Bagley Jan. 1, 1787. He was a Captain of one of the local militia companies, and was a large dealer in hats and furs. He lived, and I think had his shop, near the southwestern corner of Essex and Washington Sts., "Britton's Corner."

According to a sale of a common right to Nath. Ropes, May 11, 1771, his heirs appear to have been "Thos. Bayley of Boston, Gent., Jane Pigeon of Newton, Wid., Rachel Shrewsbury of Bn., Wid., Jos. Grafton of Newton, Clerk, Nath. of Newport & Wm. of Prov., R. I., Gent'n, Francis Phillips of Malden, & Sarah Veiner of Bn., Spinster."

alem where he now resides, being the easterly end, the whole being bounded, N. on the Main S.^t, E. by land of Mr. John Cabot, S. by do. of heirs of Mr. John Corwin, dec.^d, W. by a road leading to Marblehead; the westerly end of said house he had given to his son Samuel by a previous deed of the same day. This was the house and estate situated upon the corner of Essex and Summer streets.

April 21, 1737, he bought of Joseph Dean, Hatter, for 210, a piece of land at the southerly end of ye easterly end of ye 5th division of the land of Benj. Flint dec.^d, bounded S. on ye street 36 feet, W. on $\frac{1}{2}$ of said division belonging to Thomas Blaney, 8 poles 7 feet, N. on land of said Dean measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ of ye breadth of said division, E. on ye 4.th division 7 p. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. with ye buildings thereon. Benj. Buxton, Henry Bowers, Witnesses.

The above he sold to Wm. Deadman in 1740; it was part of the land now owned by Mr. Ives, next to the upper corner of Essex and Dean Sts.

April 23, 1737, he with his wife Mary for £700 paid them by Elizabeth & Mary Lindall, Singlewomen, sells to them a house & land bounded S. on ye Main Street 28 p., E. by land of Dr. Toppan 13 p. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ feet, N. by land of one Cook 26 f., W. by do. of Daniel West 14 p. 8 ft. in. This property was next above Dr. Loring's in Essex St.

John West and his wife attended the First Church and all their children were baptized there.

Jan. 3, 1760, "Widow Mary West" was admitted to full communion, and among the names of those desiring to be dismissed, and to form a new church on account of Dr. Dunbar's settlement, Feb. 24, 1772, is that of "Mary West."

They had issue :—

- I. Susannah⁴, bap. Aug. 14, 1722.
- II. Sarah⁴, bap. Mar. 15, 1724.
- III. John⁴, bap. Sept. 25, 1725, m.^d Feb. 6, 1766, Mary West, perhaps dau. of Daniel.
- IV. Mary⁴, bap. Mar. 12, 1727.
- V. George⁴, bap. Apr. 27, 1729, md. Apr. 28, 1751, Abigail Cook, by whom he had: 1. George⁵, who md. Dec. 16, 1775, Margaret Tink; 2. John⁵, bap. May 22, 1757; 3. John⁵, bap. June 24, 1759; 4. Benjamin⁵, bap. Aug. 5, 1764; 5. Sarah⁵, bap. Aug. 18, 1765; 6. Mehit-able⁵, bap. Aug. 16, 1772.
- VI. Sarah⁴, bap. Aug. 8, 1731.

Vide "West Family."

(13) III. THOMAS³ (23) b. abt. May, 1698, d. Aug. 24, 1759, m.^d Oct. 18, 1720, Martha, dau. of James & Rebecca (Bligh) Gillingham, b. Jan. 13, 1699, bap. at 1.st Ch., Jan. 15, 1699, d. Dec. 24, 1729; she lies buried in the Charter Street burying-ground; m.^d 2dly, Nov. 5, 1731, Mary, dau. of John & Jehoidan (Orne) (Harvey) Ward, bap. at First Church, Aug. 18, 1706, d. about 1780, then of the East Parish. Vide "Ward Family." In the deed to his eldest brother George, Nov. 5, 1719, given above, he is called mariner; he became a captain and merchant.

January 7, 1726-7, a little more than five years after his marriage, he bought of Elizabeth Darbey, Widow and Shopkeeper, for £150 a piece of land of about 26 rods with a dwelling-house and sail-maker's shop upon it, bd. N. by land of Stephen Daniels, E. by do. of Warwick Pallfray, S. by do. of Joseph Grafton & W. by the lane or highway, reserving to the said Eliz. liberty to remove & take off a workhouse belonging to Warwick Pallfray.

Benjamin Ives. Joshua Hicks.

This land was in Daniels St., almost the other extreme of the town from the family homestead, and now occupied by the dwelling-houses of the late Edward Stanley, James Perkins, and Pierce L. Wiggin, to the former and latter of whom it was sold June 7, 1805, by Capt. Joseph Waters, who purchased it of Capt. Dean's heirs, for \$1,090, July 16, 1800. The mansion house which he had occupied was soon after demolished, and the present buildings erected. He attended the East Church and the record of his marriage by Rev. Mr. Jennison, and of the births and death of his children kept by him is in my possession.

He died very suddenly, Aug. 24, 1759; a vague family tradition says of excessive joy at the return of his son George from abroad, who had been given up as lost.

"Aug. 25, 1759," says "Gardner's Journal," *Ins. Coll.*, V. —, p. —, "Died at Salem Capt. Thos. Dean. He came home as well as ever to all appearance and fell down dead without speaking a word.

Aug. 26, Capt. Dean buried. An exceeding large burying, about 400."

Administration upon his estate was granted to his widow Mary, Nov. 10, 1760, who gave bond with Nath. Andrew, Gent., and Benj. Ward, Shoreman, in the sum of £1000. The order for his inventory was issued to Capt. Jos. Hodges and Messrs. Ab.^m Watson and John Ives, Nov. 10, 1760. It comprised among other things the Mansion House & land & out houses, £250. 0. 0., China Plates, blew & white do., glass mugs, beekers, small painted bottels, fowling piece, hanger, cutluek* box & sack, Quadrant, silver-ware, 2 bibels, old books, gold buttons, silver shoe buckles, knee buckles & neck do., with the usual assortment of household furniture &

* Cart. idge, or cartouche?

other articles. "Some things in the wharehouse," Cash = £103. 9. 3. Bond & 2 notes of hand, Jos. Sarl, Jr.'s note = £8. 6. 0. A floor pew in East Meeting House = £10. 0. 0.

Taken Nov. 5, 1762.

Pres.^d the 15.th Suma = £561. 12. 0.

Account of administration presented Nov. 15, 1762. A 2d account Oct. 21, 1765, when the estate was divided among his widow & children, the eldest son Thomas receiving a double portion.

(7) JOSEPH², by wife Elizabeth had issue:—

(14) I. JOSEPH³, b. Aug. 29, 1698?, d. the following November.

(15) II. ELIZABETH³, b. Oct. 10, 1701, d. July, 1702.

(16) III. DESIRE³, b. Apr. 26, bap. June 13, 1703, d. Nov. 29, 1739, md. Dec. 8, 1720, Thomas, son of John & Eliz.^h (Purchis?) Blaney, b. 30, 3, 1689, d. 1766; he m. 2dly, prob. 1742, Alice Peaslee? of Haverhill, who d. Jan. 16, 1783.

Thomas Blaney belonged to a Quaker family and I suppose his wife was of that persuasion, though her baptism was at the First Church,—her name has been perpetuated in succeeding generations, almost to the present time. They lived, I think, upon the land bought by him from Benj. Flint, in Oct., 1725, for £72, "a small piece of land whereon stands said Thomas Blaney's new dwelling-house," bd. S. on Main St. 3½ rods, E. & N. by said Flint's, & W. by the Quaker meeting-house; this was on Essex street, just below the present Quaker meeting-house and adjoining ground. They afterwards inherited neighboring land from the said Flint.

He is variously styled "cordwainer" and "shoreman," and was also probably the one referred to in the follow-

ing stray piece of manuscript in the Probate Office, in the private possession of the Registrar.

· "An Invoice of goods Ladin on board the sloop Benj.ⁿ for Newbury, on acc.^t & Risque of Ichabod Plaisted Consigned Mr. Thomas Blancoe mast.^r of said Sloop. Salem, Oct. 11, 1722."

By the inheritance of his wife, and by purchase, he acquired a large amount of real estate in the westerly side of Dean St. extending to the North River bank, upon which he had his fish flakes. Federal Street was cut through it about 1760, and the land was sold in several parcels, after his death, as appears by the advertisements in the papers of that date, by his widow Elsie.

He belonged to a family which had numerous representatives in Salem, Lynn, and Marblehead, and whose descendants are still among us. His father John probably lived upon the borders of Lynn. In the acknowledgment of a deed, Sept. 13, 1766, he is spoken of as "almost blind;" his will is dated July 25 of that year. In it he calls himself "Shoreman," and leaves to his "beloved wife Alice" all his household furniture, and during her life the use and improvement of all his real estate, with liberty to sell it. To his son Thomas 20 £ more than he had already had, to be paid within six years after his wife's decease. To his daughter Abigail White 13£ 6s. 8d. more than she had already had, to be paid within eight years after his wife's decease. To his daughter Alice 20£ to be paid within eight years after his son Robert comes of age. To his son Robert and his heirs his house and land that shall be left after his wife's decease. His wife Alice is made Executrix. In presence of John Nutting, Richard Mayberry, Richard Mayberry, Jr. It was presented Jan. 5, 1767.

Sarah (Ingersoll) Ropes, b. Jan. 24, 1694, d. Jan. 21, 1792; "shoreman" and "shipwright."

Besides the part of her uncle Benj. Flint's estate in Essex St., which she received, she was allotted a piece of upland and salt marsh lying by the Forest River, from the same, an acre and a half; this her husband and children sold to John Cochran, husbandman, for £19, s. 6, d. 8. Sept. 14, 1763. "Mary his then wife being since deceased." He lived in Washington St. They had:

I. John⁴, bap. Aug. 8, 1725, d. ab.^t 1782, m.^d ab.^t 1750, Sarah (Titcombe) Stocker, who d. Apr. 16, 1799.

II. Mary⁴, bap. July 21, 1728, d. Dec. 3, 1785, m.^d. June 12, 1750, James Barr, b. in England, Oct. 29, 1721, d. Aug. 5, 1803.

III. William⁴, bap. Feb. 1, 1729, d. young.

Vide "Ropes Family."

Elizabeth³, m.^d Feb. 6, 1729-3, Samuel Field, Shipwright, bap. at the First Church, Dec. 31, 1727, at age, whom she survived.

She sold her share of all the real estate that came to her from her family, and her husband^o purchased from Sam. Fisk, Clerk, for £130, Oct. 15, 1728, a certain house lot of 36 p., bd. E. on the Townhouse St., S. on land of Mr. Batter & Mrs. Pickman, 15 p., 6 ft. to Mrs. P.'s N. W. cor. across said Fisk's land, N. to Norris' land, then N. partly on Norris', partly on Fisk's to said street.

Also May 5, 1729, from Edmund Batter, Tanner or Yeoman, and wife Hannah, for £27, apiece, part of his homestead, E. on School-house St., S. on said Batter's, W. land lately belonging to brother Daniel, and N. on said Field's, to which he added by purchase from Edm.^d Batter, Oct. 2, 1734, for £23, of a strip 10 feet broad and 64 f., 9 in. long, bd. N. & E. on said Field's, S. on his own, and W. Mrs. Abig. Pickman's land.

Aug. 5, 1767, he bought of W.^m Luscomb and wife Sarah for £6, s. 13, a wall-pew in the front gallery of the Great meeting-house (so called) being No. 12.

Mar. 16, 1733, she joins with her husband in a sale to Benjamin Pickman, for £20, 10s., of 5½ poles of land, bd. W. by Philip Sanders, 36 feet, 7 in., N. by the same 37 f., E. by said Field's land 37 f., and S. by said Pickman's, 39 f.

Her share of her uncle Flint's real estate included the lot next west of her brother Joseph's, with a cottage right known as Robinson's, this her brother bought Apr. 24, 1735.

The house in Washington St. in which she lived at the time of her death, and which was consumed in the great fire of 1774, was according to Col. Pickman built by her husband, and replaced by the present brick mansion, which now stands there (in the occupation of Samuel G. Rea, Esq.), built by her son.

In endeavoring to escape from the house at the time of the fire, she struck her head against some part of it, with such violence as to cause her immediate death.

They had issue:—

I. Elizabeth⁴, bap. Oct. 25, 1730.

II. Samuel⁴, bap. Apr. 30, 1732, d. Nov. 3, 1786, m.^d Nov. 22, 1753, Priscilla Ingalls of Marblehead, by whom he had: 1. Elizabeth⁵, bap. Oct. 13, 1754, d. Oct. 15, 1815, m. Oct. 10, 1778, Samuel McIntyre, the skilful and noted carver and architect, who d. Feb. 6, 1811, aged 54, and with his wife is buried in the Charter St. graveyard; their son's wife Hannah, "Relict of Samuel Field McIntire," b. June 12, 1780, d. Jan. 4, 1862, lies near them; 2. Mary⁵, bap. Aug. 7, 1757, d. Apr. 3, 1789, m.^d June 3, 1781, David, son of Jona. and Elizabeth (West) (Stacey) Ashby, bap. Apr. 17, 1757, d.

Jan., 1822; 3. Priscilla⁵, & 4. Sarah⁵, twins, bap. Sept. 14, 1760, Sarah⁵ d. Sept. 22, 1803, unm.^d; 5. Samuel⁵, bap. Feb. 27, 1763, perhaps the one who md. June 9, 1811, Sally Proctor, and died the same month, being then of Cambridge, Vt. He m.^d May 17, 1779, widow Lydia Holton, and Apr., 1781, widow Sarah Burgess, of Danvers. A Samuel, mariner, died at Chelsea, Nov. 9, 1841, aged 57.

Sept. 7, 1784, he and wife Sarah deed to John Felt, Yeoman of Danvers, a common right, which came to him "by his ancestors" (probably "Robinson's cottage right"), which he sold to said Felt seven years ago, but had given no deed of. Sept. 23, following, the said Field, "Boat-builder," conveys to Ezra Newhall, Esq., for £27, a shop or building on his land fronting School St., adjoining Benj. Coates' heirs' land to keep it there five years for £2 8s. yearly, with the privilege of the well and yard.

Jan. 26, 1786, he conveys to Archelaus Rea for £300 a lot bd. E. on School St., S. on land of Coats' heirs, W. on do. of Benj. Pickman, Esq., and N. on do. of Edw. Norris, with the brick dwelling house thereon, and except a small house in which Thos. Newhall now lives, and that building now improved by Col. Newhall and son as a stable belonging to them and which they have a right to remove.

(19) IV. JOSEPH³ (31), b. 6 mo., 15 d., 1708, bap. May 22, 1709, d. Dec. 24, 1778, m.^d ab.^t 1731-2, Elizabeth, dau. of Jonathan Bowers, of Swansey, Bristol Co., b. 11 mo., 1708, d. 9 mo., 15 d., 1771,* at Boston.

He is called "Hatter" and "Feltmonger," an occupation which seems to have been followed by many of the Quakers of Salem, the Eastyses, Bowerses, and others. By

*"Aug., 1771, aged 60," says the Gazette.

agreement with the other heirs, he became sole owner of his father's homestead, and here he lived until his removal to Boston, where he died. I suppose that the mansion-house which at present stands there was built by him.

Mar. 8, 1735, he sold to his next neighbour, Joshua Hicks, Mercht., for £10, a certain strip, lying in an acute angle, bd. S. W. and N. W. on his land, N. E. on said Hick's, beginning at the St. in the dividing line between them, and thence running N. W. and by W. 55 ft., then turning and running N. E. and by E. 5 ft. to the dividing line, thence in said line to the St. Henry Bowers.

Sarah Gaskill.

His estate he divided in 1767, between his two sons Joseph⁴ and John⁴, as will be seen.

To Edw. Flint of Haverhill and his sister Mary, who married Sam. Wainwright of Ipswich, was assigned Lot No. 4, in the division of their uncle Benj. Flint's estate hereafter mentioned. This was on the upper corner of Essex and Dean Sts., next to No. 5, and immediately adjoining Jos. Dean's quarter of his mother's part; it was 14 poles in length, with a breadth of 50 feet on Essex St., and sold with the building thereon, in 1736, to Jos. Dean; also a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a common right called Barber's. This, together with the back part of his own inherited portion and what he bought of the Fields, he sold to his son Jonathan in 1766.

July 6, 1742, he bought of Benj. Gerrish and wife Abigail (formerly Abigail Holloway, a daughter of Edw. Flint and sister of said Joseph's mother) for £50, "all our part of that swamp land at Claybrooke,"* &c., given by will of said Edw. to his said daughter, &c., in 1711,

*Near the "Deacon's Marsh," I think.

and July 5, of Edw. Flint and Samuel and Mary Wainwright for £10 their portion of the same, two acres, bordering E. on the first purchased part, and on all other parts by the 1st division of common lands, called the great pasture; this he gave to his son Jonathan in 1767. From the same Edw. and wife Lydia he bought for £70, in July, 1744, an acre of land, bd. N. on the Main St., E. by land of Benj. Gerrish, Esq., S. by do. of Nath. Ropes, and N. W. on ye way leading into ye great pasture, now enclosed with fence; this he gave to his son Joseph in 1767.

In 1751 he bought six acres in Swansea of Geo. Bowers; the common rights, except those inherited, were bought as follows: one formerly of Dan. Epes, Esq., from Benj. Prescott, Jr., Merch.^t & wife Rebeccah, Aug. 13, 1743; one formerly of Sam. Swasey, from his widow Ammi, Apr. 18, 1743; one formerly of Sam. Swasey, from his son Joseph, Hatter, of Swansea, Aug. 18, 1744.

He appears to have divided his property before his death, and I find no account of administration in either the Salem or Boston records.

There were three distinct parcels of real estate in which the children of Joseph² and Elizabeth Dean were interested, viz.: that which their father died possessed of, comprising his homestead on the corner of Essex and Dean Sts., their shares of which, with two common rights also, the other heirs, as above said, disposed of to their brother Joseph³, and the land in Dean St. by the North River, which Mary³ and John Ropes received as a part of their portion; then that which their mother received from her father, Edw. Flint's estate, or in exchange of her portion for her sister Lee's in 1713, in his will called "Goldthrite's field," and which seems to have been about the

junction of the present Essex and Warren Sts.; in 1734 it was described as about " $\frac{1}{2}$ an acre bd. N. on the Main St., E. by ld. of George Needham, S. do. of Nath. Ropes, & W. by do. of Benj. Gerrish." Each child inherited one quarter; Joseph sold his to the Fields, Mar. 1, 1734, who sold it with their quarter to the Ropeses, Oct. 14th following, who also the same day bought from the Blaneys their part, thus becoming owners of the whole; this was sold by the heirs of John and Mary Ropes to Wm. Lang in 1792. It may have been further down Essex St. than the above-said. Lastly there was their mother's portion of her uncle Benjamin Flint's estate; this was a large one, running from Essex St. to the North River, west of Dean St., and perhaps extending to the present Boston St., or including that; it had perhaps been the homestead of their grandfather Edward Flint. It was divided into seven portions, of which the Deans received No. 5, which had a frontage on Essex St. of 72 feet, beginning on the easterly side at a point 50 feet from the upper corner of Dean St., and a depth of 140 poles; each of Eliz. Dean's children received a quarter of her part; Jos. the most easterly, Eliz. Field the next, Mary Ropes the next, and the Blaneys the next, the most westerly; to them too the Ropeses sold their quarter and to Jos. Dean the Fields sold their quarter, 1734-5; he sold afterwards the front lot of his to John West, which with the other half belonging to the Blaneys came into the possession, about 1763, of Dr. Eben Putnam, whose heirs sold it to Jos. Miller, Esq.; it is now the home of Mr. William Ives, who a few years ago built a second house upon it.

FOURTH GENERATION.

(11) GEORGE,³ by wife Hannah had issue :—

(20) I. HANNAH⁴, b. ab.^t 1715,* bap. Nov. 2, 1718, d. ab.^t 1790, m.^d Dec. 6, 1733, Isaac, son of John and Elizabeth (Cook) Chapman, b. Aug. 27, 1710, d. before 1757-8, by whom she had :

I. Isaac⁵, bap. Jan. 29, 1736-7, d. ab.^t 1797, at Beverly, m.^d Mar. 18, 1760, Joanna Patch of Beverly, who perhaps d. the same year; md. 2dly, June 10, 1762, Rebecca Harris of Beverly, where he afterwards lived. He is styled "Fisherman," "Gentleman," and "Captain," and had issue : 1. Josiah Foster⁶; 2. Joanna; 3. Hannah; 4. Elizabeth.

II. Benjamin⁵, bap. Apr. 8, 1738-9, d. probably before 1783, md. Nov. 24, 1762, Sarah Buffington, and apparently 2dly, Sarah Henderson. He was a mariner and owned a house adjoining the homestead. He had : 1. Isaac Needham⁶, b. ab.^t 1773, m.^d June 7, 1799, Rebecca Symonds; 2. Rachel⁶, b. ab.^t 1775, md. Levi Maxey, school-master; 3. Benjamin⁶, b. July, 1779, d. Jan. 2, 1853, m.^d Mar. 18, 1805, Mary Leach; a shipmaster.

See Coll., Vol. III, p. 183.

Guardianship of these three children was granted to his widow Sarah, who gave bond with Benj. Needham and Isaac Needham, Nov. 6, 1789.

III. George⁵, bap. July 26, 1741, m.^d Nov. 1, 1762, Lydia, daughter of Edmund Henfield.

IV. Hannah⁵, bap. June 5, 1743, m.^d Dec. 5, 1765, James Symonds, 3d.

*Marblehead, Mch. 31, 1729.

To ye Hon. Judge Appleton.

Sr. I am one of ye Daughters of George Dean Deceased and am now become of age to Chuse my Guardian. This therefore is to let you know I desire Mr. John West may by you be appointed as my Guardian.

* I am with respects Sr. Hhanah Den.

V. Elizabeth⁵, bap. July 14, 1745, m.^d June 23, 1765, Richard Lunt of Newbury, by whom she had: 1. Elizabeth⁶, bap. Oct. 4, 1767; 2. Deborah⁶, bap. at the same time; 3. Sarah⁶, bap. Sep. 23, 1770; 4. Richard⁶, bap. Sep. 27, 1772; 5. Joseph⁶, bap. Dec. 4, 1774, at the North Church.

VI. Mary⁵, bap. Dec. 28, 1746, m.^d April 10, 1769, Thomas Symonds.

The homestead of the family was on the upper corner of Essex and Summer Sts., which went by the name of "Chapman's Corner," as the opposite one was called, from the family which owned it, "West's Corner." I suppose the old house which stood there before the present brick dwelling-house was built upon the spot by Mr. Kinsman, and was occupied as a dwelling and umbrella-shop by Ottignon, afterwards, I think, moved away, was one of the Chapman buildings.

John Chapman, "Taylor," the father of Isaac, lived here, and died here Dec., 1744.

In his will, made Dec. 12, proved Dec. 28, he mentions son John, son Isaac, son Sam., daughter Hannah Gillingham, children of son Stephen deceased, children of son Joseph deceased, and beloved wife Elizabeth.

I have no note of the items of it, but the homestead seems to have been divided and left to his son Isaac, son Benj., daughter Hannah and wife.

His son John moved to Boston and was a shipwright there. His son Sam. moved to Marblehead, selling the part of the homestead which came to him at his mother's death to his nephew Isaac⁵. Stephen and Joseph were dead, so that the only two remaining were Isaac and Benj., and here they lived.

There was another Isaac Chapman (sometimes called Chappleman) who perhaps was a brother of John, Sen.

He was a blacksmith, md. Dec. 9, 1714, Mary, daughter of Edw. Britain, and died 1731-2, leaving three children: Mary, b. Nov. 8, 1715, who md. an Atkinson, Michael, and Elizabeth.

Dec. 6, 1737, Isaac, probably before going to sea, makes his loving wife Hannah his attorney, and Feb. 18, 1740, joins in a sale of property of hers to Joshua Hicks, and Sam. Pepe, administrators on estate of John Ruck, and Apr. 6, 1742, to Dan. Grant of land adjoining.

Feb. 1, 1717-8, Jos. Cook, blacksmith, and wife Margaret, mortgage to Col. Sam. Brewne, Esq., for £45, his dwelling-house with outhousing and 12 poles of land or so, bd. N. on the Main St., S. by land partly of Jona. Bligh, and partly of John Cook, late dec.^d, W. by do. partly of Capt. Tho. Flint and partly the aforesaid John Cook, dec.^d, and Easterly by do. of John Chapman.

The above was probably the property lately inherited by the Hon. Mr. Upham from the Ropeses, by whom it was purchased of the family of Priscilla Abbot, to whom, as appears below, it belonged.

Sept. 15, 1794, Sam. Blythe mortgages to Isaac Williams a dwelling-house and land bd. E. on the street leading from Chapman's Corner to the Hill Burying-place, S. by land of late Isaac Williams, W. by land of Priscilla Abbot, and N. partly by do. of Chapman and partly of the heirs of John Nutting, Esq., dec.^d.

Dec. 1, 1796, Sally Blythe, widow, conveys to Jona. Hodges, a dwelling-house in Summer St., bd. S. by the and (according to a deed from John Higginson to Sarah, wife of Jona. Blythe, 1730) then belonging to Isaac Williams, W. by do. then of John Sterns* (afterwards of Pris. Abbot) N. by do. then of the Cooks and Chapmans,

*John Chapman md., 1st, 1691, Hannah Sterns.

&c., being the manor-house of late husband Sam., dec.^d, and lately sold by me except my right of dower to Capt. Wm. Orne, and by him re-conveyed to me. This land was added to from the Chapmans', as it appears. Of the Chapman house, which stood upon the corner of the street, the widow Elizabeth seem to have owned the southern end, and by will in 1758 to have bequeathed it to her son Sam., who Feb. 7, 1760, then of Marblehead, with wife Hannah sells it to his nephew Isaac of Salem, mariner, for £86, 13 s. It was then bd. S. by land of Hannah Gillingham, and W. by do. of John Nutting.

In 1763, Apr. 9, the said Isaac, then of Beverly, sold it to his brother Benj. for £93, 6 s., 8 d., to which in 1769 he added a piece of land of 2½ p. lying south of it, bought for £8 from his aunt Hannah Gillingham.

Hannah, the widow of Isaac^s, had the northern part and perhaps by purchase afterwards from Benj.^s or his heirs the other part; in 1783, Oct. 2, she and her children George, Hannah and Mary Symonds, and Eliz. Lunt sell out to Sam. Blythe "Painter," for £128; it was then bd. W. by the way* left out for Hannah Gillingham. Other heirs, John Chapman and Sarah Wellman, widow, and heirs of Isaac of Beverly, in 1791, and widow Sarah Chapman and Joseph Henderson, in 1763, join in sale to said Blythe.

In 1738, John Sen., and wife Eliz., and John, Jr., of Boston and wife Hannah sold to Wm. Campbell for £39 a piece south of their other land, bd. W. by land of Young and Davis, E. the highway, S. by do. of Neal.

Witnesses to John in Boston. John Hobbs.

Sam. Adams.

In 1758 the widow Eliz. sold the piece next north of

* In width thirteen feet.

this to her grandson Isaac for 29£ 17s., being 28 p. and 10d. S. by the widow Campbell's, and W. by land of Tobias Davis partly, and of Mrs. Lee and Jos. Gardner partly; this was the land sold by Isaac to Wm. West in 1760, the land of Jos. Gardner being now of Eben.^r Putnam.

There are conveyances of Isaac and wife Rebecca in Beverly to Sam. Cassman, Sept. 12, 1766, and to R. Standly, Apr. 1, 1771.

There was also another Isaac, "blacksmith," in Beverly; an Isaac 2d appears as a witness in 1768, but I do not know which it was.

Isaac and wife Priscilla convey to Abner in 1796, and an inventory of the estate of Capt. Isaac was presented by Abner in 1798. See appendix.

Widow Hannah⁴ joined with her sisters in a sale of the land in South-fields, derived from her grandmother Mary Dean, to Timothy Pickering in 1757; administration upon her estate was granted to her son George, who gave bond with Sam. Blythe and Thomas Symonds Nov. 11, 1790.

(21) II. MARY⁴, bap. Nov. 2, 1718, m.^d Apr. 19, 1739, Jonathan, son of Jona. and Jemima (Felt) Ashby, bap. July 21, 1717, d. 1783; she d. 1751, and he m.^d 2dly, Dec. 7, 1752, Eliz., wid. of Wm. Stacey and daughter of Samuel and Mary (Gale) West.

By his wife Mary⁴, he had issue:

I. Mary⁵, bap. Mar. 2, 1740, prob. d. unm.^d

II. Hannah⁵, bap. Nov. 1, 1741, m.^d. Oct. 8, 1769, William Young, b. 1751, d. 1806. Ins. Coll., Vol. III, p. 130.

III. Benjamin⁵, bap. July 17, 1743, probably d. before 1786.

IV. Jonathan⁵, b. 1746, d. Nov. 15, 1797, m.^d. Dec. 1,

1768, Lydia Kimball, and had : 1. Jonathan⁶, bap. Nov. 5, 1769, m.^d Nov. 11, 1792, Sarah Fitch, who d. Sept. 24, 1807, aged 34, and is buried in the Charter St. graveyard, where also the gravestones of others of the family are to be found ; 2. Lydia⁶, bap. Dec. 2, 1770 ; 3. Mary⁶, bap. Mar. 1, 1772 ; 4. Samuel⁶ ; 5. Benjamin⁶, perhaps m.^d Mary Young, Sept. 20, 1807 ; 6. Thomas⁶ ; 7. Lucy⁶, bap. Jan. 7, 1781 ; 8. John⁶, prob. bap. Feb. 22, 1784 ; 9. Elizabeth⁶ ; 10. Hannah⁶, bap. June 1, 1788 ; 11. Hitty⁶, bap. Mar. 14, 1790, d. young.

V. Jemima⁵, Mar. 6, 1751, m.^d. May 2, 1774, Samuel Young, and 2dly, 1780, John Howard. Coll. Vol. IV, p. 85.

By his wife Eliz. he had issue :

VI. David, bap. Apr. 17, 1751, m.^d Mary Field⁵.

VII. Sarah, bap. Oct. 1, 1758, m.^d Apr. 2, 1780, John Orne of Marblehead.

VIII. Eliz.^h, bap. May 3, 1761, d. May 23, 1823, unm.^d ; in her will of May 19, she mentions nephew David Ashby, caulker and graver, and niece Mary, wife of Richard Ames Wrisbridge, and said Mary's daughter, Eliz. Brown, a minor. Mark Pitman, Ex.^r

In 1740 Mary Ashby joined with her sisters in the sale to Joshua Hicks and Samuel Pope, administrators, and in 1742, to Daniel Grant, and her husband, she being dead, in the sale to Timothy Pickering in 1757.

He was a shipwright, as many of his family were, an occupation which was followed for succeeding generations by his own and other neighboring families. The genealogical student cannot fail to be struck with the numerous instances in which certain trades were kept in certain families and transmitted from one generation to another. This is natural and fitting, and doubtless, too, the earlier generations in this country instinctively adhered to the

traditional customs of their fore-fathers in the old country, in some parts of which this custom is in full force.

The homestead of the Ashbys* and a kindred family, the Morongs,* was in Water St., abutting on the Charter St. graveyard. A wharf and buildings on the opposite side of the street also belonged to them.

July 4, 1750, he and his brother George bought from the other heirs the eastern and western ends respectively of their late father's house, N. on the burying-place, etc.

June 1, 1752, George Ashby and wife Hannah convey to brother Jonathan for 20£ $\frac{1}{2}$ of a certain wharf,† with a warehouse or barn, and flats under and adjoining, the other $\frac{1}{2}$ belonging to said Jonathan, bd. N. on the St., W. by land of heirs of Sam. Brown, Esq., dec.^d, E. by do. of Joshua Hix, and S. extending to the channel.

To this he added on the west by purchase from Sam. Calley and wife Abigail, Oct. 5, 1762.

June 13, 1763, Dan. Mackay, Merch.^t, and wife Esther convey to him for 66£, 13s., a piece of land bd. W. by land of said Ashby, E. by do. of late Timothy Lindall, Esq., formerly James Lindall's, N. the Burying Point, and S. by a Town-way or passage-way; also the warehouse thereon.

Jan. 1, 1777, Martha "Meurong," widow, buys of

* It is hoped that the more perfect account of these families in course of preparation by a descendant may soon find its promised place upon the pages of the "Collections."

† John Howard, guardian to John, Eliz., and Hannah, minor children of Jona. Ashby, deceased, sells to Thos. Chipman $\frac{3}{4}$ of premises bd. W. by land of David Ashby, E. by do. of Timothy Brooks, formerly of Timothy Lindale, deceased, S. by Water St., and N. by the burying-point, with the dwelling house, &c., for \$710.00. June 23, 1805. Thos. Chipman and wife Elz. re-convey it to John Howard July 5, following.

Said John Howard in said capacity also conveys for \$830.00. to Jednathan Upton $\frac{3}{4}$ of a wharf and flats, bd. N. on Water St., S. on the South River, E. on premises of Wm. Gray, Jr., W. on do. of David Ashby. June 29, 1805.

July 5, 1805, the other heirs Jona. and wife Sally, Samuel, Benj. and wife Polly, John Howard, Attorney, to Thos. and Lucy E. Ashby of Boston, Spinster, for \$1,370.00 convey the other $\frac{1}{4}$ to said Upton.

W.^m Butman and wife Eliz. $\frac{1}{2}$ of a dwelling-house bd. N. on the burying-point land, E. by land of Ashby, S. by the street and W. by the other $\frac{1}{2}$ of said house, the latter $\frac{1}{2}$ she having bought from Jos. Rollings, Aug. 27, 1774.

Thomas Morong, the father of the said Martha's husband John, m^d. Jemima, the sister of Jona. Ashby.

Jona⁵. and David⁵, and their sister Eliz.⁵ in 1797 sold to their brother-in-law John Howard a common right formerly of their father, dec.^d

In 1800 the Ashbys joined the other heirs of Jemima Felt in the sale of their share of the Bonfield farm. See Felt Family.

(22) III. DAMARIS⁴, bap. Nov. 2, 1718; all three sisters were baptized at the same time with their father. She was of Boston Nov. 22, 1739, when she makes her brother-in-law, Jona. Ashby, her attorney, who as such joins her sisters in the sales to Hicks and Pope, and Grant. There, too, by the Rev. Addington Davenport of Trinity Church, she was married, Apr. 26, 1742, to John Brackett. At that church her children were baptised:

I. George⁵, Feb. 13, 1743.

II. John⁵, June 3, 1744, and in the register of burials I find John Braket, July 15, 1758.

Whether she married again or when she died, I am not aware.

The three sisters derived real estate from their mother Hannah Ruck, and from their father George, which came by his mother.

In regard to the former;* Feb. 13, 1743, the three

* This land in brief was that between Bean and Munroe Streets, at present occupied by the mansion-house of the Wheatland or Rogers family.

A part of John Ruck's land is the site of Mr. Bertram's house, but it extended farther west also.

heirs sell to Joshua Hicks and Sam. Pope, administrators on estate of John Ruck, dec.^d, Blacksmith, for £300, all their right, being $\frac{3}{8}$, in that part of the real estate of their grandfather Thomas, dec.^d, given said John, dec.^d, and Thomas by his will of June 30, 1704, with the twenty poles given to Damaris, dec.^d Feb. 18, 1740.

Whereas the children aforesaid have released to the administrators of John Ruck, dec.^d, for his heirs the twenty poles given to Damaris, and some doubt arises as to who should have the lot immediately next to Jos. Duglass'; it is therefore agreed, said administrators being impowered by the General Court, that Hannah, Mary and Damaris give said lot to John's heirs, and they take the second lot next. Feb. 18, 1740.

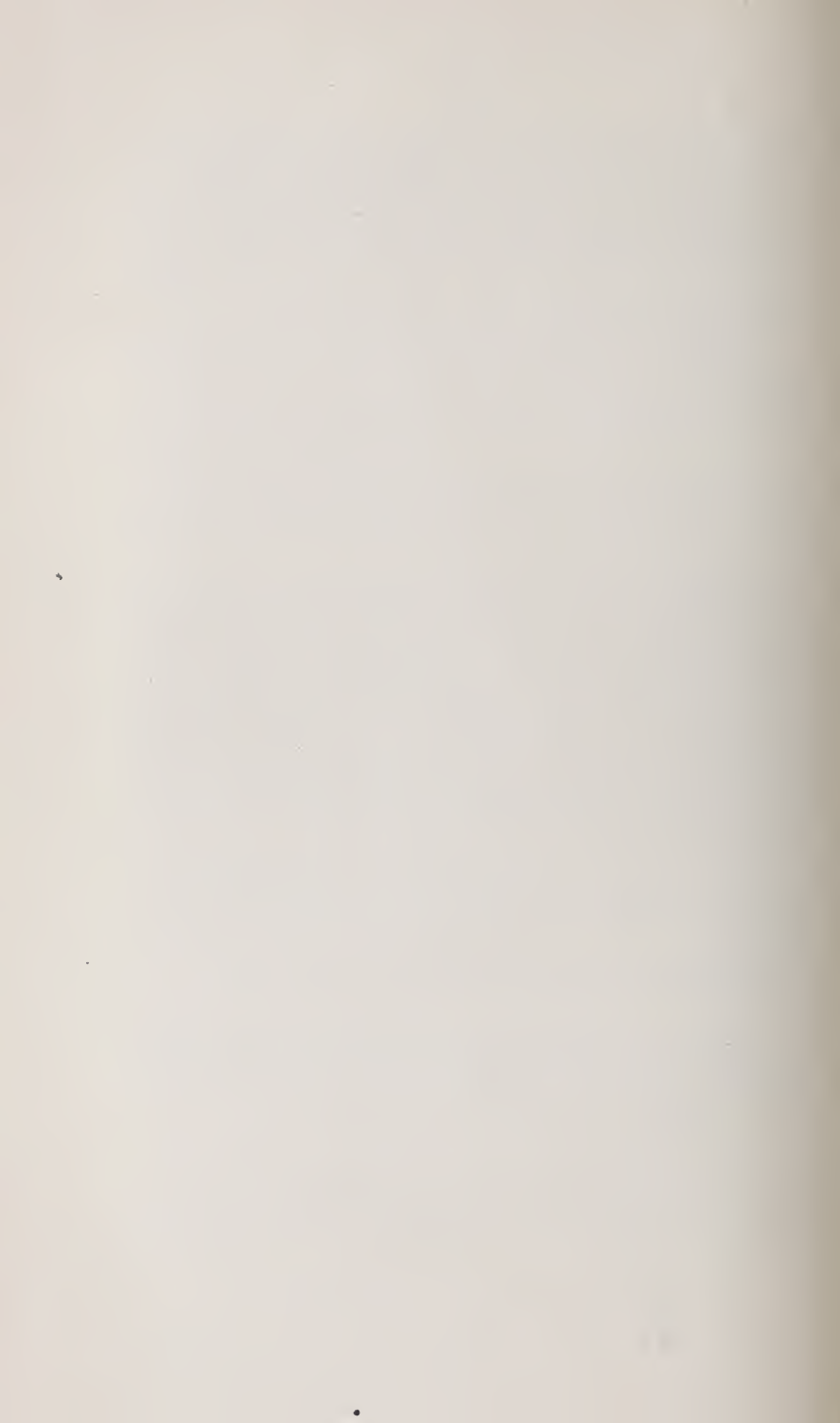
This piece of land, fronting on Essex St. $2\frac{1}{2}$ poles, and running back 8 poles, and bd. E., N., and W. by land of Joshua Hicks, they sold to Daniel Grant, April 6, 1742.

The other land was in South-fields, one and three quarters acres bd. E. on the highway, S. by land of Timothy Pickering, N. by do. of the heirs of Jona. Glover, dec.^d, and W. by the Deacon's Marsh,* and bought by Timothy Pickering for 29 £ 6 s. 8 d. Feb. 9, 1757.

Before I had opportunity to get the two Bracketts to sign this Deed the Husband died. Sometime after, when she came to Salem she executed it as within. Timothy Pickering.

Acknowledged by said Damaris Sept. 25, 1758.

*What was the exact location of the Deacon's Marsh, and what was its eastern boundary in 1690-1700? The Glover land was bought from the heirs of John Cromwell in 1714; it was formerly called "Prince's Lott."



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