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THE
ESSEX INSTITUTE
HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. XC — 1954

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GOVERNOR DUMMER MANSION

Built about 1712, in Byfield Parish of Newbury. Near this house the first academy building was erected in 1763, perhaps one of the oldest academies in the country.
The mansion is still in use by Governor Dummer Academy.

ESSEX INSTITUTE

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

VOL. XC

JANUARY, 1954

No. 1

FINANCING THE OLD NEW ENGLAND ACADEMIES

By HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

In the period from the close of the Revolutionary War to the eighteen twenties New England was not rich in natural resources; manufacturing was barely started; farming gave sustenance but little profit; shipping was the most lucrative means of livelihood. Yet in that period the fathers of New England sought and provided educational opportunities to their children, for that is the great period of founding academies. How were these academies financed? Obviously the first consideration was that salaries and board were both low in cost, but buildings had to be erected, and teachers paid even at a minimum wage. How did they do it?

LAND GRANTS

One of the most common ways of financing any movement in the early days of our republic, namely by grants of land, was used for the academies. This has been discussed in two recent issues of the *ESSEX INSTITUTE HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS*; Land Grants in Maine to Academies in Massachusetts and Maine, January, 1952, and Vermont County Grammar School Lands, July, 1952.

Occasionally other states used this method, for example, New Hampshire granted a township in Coos County to be divided between Atkinson and Gilmanton Academies. (1809)

LOTTERIES

Lottery was an accepted device for raising money for many purposes in the early Nineteenth Century, and many

academies sought to raise funds by this method. The earliest instance the writer has found was at Norwich, Vermont, where a lottery was held in 1788 to raise £150 to erect the academy building. The next year Leicester Academy, Massachusetts, received state permission for a lottery. They advertised it as follows:

As the Academy at Leicester is established for promoting piety and virtue and for the education of youth . . . and as this lottery had for its object the accomplishment of these benevolent purposes, the managers have no doubt of a speedy sale of the tickets.

Cheshire School, Connecticut, an Episcopal institution, held two lotteries. The first, in 1802, was to raise \$15,000.; they actually raised \$12,000. In 1804, a second was advertised as follows:

The object for which this lottery is granted is already known to the public. In the encouragement of literature in all classes of citizens . . . the bestowal of a small sum for the promotion of a valuable object, as well as the prospect of gain present themselves as motives to adventure.¹

After the loss of their first building by fire in 1803, Atkinson Academy, New Hampshire, petitioned the State Legislature for permission to establish a lottery. Atkinson is just across the state line from Haverhill, Massachusetts, and they hoped to sell tickets there. The Haverhill papers gave favorable references to the lottery. But a law of Massachusetts of 1801 forbade the sale in that state of lottery tickets authorized by another state except by consent of the Massachusetts General Court, and that consent the Atkinson trustees could not secure.

Green Academy at Smithfield, Rhode Island, held a lottery in 1808 hoping to raise \$22,000. In 1812 they held another to raise \$1500. for a building. The document of the Trustees reads in part:

“Resolved: That the Risk of Lottery be Bourne Jointly, Equably, and Severally within this Corporation in the gain or loss.”²

1 Broadside in Yale University Library.

2 Mss. Records of Proceedings of Green Acad. Corporation in R. I. Hist. Soc.

A later entry in the records states that they spent more than the lottery brought in, and in 1812 they asked permission for another lottery to raise \$2,200.³

SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY TEACHERS

Schools founded by teachers were seldom if ever started with a financial background. In fact, in some cases they were founded to eek out a minister's meagre salary. That was true of the famous academy at Greenfield Hill, Fairfield, Connecticut, where young Timothy Dwight with a growing family began by taking pupils into his home.

Usually teachers founded schools because they loved to teach, and because they saw the need for schools.

That was probably true of two of the earliest schools for girls, founded by men who became famous as writers of text-books: Jedidiah Morse, author of a number of geographies, who opened a school for girls in New Haven, Connecticut, 1783; and Caleb Bingham, a writer of many texts, the most notable, "*The Young Ladies' Accidence, designed for the weaker sex, but suitable for either,*" who opened a school in Boston in 1784.

A few schools opened by teachers were incorporated, raised funds by selling shares and had a longer existence. Miss Sarah Pierce opened her school for girls in the dining room of her home in Litchfield, Connecticut in 1791. In 1827, it was incorporated and shares sold. Catherine Beecher and her sister, famous by her married name of Harriet Beecher Stowe, were both graduates of that school, and together they opened another school for girls in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1823. They saw the need of increased funds; sold shares, and the school was incorporated in 1827.

Two other schools started by teachers were incorporated as coeducational schools. One at Ashfield, Massachusetts, was founded by Alvin Sanderson, a young minister in failing health, in 1816. He died within the year, leaving his modest savings of \$1,000 to the school. Shares were taken by people of the town and the school was incorporated under the name of its founder, as Sanderson Academy.

3 Ibid.

Samuel Reed Hall accepted an appointment to the little church at Concord, Vermont, on condition that he be allowed to open a school. He began in an unused store, but within a year funds were collected, a schoolhouse was built, and a charter obtained from the state.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS

Dummer Academy, now Governor Dummer Academy, South Byfield, Massachusetts, was started by a gift from Lieutenant-Governor Dummer. Phillips Andover, 1778, and Phillips Exeter, 1781, were founded by members of the Phillips family and endowed more heavily than any other schools founded before 1820. The gifts at Andover totaled \$71,000 and at Exeter \$58,000.

These schools had been named for their founders. The origin of Leicester Academy, Massachusetts, is unique, for it was started by two men neither of whom belonged in Leicester. Colonel Ebenezer Crafts was from Sturbridge, and Jacob Davis from Charlton. Both men wanted an academy in the central part of Massachusetts, whether it was in their own town or not. Crafts wanted it in Sturbridge, but the townspeople were not interested. In the nearby town of Leicester was a spacious house built by Aaron Lopez when he fled from Newport, Rhode Island, in fear of British invasion during the Revolutionary War. The war was over, Lopez had returned to Newport, and the house was for sale. On the ground floor was a large room which Lopez had used as a store. Crafts and Davis decided this could be used for a schoolroom, and the other rooms for a dormitory. They pooled their funds and bought the building. Thus Leicester Academy was founded by men from other towns who did not even ask that their names be attached to it. Of course more funds were needed beyond the cost of the building, and the school advertised in the Worcester *Spy* for subscriptions, Crafts became impoverished, partly because of the depression following the War, and partly because of his generosity to the academy. He took up land in Vermont, in a town named for his family, Craftsbury, and there his son was one of the leaders in founding Craftsbury Academy.

Other schools founded by large benefactions in the early days were: Derby School, later Derby Academy, in Hingham, through a bequest of over \$10,000 by Dr. Derby; Bacon Academy, Colchester, Connecticut, by Pierpont Bacon who left \$35,000 for a school; and Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, N. H., founded with a gift from Daniel Kimball of \$6,000. to which at his death his whole estate was added, totaling \$40,000.

After the founding of these schools by men of wealth, a long period intervened before there were other large benefactions. Academies were founded by groups of citizens and were financed by these groups, and in Massachusetts and Maine by land grants from the states.

Two gifts made in 1815, were simply for buildings. Amasa Nichols erected an academy building at Dudley, Connecticut, at a cost of \$10,000, but sadly enough it burned before it was completed. Judge Daniel Coney at Augusta, Maine, aroused much speculation by starting a large building on a prominent street corner. Finally the people learned that he was building a girls' academy. In 1818 he deeded the building together with ten shares of Augusta bank stock to a Board of Trustees.

After 1820 there were some large gifts, notably those to the Friends' Boarding School at Providence, now the Moses Brown school. Gifts by Moses and Obediah Brown created an endowment of nearly \$200,000.

Other gifts were, \$5000 to found a girl's school at Derry, New Hampshire, 1823, the school where Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon taught; \$10,000 to found Burr Academy, Manchester, Vermont, by Judge Burr on condition that a building be erected within ten years; and two gifts that caused a change in the name of the school — \$5000 to New Ipswich by Samuel Appleton of Boston, whereupon the school became Appleton Academy; and \$70,000 to Groton Academy from Amasa Lawrence and the school promptly became Lawrence Academy. (The school now famous as the Groton School was founded in 1884.)

Sometimes the benefactors named conditions that gave themselves power over the institution. As early as 1695,

when Samuel Sewell of Kingston, Rhode Island, gave 500 acres of land for educational purposes, thus endowing Kingston Academy, he stipulated that the instructor should be named by himself and his wife, or the survivor, or by the minister of the Third Congregational Church in Boston.

In Exeter, Mr. Phillips reserved to himself the power to make special rules, and to appoint his own successor on the Board of Trustees, who should have the same power.

SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY ACTION OF TOWN MEETINGS

The old Grammar Schools required by Massachusetts colonial law were supposed to be supported by the towns, but often the towns were unequal to the task, or shirked it. A significant statement about Dummer Academy was that it should be "privately supported, so that it should not be at the mercy of an impoverished town treasury." In spite of this danger the movement for an academy often began in a town meeting. This was especially true in Massachusetts and Maine after the passage of Dane's law for land grants to academies, and in Vermont to gain the rents of the lease lands. But action of town meetings occurred in Massachusetts and Maine before Dane's law was drafted, and in other states where there was no provision for land grants.

At Westford, Massachusetts, in 1792, a group of men started the school and the town voted to take "twenty shears in the academy at six pounds a shair." At Westfield, Massachusetts, 1793, the town voted to "raise the sum of three hundred pounds as Fund for the support of an Academy." Nothing came of that vote until after Dane's law. In 1794, at New Salem, Massachusetts, the town meeting voted to move the church building, and grant it for use as an academy and town hall. At the same time they appointed a committee to petition the legislature for the incorporation of an academy.

In 1797, Dane's law speeded up the founding of academies, by the offer of a half township of land in Maine. Competition between towns to get the academy is well illustrated by eight towns in Norfolk County, Massachusetts

each of which started subscription lists for a school. The right to have the academy was by the General Court granted to Milton, but it is interesting to find that three of the competing towns had members on the Board of Trustees. Framingham was also interested in a possible land grant, and in town meeting voted to grant \$60 per annum, and later \$1000 down provided they got the half township grant.

In other states besides Massachusetts and Maine the movement for an academy began in town meeting. In Gilmanton, New Hampshire, in 1792, a committee of 20 that had been appointed to consider the question reported "That the establishment of an academy in town would be useful to the inhabitants, and beneficial to the public; that since it is represented that £500 would be subscribed for this purpose by individuals, therefore the committee, or the major part of them, agree in the opinion that the appropriation of the school right, [that is, a right or specified area of land set apart for town schools] to such an academy would be agreeable to the charter of the town, and the designs of government, and it ought to be appropriated accordingly." That same year the town voted 20 acres of the 40 acres school right be "hereby . . . given and granted forever hereafter for the benefit and support of an academy in the town of Gilmanton."⁴

In Vermont the granting of lease lands became an incentive to found academies, or grammar schools as they were called there. In 1795, the town of Peacham had to choose between having the county court house or the county grammar school. They voted for the school, adding that if it was given them by the state legislature they would support a preceptor for a term of three years, "provided the persons who live in the vicinity of the place where the building will probably be built will subscribe a sum sufficient for Erecting the buildings that shall be required by the trustees." The town clerk was to receive subscriptions to the amount of £300 including materials for erecting the building.

Town meeting at Amherst, New Hampshire, voted to

4 Daniel Lancaster History of Gilmanton, p. 148, 1845.

excuse from the school tax those who supported the academy.

SCHOOLS FOUNDED BY GROUPS OF INDIVIDUALS

Most frequently, however, academies were founded by groups of men who earnestly desired schools for their children of the community. Often the leader was the minister; professional men, business men, and farmers cooperated in the movement, and they asked any who were interested to contribute.

One is amazed at the tiny size of the towns in which such movements took place. Five towns with population of under 500 souls started academies by 1802:

		<i>Population</i>	
1787	Atkinson, New Hampshire	480	} These figures are from first U.S. census of 1790 and may not be exact for year
1795	Cavendish, Vermont	491	
1795	Peacham, Vermont	365	
1797	Middlebury, Vermont	395	
1802	Bluehill, Maine	494	

At least nine academies were organized in towns with population between 500 and 1000, one of them, Fryeburg, Maine, with population of 550, really deserves to be in the first group.

1787	Castleton, Vermont	809
1791	Fryeburg, Maine	550
1800	Newcastle, Maine (Lincoln Academy)	996
1802	Hampden, Maine	904
1803	Hebron, Maine	981
1807	Farmington, Maine	942
1808	Belfast, Maine	674
1808	Bridgton, Maine	646
1808	Limerick, Maine	829

There were also nine towns with populations between 1000 and 1500, and about thirteen towns with population from 1500 to 2000, not to mention larger places, which organized academies. The courage manifested, and the earnest desire for education for their children excites our admiration.

Frequently those who gave were called by the old English term of "proprietors" or "adventurers." Some bought many shares, some two or three, or only one. At one school⁵ the writer found purchasers of $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ share, which at \$5.00 a share (the usual price) would have amounted to \$2.50 or \$1.25. At Castleton, Vermont, two lists of subscribers were kept, one for the larger gifts, and a second for the "smaller but not less consecrated offerings."

That second list may have been of gifts small in money value, but the total made a greater sum than the total of the larger gifts, so the small givers held a majority of the votes in the proprietors' meetings. The following list gives the percentage of the total amount contributed by those who gave under \$100. It will be noted that in two cases only was the percentage under 50 per cent as in those two cases only did the larger shareholders have the majority vote. (The list is arranged chronologically by the dates for selling shares.)

1784	Leicester, Mass.	54%
1792	Taunton, Mass.	58
1794	Groton, Mass.	71
1800	Middlebury, Vt.	61
1803	Bradford, Mass.	100
1803	Bluehill, Maine	46
1804	Fairfield, Conn.	32
1812	Green, at Smithfield, R. I.	100
1821	Litchfield, Conn.	55

Those who could not give money gave materials and labor. At Middlebury, Vermont, when Ida Strong opened her school for girls, young men from offices, stores and shops, volunteered to build the sidewalk. At Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1801, farmers brought in their best white oak, many selling it at half its market value, in their eagerness to have a school for their children. On the day of the "raising" in 1802, volunteers came from half a dozen towns to assist. Old men, too feeble to work at the heavier tasks, whittled the framing pins. When the work was supposedly complete they found that the front door

⁵ E. L. Bogart, *Story of a Hill Town*, p. 109, Vt. Hist. Soc., 1948.

was ten feet above the ground. Men came with their oxen and in one day drew six to seven hundred loads of dirt, while men too old or too feeble to shovel, worked with hoes to smooth the ground around the steps.⁶

It is worth noting that at Woodstock shares sold at \$100 and many if not all of these laborers probably held no shares.

At Atkinson, New Hampshire, when the second building was erected in 1803, Parson Peabody's diary reads: "Voted that the chips and blocks arising from the hewing of the timbers for the new frame be given as compensation to those who may perform the said hewing."⁷

Appeals for funds were made in many ways. It made little difference whether the academy was endowed at the start by wealthy givers, opened by some teacher, or begun by action of town meeting, or by a group of interested individuals, in almost every case they appealed at some time for subscriptions. Dummer Academy records show that there have been hundreds of small gifts in addition to the endowment.

Clio Hall at Bennington, Vermont, published an appeal in the *Vermont Gazette* in 1780:

Whereas a Number of Persons for the laudable purpose of Promoting Literature have entered into a voluntary Association and Subscription for erecting a Seminary of learning in this State . . . to be called Clio Hall . . . They have to lament that their funds are in some measure inadequate. On this account they are under the necessity of soliciting the aid of all friends of science that they lend an assisting hand in promoting so laudable a design.⁸

The subscription blank for Lincoln Academy, Newcastle, Maine, 1800, reads:

Whereas Academies under the direction of good preceptors are highly beneficial for the instruction of youth, useful to society in general, and more especially as to adjacent places,

6 C. W. Bowen, *History of Woodstock*, 1926, p. 373.

7 Ms. Diary of Rev. Stephen Peabody, American Anti-quarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

8 Quoted in E. Andrews, *County Grammar Schools of Vermont*, Proceedings of Vermont Hist. Soc., 1936, New Series 4, No. 3.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do engage and bind ourselves to pay the respective sums placed against our names for the purpose of buying a piece of land near Damariscotta bridge to erect an academy upon.⁹

Note the reference to "adjacent places."

In 1801 at Woodstock, Connecticut, "Priest Lyman," as the Congregational minister was called, rode about his parish, and "by persuasion and argument" urged his people to give.

The appeal on the subscription blank of Bradford Academy, Massachusetts, 1803, read:

Conceiving the several advantages the Inhabitants of this Parish would derive by having an academy Established herein to be very considerable, We, whose names are hereunto subscribed do mutually agree to erect a building for that purpose . . . any and all persons that wish to Establish Seminaries for the promotion of useful knowledge to posterity are requested to subscribe their names with the number of shares they will take.¹⁰

At North Yarmouth Academy, Yarmouth, Maine, the minister was invited to preach on the subject of the academy, and the treasurer of the Trustees made a statement, and asked for contributions. The collection amounted to \$12.78.

The seriousness with which the problem of subscription to shares was considered is well illustrated in the story of a meeting for Burr Seminary at Manchester, Vermont, 1829. Judge Burr had offered \$10,000 provided the building was erected within ten years.

A public meeting was called by the leading men of the community. [They discussed] the importance of proposed institution to interests of learning and religion, and the benefits its establishment would confer on us as a community. At the next meeting a subscription paper was left on the table with pen and ink. Each came and took his seat in silence. To go forward seemed a formidable undertaking. To decline seemed like a sacrifice of a benefit too great to relinquish. For a long time they sat without a movement, weighing seri-

9 University of Maine Studies, No. 47. F. L. S. Morse, Secondary Education in Knox and Lincoln Counties.

10 Quoted in J. S. Pond, Bradford, a New England Academy, Bradford, 1930, p. 46.

ously the action to be taken. To give, or not to give? and if to give, to what extent? . . . A gentleman present rose, and of his own accord stepped into the middle of the room, took up the little table on which the subscription paper lay, carried, and set it down before a gentleman, to whom, as he thought, the honor belonged of putting his name first in order to a paper that was to decide the destiny of Burr Seminary. This very unexpected but adroit movement brought matters to a crisis. All eyes were now turned in this direction. There was some hesitancy, but the challenge was met with a subscription of \$500 . . . Thus the ground being broken and the spell of inaction dissolved, others proceeded in their turn to make their subscription.¹¹

ACADEMIES FOUNDED BY GROUPS OF TOWNS

That towns might bitterly oppose each other in demanding for themselves a proposed academy is understandable; that groups of towns should unite in cheerful cooperation to build an academy in some one of the towns is an inspiring story. It happened in a number of cases, of which the earliest found was New Ipswich Academy, New Hampshire. That instance is the more amazing because of the twelve towns involved, six were in New Hampshire, and six across the line in Massachusetts. Towns included in action for New Ipswich Academy. In Massachusetts: Winchester, Ashburnham, Ashby, Townsend, Pepperell, Groton. In New Hampshire: Keene, Jaffrey, Petersham, Rindge, New Ipswich, Hollis. In 1787 at a meeting of men from these twelve towns an agreement was signed as follows: "Know all men by these presents that we whose names are undersigned and seals hereto affixed do covenant jointly and severally . . . that we will support and maintain a school for and during the term of five years each one to pay an equal share and proportion." These men made many sacrifices to start the academy, some of them even mortgaging their houses to raise the funds.

Another early story of cooperation across a state line comes from the founding of Fryeburg Academy, Maine, in 1792. Their petition for incorporation addressed to the

11 Anderson—Historical Address, mss., 1860. Quoted in E. D. Andrews, County Grammar Schools of Vermont. Proceedings of Vt. Historical Society, 1936, N. S. 4, No. 33, pp. 201-202.

General Court of Massachusetts, of which Maine was then a part, told of the early settlement of the town, fifty-four miles from any civilized area. They went on to bewail the lack of schools and to exhibit "an anxiety for the instruction of our rising youth, in such branches of literature as may render them virtuous and ornamental to society." People of Fryeburg and Brownsfield, Maine, and of Conway in New Hampshire all subscribed to the academy funds, and the first Board of Trustees included five men from Fryeburg and three from Conway.

Another instance of cooperation between towns occurred in the founding of Monson Academy, Massachusetts. In 1804 there was no academy between Leicester and Westfield. Brimfield and Monson both wanted the school, and the people of the two towns pledged equal sums of money. The Massachusetts General Court decided in favor of Monson, but eight other towns helped to secure the charter.

The academy at Canaan, Maine, was incorporated in 1806 following a petition from four towns, Canaan, Norridgewock, Madison and Cornwall. These towns acted together in raising funds and erecting a building.

Another group of towns in Maine were rivals for an academy, and rather interestingly referred the matter not to the distant General Court in Boston, but to the trustees of a group of Maine academies, Fryeburg, Hebron, and Gorham. The decision was in favor of Bridgton, but the surrounding towns all contributed to the academy fund.

ACADEMIES FOUNDED IN PART AS A BUSINESS VENTURE

The reader has undoubtedly noticed the many references to the advantages that would come to the community from having an academy in their midst: "Useful to the inhabitants, and beneficial to the public," ran the Gilmanton document; "the benefits its establishment would confer on us as a community," from the discussion about Burr Seminary.

This was seldom stated more openly than at Ipswich, Massachusetts, where the trustees expected they would receive a profit on their investment, and estimated that boarding pupils would bring \$7,000.00 into the town annually.

But, as a money investment, academies did not pay. Often the shareholders had to meet deficiencies especially during the early years. William Alcott, author of the prize essay "On The Construction of School Houses," said "The proprietors . . . contributed annually about twice as much as they received from funds." Perhaps the funds were not skillfully handled, for the trustees were chosen as men interested in education and not as skilled business men. A speaker at an anniversary at Sanderson Academy, Ashfield, Massachusetts, said, "The funds were often unsecured notes of hand, which depended on the givers' solvency, his continued solvency, and sometimes even upon his life."

A few of the academies recognized the possible difficulties, and provided for such contingencies in charters and early rules. Bluehill Academy, Maine, in 1803, put into the subscribers' agreement this statement: "Each contributor of the one hundred share-holders shall be taxed annually for fifteen years to make up deficit." The surplus, if any, was to be distributed. In 1805, there was a surplus, and \$200 was distributed among the shareholders. Woodstock Academy, Connecticut, included in their act of incorporation the power to tax shareholders to make repairs. Green Academy at Smithfield, Rhode Island, voted in 1813, that there be a tax of one dollar and ninety one cents to be assessed and collected of each gentleman member of this corporation, and each to pay his proportion to the treasurer. Chesterfield, New Hampshire, twice reported deficits, once to the amount of \$88.67.

In the comparatively few cases where proprietors had bought shares in hopes of dividends, they must have been acutely disappointed. As the deficits continued year after year a few of the schools were given up, the property sold, and the proceeds distributed among the shareholders. One might have expected this to happen at New Ipswich, where the proprietors had sometimes mortgaged their homes to raise money for the school when it opened, and then had to make up deficits. But these farmers were made of sterner stuff. Instead of trying to reimburse themselves,

they took action to transfer all money and buildings to a board of trustees.

From the point of view of the educators, Ipswich Academy, Massachusetts, under Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon was a most successful school, but even there dissention arose among the proprietors who had not made money out of it, and some even proposed discontinuing the school and returning the funds to the original donors. The motion was voted down, but serves to emphasize how the very life of any school might be in danger from the proprietors. Miss Lyon wrote to Miss Grant, "They have no idea of doing it [founding a school] except by shares, with the expectation of an income. They look at schools generally just as they would at mercantile business."¹²

Catherine Beecher, at Hartford Female Seminary, and Mary Lyon in her plans for Mt. Holyoke Seminary both worked out the same solution of the problem. Their plans had really been foreshadowed by what had been done long before at New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and Augusta, Maine. At New Ipswich, we saw that shares bought at great sacrifice by the citizens had been surrendered by them to a Board of Trustees; and at Augusta, Judge Coney deeded the property and gave the bank stock outright to another board of trustees, reserving no special rights or privileges for himself. Whether Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon were familiar with the stories of those two schools we do not know, but undoubtedly Mary Lyon, who was well acquainted in Amherst, knew about the "Charity Fund" there to "afford instructions gratuitously to indigent young men of promising talent and hopeful piety who shall manifest a desire to obtain a liberal education with a sole view to the ministry." That fund consisted of gifts, made under the promise of the trustees that "the veracity of the board is hereby pledged for the faithful appropriation of any benefaction according to the will of the donor."¹³ Closely similar to these plans were those of Catherine Beecher and Mary Lyon. Miss Beech-

¹² Gilchrist, *Life of Mary Lyon*, p. 160.

¹³ F. Tuckerman, *History of Amherst Academy*, p. 30, Amherst, 1929.

er wrote, "Investment of buildings, property and furnishings [should be] under the care of a corporate body. Thus it becomes the business of certain responsible men that the property thus invested shall secure the object for which it has been given."¹⁴

Mary Lyon put the same idea into execution. She went about with her famous little bag seeking contributions of dollars, perhaps a few dollars, perhaps hundreds of dollars, in one famous instance, six cents. These contributions were not shares in an investment, but gifts to a cause, just as contributions to foreign missions were gifts. The givers were not investing with hope of return to themselves; the trustees were not necessarily donors, but were men responsible to use this money for the purpose for which it had been given. Thus the funds were divorced from the givers, and the school placed on a secure financial basis.

¹⁴ Quoted in W. Goodsell, *Pioneers of Woman's Education*, p. 169, McGraw Hill, 1921.



MISS PHILLIPS' SCHOOL
17 CHESTNUT STREET

SALEM IN THE NINETIES

By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

(Continued from Vol. LXXXIX, p. 273)

IV

SCHOOL AND SCHOOL DAYS

Diagonally across the corner from Doyle's was the studio building, so-called, the eastern half of a two family house. In it were housed one or two artists, and also a dame school. There were two girls' private schools in those days, the old traditional one kept by the two sisters on Chestnut Street for some twenty-five years or so, and the progressive school kept at the studio building. The latter I rather suspect was like most progressive schools,—a place where children progress from grade to grade with a minimum of labor and effort and very little education. The real thing which sorted out the girls of the nineties was language. If they wanted to study Greek and go to college, they must go to the Public Classical and High School on Broad Street, where the good natured master, surnamed "Badger," would dispense Greek to girls as well as boys. The Grecians were few and far between, but a less select few also went in for Latin. In fact, both the dame school and the two sisters' were "finishing schools," but the non-intellectual type found life easier at the dame school, I suspect, when I thoughtfully consider the graduates. The two sisters' girls were all turned out thoughtful, kindly and gracious ladies, from those who went out to positions of rank and distinction (and many did), down to the last quiet little old maid in a Salem chimney corner. They radiated culture and courtesy,—good manners and good breeding. All of them wrote a neat, beautiful, round, legible hand, and had a love for real culture.

The dame school girls were a lively bunch, and at recess they congregated on the corner of Cambridge Street in front of the South Church with the sisters' girls. There you might have seen many a girl, now a grandmother, but then lively and gay, whom many Salem boys already worshipped in secret. Bright eyes, fresh cheeks and wavy hair,—the Lord spared no pains in the making of those

young ladies, and they were endowed with spirits equal to their beauty. Rouge and lip sticks and pencils were frowned on. Why should they not be? Why try to gild a lily or adorn a rose?

Up in the old High School on Broad Street you would have found a group of boys quite the match of the girls, though even then many of the boys had begun to go off to boarding school. The girls' recess always ended, by intention or otherwise, at the exact moment when the High School recess began, and as the boys had to use the back door of the High School toward the burial ground, they rarely got around onto Cambridge Street in time to see the flutter of ribbons disappearing east and west on Chestnut Street.

But not all days were school days, and on a pleasant Sunday afternoon the watcher in the watchtower in the Doyle House would observe the young people passing or meeting on the corner by the studio building. After a few moments chat, they might all depart down Norman Street. The idea would flash through the observer's mind that they were going to Boston, but that could not be possible on Sunday afternoon, and when they all came back an hour or two later, she would sit back contented again. Oh yes! They had just been for a walk out Lafayette Street. Perhaps they had stopped to see somebody. There were a lot of nice people in South Salem whom they might have visited.

The surmise was wrong. That was the afternoon of the annual Cuvier Club tea over in the little clubhouse in Professor Morse's back yard. The Cuvier Club was a monument to Professor Morse's ability to inspire young men with an interest in natural history. It collapsed as they grew up and left for college, but the interest in Natural History and Science never left them. Once a year in the early nineties, they tried to see how many friends they could pack into their 14 x 16 clubhouse, and the number was remarkable.

Tea parties were tame amusement compared with what would happen a bright week day afternoon when there was nice moist slippery snow on the ground. Among the many sins that the motor is responsible for, not the least is the

abolition of sleighing and its component sport of "punging." The group of boys and girls in front of Hamilton Hall would tingle with excitement at the sight of one of I. P. Harris' delivery pungs turning into Cambridge Street from Broad Street. The group would separate on either side of the street, and as the pung trotted slowly by, eight or ten laughing boys and girls would jump on each side. The driver who knew who they were, would smile tolerantly. It was their country, after all. The pung keeps on through Cambridge Street. It would be better if it had turned up Chestnut but never mind if it goes up Essex, and sure enough it does, and then, alas! off through Beckford. That is a little too far, so they all drop off as it slows for the corner, one to be hit squarely between the shoulders with a snow ball just as he drops off. Ah, there's the culprit standing in long rubber boots in the gutter, with bright red cheeks, curly brown hair and sparkling eyes beneath a red tam. You hastily mould a snowball and let it go. She dodges it with easy grace, but you had better move quickly to escape the hard ball that comes quickly back. After this passage of arms the crowd troops back through Hamilton Street in time to clamp onto a "booby hut" just leaving Dane's stable. That, however, only goes down to Dr. Coggins and seems anchored for the afternoon, so a leather sled seems the best chance, and behind two plodding horses in a pleasant smell of tan bark we reach Flint Street. Things look up then. Fitzgerald's express truck has just left a trunk. Everybody is off the sled in a second and onto the express pung. Fitzgerald is in a genial mood and licks up his old horse and we all have a merry gallop down Chestnut Street. It is time to call it a day, and the gang disbands at Summer Street with those going up Chestnut Street still hoping for transportation, and saluting the departing comrades with a snowball or two.

A Few Pranks

Lest the present granddaughters think their grandmothers were too slow and demure for endurance, one little episode should be narrated here on which everybody was supposed to frown at the moment, but I suspect only

did officially. A lot of the girls were inspired with the idea that they wanted to ring the church bells at midnight. It has always been kept a dark secret who the fair maidens were. Anyhow, it was a gay and happy group, and the method was simple. Just tiptoe into the church as some meeting in the vestry drew to a close, and hide in the big dark church under the pews till the church was locked up. Next a door locked on the inside must be located to insure a safe and rapid exit, and not the door ordinarily used for entrance by the sexton. Then to the gallery where the bell ropes hung, and the old town just going to sleep wondered what the South Church bell was doing at that time of night; but half a dozen fair maidens panting with excitement as they pulled down on the bell ropes knew just what it was doing. How long could it go on before the officer on the beat came to investigate, or the sleepy sexton would wake up and dress? Bang, whang, went the old bell as the excitement grew more tense every second, and finally panic seized them and they fled in terror. By the time the officer and the sexton had found things all right, they had explained to mother (with some omissions), where they had spent the evening, and were safe in bed.

Another week went by, and the North Church bell in the same mysterious way announced that the days of the witches had come again, and inanimate objects were acting in strange and unaccountable ways. Since the days of Cinderella fair maidens off on a prank have always been betrayed by the delicate contour of a dainty foot, and so it befell in this case. As the happy group wandered through the vast garret of the Baptist Church exploring for the bell ropes, a tiny foot missed the narrow plank and crashed through the plaster of the church ceiling, and there for all the folks to see, indelibly stamped on the ceiling of the church, was a maiden's footprint. Unfortunately, no fairy prince sought to identify the maker, but the irate church fathers did. She was no fairy princess to them, but just a naughty girl who had damaged the church ceiling and her father must pay for it. Certain wise mothers had begun to connect the antics of the church bells with daughter's evenings out. Certain fathers saw the church fa-



DOWN CHESTNUT STREET, NORTH SIDE

thers, the bedeviling of the church bells stopped, and it has never been talked about till now; but a group of wild young things learned just how to rebuke their children and grandchildren for such pranks.

Dancing School

Some Wednesday afternoon late in October two of the ladies are riding up from a meeting at the Elm Street Bureau, and are surprised to see so many carriages around Hamilton Hall. "Why, it must be Clara's first dancing class," says one. "I thought she did not begin until next week." Sure enough, it is so. There is pretty Miss Clara in the middle of the floor with her petticoat raised just enough (and only just enough) for the line of awkward boys and girls to see her pretty ankles.

"One, two, three," says Miss Clara, taking the steps, and the wobbling line of boys and girls try to imitate, some easily, and some more awkwardly. There are thirty or forty boys and girls, including those you know, and a few from outside from Beverly, Marblehead, and elsewhere. Miss Freddie sits at the piano pounding out the music, and all around the sides of the hall sit mammas, some because they like to, and others because it is the best way to make certain that their male offsprings are profiting by the tickets for the course bought and paid for. Fortnightly through the winter it goes on till the unwieldy feet of the boys gradually learn to move in harmony with the far more manageable feet of the girls. The whole thing ends with a grand cotillion and a group picked to dance a minuet, and nobody is at all sure they are glad they are picked, or glad they are not. Lots of little boys are very sore because they could not get their minds made up earlier to ask the girl they wanted. When they did ask, she replied in a superior manner that she was already engaged, when she was really eating her heart out to think that she had accepted John for fear of getting left out, when she might have had William. These compromises began early, but those little girls in those days stuck to their word, bless their faithful hearts. Finally the grand event came off, and all the boys and girls had partners somehow, and all

of them had lots of favors duly presented by other little boys and girls who wanted to dance with them. Next year some came back, but of the older ones, some went away to school, some thought they danced well enough and got their practice at the older children's parties, and a lot of new little awkward feet took their places.

V

DANCES AND ASSEMBLIES

Of course, learning to dance was preliminary to dancing, so there were coming out parties, and two held in Hamilton Hall stand out conspicuously,—one in the early and one in the late nineties and both very similar. The dear old hall which traditionally had been graced by Alexander Hamilton, who was said to have danced there on its opening night, but as a matter of fact did not, never looked lovelier. The walls were draped with great streamers of laurel which reached from ceiling to floor; palms were banked before the mirror, and the furniture was replaced by beautiful sofas with lovely rugs in front of them. The girls' dressing room was planned as a flirtation parlor of soft lights and green boughs, though no one would have used the coarse expression "flirtation parlor" then.

Weeks before Mr. Cassell, the traditional colored caterer, with silk hat, white gloves and large white basket had been slowly walking the streets, ringing doorbells and leaving the large square envelope which said that Mrs. —— would be delighted to have you come to the party for her daughter. You were supposed to R.S.V.P., and it was considered rude not to do so at once, and you were not supposed to come if not invited, or to bring your visiting friends if you were, unless by judicious hints you could induce your hostess to send them an invitation. It was considered rude and vulgar to go where you were not invited, and it ought to be.

When the day arrived, the great question was how early you could go. The young people wanted to arrive early to get in all the dancing possible, and half past eight to nine seemed reasonable. A stream of hacks drew up at the



UPPER CHESTNUT STREET, SOUTH SIDE

hall, and those near at hand just "stepped across the street" or "came around the corner," particularly if they had to count their pennies a bit carefully.

When you peeked in the door of the Hall, you saw the gentle little gray-haired hostess and her daughter, standing across the hall. The debutante was a tall and handsome brunette, with dark wavy hair and bright color. Eight or ten ushers stood near the entrance in full dress coats, white ties, and white gloves, (though not necessarily white waistcoats then) with handsome boutonnières to differentiate them, and each guest was escorted across the hall to make his bow or her curtsy to the hostess. No one ventured to enter the hall except with this formality. All the older ladies and gentlemen in town were there, and for a while the hall was far too full for comfortable dancing, as the older guests stood about chatting in the corners.

At ten o'clock supper was served upstairs in the banquet room. The chief usher, with the hostess, led the procession which formed around the hall up the stairs to the supper room, where Cassell had laid a table fit for a king to admire, with all his beautiful china. There were roasted grouse and glacé chicken, sugar cured ham and croquettes of all sorts, rolls and sandwiches, salted nuts and olives. When the table had been cleared of these, came beautiful ices in all sorts of shapes, with cakes and macaroons and candies. Lucky and proud was the girl who got the rooster's head.

After supper the older people began to say good-night, and soon only the young folks and a few chaperones were left. The dancing grew easier, and waltzes alternated with two steps, with now and then the Lanciers or the Quadrille. It was a very late party that ran until one-thirty, and then everybody marched up and bowed good-night to the hostess. As the guests trooped down the stairs bundled up in wraps and scarfs, the young men busied themselves finding the ladies' carriages and helping them in, before they walked home themselves. There were calls for the different ladies' private carriages, or for the livery stable keepers who were supplying the carriages to take certain people home. As the carriages drew up to the door from

the milling collection of hacks, the proper ladies were hunted up and tucked in, and the ball was over, except for the girls who had guests or sisters and sat combing out their curls while they compared notes to the credit or discredit of various youths, (who have only been told of the verdict forty years later.)

The Old Salem Assemblies

The crowning glory of the social season in Salem was the Salem Assemblies. Harvard men considered it a privilege to be invited down to those stately parties, and gentlemen from New York and Chicago and San Francisco, now nearing three score years and ten still recall the gay spirit of those well ordered dances.

Mr. Cassell, the old colored caterer, always took the invitations around in his basket. They were large neat square engraved cards headed "Salem Assemblies" and followed by an imposing list of patronesses,—the most dignified and distinguished ladies in town, and perhaps one or two of the younger matrons. Finally they got down to business, and you found that you were invited to subscribe to two or three assembly balls to be given in Hamilton Hall on such and such nights, and that you could send your check to such and such managers at five dollars per ticket, but having the five dollars would not get you a ticket if you were not invited or brought by consent of the hostesses by someone who was. There was no crashing the gates in those days, and persons not invited had too much self-respect to come, which is not characteristic of the present generation.

There were usually two or three so-called "Informals" during the winter, but they were just pocket editions of the Assemblies, where you had less to eat, not the best Cadet Band music, and which began and closed earlier. The girls and the patronesses wore their second best dresses, and you paid two dollars for your tickets instead of five. Moreover, they were especially for the younger folks to have a good time, and the older ladies and gentlemen did not come except the patronesses, and some of the older perennial beaux who kept up with each succeeding generation.



HAMILTON HALL WITH ITS EAGLE

But to revert to the Assemblies, when the great night came everybody was there, and you wondered how they all raised the five dollars, because of course everybody in Salem knew just exactly what everybody else could afford to do. You heard that little Sally Jones or some little girl who loved to dance was eating her heart out because her widowed mother could not afford a ticket, but when the night came, there was Sally with the dinner party from some other generous household, and Sally confided to you that it was awfully nice of her hostess who had invited her to dinner and had a spare ticket. So all the sweet and winsome young girls who ought to be there, were there, and the boys too, because those dear older people were really all one family and they loved all of us young people, and if they found out we could not afford it, they helped us through in their charming and unassuming way. There was no flaunting of wealth in the faces of the poorer folks, for these people, with the true instinct of gentle folk, knew how to help the less well situated without hurting their feelings, and it was as great a pleasure to the giver as to the recipient.

When the great day arrived, in spite of the fact that the invitations read eight-thirty to one, nobody was there at eight-thirty except the Cadet Orchestra with Jean Missud leading and giving a concert to an empty hall, but people soon began to come. The two managers with large boutonnières presented the twelve ushers with slightly smaller ones. The men were all dressed in full-dress coats with white ties and some with white waistcoats, and always with white gloves. They spent a good while in the dressing room wiggling into those white gloves, and the summons from the managers, "Come on, boys, the patronesses are ready," caught some of them still in difficulties. The managers led the promenade across the hall with the senior patronesses and then came the senior ushers, and so on. Everybody seemed to concede who should come first, and there was never a question about precedence.

The procession swept across the hall, and each usher bowed low to his patroness as he left her in the line on the rug before the great mirror and in front of some beautiful

old sofa that had been secured for the occasion. Soon the guests began to gather, and as they arrived they were escorted across the hall to bow or curtsy to the patronesses, and the full line of beautifully dressed ladies curtsied in unison to the guest. Soon the guests arrived so fast that four or five were welcomed at once by the ladies but it was no restful matter to be a patroness, and we wondered how these ladies stood the incessant curtsies which they did not shirk at all.

The dancing began as the hall filled up, and the late guests had to wend their way between dancers, or if some large late dinner party arrived, it cleft the dancers right and left into two groups. When most of the guests had arrived, a Portland Fancy was announced, and as you passed around the hall with a grand right and left from one square to the next, in due time you met half the dancing people in the hall, and if you were a girl, you could smile and greet the boys you hoped would come back and dance with you later, and the boys got a chance to engage dances with girls they liked best and tell them how pretty their dresses were. The cotillion of an earlier day had largely passed by, but it was still well to compliment some girl by asking her for a supper partner or for the Schottish, if both she and you could dance it. The rollicking "eight hands around" of the Portland Fancy always stirred the blood and tuned up the party to a higher pitch of fun and excitement.

Next followed a succession of waltzes and two steps with the Lanciers just before supper. The business of cutting in had begun, but was still slightly frowned upon, and if a young lady thought her popularity would stand it, she might refuse a new suitor as a special compliment to her partner. The stag line along the wall from the middle door toward Chestnut Street looked eagerly for partners when the next dance began.

Almost everybody was having a good time, but there are some very pretty, sweet and charming young girls who are not cut out for ball room favorites. The patronesses felt their responsibility for the pretty young things sitting alone against the wall. Perhaps they coaxed her over to

join their party, and started her off with the first young man to come their way, or perhaps one or another of the patronesses fixed one of the ushers with a meaning glance which he well knew meant he was elected to go and dance with the young lady. Perhaps the usher hurried across to explain that he had a partner for the next dance, only to be told with a smile that if that were the case he could find some other nice boy to introduce her to. And be it said, the ushers did their level best, and they did it willingly and cheerfully. What a patroness told you ever so sweetly to do, was law in those days and not to be disobeyed. Two or three good boy friends could see any girl through to a happy time, but some of the more generous boys began to find that they had really more girls to look after than they could.

On the whole the Ball went happily, because all tried to make everyone have a good time. Regularly the managers and ushers expected to ask the patronesses to dance. They often did; the older ones for a turn or two perhaps just to show their appreciation, and the younger ones because they loved it. No usher ever regarded dancing with sprightly younger matrons, or the charming and graceful older ones, a duty. But duty or not, it was all done with cheerful good will and courtesy which took all the duty out of it and made it a pleasure. Anyone can make a pleasure out of a chore by putting the right spirit behind it. A New Yorker who has touched the high lights in New York, and in London and Paris also, and is now seventy, remarked one day that he had never seen parties that so fixed the spirit of pure joy as the old Salem Assemblies.

One time and another a good many of the older people came, usually when some young member of their family was a debutante and had coaxed them out to add a little glamour to her first party. On rare occasions all the distinguished older gentlemen turned up. There were also a lot of men who then seemed old to the young folks, but who, with the passing of the years, do not seem so much older than ourselves, or did not, as the years slipped by.

Finally the moment arrived for supper. There was an ominous lull. The patronesses were gathering up

scarfs "because it is always drafty upstairs," and the ushers and managers were hovering around for escort duty. The managers led the way, with the senior patronesses and the ushers following with the others, and Mr. Missud struck up a resounding march. You found yourself standing with a boy not your supper partner, and you had to shoo him away so that he could get one for himself. Then followed a horrid moment when you wondered if your partner had forgotten you. No, here he comes, and you fall in as near the head of the procession as may be, squeezing in between some particular pals who let you in. The patronesses head for the door at the foot of the stairs, and climb to the supper room. No one would ever dare enter it ahead of them, unless perhaps some rude Boston or New York boy who did not know how things should be done or what good manners were, but he would learn when a patroness viewed him through her lorgnette. Finally everybody got upstairs and the men clustered about the table to select delicacies for their partners. The table was beautifully set with all Cassell's best china, dark blue and gold with great table ornaments and vases with flowers in the middle, surrounded by dishes well served and decorated.

The supper was Cassell's best hot bouillon, roasted grouse, roast ham, roast beef, chicken salad, lobster salad, croquettes, olives, celery, pickles, salted nuts, rolls, sandwiches, etc. etc., before the ice cream was even put on the table.

The men hurried around the table collecting what they imagined their partners wanted. All the wants were different, but every sweet young thing wanted olives, pickles and water—water in preference to the lemonade or the good claret punch or even champagne, and then some more water, but the pitchers always seemed to be empty. When the ices came on, the rooster's head was the great prize, and some little girl's heart beat a bit faster because her partner had secured for her this coveted feature. Not everybody could have the rooster's head, but there was also a cat's head, a horse's head, and a bunny's head, and macaroons enough for all.



INTERIOR OF HAMILTON HALL
Salem, Massachusetts

While fussing around among the young fry, it would be well for the ushers to remember that their main duty was looking out for the patronesses and the older ladies. The ladies were considerate of their young escorts, but nevertheless it was very clear what their real duties were, and they kept a sharp eye to see that the ladies lacked nothing.

The supper room got very hot, the patronesses thought they would like to go down where there was more air, and the young people drifted downstairs by twos. Perhaps a young lady retired to the dressing room for the deft hands of the maid to sew back a torn ruffle or repair a train which some clumsy partner had stepped on, while the boys were known to replace bedraggled collars. It was not easy for the boys, especially the plump, stocky ones, to retain two inches of stiff white linen immaculate during three or four hours of vigorous dancing, especially if the room was warm. The hall was usually cold after supper, as the windows had been wide open, so the patronesses drew gorgeous wraps about them and the young folks sauntered about chatting and making engagements for coming dances. If you were especially jealous of your partner, you took him off to the most retired corner and tried to keep out of sight so no one else would take you away, but the patronesses did not approve too "retired corners." Now also the older people began to think about going home and were telling the patronesses what a delightful party it had been. Mothers who had come with daughters whom we all knew were not as strong as the rest of us and whom we liked the better for that very reason perhaps, began to think their frail and reluctant charges better go home. Harvard freshmen on probation departed for the last train to Boston, in the hope that they could wake up to report at the Dean's office at nine a.m.

All this wait was of course while the band had supper, but soon they returned and the cheerful thrum of violin strings and the moving about of music racks indicated that they were about to begin. A sharp tap of Jean Missud's baton, and you were off to the tune of the Shining Blue Danube or the march of the Second Connecticut Regiment. Waltzes and Two Steps followed each other with

great regularity, with perhaps a Polka or a Schottish or a Lanciers, till the fated hour of the clock when the end was supposed to come. This was, however, the last Assembly of the year, and suddenly the word was passed like wildfire around the room that the managers had said that there was enough money to pay the band till three, Missud was willing, and the surviving patronesses had said to go ahead. We went with renewed energy, for there was more room, and those who loved to dance and really could were the survivors.

But all good things end, and the band at length put away their violins with an air of absolute finality. In twos or fours we walked up to make our best bows or sweep our most graceful curtsies to the patronesses who had loyally stuck it out. Then the ladies and girls were put into their carriages, and the men mostly walked home in the chill of the winter night.

The Leap Year Ball of 1896

It is the 28th of February, 1896, and every boy in Salem is trembling in his boots. The girls are giving a leap year ball and many a youth is considering the possibility of being a wallflower. No, it will be distinctly not pleasant to sit against the wall while the girls look at you and consider whether they can afford to risk the chance of getting stuck with you for more than one dance, thought Bobby, as he contemplated the idea. Will you be a belle, or will you have to be boosted along by kind friends? The world seemed a bit out of joint for the lordly male, but one can't duck out—that is impossible, cowardly, not to be thought of. The girls would have no use for a fellow who showed the white feather on this event. Then you begin to compute how many good girl friends you can count on to help you along. Yes, there are a lot, and you know they'll help. Anyway, there is not going to be a cotillion, and somebody has asked you for supper, anyway.

Finally the eventful night arrives, and you go in fear and trepidation. There in front of the mirror are the four patrons, and all the rest of the hall is full of girls! One look, and you flew back into the dressing room and



CHESTNUT STREET DAY
ARRIVAL OF THE STAGE COACH



CHESTNUT STREET DAY
THE PONY CART OF YESTERYEAR

warned the other men what to expect. Finally a group summons up courage enough to approach the hall door, and is immediately pounced upon by the girl ushers. You are marched up to the patrons, resplendent with broad red ribbons across their chests. Deep bows all around, and then you expect to be placed against the wall to await inspection. Not a bit of it. You are snatched from the arm of your usher, and your first dance is on. There are at least two girls to every man, and those men are going to be shown a good time. Dancing was real exercise in the nineties, and most men danced a few dances and laid off for a while, but there was to be no loafing that night. Every girl whom you have tried to be a little nice to in years before had a debt to pay and she wants to pay it. The wallflower complex vanished from most minds after the first dance. The girls threw into that party a freedom and gaiety such as the old hall had seldom seen. The party was theirs, the whole hall was theirs, they would dance with whom they pleased and when they pleased. They would call the tunes, and their partners must accept. Those sweet girls never looked sweeter nor acted more charmingly than they did that night. One or two men on the selfish side learned a few lessons that night, not by being punished, but by having coals of fire heaped upon their heads. It was a charming and delightful affair, and some very, very weary men crept home when it was over.

And so another dance became a pleasant memory of merry bright eyes and soft pink cheeks and wavy hair, and graceful, modestly dressed figures of strong and graceful young men, full of courtesy and fun, but dignified and reserved withal. So likewise the years of our youth slipped by, with the joys and memories of many pleasant events and less regrets than most can show. These boys and girls are scattered around the world. Many are married, some are not. Some have risen to wealth and power who had nothing, and some have lost all they had. You will find them in Boston, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, and in Europe also far in the East and far in the West. They are all in the grandfather and grandmother class now. If you have not seen them for fifty years you may not recog-

nize them, but the moment you mention Salem in the nineties, an eager look comes back to their eyes, and the question "Perhaps you can tell me what has become of this girl and that girl, or did so and so finally marry that boy, etc. You know I left Salem in 1899." No one ever forgets those days. Whether the person is one whom you liked much or little, you like them now. The bond of the old days lived together is the strongest. Whether lives have been lived well or ill, you can forgive it all for the sake of times of long ago.

VI

THE SOCIAL ORDER

But it took something more permanent than dances and parties to organize the society of Salem of the Nineties, and there were social organizations of the most firmly established character. At their head stood "Our Whist," as it was always proudly referred to by its members. You had to be at least a Silsbee, or a Phillips, a Rantoul or a Gardner, or related to one, to belong to it, and before you could possibly join you must have been asked to "fill in" at least a dozen times. The settings were worthy of the event. It was played in the drawing rooms of the grandest old homes of the city, with portraits of distinguished merchants and their consorts looking down upon their worthy descendants sitting in the magnificent old mahogany chairs they had once occupied.

This was good old-fashioned whist,—none of the new fangled varieties of bridge or contract, but the ladies took it just as seriously, and they were all old, very, very old friends. A hand was played in utter silence, but as soon as the last card was on the table, they each told their partners in the clearest language just what mistakes they had made, and the discussions got quite warm, especially when one dominant lady berated her opponents, and the dear, sweet peacemaker had to come to the rescue of little ladies who quailed before the attack. The discussions over, another hand was played, and again the reproofs and counter-reproofs broke out, but all this frank speech brought no

ill feeling. Two rubbers constituted the evening, which ended with refreshments such as white and pink peppermints, or even the vulgarity of chocolate bonbons. When ten o'clock arrived, the carriages arrived for the ladies who lived far, and escorts for those who lived nearby, for ladies in their generation were not supposed to wander about alone after dark. In winter a little path was dug through the snowdrifts which lined Chestnut Street from in front of the different houses to the front of others across the street, but nevertheless, some male member of their families was supposed to appear to escort them home, and did invariably. Whist night was a sacred appointment, and the loyal members were not supposed to break it and go elsewhere, nor was the night changed without serious consideration, or for any frivolous reason. The ladies prided themselves on their lovely polished tables and pretty chippendale chairs. There were no green topped poolroom tables at those parties. It all belonged to the sweet dignity of a life that those ladies, born in the thirties and forties, lived and exemplified.

Another bit of social and intellectual life was the book club. There were thirty members in "the" Club, and the little printed list in the front of each book was the intellectual high watermark of the city. The less intellectual were in the "other" Club. The purchases were carefully chaperoned by ladies of taste and discretion, and no vulgar fiction was allowed to circulate, but the best in fiction, biography, history, and art was there. Three hundred dollars bought a goodly quantity of books in those days, and they were handed out weekly. The boys and girls of those days hated the job of carrying the bunch of books on each week, but they got a great deal more than they realized out of that book club. Those books were selected by ladies of literary judgment and discrimination, and were worth reading. They were not collections of rubbish to be sluiced through the brain at a mile a minute, harmful alike to both brain and soul. In all our social planning we have gradually laid aside the most important planning of all, namely, the planning of the lives of our children and their education before they are old enough to plan wisely for themselves.

In the nineties there were a great many single ladies in Salem, and it seemed as if most of them were pairs of sisters in their forties and fifties. There did not seem to be any old bachelors. It was easy enough to see why some of these ladies were old maids, but others, many others, ought to have had a little band of boys and girls about them to play with us. We did not realize that we were looking at the last phase of the tragedy of the Civil War, and that the names treasured most fondly and never mentioned by those dear ladies were carved on the soldiers' monuments, or somewhere on the Roll of Honor in the transept of Memorial Hall in Cambridge.

Female society of the nineties rested securely on the basis of Sewing Circles. Even in those days the sanctity of antiquity hung around the "Cheerful Workers." None of the young people could remember when they began, and thought there must always have been "Cheerfuls." Nobody ever knew just when they started, but there was a general impression that they grew out of a group which sewed for the soldiers during the Civil War. But even if the "Cheerfuls" were not in the first blush of youth, they were full of life and energy. They met regularly, sewed for charity—just what I don't know,—and at rare intervals invited the other societies to a party, and what a party it was! Young fry were not invited, and it was spoken of discreetly in their presence, so we knew little about it. Men were also anathema, and were never invited.

Next in order of antiquity came the "Busy Bees," a group of cheerful young matrons in those days, which included our Mammias and were much nearer our comprehension than the venerable "Cheerfuls." The "Bees" had more husbands, and had more of a flair for young people, and they now and again gave parties to which men were invited. Yes, the "Bees" were distinctly more human in those days than the "Cheerfuls," but their dignity was far less. Most of the founders of both were still alive, and they did not feel the need of new blood. If a new lady came to town and did not offend anybody, after she had been looked over carefully, she might be drafted as a "Bee"



THE PICKMAN HOUSE ON TOWN HOUSE SQUARE, 1764
AFTERWARD OCCUPIED BY ELIAS HASKET DERBY

or a "Cheerful," as her status seemed to indicate, but there was no rushing for candidates, and the policy of taking in daughters was far in the future.

The ranks of Society were, however, yearly increased by growing debutantes who were not sewed into any circle, and just what was to be done with these blooming and attractive young women. Their Mammams realized that they should be organized socially, and the obvious probability of marriage as the destiny for most of them brought the practical idea of a Cooking Club, so a cooking club was born. Whether they ever made a loaf of bread was not even known to the outside world, but certain activities were. They gave parties to which men *were* invited, and they did not cook the food served to them. They also presented each member, as a sort of marriage certificate, a prize or reward of merit, call it what you will, on her wedding day, with a replica of a Paul Revere pitcher. The ranks of the "Cookers" soon filled up and none were taken in after about 1893 or 1894, so the problem of what to do with the unorganized females of the late nineties again pressed upon the social planners of the day. The more demure girls of that day refused to serve under the motto that "the way to a man's heart was through his stomach," and again took to the more refined art of sewing. One cannot tell, of course; they may, under arched eyebrows, have just reasoned that a scarf, a necktie case, or a set of shoe bags made a more lasting impression on the wayward male than just a welsh rarebit. Anyway the "Thread and Needle Society" came into existence, partly as a protest against exclusion from the "Cheerfuls," "Bees," and "Cookers," and partly as an offensive and defensive alliance against the male population of the town, and they were the dominant organization of the female society of the late "Nineties."

Masculine Social Activities

The masculine side was never organized with the efficiency of the female, and was more split up. The older men spread their activities between the Essex Institute, the Athenæum, and the two Marine Societies, for a godly

number of the old captains and merchants were still alive. The Essex Institute attracted a lot of the older educated men who were interested in the culture and history of the city. Fortunately for us, they garnered into its priceless files manuscript records which, except for their care, would have been lost and destroyed. A rather select group was the Institute in those days, and they studied their collections and wrote papers about them. Occasionally in a burst of enthusiasm, the Institute ran a field day to the Indian shell heaps on Plum Island, where we young folks dug for arrow heads, or the old graveyards of Andover, where we copied inscriptions from tomb stones. Parents who thought young people should be inoculated with the antiquarian disease took them along, and the present writer can testify that it took effect after long years.

The Athenæum was just a private share-holders' library, where you entered on tiptoe, peeped into a dingy, dusty alcove, and if there was no one there, sat down within reach of dozens of dusty old books that you got interested in, but which you would never have dreamed of looking up in a nice hygienically varnished library bureau catalogue, and asking a neatly dressed, efficiently trained young woman ignorant of all books published more than five years before, to hand out to you.

The two marine societies could not have existed in many places in America, and nowhere away from the coast. They were partly mutual benefit societies giving relief to widows and orphans of former members, but they were also social and useful. The Salem Marine Society went well back into the eighteenth century, and was open to Salem shipmasters and owners. It had rooms in its own Franklin building, where the Hawthorne Hotel now stands, and there half a dozen or so old captains gathered daily. The society was in the sere and yellow leaf. Its membership of some hundreds of vital, vigorous young captains had declined to a score of old fellows who had not walked a quarterdeck for twenty years. The East India Marine Society in its gala days had been the innermost ring of Salem shipping circles. The activities of its mem-

bers must have extended beyond Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope. No others were admitted. In its early days its hundreds of members paraded the streets before their annual dinner, dressed as Chinese Mandarins, Indian Rajah, or Arabian Sultans, carrying their palanquins and other Far Eastern curios, but now half a dozen elderly gentlemen gathered in their lovely old hall with its priceless collection, and wondered how to insure its preservation when the last captain died.

The banks and insurance companies were in the nature of a club for the older men. Marine insurance was becoming a drug on the market when there was practically no shipping, and the town was clearly "over-banked." The Asiatic Bank still displayed its sign, but was a bit of a misnomer, since no ships had actually left for Asia for some twenty or thirty years, but old traditions die slowly.

The old Massachusetts volunteer militia had not yet degenerated into a commonplace military organization. It had still some of the glamour of brave young patriots springing to arms to defend their homes and hearthstones. The famous Second Corps Cadets with its armory in the lovely old Peabody Mansion was a social organization, rather than a body of paid soldiers, and their week at Boxford camp ground also had a distinctly social tinge. It was difficult to keep the company dry however brightly the sun might shine.

In the early nineties, there was only one frankly social organization for men in the city, and that was the Salem Billiard Club. It probably existed before the Civil War. It had no employees, and little organization, — just rooms with their billiard tables and windows looking out on Town House Square, and the members. Members had keys and let themselves in, — the last one out put out the lights and locked the door. It was said that members had their office hours there, and you could always find Captain so and so there from 8 to 9, Thursday evening, and Lawyer so and so from 5 to 6 on Wednesday, etc,—really a great idea. These windows overlooking the Square were an essential part of the Club, and supplied the basis for its gossip. Everybody in town went through the

Square, and surely it was permissible to conjecture where they were going, and why, and to allow your imagination to fill in the details. The trouble was that these imaginings were likely to be regarded as fact when they reached the street an hour later.

But the Billiard Club was hoary with antiquity and tradition, and it absorbed young blood slowly. However, all the young men in town wanted to get together, and so some thirty-five organized the Salem Club. Some say this was a tribute to the organizing ability of the fertile brains of a young real estate firm, but whoever organized it, organized it was, and full of blood and vigor. It was restrictive as to age. Some too old and some too young were peevish at being excluded, but most of those in between came in. Their dinners were gay parties for those days, but bright, witty and cheerful, rather than maudlin. Everyone, who was a member, looks back down the vista of years to the pleasant if brief existence of that club of gay young men.

And so the social organizations of the city were a good deal of the past, something of the present, and a dash of the future, just as they should have been, and preserved a continuity of life and effort which had its effect in steadying the young folks of the day.

VII

FAMOUS ENTERTAINMENTS

Among the people there were still in the nineties lots of restless energy which had inspired the Derbys, Ornes, Silsbees, Peeles, Phillipeses, and Crowninshields to send their ships to the far corners of the world, and tempted sailors and sea captains to beard the British Navy in its lair, so to speak, by sailing their privateers up the British Channel. Salem had always been noted for its fine, cultured, energetic women, who have done their bit in all emergencies, never forgetting the lady who subscribed her \$100 to build the Frigate *Essex*, although she anonymously hid behind Captain Jenks.

Anyway, there was a good deal of this energy still



HOUSE OF TIMOTHY ORNE ON ESSEX STREET, BUILT IN 1761

bubbling over in Salem of the nineties, and it found its outlet in such useful things as charities, museums, libraries, and more modern ideas like hospitals and district nurses. Somebody was always selling tickets to something, and you were always going to something to help some good cause. It was a little like the town where everybody made a living by taking in each others washings, because if each group had subscribed all the money they gave to all groups, to their own pet charity, they would not have had to go outside. Anyway, it was a lot more fun to help each other. It was friendly and companionable, and after all, that is a large part of life. Presently it was obvious that if the people made the show or entertainment themselves, it was more likely to draw, than if any hired entertainers did it. People recognized the Rantoul dresses on new girls, the Silsbee jewelry on debutantes and enjoyed the Phillips' bonnets on fresh young faces. If some new and striking costume appeared, the audience was filled with curiosity as to whose attics they came out of, till some very energetic old lady burst forth, "Nonsense, I distinctly remember when old Mrs. Brown wore that at an Assembly, and she was not so old then, either." And so it came about that costume parties were quite popular as a method of raising money, but there were other parties also, and for one purpose or another, a lot of entertainments were planned in the nineties. The reason of their being may have passed away, but the pleasant memories remain, and the boys and girls who did their parts return to mind as vividly as if it were yesterday. Nobody could remember all of them, but the details of a few come to mind.

Living Whist

Some time way back in the dim dawn of the nineties there was a famous party given in the Cadet Armory for, I think, the benefit of the Salem Hospital called "Living Whist," directed by a Madame Arcan. Everybody was dressed up as a card, and some of the costumes were very stunning. We youngsters were delegated to three spots

and four spots, but the older ladies and gentlemen were resplendent as Kings and Queens.

We all marched out onto the floor in a compact mass, and milled around to represent the shuffling of the pack, till one gentleman whirled across the floor to cut the pack when those on either side of his lane marched to complete the cut. Then we were packed compactly in one corner till the gorgeously dressed dealer sent us to our respective "hands" at the four sides of the hall. Burrowing among some old papers the other day, I suddenly came on a program of this party, which proves conclusively that our crowd was still in the bud, or even chrysalis stage, as we did not shine among the royalty, but were decidedly in the spot class. There was, however, great competition for queens evidently, for they outdid "Ah Sin" himself, and had eight queens in the pack! My little four spot was the first discard on the first hand duly taken by a King. We were sheperded off to one side, and the other "tricks" were played and echeloned above us if taken by our side till the hand ended, and then we had a grand dance the rest of the evening. But even that wasn't so easy, and I was so embarrassed when a boy friend tried to get his hand around my waist and couldn't because of my big pasteboard cards!

The Naumkeag Amateur Minstrels

Probably few people can even remember the name of this organization, but they had a lot of fun, and put on one or two rather good shows. They were mostly boys down around the Common, and organized a minstrel show.

The great game of Living Whist recently given came in for a few knocks in a game of Living Euchre, conducted, so it was announced, by Madame Arcan, but played by two members only, which ended with a "Closing Chorus."

The Dickens Party

One grand and glorious day in April, 1893, Salem was worked up to the highest pitch of enthusiasm on Dickens. There was to be a Dickens Carnival under the auspices of a Madrigal Club. Now I cannot even remember what the



ESSEX STREET LOOKING WEST WITH THE PINGREE HOUSE AND THE ESSEX INSTITUTE

Madrigal Club was, but I think it was a South Salem competitor of the Oratorio Society.

Of course, now-a-days the young people have difficulty remembering who Dickens was, but then most of us knew *David Copperfield* and *Barnaby Rudge*, and had at least a bowing acquaintance with *Nicholas Nickleby* and *Martin Chuzzlewit*. We were, of course, all dressed up as Dickens' characters, and grouped by books. There was an almost inconceivable number of people in costume. It was in the Cadet Armory, and we all marched onto the floor preceded by Mr. Pickwick and Mrs. Leo Hunter. As we came upon the floor, we grouped ourselves around tables, each of which represented a book. Nobody now could possibly remember who all the characters were, but some still stand out vividly in memory, as the four little Kenwigs in pantalettes! and as the Cheeryble brothers in *Nicholas Nickleby*! Somebody was dressed as Barnaby Rudge, with a weird far away look in his eyes, and a stuffed crow on his arm! There were lots of others, but they are lost in the general picture.

Each book got up and acted some scene from their book, but as no rehearsal had been held, it was largely improvised. Afterwards we all danced and had a good time generally. In many of our older homes you will still see photographs of the belles of yesterday dressed as they were for the Dickens Party.

Gibson Pictures

Charles Dana Gibson was the artist of the young people of the nineties, and if you want to know how they looked and talked and acted, pull down a dusty volume of pictures off the top shelf of some library and look at it. Every girl wanted to be a Gibson girl, and the boys unconsciously cultivated the stuck-out-chin effect so characteristic of Gibson's men. At Christmas, 1896, the big book of Gibson pictures was just the thing the girls wanted for Christmas, and this was the more so in Salem because the editor of LIFE, (when LIFE was a magazine worth reading and laughing over) was some sort of connection of the Silsbees. Gibson was chiefly an artist for LIFE, and therefore en-

titled to Salem loyalty. It is a bit complicated, but it's so just the same.

Anyway, it occurred to the fertile mind of one of our girls that tableaux representing pictures from her new Gibson book would be just the thing to raise money for the District Nurse, or something. You will please note it was the fun, not the nurse, which was the primary object. It said on the program that none of the pictures were for sale! Also, it said, "As the desire of the New Woman seems to be to place herself on equal terms with man, will she please complete her effort by removing her hat as he does during the performance."

We all had a good time at the rehearsal, and much excitement and fun at the show. All mothers and fathers had to have front seats in Academy Hall, and each was sure that their particular little gosling looked the best. Mr. Gibson got so much advertising he no doubt would have presented the promoters with a signed copy of one of his drawings, if they had even thought of writing him, but the cultivated impudence of the 1950s was still uncultivated by the yet unthought of movie stars. Of course, the District Nurse got fifty dollars or so when the smoke had all cleared.

Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works

What these were for the benefit of, I could not seem to remember till I came across a little card among some old papers notifying us that, by a rising vote, the Oratorio Society thanked us all for contributing to their sustenance. Anyway, it was given in Mechanics Hall, Salem's only theatre of the time, a big building on the corner of Essex and Crombie Streets, which was then in the last stages of cheap vaudeville decay. The four great wooden Corinthian columns painted a dull brown gave the exterior a look of senile respectability, but the interior, especially back stage, had not been painted (or washed) since the Civil War, save the ground floor, where Xenophon Homer Shaw kept an art store.

But this was the only approach to a theatre in town, so here the Wax Works was to be staged. There were three

chambers (none of them of horrors!) all managed by Mrs. Jarley, who was a professional and probably staged the show for a percentage of the gate receipts.

In the Historical Chamber there were a lot of characters, but it is difficult to remember all. There was a very beautiful Lady Jane, and a Queen Victoria. One of our charming young matrons was a very lovely Madame Roland, but why print on her pedestal, "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name" even if Madame Roland did say it. It just didn't seem complimentary. As for Ben Franklin, of course he did fit one of our rather pompous gentlemen, and we had a very lovely and classic Maid of Orleans, and our Princess Louise was magnificent.

The Miscellaneous Chamber was miscellaneous, all right. Our cowboy was supposed to fall down perfectly stiff without breaking, but why he didn't smash his skull no one could imagine. Ophelia was very lovely, but those of us who knew her off stage didn't think of her as the languishing type exactly. The boy cast for a football player had never played football, and was supposed to be an automaton who kicked the ball. In three rehearsals he never succeeded in touching it, but on the night of the show he kicked it into the top gallery missing the chandelier by a hair.

The real touch of romance was Sweet Alice and Ben Bolt. Alice was sweet, and she did languish a bit under her broad sunbonnet, and Ben was the last word in jaunty sailors in his blue and white sailor suit.

The Classical Chamber was the final touch. All the gods and goddesses were out in force, with the lessor heroes.

Mrs. Jarley showed off her wares in excellent fashion, and even when things went wrong, she replaced the divots with excellent tact and humor. When Martha Washington dropped her Washington Pie on the floor, bottom side up, Mrs. Jarley retrieved it with the remark, "Never mind, it's only going to be sold at the Bureau sale tomorrow."

Behind all these good times was the last touch of the sea, the broad culture which came from an intimate knowledge of far ports and lives and conditions far different from our own, albeit a firm conviction that our conditions were far

better than any, though we could still improve. At a time when a third, at least, of the men in the city had seen London, Hamburg, Kronstadt, Leghorn, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Calcutta, Canton, or Manila, and probably most of them, it was hard for the remaining two-thirds to remain provincial. In 1810 the people of Salem had lived in one of the great trade marts of the world, and it has taken more than a century to wipe out that cosmopolitan point of view. The entertainments reflected this. They were not just cheap and vulgar shows with topical hits, but had an historical, literary and artistic basis, and they were worth while. And then on top of it all, there never were such a group of lively pretty girls, and handsome boys, all full of clean fun. Then there is another thing which the young people of today largely miss. The older people were always playing with us, and in looking back on it all, it is their kindly interest and help which seems to brighten the picture, as much as anything. How one wishes he could turn the clock back fifty years, sit at their feet, and hear those people talk of their youth of fifty years before! It is because we were too impatient to listen then, and that the young people are too impatient today that this is written.

VIII

TOWN HOUSE SQUARE

As you turned out of Summer Street to go down Essex Street in the Nineties, it seemed as if you had left the elm-shaded protection of homey streets for the busy rush of trolley cars and the jangle of express wagons, but not quite. Essex Street had not then entirely gone over to business. The big brick block of four houses on the corner of North Street still had nice residences of excellent citizens, and there were others as you progressed. To be sure, the old Cabot homes opposite had become rooming houses, but below that you soon came to Mechanic Hall with its classic facade of four great fluted maroon colored columns. In behind them Xenophon Homer Shaw still kept his dainty art store where one had pictures framed and perhaps fell in love with and purchased a chromo landscape. There



ESSEX STREET, LOOKING WEST, WITH A HORSE CAR

The front of the East India Marine Hall is visible on the left, the trees surround the Old Essex House which was William Gray's house

was a second shop under the Hall, but who occupied it has faded from memory. Across Crombie Street was Joseph L. Lougee's furniture store, which was where people who did not have more delightful old mahogany furniture than they knew what to do with (the condition of most old Salem people) could buy more up-to-date and less attractive pieces.

About across the street at this point was Miss Plummer's. It is difficult to describe exactly what Miss Plummer's was, but ostensibly it was a shop where ladies (no others would be tolerated there) would be supplied with things that ladies wanted and could not get elsewhere, such as braids, needles, buttons, and thread. Miss Plummer's was far more than just that, however; it was more correctly a commercial social center. "Meet me at Miss Plummer's" was the equivalent for Salem of the Nineties of "meet me at the cocktail bar at the Ritz" is for Boston of the 1950s. One of the contributory factors which made Miss Plummer's such a social center was that somewhere in the upper regions of that building or the next, was located Miss Babcock. She did not masquerade behind any beauty parlor or coiffure sign. She was just Miss Babcock, and she washed your hair and that was all there was to it. As a male I washed my own, so never had the pleasure of meeting Miss Babcock, but I am of the impression she was a lady of color, though I never heard her complexion discussed. Her professional skill was seldom criticized. With both Miss Plummer and Miss Babcock, it is easy to see why this bit of Essex Street had social prestige.

Eastward of Miss Plummer's was Timothy Orne's charming old house. It was a large square mansion three stories high, with a railing around the roof, and was painted to imitate blocks of stone. There was a charming old colonial fence which enclosed a little fifteen foot front yard with lilacs in it. It shed an old rose glow over that fraction of the street, and if you were privileged to go inside, you found the interior did not fall below the promise of its sunny front. All the rest of the north side of the street had already reverted to materialism. Perhaps Purbeck's tailor shop might be said to still preserve some of

the amenities of life, and by flattening your nose on the glass some chic old bachelor might be seen trying on a waistcoat in the far interior.

Nearly across the way The Independent Congregational Church in Barton Square, usually called the Barton Square Church, looked sternly down its steps between the two big elm trees at a street very greatly changed since it was built in 1823. One more old residence remained just below it, if you can regard a dentist's house where he has an office, as a home. I never could at that stage of my career. It had been the fine old home of the merchant John Appleton years before, but now the merchant had been replaced by an estimable gentleman who there removed teeth or inserted them, according as you were of the age when they are taken out or put in. It is very difficult to spread any affectionate memories about that house. A few doors below, you came to the corner of Washington Street.

The Square itself stretched from the mouth of the tunnel, well! to the other mouth of the tunnel, and looked about as it does now, if you glanced at it casually, but there were subtle differences. The two granite Greek temples looked just as they do now. They haven't changed a bit, and never will till they are torn down. These of course are City Hall and the old Court House. Way back in the distant past the Square had had a succession of town houses at either end; first the witchcraft court house at the north end in the middle of the street, then a more elegant court house at the south end where the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts was organized in 1775, and then the fine McIntire Court House again at the north end which was swept away to build the tunnel. They had gone long before the Nineties, and little remained around the Square but stores and business blocks. A brick house, end to the street, then faced the rear of Webber's store next to the corner on the west side. Beyond that there were miscellaneous buildings of little note, till you reached the fine house then still occupied by the Brookhouse family. The house had a wonderful history, as it was built by Benjamin Pickman and long occupied by Elias Hasket Derby. Its cupola has been preserved in the yard of the Institute.



THE WARD HOUSE, FORMERLY ON ST. PETER STREET
NOW IN THE GROUNDS OF THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, BUILT IN 1684

Beyond this fine house you came to the ugly old Tabernacle Church. If you want to know just how ugly it was, you can go to Andover and view the church near Abbot Academy, or to Haverhill and see the North Church after you reach the top of the hill on Main Street. They are both the "spitting images" of the old Tabernacle.

There was nothing picturesque on the south side except at the two ends. At the north end the old Hathaway bakery hung out over the street end on. It has been preserved by some of our good citizens in the Seven Gables group, to their everlasting credit. At the south end still stood the old Stearns and Waldo Block, with the bookstore downstairs. In the top floor was Washington Hall, built to be the social center of Salem a hundred and fifty years or so ago. It was said to have been very beautiful in its day.

One cannot say very much for the south end of the Square. If you looked one way you looked into a big hole that was the Railroad Station, and if you looked the other way you looked into a smaller hole that was the tunnel; but if you spent much time looking either way, you would be killed by a train rushing out of the tunnel, or run over by an express wagon. In those days there was a signal tower that hung like a triumphal arch over the mouth of the tunnel, but please don't take away the idea that it was a replica of the Arch of Titus or anything like that. Opposite the signal tower on the corner of Front Street was the Central House, which had long been in the deepest depths of lodging house inferiority. It used to take fire periodically and—well, the fire department always arrived too promptly, so it was patched up and went along till the next fire.

The grand old Ward House looked down from the terraces on the west side of the street, and would have looked straight down the harbor if all the upper part of the harbor had not been filled up. When it was built the view must have been splendid, and the owner from his front porch could have seen the ships at Union and Derby Wharves, but by this time the harbor had been filled in so much as to block the view. In that house Washington had slept when he visited Salem a hundred years before. Apart

from the Ward House there was nothing except business blocks on the west side of the street. The Post Office was there, and the News Office, and somewhere in an upper story the Billiard Club permitted its members to view and comment on the activities of the city. The eastern side of the street has changed very little in forty or fifty years. There was one dwelling house, however, still on that side where lived another dentist who performed dental orgies in the bay window on the second floor. The pangs of dentistry were somewhat ameliorated by the interest of all the things going on in the Square till his assistant began to swing his lead mallet and hammer in gold fillings, and then even the fascination of trying to compute whether the good doctor had shaved his gray mutton-chop side whiskers further back on one side than on the other, could not divert your mind from the periodic shocks of that mallet.

The stores and shops of the city in the nineties were spread up and down Essex Street, and along the easterly side of Town House Square. There were more dry goods stores and tailor shops and dressmakers, and fewer men's readymade clothing stores, and practically no women's. Mass production was still limited to standard commodities. The department store had appeared, but the specialty stores were still strong. There were hat stores, shoe stores, men's furnishing stores, hardware stores, wall paper and curtain shops, tobacco stores, stationery stores, jeweler's stores, crockery stores, and drug stores. Most of these have been merged into the department stores or else have become miniature department stores on their own hook, selling everything except what they advertise to sell, like the modern drug store. The Five & Ten and the A. & P. still occupied inconspicuous sites on side streets, and one wondered who patronized them.

The old fashioned drug store is practically extinct. It had a gilded mortar and pestle over the door as a sign, and was apt to have two large glass jars three feet high in the windows, filled with green and red liquid. Inside there were shelves lined with jars with glass stoppers, and inscribed in gilt letters with all sorts of cryptic abbreviations, which held the drugs. Somewhere along the counter was



THE OLD BAKERY, BUILT BY BENJAMIN HOOPER IN 1683 ON TOWN HOUSE SQUARE
NOW IN THE GROUNDS OF THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES

a sort of glass hide-out where the drug clerk mixed your prescription. He walked back and forth taking down the jars containing the drugs your prescription called for, and carried them to the hide-out, where he mixed the powder or liquids, or rolled the pills called for. Then he pasted the prescription in a great book, numbered it and the box, and handed it over with the directions neatly written on it. A small and inconspicuous soda fountain had appeared in some drug stores, and in a small block of shelves you might find the old Perry Davis' Pain Killer, Lydia's famous Vegetable Compound, Ayer's Sasaparilla, Kennedy's Golden Medical Discovery, and a few others. You could not have bought an aspirin pill, nor a soda mint tablet without a prescription for it. Things have certainly changed in drug stores.

Another shop that has greatly changed is the barber shop. You entered to find a row of rather shabby looking, but fairly comfortable cane seated arm chairs with fragments of newspapers, *Judge* and the *Police Gazette* scattered on them. There might be two chairs with victims being operated upon, and two more victims waiting. The owner said "Good morning" and indicated a chair with a nod of his head. When your turn came you advanced to the chair, a massive black walnut affair upholstered in red plush, with a red plush foot rest, and also head rest which *may* have had a towel on it. You sat down, pulled in the foot rest to a comfortable spot, and laid your head back on the rest, which the barber raised or lowered to suit, and tightened up with a thumb screw, and there you stayed put. You were not liable to be thrown over backwards or up in the air by the pressure of an automatic lever. As you lay back restfully, your eyes wandered over the wall in front of you. Covering the entire wall, and completely surrounding the small and rather dim mirrors that faced each chair was a vast collection of pigeon holes, each containing a numbered white china mug with a shaving brush in it. If you looked middle-aged and respectable, this conversation might ensue after your shave was complete.

"Are you coming here regular, for if you are, I'll give you a mug?"

If your answer was favorable, the barber then cogitated aloud.

"Well, let's see. I think I'll give you old Captain Brown's. He won't need it no more. He died last week, you know. Your number'll be seventeen. Just remember that, please, so I won't have to."

It was not entirely clear whether you inherited the soap which was in a receptacle in the top of the mug, and the brush, as well as the mug from Captain Brown, but let's hope not. However germs were not as varied in America of the nineties as now, and certainly people were not as germ conscious.

After each haircut, the barber took a brush and brushed up the floor, up into a corner, where it accumulated till the janitor swept out next morning. The floor was no marble tile or linoleum affair, but just plain honest rift hard pine which had advanced to the splintery stage. One thing we were saved by the simplicity of those days, and that is the array of hair restorers, renovators, and invigorators which the modern barber wants his patrons to experiment with. I remember just two bottles, one marked, "Bay Rum," which was certainly simple enough, and another of somebody's hair dye, marked "Makes white hair black or brown." I was always intrigued to see somebody try, and wondered whether he would come out black or brown. Maybe the colors came out of different bottles, but I never saw more than one bottle, or perhaps our barber intended to turn all his patrons, say, black haired, regardless of their earlier natural condition.

Grocery stores were also different from nowadays. Most things were sold from bulk supplies measured out into paper bags, weighed, and handed out. Quaker Oats, Hecker's Self-Raising Buckwheat Flour, Pettijohn's Breakfast Food, and a few others had appeared. Tomatoes, corn and peaches were available in cans, and also sardines, but not very much else in the ordinary store. Coffee was roasted and ground on the premises, and was far better than the modern tasteless canned variety. The grocer was apt to keep his big coffee grinder in the front window to amuse passers by.

Town House Square, then as now, was the heart of the city, but if anything, it beat more freely. Except for Miss Plummer's, beloved of the ladies, and Miss Babcock's, where the ladies were made tonsorially beautiful, little shopping could be done west of the Square, so all uptown had to go below it. Likewise, all downtown, if it were Boston bound or wanted to get a postage stamp, must pass through. All North Salem was foreordained to steam through, and South Salem could only dodge it when *en route* to Boston by train. You went by train if you went anywhere out of the city, so the Railroad Station was far more important then than now. Everybody living on Boston, North, Bridge, or Lafayette Streets paid the nickel on the electric cars, and those cars deposited their loads at frequent intervals in Town House Square.

It was not very easy to talk in Town House Square in those days. Not ten per cent of the present number of vehicles passed through, to be sure, but the child of the 1950s has never heard the racket a light express wagon and iron-shod horse can make when driven full speed over cobblestones, and such block pavements, laid in sand, were the best that were known in the Nineties. The square granite blocks hewn out at Rockport were a great improvement on the round beach pebbles of an earlier day however. Horses attached to drays, wagons, and passenger vehicles contributed to the din, but by far the most came from the trolley cars, which did a sort of square dance every fifteen minutes. They balanced to their opposite numbers and then exchanged places across Essex or Washington Streets, as the case might be. They were small cars supported by a single truck in the middle, with open platforms on either end. The motormen believed that their salvation, or, perhaps more correctly, the salvation of all pedestrians, depended on how savagely they could pound with their heels the pin that connected with the big gong under the car, so all crossings by cars were accompanied by these savage janglings. The din was at its worst "on the hour" and "on the half hour," as the saying was when the cars met at the Square and dispersed again to Beverly, Danvers, Peabody, and Marblehead. The big

double-truck interurban cars for Boston, Lawrence, and other long runs were a later insult to the ears of the community. Overhead there was a vast cobweb as if some great spider had woven a huge web to connect the First Church with Webber's store and the Price Block with the old Stearns and Waldo building which still housed the bookstore on the corner.

If you had been standing in front of the Post Office (then on the west side of Washington Street near Essex) some morning you might have seen most of the prominent men of the city passing through Town House Square. The Essex Bar, which for a century had produced the most brilliant lawyers of the nation, like Rufus King, Theophilus Parsons, Caleb Cushing, Joseph Story, and Rufus Choate, still had a brilliant list of names among the members, and before court opened these gentlemen could be seen striding through the Square. Most of the older ones still wore frock coats and silk hats and carried their books and papers in the traditional green lawyers' bag.

The gentlemen who had retail stores in the street crossed the Square early bound for their various places of business, usually calling at the Post Office for mail. A little later came the men who ran the mills, the tanneries and the shoe factories, all large industries at that time. Over in front of the City Hall there is a group of municipal statesmen involved in an argument. "No! Sir! I won't vote for it," declares the honest, energetic alderman from North Salem, who is the most popular member of the board. His remarks do not seem to affect the small well-dressed man in neat black cutaway, overcoat with velvet collar, and black derby hat to whom he is talking, very deeply. He is quiet and self-contained, and his most conspicuous mark is the red carnation in his buttonhole, which goes with his fresh complexion and neat grey moustache. The third alderman, a fine strong Irishman, well liked by everybody, listens in non-committal silence.

Over across the street those two strong, heavily built men gesticulating at each other, or rather, Joe gesticulating at Tom, who does not gesticulate, are both to be mayors of the city. Joseph Peterson is a contractor with



THE ENTRANCE SIGN OF THE EAST INDIA MARINE SOCIETY
PAINTED BY CORNE

his brother Vincent, and has the heavy frame of a man who has courageously worked his way up from a journeyman carpenter. Tom Pinnock, the roofer, is thick set and not so demonstrative, but everybody will tell you that there never lived a finer, squarer, more honest man than Tom Pinnock. While they stood there, quite a different sort of person appeared on the scene. Less useful to the community, but more dramatic than either of them, he was destined to make quite a blotch on the story of the city. A small wiry man, with black mutton-chop whiskers and alert restless eyes, can be seen making his way up Washington Street from the direction of the depot, where in the old Hawley House basement at the corner of Norman Street, John F. Hurley kept a pawnbroker's shop. There was no concealment under a polite "Collateral Loan Company" sign. Three gold balls swayed in the breeze, and the crude words "Pawn Broker" betrayed the scandalous profession of the owner. The more cultured and discreet hurried around the corner with averted eyes. It was not considered respectable for Salem to have a pawnshop.

Now, though John F. was a small spare man, he made the best of it by wearing boots with high heels, and a tall silk hat. A Prince Albert coat that had seen better days, striped trousers, white shirt with a bat-winged collar, and a silk string of a black cross tie that was too long to tie well, completed the picture. No, not quite, for a diamond (or such it passed for) the size of a nickel was imbedded in his shirt front, the silk hat was on at an angle over one ear, and a long black cigar pointed skyward from the corner of his mouth. John sauntered over to the platform above the tunnel, stuck his thumbs in his armpits, rested his elbows on the iron fence, drew one heel up on the lowest rail, tilted his cigar at a new angle and waited for admirers to congregate. John F. was gotten up as a sort of caricature of any one of a dozen gentlemen of the city. The outfit was pretty nearly respectable, but in cleanliness it left something to be desired. John, however, had ambitions, and when it was bruited about that he would run for Mayor, the respectable por-

tion of the old city shuddered and when he was elected, hung its head in shame.

After a very blatant campaign, everybody said John F. can't be elected,— it is impossible, but as election day waned there were grave forebodings, and with enough returns in to dispel doubts, he prepared to celebrate. A parade was organized at the corner of Norman Street by the famous pawnshop. A noisy band went on before then came John in an open barouch, standing up waving his hat and saluting left and right, then an express wagon full of red fire and Roman candles, which were handed out to the crowds, and then followed a howling, screaming, cheering mob of hoodlums filling the street for a block or more behind. Round and round the town they went till all were tired out and it is to be hoped woke up next morning to realize what a silly thing the election of John F. was. It represented, as so many of our elections do, the triumph of mob hysteria over plain common sense. Men whom the voters will not trust for a moment with their own affairs, they witlessly elect to public offices of vast importance.

And yet John F. was not all bad, by any means. Biased and prejudiced he was, also a spendthrift of public money as far as his friends were concerned, but he never sold the public contracts for his own benefit, as do more accomplished politicians of today. John was honest according to his lights, albeit they might be a little dim at times. He truly and honestly loved the city, and was inordinately proud of it and its history. He wanted her welfare, and listened to every appeal put to him squarely and plainly, but quick temper or a slight reflection on one of his prejudices might start him off on a wrong tack. It must not be forgotten that years after, he signed the petition for the rebuilding commission after the great fire of 1914, when the appointment of that commission meant the elimination of himself as chief magistrate, and he knew it. He recognized that the job was too big for him, and rather than have the city suffer, he signed away his rights.

It takes all kinds of people to make a world, and a city is not very different. As you look down the vista of the



Salem, 17th

These are to certify that *Thomas Phillips*
 was by a Majority of vote regularly admitted a
 Member of the Salem Marine Society at a Meeting
 held the 28th day of *March* upon which my hand is the
 Seal of the Society this 28th day of *March* 18*74*

Attest Secretary
Edward W. Fessenden



THE CERTIFICATE OF THE SALEM MARINE SOCIETY

years, it is plain that it is not the weak and the vicious that have most moulded the life of the city. The fine men who lived in the Nineties have left their impress on us all. The institutions they worked and labored for still go on, while the simply notorious are soon forgotten, or only remembered for their foibles.

IX

L'ENVOI

The Salem of the future can never be quite like the Salem of the Nineties. It may be better or worse, but it will never be the same, any more than the Florence of today or tomorrow will ever be the Florence of the Medici. There were then forty or fifty members of the Salem Marine Society still living, and some hundreds in Salem who had never attained to the rank of captains, as well as half a dozen or so of that inner shrine of the mariners, the East India Marine Society. Everybody over fifty had seen full rigged ships come into Salem from foreign ports and was steeped in the shipping tradition. They did not have to look up even the obscure landing ports of the world, for they had heard them talked about all their lives. It did not require a great war for them to learn where Pegu, Macao, Legaspi, and Sourabaya were, and when it came to places like Gonaives, Pointe a Pitre, Croisic, Noirmoutier, St. Ubes, St. Nicolas' Mole and Suva, they not only knew where they were, but the course to steer to get there.

All the young people over thirty remembered the Civil War, as well, or rather far better, than the young people of today remember the first World War, for altogether too many of them had a father, brother, or lover buried at Gettysburg, or in some obscure town never mentioned in the great military narrative, but where men did their duty and made their final sacrifice just as loyally. Yes, the town did its grand part in that conflict, but it paid for its knowledge of war with precious blood of men and tears of women.

Ever since the first forty years of the republic, Salem has been contributing her best blood in an increasing

stream to the distinguished families which have built up our great cities like Boston, New York, and the cities of the great West. Just to mention two or three, the Lows, the Choates and the Wards of New York, and the Peabodys, Saltonstalls, and the Bowditches of Boston are but a generation or two from the old city, and the list might be extended indefinitely. In 1935, there were only five states in the Union where Salem people of the nineties or their descendants were not known to be living, and probably those five were an omission due to ignorance. They were also living in all the usual countries of Europe and also in some most unusual lands of the world.

There are Salems in at least thirty five states of the Union, and while it is possible that some may have been named directly for the Kingdom of Melchizedek in the valley of Shaveh, their usual location in localities started by New England people suggests they took the name with them. While the reply of the mayor of Salem to the merry quip of the mayor of Salem, Oregon, asking that the name of the old city be changed because his mail so often got mis-sent, was the only possible one, still Salem, Oregon, was undoubtedly named by Salem sea captains. There are also ten New Salems in the country, and five Salem Centers, etc. At least three of the five foreign Salems are located where Salem ships traded, and those on the West Coast of Africa and Cape Colony are supposed to have been named by Salem people. They lay no claim to Salem, Germany!

When, therefore, people ask why Salem is not the same as it always was, the reason is the steady drain of a hundred years to build up the other greater sites of the country. The rich and brilliant gentleman whom you meet at Palm Beach and whose name sounds familiar, tells you that he grew up in North Salem. The charming lady you meet at the opera in San Francisco greets you with inquiring eyes and presently says, "Did they say you came from Salem? That was mother's old home, and how she loved it!" The steel manufacturer in Pittsburgh, the artist in Paris, the charming hostess in London, and the Admiral

of the British navy, and a thousand others all admit their affiliations with Salem with love and affection.

If all the people who have Salem in their hearts came back and lived there in the mansions their grandfathers lived in, would it be the same town it used to be? No, not quite, but it would be an interesting and charming town, not to say exciting, and as time wore on the crop of "old Salem characters" would be vastly increased!

THE TEMPLE-BERNARD AFFAIR

A ROYAL CUSTOM HOUSE SCANDAL IN ESSEX COUNTY

By JORDAN D. FIORE

The recent shocking disclosures of alliances between disreputable persons and public officials have been presented to the general public by newspapers and the radio in a manner which seems to indicate that such alliances are modern phenomena. The student of history is aware that the contemporary scandal is merely another in the long series of charges and countercharges of corruption which have developed since governments were first organized. In many European nations similar alliances have long been accepted as a matter of course; in America accusations of corruption were made almost from the beginning. As early as 1500 Christopher Columbus, denounced for disobedience and corruption as a royal governor and for the attempt to establish a personally-profitable Indian slave trade was returned to Spain in chains for trial. In the English colonies as well such charges were often made, and many complaints were forwarded to England for action. Few of the imputations made in British America, however, involved persons as prominent as Francis Bernard, royal governor of one of the largest American provinces, and John Temple, His Majesty's Surveyor-General of the Customs for the Northern District of North America.

I

Francis Bernard became Governor of Massachusetts in August 1760 after successfully administering the government of New Jersey for two years. An Oxford graduate and a lawyer by profession, he was sponsored for his American post by his wife's cousin, Viscount Barrington, the Secretary of War, and the Duke of Newcastle, First Lord of the Treasury. With his background and training and with the support of such prominent persons, Bernard should have been one of the most successful royal governors, but the excesses of the British ministry and parliament coupled with Bernard's own ineptness in deal-

ing with the strong patriot organization and opposition in Massachusetts caused him to fail in his assignment.

John Temple, who was born in Boston in 1732, spent most of his early life in England. He was a distant relative of Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, who was a powerful political figure in eighteenth century England, and of Richard's brother, George Grenville, who headed the Ministry from 1763 to 1765. Through the influence of the Grenvilles, John Temple was appointed Surveyor General of Customs in 1760 and Lieutenant Governor of New Hampshire in the following year. Though an appointee of the British government, Temple was friendly with the provincial leaders and escaped the abuse suffered by the British appointees in the mid-1760's and after 1767 by the Board of Commissioners of Customs for North America, of which he was a member.¹

When the Temple-Bernard feud began is not certain. The first difference of opinion between Bernard and Temple seems to have occurred over the disposition of the Barrons case which was settled before Temple assumed office. Benjamin Barrons, the Collector of Customs at the port of Boston, was suspended from that office in December 1759 by the Surveyor General, Thomas Lechmere, and was finally dismissed in 1761, with Bernard's approbation, on charges of misconduct brought by Charles Paxton, Searcher of the port of Boston. Barrons, who had encouraged Boston merchants to act against the admiralty courts and who frequently stated that the granting of writs of assistance by the Superior Court was illegal, also wrote letters to England protesting Bernard's use of a sheriff and a file of soldiers to assist the comptroller of the customs in the seizure of ships suspected of smuggling.² With the support of many of the merchants of Salem and with the prominent James Otis as his counsel, Barrons sued Lechmere for suspending him, George Craddock, who had succeeded Barrons as Collector, for

1 There is no biographical study of John Temple except for a short note in the introduction to *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, IX, (1897).

2 Thomas Bernard, *The Life of Sir Francis Bernard* (London, 1790) 22, 23, 24.

abetting the suspension and Paxton, for having made to the Surveyor General the complaint upon which he was removed. Although none of the suits was successful, since Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson headed and is said to have controlled the Superior Court, they did serve a nuisance value, for they caused the Governor and other royal officials much concern about the temerity of the provincial faction which Otis now led against the court and the officers of the customs. Bernard wrote many letters to England attacking Barrons and Otis and defending the officials. Thanks to his pains, all of the royal authorities were vindicated.³

While this controversy was at its height, John Temple returned to Boston late in November 1761 to assume his post as Surveyor-General of the Customs for the Northern District of America.⁴ He had evidently been informed of Barron's indiscretion and probably intended to reinstate him. The affair had proceeded too far for him to intercede successfully, however, for Bernard had already forwarded copies of all charges which had been collected against Barrons to Barrington, to Lord Halifax and the Lords of Trade, and to the Commissioners of Customs in London. Unwilling to challenge all of these forces, Temple dropped his intention of restoring Barrons and settled down in Boston to carry out his duties. There followed about three years of outwardly harmonious relations with Bernard. In this period the Surveyor General renewed his acquaintance with many prominent Bostonians and won the respect of the leaders of the provincial faction, a remarkable achievement for a royal appointee. It was not until late in 1764 that Temple and Bernard clashed, when the Surveyor removed a subordinate who had won Bernard's favor.

II

The publication of a notice by the Commissioners of Customs in the *Boston Gazette* on February 8, 1764,

³ Bernard Papers, Harvard College Library, Vol. 1, 321-2; Vol. 2, 2, 9, 11, 17; Vol. 9, 233.

⁴ *Boston Gazette*, November 23, 1761. Temple was only twenty-nine when he was appointed to the post.

announcing a reward for the apprehension of any person guilty of "entering into a conniving at any composition for duties" was considerable inducement to any deserving underlings to keep watch over their superiors for violations. One Sampson Toovey, a clerk of customs at Salem, evidently informed Temple of some irregularities in the customs services at that port, and by his own testimony and affidavits assisted the Surveyor General in building a case against James Cockle, the Collector of the port of Salem and Marblehead. Temple forwarded a part of the testimony to England in September 1764 in letters to the Commissioners of Customs and to Thomas Whateley, the Joint Secretary of the Treasury. In the matter of an alliance between Cockle and Bernard, Temple was inclined to be cautious at this time. He was certain that Bernard, "whose insatiable avarice," he wrote, "exceeds anything, . . . I have ever seen," had encouraged insubordination by Cockle whom Temple considered "a low, abandoned man, not possessed of one principal [sic] necessary to the trust imposed in him,"⁵ but he was unwilling at first to assert that there was any connivance between Bernard and Cockle.

Temple spent most of the month of September in compiling evidence against Cockle by means of depositions, affidavits, and letters written to prominent officials who were involved in any way with Cockle's duplicity. Finally, having enough facts to justify his actions, Temple journeyed to Salem on September 28, 1764, for the purpose of confronting the Salem Collector with this information. Temple's charges against Cockle were specific: the Collector had taken a bribe of £50 sterling instead of collecting a penalty due; he had withheld for a week an important letter received from Anguilla in the British West Indies; he had entered "into a composition for the duty of near Two Thousand Hogsheads of Mollasses entered at . . . Salem . . . from Anguilla." These charges were severe enough, but Cockle made them worse, according to Temple, by an "Insult offered . . . in the Tender of a Bribe to pass

⁵ *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, IX, 27.

over such . . . proceedings without punishment.”⁶ Infuriated by this last action, Temple suspended Cockle at once and named William Browne to the post until the Commissioners of Customs in London decided to choose a successor to Cockle.⁷

Cockle’s dismissal met with the approval of the members of the provincial faction who had disliked the Salem Collector almost since the day of his appointment to the post in 1760. No customs collector could be popular among the Massachusetts merchants and traders, but Cockle, by consorting with royal officials and by serving them and courting their favor, had made himself particularly obnoxious. One of Cockle’s most flagrant actions, according to provincial standards, was his application for a writ of assistance, a general search warrant declared legal by the Massachusetts Superior Court in November 1761, which was granted to the collector in February 1762. So disliked had Cockle become by the spring of 1762 that he was openly insulted in the Boston *Gazette* in a mock advertisement headed “Port of C-k-le Borough,” which stated in part:

Now riding at Anchor and ready for Sailing, the Idiot of full Frieght, with Ignorance, no Commission, few guns; any necessitous person that wants daily Sustenance may meet with suitable Encouragement by applying to J——s C-k-le the Commander, at the King’s Arms in S——.⁸

But Cockle was not entirely without friends. He had advised Bernard in the Writs of Assistance case and in the protests which grew out of the re-enforcement of the Navigation acts, and so the Governor, desiring to retain this important adviser, protested Cockle’s suspension. In letters to prominent English officials he defended Cockle’s behavior, and with the usual methods of accused politicians, he brought countercharges that the real reasons for Cockle’s removal were Temple’s “most extreme and haugh-

6 Letter from Temple to Cockle dated September 28, 1764; Salem Custom House Record 1763 to 1772, Essex Institute, 43.

7 *Ibid*; 44.

8 Boston *Gazette*, May 10, 1763. Another portion of the advertisement reads, “The Idiot is easily known by his Form, being a Dung boat built, or rais’d on.”

ty jealousy" of the Governor and his office and the fact that Bernard had asked and had acted upon Cockle's advice on at least one occasion.⁹ Bernard's regard for truth, or probably more accurately his recognition of the impossibility of honestly defending his friend, led him to modify somewhat his protestations of Cockle's innocence by stating:

in truth if conniving at foreign sugar & molasses, Portugal wines & Fruit, is to be reckoned Corruption, there was never, I believe, an uncorrupt Custom house officer in America, till within twelve months; and therefore Incorruptions in the best of them must be considered not as a positive but comparative term.¹⁰

Not satisfied with his declaration that honesty is relative, Bernard continued his retreat by advising that his affirmation of Cockle's excellent character was perhaps "too free to be laid before a public Board, altho' it might safely and properly be communicated to every Member of it."¹¹

III

Bernard was not immediately involved in Temple's charge that James Cockle had taken a bribe, but before this issue was settled the Governor managed to play a highly suspicious role in this matter as well. The ship *Glocester* [sic], David Glover, Master, and Glover, Hubbard Haskell and Philemon Warner, owners, arrived at Cape Ann late in May 1764, with a cargo of sugar from Guadeloupe. Sampson Toovey, Cockle's clerk, collected £150 sterling in payment of duties on the molasses that the ship was carrying and turned this money over to Cockle. Since the sugar had been purchased when Guadeloupe was in British hands, Glover claimed that he was carrying British goods and not subject to duty. Cockle inquired in Boston, learned that Glover's contention was correct, and returned to Salem to make adjustments. He gave Toovey £100 of the £150 paid to return to Glover.

⁹ Bernard Papers, Harvard College Library, III, 256; Bernard to Richard Jackson, October 5, 1764. *Ibid*, III, 267-270; Bernard to John Pownall, November 20, 1764.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, III, 267.

¹¹ *Ibid*, III, 268.

At the same time the Collector prepared a warrant naming Toovey a waiter and instructed the new appointee to seize the *Glocester* for breaking bulk before entry, an action punishable by a fine of £100.

The ship was seized and held for six days. At the end of that time the owners visited Cockle at Salem and gave "Bond to endemnifie" the Collector, who, after enjoining the participants to keep the matter secret, directed that the ship be released. The balance due the owners was not returned, and the owners evidently did not seem to expect recompense, probably believing that fifty pounds was a fair price to pay for the release of their ship. The *Glocester* was then entered properly in the Salem House Records, but no mention or entry of the £50 payment or deposit was made in the records.

This information comprised the substance of Toovey's affidavit of September 27, 1764, the day preceding Cockle's suspension, and the facts were verified in later depositions and sworn interrogations by Glover, Haskell, and Warner.¹² Cockle sought to disprove the charge, and the Governor gave him full and unusual support. Cockle contended that the money had been given to him as a bond deposit which he intended to return, and he asserted that the ship's owners were well aware of that fact. Glover was at sea on October 8, 1764, ten days after Cockle's suspension, when the erstwhile Collector invited the owners of the *Glocester* to visit him at Salem, where the £50 would be returned to them. The two owners made the trip to Salem on October 10 and were amazed upon their arrival to find Governor Bernard in company with Cockle. The last two gentlemen planned their campaign well, for they instructed Haskell to wait in one room while they interviewed Warner in another chamber. Following the interview all four visited Cockle's home, and the ex-collector

¹² These depositions are found in a manuscript volume in the Bowdoin-Temple Papers in the Massachusetts Historical Society marked on the cover, "Mr. Cockle's Suspension, with the whole of his and Governor Bernard's proceedings relating to the Anguilla Forgeries etc., etc. Copied from the Original Letters and Depositions, now in the Possession of Mr. Temple, the Surveyor General, 1764." Toovey's deposition is found on page 15, Glover's on page 17, and Warner's on page 18.

returned the money to the owners, not neglecting, however, to retain £3 for himself for various incidental expenses.

Exactly what transpired between the allies and Warner behind the closed doors is not difficult to surmise. Warner was induced to admit that he expected the return of the £50 and he signed a statement to that effect, Bernard and Cockle then displayed this statement to refute Temple's charges of bribery, hoping thus to discredit all of Temple's charges. Temple re-examined Warner who explained that his statement of October 10 had been misinterpreted. He did expect to have the money returned, he agreed, but not until he received the letter of October 8 (after Cockle's suspension), in which Cockle promised to return the money. He submitted a second affidavit to Temple in which he made this explanation in full.¹³ Haskell, who was not interviewed by Cockle and Bernard, stated again that he had considered the money lost before he received the letter of October 8, promising its return.¹⁴ Both owners further swore that they had returned to Cockle's home on October 11 and had asked for the return of the bond which they had signed in May 1764, but were informed that the paper had been destroyed, "which was all the satisfaction . . . (they) . . . could get." All of the owners were agreed on one thing: they understood that the fifty pounds had been kept by Cockle in payment for the release of the seized ship. Sampson Toovey, Cockle's agent in these transactions, gave firm support to the owners' contentions.

Why was Bernard involved at all? What was his motive in traveling to Salem on October 10 for the interview with Warner? The issue did not affect the administration of the province, in which case Francis Bernard would have been concerned, but was a matter concerning the operation of the customs service. Bernard's friendship with Cockle must have been extremely close to have encouraged him to travel to Salem and to take such an active part in the settlement of the problem. Perhaps the Governor, knowing that Temple suspected the existence of an alliance between him

13 Ibid, 21-22.

14 Ibid, 15-17.

and Cockle, thought that by refuting Temple's charges and thus discrediting the surveyor, he would protect his own name as well as Cockle's. The extent to which Bernard was willing to go in order to accomplish this is seen in his interview with Philemon Warner. First the two owners were separated, thus eliminating any witness in case coercion or deliberate misinterpretation should become necessary, and through this division of the opposition, the conspirators hoped to confute the testimony against Cockle. Bernard's part in this aspect of the issue was hardly in keeping with the dignity of his position. Cockle's destruction of the written bond, which should have been restored to the owners as a guarantee that no further action would be taken and which would have verified Cockle's case if he were honest, is a further indication of the Collector's guilt.

On the whole Temple proved his first charge well. The number of supporting statements that he collected and his complete refutation of the countercharges show that he was well aware of the cupidity of his adversaries. Temple's evidence destroyed Cockle's case and revealed the Governor to be an awkward, bungling meddler.

IV

In investigating his charge that Cockle had withheld the letter from Anguilla for personal gain, John Temple uncovered a wealth of scandal and corruption that far exceeded his expectations. Cockle, by his own admission, had acted upon Bernard's advice in the matter, and both Bernard and Cockle stood to profit greatly by adopting the Governor's counsel. Knowing this, Temple was quick to level the charge of fraud against the two conspirators. A study of the records and letters in the case and a consideration of the actions of the men involved prove that Temple had built his case well.

James Cockle was a busy man during the fourth week of August 1764. On Monday, August 20 he received a letter from the customs officer at Anguilla notifying him that several ships bound for Boston and Salem from that island possessed counterfeit clearances. The warning was explicit: all clearances from Anguilla should be examined

closely and duties should be collected on all foreign sugar fraudulently imported. Cockle claimed that he suspected the letter was the work of some crafty Yankee ship owner who was trying to trap the collector into making an unwarranted prosecution, so he determined to move cautiously. He planned to go to Boston at once but was delayed by a ship which he suspected of attempting illegal entry and by inclement weather.¹⁵

Finally on Wednesday he visited Boston, but instead of reporting the matter to John Temple, his superior officer, whom he met there, Cockle carried the letter to the Governor and asked that worthy man for advice. Bernard, informed of Cockle's suspicions of the origin of the letter, advised the Collector to return to Salem, to compare all clearances from Anguilla, and to set aside all of the false papers for prosecution. The Governor further enjoined the Collector to absolute secrecy "so that the discovery and the prosecution might commence together." Bernard feared that, since the prosecution would be based upon the act of 1733, which allowed anyone to initiate the prosecution, the shrewd merchants might set up a mock prosecution of their own, thus depriving the Collector of his share of the fine and perhaps even making the prosecution a failure.¹⁶

Acting upon Bernard's advice Cockle kept Temple uninformed and returned to Salem on the following day, Thursday, August 23. He expected to meet the Surveyor in Marblehead on Friday, but Temple did not appear for the engagement. On Saturday (August 25) Cockle visited Bernard in Boston again. The Governor called in the Advocate General, Robert Auchmuty, to the conference held in Castle William late that afternoon. Auchmuty was shown the Anguilla letter and the fraudulent papers that Cockle had uncovered and was asked to prosecute the delinquents in Cockle's name. The Governor concurred in this request, and Cockle turned over all false clearances to Auchmuty for action.¹⁷ Cockle spent the weekend in

¹⁵ Cockle's letter to "The Honorable the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs;" *Ibid*, 46.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 46.

¹⁷ Robert Auchmuty to John Temple, September 3, 1764; *Ibid*, 12.

seclusion with Bernard preparing and copying proof concerning the frauds which he submitted to the Advocate General. Not until the information had been presented and the suits initiated, and this was a full week after he had received the original letter, did Cockle inform Temple of his actions.¹⁸

Temple, furious at the liberties taken by the Collector, immediately ordered Cockle to remain at Salem and forbade him to travel two miles beyond the town limits without permission. Bernard fortunately chose the week of August 27 to make a long delayed trip to his property in Mount Desert Island, off the Maine Coast.¹⁹ Temple wrote to the Governor on August 28 condemning him for depriving the Surveyor of the opportunity of seizing many vessels which had left ports in his district with illegal clearances. Cockle should have informed the Surveyor of the Anguilla letter at once, Temple insisted, and Bernard should have notified Temple "as soon as it came to his knowledge, (instead of contriving how the penaltys might have been recovered to private advantage)." Thanks to the intentional procrastination of this pair (and Temple insinuated that the conspirators might have done some judicious hinting to ship-owning friends), all vessels carrying such clearances had left Temple's district, including two which had sailed from Boston between August 20 and August 27. Temple concluded, "My duty to the Crown renders it indispensable for me to represent the Matter Home."²⁰ Bernard upon returning home late in September was unperturbed to find Temple's letter and replied with dignity:

I . . . am very glad you have made the representation to the Lords of the Treasury . . . as it will give me an opportunity to free myself from the Difficultys I have laboured under for some time in endeavoring to make my Obedience to the orders of my Superiors & the dictates of my own sense of my duty

18 Cockle and Temple were in complete agreement concerning these facts.

19 In fairness to Bernard it should be mentioned that the trip had been planned for some time.

20 Mr. Cockle's Suspension, etc., 10-11.

reconcilable with the desire I have had to maintain a friendly intercourse with you.²¹

James Cockle contended that the entire matter was unrelated to customs business. Temple refuted this position by pointing out that he had given Cockle "positive orders to acquaint . . . (him) . . . with all Extraordinary occurrences in Custom House Affairs." But, added Temple, "It seems that Governor Bernard had taught him to disregard his Superior officers." At the most, Cockle averred, there was only a slight inconvenience to the customs service, to which Temple replied that this inconvenience was simply that two vessels actually sailed by Castle William, Bernard's summer home, while the Governor and Cockle were "contriving" matters, and by retaining their secret, the alliance had made it impossible for Temple to stop ships with similarly false clearances from being cleared in other ports under his jurisdiction.²²

Bernard's part in the affair was obvious. If the ships had been seized at the time of entry and fraud had been proved, the entire cargo would have been forfeited to the Crown. Even at the time these discussions were taking place, Temple felt that the owners of such vessels should be forced to pay the duties owed to the Crown. When suit was brought by an individual, however, the Court might levy three times the value of the cargo, and after the expenses of the court were paid the money would be divided evenly among the informer, the Governor, and the province. Thus it was more profitable to Bernard and Cockle to bring suit. Such suits were usually settled before trial. An agreement (the composition) was reached at about one-third the sum usually sued for and the money was divided into three parts. Under this system the Crown only was the loser.

How extensive this system of composition was Temple was not certain, but he produced evidence to show that more than two thousand hogsheads of molasses had been entered duty free with Anguilla clearances in the Salem Custom House in the seven month period from March to

²¹ *Ibid*, 11.

²² *Ibid*, 49.

September 1764. Lest the modern reader consider this to be a small amount of sugar by current standards or even when measured against the amount imported into New England in the 1760's it should be pointed out that according to Thomas Hutchinson, Anguilla, a tiny island with an area of only thirty-five square miles, "did not produce as many sugar canes as to afford cargo for one vessel."²³ Then, as now, the chief produce of this island was salt and cattle.

Temple sought to circumvent the law by appealing to Chambers Russell, the Vice Admiralty Judge, to turn over to the Crown the amount compounded for in partial payment of the duties owned on illegally imported molasses as entered on the Salem Custom House records.²⁴ Russell, after informing Temple that formal application should be made to the Court, advised the Surveyor to make certain that his plan was practicable before proceeding in the matter.²⁵ Temple next sought the advice of Edmund Trowbridge, the Attorney General. Temple was concerned about the amount agreed upon in the composition, for he asserted that it amounted to less than one-half the amount that the traders would have had to pay in duties. The total amount, divided equally among Cockle, Bernard, and the province was about £2400, and of course no duties had to be paid. Truly instead of being punished for their offenses, the traders actually paid less in fines than they would have had to pay in duties.²⁶ Despite his sympathy with Temple's vehement protest, Trowbridge was obliged to admit that Cockle's suit was a legal one, that the decision made by Russell followed the letter of the law, and that further appeal was useless.²⁷ The Surveyor-General was forced to drop his case, but not without protesting again to the Lords of Trade against a law which could be used to deprive the Crown of its just duties.

23 Thomas Hutchinson, *The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay*, L. S. Mayo, editor (Cambridge, 1936), III, 117.

24 Mr. Cockle's Suspension, etc., 13.

25 Ibid, 14.

26 Temple to the Commissioners of Customs, November 30, 1764; Ibid, 27ff.

27 Ibid, 26-7.

Temple was even more severe in his castigation of Bernard. In his lengthy letter to the British Board of Customs in London on October 3, 1764, in which he summarized his reasons for dismissing Cockle, Temple asserted that all of the Collector's actions were taken with Bernard's "advice and concurrence."²⁸ To Thomas Whateley, the Joint Secretary of the Treasury, Temple added concerning Bernard, "It seems as if the love of money had got the better of every good principal [sic] in this man. The suspension of Mr. Cockle has no doubt touch'd Govr Bernard in a very tender point, considering their lucrative connection." Even before he had made his final decision to remove Cockle, Temple was bitter over Bernard's interference in matters pertaining to the Customs. Bernard's action, he wrote:

weakens my power & influence over the officers, disconcerts me in the vigorous measures I am desirous of taking for the service of the revenue & often renders me very uneasy in an employment in which I have no view but that of doing my duty so as to recommend myself to the government of such favors as I may hereafter meet with.

Upon Bernard's advice Cockle had stated in his defense that Temple had also brought suit against the owners of a ship for illegal entry and had collected his fee. Temple agreed that he had done so on one occasion and that the fee collected was very small. Except for this one instance, the only income he had received in Massachusetts was the salary paid him as Surveyor. Temple charged that, on the other hand, "Mr. Bernard's insatiable avarice has led him to draw an income from all quarters & from all departments in this Province in such a manner as it is a shame to his appointment."²⁹ Temple also made several other references to Bernard's avarice and cupidity in the same vein in his letters abroad.

Cockle prepared his most ingenious defense in explaining his attempt to bribe Temple. Temple swore that when Cockle found out how much the Surveyor General knew

28. Ibid, 1.

29 *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, IX, 28.

of his conduct, Cockle "said these words or words to this effect that he was altogether in my Power, and that if I suspended him it would be his ruin, but that if I would pass over his proceedings he would give me his share of the Composition money accounting to the sum of Seven hundred pounds Sterling."³⁰ Cockle in his own defense agreed that here was "a matter to confess and apologize for as well as to vindicate and Defend."³¹

Cockle asserted that he was very much disturbed at the time that the alleged action occurred so that he was not certain that he could recall every particular of it six weeks later. Of one thing he was certain: the offer he had made was not an act of corruption. When he offered Temple the money Cockle had not yet been charged with anything that was punishable. He contended that although the charge that he had accepted a bribe from Glover appeared first in the list of offenses the actual charge was not made until twenty-three days after he had offered the money to Temple. On the day that the money was tendered Cockle felt that his only offense appeared to be that of hurting Temple's feelings by consulting with Bernard before informing Temple, and he hoped that his years of faithful and loyal service would serve to offset even that misdemeanor. Instead, he wrote:

I was overwhelmed with resentment for having as I apprehended taken the Governor's directions concerning the prosecution preferably to his. I was quite at a loss how to account for this and for the Excessiveness of his Anger, so far beyond the cause assigned for it. It is understood that the Surveyor General would not be above taking a part of the Condemnation money in cases where he directed the prosecution.³²

Therefore, Cockle maintained, believing these facts to be so, he "inconsiderately offered his (Temple) a part of the money arising from the prosecution; expressly that and no other money."

30 Mr. Cockle's Suspension, etc., 24.

31 Ibid, 52.

32 Ibid, 52. As stated previously in this article Temple agreed in a marginal note that he would take his share when he had made a seizure and had ordered the prosecution. He reminded Cockle that this had happened only once and then only a small cargo was involved.

Cockle's reply contains a naive explanation of his use of the word *inconsiderate* in his defense. If he had been in his usual state of mind and had been desirous of purchasing Temple's favor, he would never have made the offer directly but would have used the mediation of others, he asserted. His injudicious action was explained by his worry over his ill-treatment and by his fear of the trouble and disgrace he would suffer when exposed to the resentment of the traders whom he had prosecuted and the wrath of the Surveyor General. Finally he agreed that by offering money to Temple even when no evil act was intended, he did wrong and had insulted the Surveyor. It was his hope, he averred, "to have an Opportunity to make an Attonement for it."³³ That Cockle, greedy and avaricious as he was, should have been willing to give up £700, even when momentarily distracted, is incredible. Despite Cockle's denial, there appeared to be no doubt that the money was offered as a bribe, and the offer in those days was perhaps not unusual. Many British customs officers in addition to Cockle had winked at offenses for more than a century in consideration for bribes of money and goods, and Cockle probably assumed that every official had his price. That he was willing to pay heavily for Temple's protection and for the retention of his post indicates that Cockle had developed a lucrative business in the port of Salem and was loath to lose it. Indeed when the general moral standards of His Majesty's Customs Service in America are considered, Cockle was undoubtedly more shocked by Temple's incorruptibility on this occasion than the Surveyor General claimed to have been by the proffered bribe.

But Temple was not content with denouncing Bernard and Cockle for major offenses. Perhaps he must have reasoned that many of the major charges might be forgotten or not generally understood, but many people had a perverse inclination to remember petty scandal and gossip. Even today the general public, though apparently unconcerned by charges of immorality of major proportions, responds with avidity to the scandals of mink coats, five

per centers, and speculators in commodities. In a series of affidavits from minor officials Temple succeeded in uncovering his most fascinating charge against Cockle and Bernard, and although the contents of the affidavits were known and joked about in Boston for years, the Governor and Collector could not obtain copies of the statements until they were published several years later.

Three waiters supplied Temple with information for the new charges. William Ellery, the Waiter at Gloucester, then a subport of Salem, testified that he had received orders from Cockle to board all vessels entering the port from Lisbon, Cadiz, Balboa and other southern ports, and to collect from the masters casks of wine and chests of lemons and oil. Following Cockle's directions he did this several times and forwarded the expensive items to Cockle in Salem.³⁴ Not to be outdone, Woodward Abraham, the Waiter at Marblehead, swore that he had received similar instructions and had carried them out faithfully, forwarding the wines and fruit to the Collector. He added some additional damaging information by stating that the "gifts" were "a Gratuity for such Cargoes being imported Contrary to Law, then the Vessels have been Entered with Salt only."³⁵

But it remained for Sampson Toovey, the ubiquitous clerk at Salem Custom House, to present the most damaging affidavit, even before Cockle's suspension was ordered by Temple. This deposition, which did not appear in print until the *Boston Gazette* published it in full on 12 June 1769, shortly before Bernard left the province, is startling in its implications. It follows:

I, Sampson Toovey, Clerk to James Cockle, Esq., Collector of His Majesty's Customs for the Port of Salem, do declare on oath, that ever since I have been in office, it hath been customary for said Cockle to receive of the masters of vessels entering from Lisbon, casks of wine, boxes of fruit, etc., which was a gratuity for suffering their vessels to be entered with salt or ballast only, and passing over unnoticed such cargoes of wine, fruit, etc., which are prohibited to be imported into

34 Ibid, 22.

35 Ibid, 23.

his Majesty's plantations. Part of which wine, fruit, etc., the said James Cockle used to share with Governor Bernard. And I further declare that I used to be the negotiator of this business, and receive the wine, fruit, etc., and dispose of them agreeable to Mr. Cockle's orders. Witness my hand. Sampson Toovey.³⁶

In the city of Boston where there was a nucleus of anti-administration sentiment, the charges were popularly received, and the leaders of the provincial faction judged Bernard to be guilty despite the denials of the Governor and his supporters. The Governor's avarice became the subject of many jokes, and the newspapers contained several references which condemned Bernard roundly for his alleged dishonesty. Jonathan Sewall, a prominent young member of the bar, writing under the name Philanthropos contributed to the newspapers a series of letters in defense of Bernard, and while these articles satisfied Bernard and his friends, they did little to dissipate the popular impression of Bernard's guilt.³⁷ The attacks on Bernard's character were repeated often in the years that followed and provided another factor contributing to his unpopularity.

VII

But the people of Boston were not Bernard's final judges. It was more important that the Governor refute Temple's charges in England, and he attempted to do this at once. Since he did not have a copy of Temple's actual charges against him, except for the letter to Cockle which he must have seen, and since he was not given a copy of Toovey's affidavit, Bernard's task was a difficult one. Fortunately he too had good friends and patrons in England and to these men he directed his letters.

Halifax, one of Bernard's patrons, was then (1764) serving as Secretary of State for the Southern Department,

³⁶ Ibid, 23. This affidavit has been reprinted in several works dealing with this period.

³⁷ T. Hutchinson, *op. cit.*, III, 118. Hutchinson in a footnote identified Philanthropos as Sewall, who later was Attorney-General for Massachusetts and after the exodus of 1776 Admiralty Judge of Quebec and Nova Scotia.

and to him Bernard addressed a letter early in December in which he defended Cockle's action and notified the Secretary that Temple had long treated him with indignity.³⁸ To John Pownall in 1764 and 1765, Bernard wrote often and asked for copies of the affidavit and the charges which he was eager to refute. He wrote with confidence in May 1765:

I can't help thinking that my Defence alone will disgrace this Gentleman: however I shant rest there. It is my intention to reduce my complaints against him to a set of articles & pray a Commission to enquire into them.

In his letter to Halifax, Bernard had given details about Temple's conduct and he added more items in the letter to Pownall to be used as the Secretary saw fit. The basis of Bernard's defense was unchanged. He added in this letter:

But now I find myself publicly attacked by him, it is my desire to connect this whole claim of his treatment of me since he came into his office. Certainly there never was a Governor so ill-treated by a subject of the Government, since the Colonies were first planted.³⁹

In his letter to Barrington, Bernard dwelled often upon his inability to supply more than the basic needs of his family on his limited American income, and in his defense against Temple's charges he professed to fear that a general belief that he had made extraordinary profits might affect grants of further patronage and the possibility of appointment to a more lucrative post. To Barrington he wrote late in 1765, "I fear that M. Temple's malicious & unjust Charge against me has made impressions to my disadvantage, or at least has created a Notion that I get money fast enough without any extraordinary favor." He was happy, he wrote, that he had a friend ready to defend him against "a stab in the dark," and he was hopeful that after seven years of service in colonial governorships he "had gained a credit, which formed a kind of ballance [sic] against M. Temple's accusations." He was willing, he

38 Bernard to Halifax, December 3, 1764; Bernard Papers, Harvard College Library, III, 147.

39 Bernard to Pownall, May 6, 1765; *Ibid.*, III, 287.

wrote, to give an account of every shilling he had ever received in the province "including the forfeitures which M. Temple grounded his complaint upon" to prove that he had made no great profit by his transaction.⁴⁰

All of his requests for a copy of the charges were ignored, and Bernard professed to deplore this fact. "It had given me great Concern," he wrote, "that I have never had an account of the Particulars of the Charge against me, nor an Opportunity to make a formal defense thereto." Since he did not receive a copy of the charges, he felt free to infer "that it is entirely discredited," but, he added, "I could have wished that my Vindication had been at least as public as the Accusation was."

Although Bernard was vindicated since no charges were brought against him in England and there is no evidence that Temple's accusations concerning him were ever seriously considered there, the Governor could not claim a total victory. When Temple suspended Cockle, he notified the Collector in a postscript, "You are to send me an Answer to the above Charge, and you are to transmit a Copy of the same to the Honble Board of Customs in London." Cockle's letter of defense had already been quoted several times in this article. This letter of defense was sworn to as "true to the best of his knowledge, Remembrance and belief" by Cockle before Governor Bernard. Temple's pious comment on this act was, "After seeing the full evidence that is against him is it [it is?] greatly to be hoped that the unhappy Delinquent never took this Oath! Notwithstanding the above Certificate!"⁴¹ Before forwarding it to England, Temple made many pertinent notes in the margins which almost completely refuted Cockle's defense. Temple noted that sections of Cockle's appeal were in Governor Bernard's hand—particularly those sections relating to the composition for duties and he pointed to this as evidence of an unholy alliance between the Governor and the Collector.

Temple's charges were presented to the Lords of the Treasury early in November 1764 and that august group

40 Bernard to Barrington, November 15, 1765; *Ibid*, V, 38.

41 Mr. Cockle's Suspension, etc., 62.

entered in their minutes their approbation of Temple's actions and their affirmation of his suspension of Cockle. In the following spring Cockle's new appeal was "absolutely rejected by the Commissioners of the Customs and his dismissal confirmed," which, Temple's correspondent notes, "must needs be no small mortification to the composers of that laboured performance."⁴²

Bernard exerted every effort, but Cockle was never restored to his post. The Governor could do no more than defend him; to reinstate him was impossible. The extent to which the whole matter disturbed the Governor is revealed in his pettiness toward Toovey and his attempt to injure him further. Early in 1765, when John Fisher was appointed Collector at Salem by the Commissioners of the Customs in London, Bernard immediately wrote to the new Collector and cautioned him against "employing in your service one Toovey whom you find in office: When you know his story, as an honest man, you will abhor him; as a prudent man you will have no communication with him."⁴³ But Toovey had proved his worth to Temple and was destined for greater rewards. In October 1766, he was named Waiter and Preventive Officer at the port of Salem, to reside at Cape Ann or Gloucester.⁴⁴

VIII

In the recent discussions of alleged corruption of American public officials, several authorities have explained that although some actions to these officials were morally wrong, there was no legal case against the persons who perpetrated them. Such seems to have been Bernard's situation. There was nothing immoral or illegal about his friendship with Cockle, although one might wonder at the dignified Governor's choice of a minor cus-

⁴² Joseph Harrison to Temple, June 12, 1765; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, IX, 57-8. Harrison was Collector of Customs in Boston at the time of the Boston Tea Party in 1773.

⁴³ Bernard to Fisher, April 20, 1765; Bernard Papers, Harvard College Library, III, 287.

⁴⁴ Salem Custom House Records 1763 to 1772, Essex Institute, 53.

toms official as a friend. Cockle was guilty of all of the charges brought against him; of that there is no doubt. The records of the ports of Boston and Salem and his own inadequate explanations are the best witnesses against him. Whether Bernard was dishonest, too, depends upon the extent of his complicity with Cockle, and John Temple succeeded in proving that there was amazing collusion between the two. Just as some present-day sophisticates assure us that graft in governmental operations is inevitable, so too did Bernard assert that such "conniving at customs" was common practice among American customs officials, to which the flourishing and illegal trade with the French West Indies was perhaps the best testimony. Temple was determined to stop such conniving at customs when it interfered with the collection of duties owed the Crown, and he protested rightly that "From Governor Bernard I have constantly met with every interruption that he could give me in office without any tolerable degree of safety to himself."⁴⁵ And this interference was one of the least of Temple's complaints.

In discussing composition for duties Bernard agreed that he had made some money on forfeitures but vehemently denied that this profit had resulted from any collusion between him and Cockle. One finds this assertion difficult to reconcile with the facts. Cockle acted upon Bernard's advice and collaboration in withholding the original letter from Anguilla. They took no action until the Collector had ascertained which ships had entered with false clearances so that Cockle's suit, from which he and Bernard would profit, would precede any claim that the Crown might make for unpaid duties. These secret actions while not dishonest in themselves, certainly prove that both Cockle and Bernard placed their own personal profit well ahead of the Crown from which they received their authority. Further evidence of collusion is found in Bernard's interference in the settlement of the charge that Cockle had accepted a bribe, and in the fact that Bernard helped in the preparation of Cockle's defense.

45 Temple to Whateley, September 10, 1764; *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth series, IX, 27.

Concerning the division of Portuguese wines and fruits between Cockle and Bernard there is only Toovey's affidavit to support the charge. One might be disposed to dismiss the charges with the statement that a royal governor would not lower his dignity in order to obtain some wine and fruit. But this is exactly the sort of behavior one might expect from Bernard. He was parsimonious, avaricious, and greedy to an extreme, so that even thrifty-minded New Englanders were forced to hail a new champion in this respect. His letters were filled with requests for more money, complaints about the necessity of supplying the needs of a large family, entreaties for consideration for appointment to posts granting a higher emolument, and constant appeals for favors, even including letters to Lt. Gov. Franklin of Nova Scotia asking for a winter's supply of coal.

If this had been the first time that charges of illegal actions had been made against Bernard, one might be inclined to dismiss the charges as political maneuvering, but as early as 1760 at least one important colonial official thought Bernard was guilty of such connivance against the customs laws for his own personal profit. England was at war with France then, and the French encouraged American shipowners to engage in the highly profitable carrying trade of the French Sugar Islands. Some colonial governors granted flags of truce to these vessels. Lieutenant Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland wrote to his brother that "For each flag, my neighbor Governor Denny of Pennsylvania received a handsome doucier [sic], and I have been told Governor Bernard in particular has also done business in the same way."⁴⁶ While this evidence is not conclusive, it will be noted that Bernard, unlike Sharpe and Lieutenant Governor Fauquier of Virginia, did not send letters to the Ministry or Lords of Trade denying his participation or condemning the practice. Amherst, the leader of the British forces in America, complained of the actions of the colonial gover-

⁴⁶ Horatio Sharpe to Philip Sharpe, February 8, 1760. Quoted in George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1852) IV, 376-7.

nors, and Pitt sent a strongly worded circular prohibiting the practice in August 1760, the same month in which Bernard became Governor of Massachusetts.

Nor was this the first charge of swindling made against the Governor in Massachusetts. Late in 1761 it had been hinted that Bernard had taken a bribe of two dollars from two Indians who came to him from Martha's Vineyard with a petition for redress of grievances. One of the Indians told the Reverend Jonathan Mayhew, pastor of the West Church in Boston, that he had paid two dollars to the Governor or to some person who he thought was the Governor. Mayhew repeated the story as he had heard it from the Indian to two prominent Bostonians, and one or both of these men passed on the story to others until it came to Bernard's ear. Bernard sent for Mayhew and delivered a lengthy verbal blast to the minister in which he accused Mayhew of using "liberty for a cloak of maliciousness" and of aiding in spreading a malicious lie. He also threatened the learned Doctor with a suit for libel. Mayhew returned to his home, thought the matter over for a few days, and then wrote a lengthy and detailed letter to the Governor in which he defended his action in repeating the story by stating that he had passed it on without embellishment just as he had heard it from the Indian, and he then proceeded with gentle sarcasm to chide the Governor for losing his temper and gave Bernard some instruction in the Massachusetts law for libel.⁴⁷ The whole story spread and grew, as such stories will, and the *Boston Gazette* helped Mayhew by publishing some brief cryptic remarks on the matter which were appreciated and understood by the many Bostonians who were ready to believe in Bernard's guilt.

Even some of Bernard's closest associates had difficulty in defending the Governor. The Lieutenant Governor, Thomas Hutchinson wrote to Richard Jackson, the agent for Massachusetts, in May 1765, that Temple has "a very

47 Mayhew's letter is not found in the Bernard Papers in the Houghton Library at Harvard. Mayhew's copy, with several letters to a friend in which he explains his part in the affair, is found in the Jonathan Mayhew Papers in the Chenery Library at Boston University College of Liberal Arts.

great prejudice against the governor, which it is said arose from an apprehension that he had not all that respect shown him which he supposed to be due." Perhaps this was true, but Hutchinson's defense of the Governor only adds to the mystery. Hutchinson made no attempt to prove Bernard's innocence. Stating that "Whether . . . the Governor . . . ever took improper steps will be determined in England," Hutchinson added his own cryptic opinion, "I do not know that he has done more than all of his predecessors used to do."⁴⁸

The significance of the Cockle incident was far greater than its immediate importance. For years the provincial faction remembered the facts or at least its opinion of the facts. An item appeared in the *Boston Gazette* two years after Bernard considered the incident closed. In the fall of 1766, after Bernard had negatived several Councillors elected by the House and had shown little disposition to work in harmony with the legislature, the *Gazette*, the organ of the Boston patriots, printed a letter from one of its subscribers, in which the writer congratulated the citizens of New York upon obtaining as Governor Sir Henry Moore, who had succeeded the unpopular acting Governor, Cadwallader Colden. The writer contrasts Moore's virtues with Bernard's vices and referred to Moore as:

A. G. that has not turned custom-house officer and *cockled* the simple merchant out of his interest to the prejudice of the King's revenue, at the same time representing to the Ministry his desire to crush a trade upon which he placed his great dependence to enrich himself.⁴⁹

Shortly before Bernard left the province in 1769, he read Toovey's affidavit, but he had to share the information with the people of Boston. William Palfrey, a promising young patriot, induced Temple to turn the deposition over to him for publication, and the *Boston Gazette* gladly printed the item.⁵⁰ Bernard was shocked at the Bostonian's audacity, vehemently denied the accusations, and

48 Massachusetts Archives, XXVI, 138; Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, May 5, 1765.

49 *Boston Gazette*, March 11, 1766.

50 *Ibid*, June 12, 1769.

blamed Temple fully in a letter written to John Pownall on the day that the item appeared.⁵¹ Palfrey forwarded copies of the affidavit and the article to the fiery English radical, John Wilkes, who was friendly to the American cause.⁵² Wilkes contributed a biting preface in which he referred to Bernard as a "little, pimping knave abroad" and "a pedlar in villainy." and sent it on to the London *Daily Advertiser* and *Morning Chronicle* which published the preface and Toovey's affidavit on July 22, 1769. The Boston *Gazette* ever alert for anything injurious to Bernard, reprinted the preface in the fall of 1769, after Bernard had left the province, and printed for the second time within five months the Toovey affidavit.⁵³

The republication of the deposition in England had little effect, except to embarrass Bernard upon his arrival. Bernard had already conceded his loss of his Massachusetts post and plans were underway to name his successor. The Privy Council, concerned with other charges made against Bernard, did not even consider the affidavit or the article at the hearing granted to Bernard. The appearance of the affidavit in the Boston *Gazette* was one of the last salvos fired against Bernard by the provincial faction. Whether it helped the patriot cause to obtain new adherents is not known, but it did come too late for Francis Bernard to attempt any reply in vindication. Indeed so many new charges had been made against Bernard that few people in the province or in England were interested any longer in the affair.

51 Bernard to Pownall, June 12, 1769; Bernard Papers, Harvard College Library, VII, 247.

52 John G. Palfrey, *Life of William Palfrey*, (Boston, 1848) 364, 365n. For an excellent commentary on the Wilkes-Palfrey friendship and copies of several of the letters exchanged between these men see George M. Elsey, "John Wilkes and William Palfrey" in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXXIV, 411-428.

53 Boston *Gazette*, October 9, 1769.

THE MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE ON THE HUDSON, 1780

NATHANIEL WADE AT WEST POINT

By HERBERT T. WADE

After Colonel Nathaniel Wade was discharged with the regiment he commanded in the Rhode Island Campaign of 1778, he returned to his home town of Ipswich. He then was appointed Muster Master¹ for Essex County on November 27, 1779, with the rank of Colonel. It must be remembered that the years 1779 and 1780 were dark times for the patriot cause. Enlistments in the Continental Line came slowly, the Army was reduced in strength and few important operations were planned or executed. However, in 1780 General Washington contemplated several projects for which he needed adequate numbers of troops, even if they were State Militia. The French reinforcements under Rochambeau had come to America and had landed at Newport, Rhode Island, as a temporary base, July 10, 1780, and a readjustment at Headquarters was under way.

Despite a general deficiency in the number of soldiers with the colors and the inability to provide arms, clothing, and food, for such as were enrolled, nevertheless the Commander-in-chief, as always, had certain definite plans in mind for both offensive and defensive operations, not to mention the mere maintenance of the all too meagre strength of his battalions. Failing sufficient men for the Continental Line due to the inability or lack of disposition of the individual Colonies to maintain or supply their respective quotas, militia of longer or shorter terms of enlistment was required to fill the ranks of the Army.

One June 2, 1780, General Washington from his Headquarters at Morristown, N. J., dispatched a circular letter to the States to accompany a communication from a Committee of the Continental Congress calling for certain auxiliary drafts of militia in addition to the States' quotas for the Continental Line. In particular he desired some

1 *Massachusetts Archives* CLXXVI, p. 561.

4000 militia men from New England for six months service, the whole to assemble at appointed places of rendezvous on July 15.

New Hampshire was to furnish 945, formed into two regiments, and Massachusetts 4725 men in nine regiments. These two State quotas were to assemble at Claverack in New York near the Hudson River and about 35 miles south of Albany. The Massachusetts Legislature² accordingly directed that such a force be raised immediately "from the militia by draft, lot, or voluntary enlistment from the time of their arrival at Claverack." These men were to be formed into one brigade under the command of Brigadier General John Fellows, Commander of Militia in Berkshire County. General Fellows, who had been colonel of a regiment of Minutemen, had served at the Siege of Boston in 1775-1776, and as a brigadier general had commanded Massachusetts Militia in New York in 1776, and at Saratoga at the time of Burgoyne's Surrender in 1777.

This brigade of General Fellows was to report to Major General Robert Howe in command at West Point on the Hudson River, by whom suitable provision was to be made for their sustenance on route and for their reception. Field officers were to be appointed by General Fellows, and Colonel Wade was made Colonel of the Essex County Regiment thus raised which was distributed among the various towns of that county as follows:

COUNTY OF ESSEX

Salem	74	Topsfield	13
Danvers	36	Boxford	17
Ipswich	60	Almsbury	18
Newbury	53	Beverly	37
Newbury-Port	59	Bradford	19
Marblehead	29	Wenham	7
Lynn	37	Middleton	11
Andover	40	Manchester	8
Salisbury	28	Rowley	29
Haverhill	34	Methuen	20
Gloucester	38		
			677

² *Acts and Resolves*, Vol. XXI, Chapter 105, June 29, 1780, pp. 568-572.

Such a regiment so raised was to consist of eight companies officered and accoutered according to the Massachusetts Militia Law of January 22, 1776. Suitable bounties and other hire were authorized where necessary in addition to the regular pay and allowances. Each man so enlisted was to provide himself with a good firelock, bayonet, cartouch-box, haversack, and blanket, for the use of which suitable compensation was to be supplied at the conclusion of the term of enlistment.

The schedule of quotas for this Massachusetts Brigade was distributed among the various counties of the Commonwealth as follows:

Schedule of Quotas by Counties for Draft of 1780

Suffolk	575
Essex	677
Middlesex	616
Hampshire	620
Plymouth	441
Bristol	401
Barnstable	223
Worcester	766
York	60
Berkshire	315

4,726

Claverack, a town about four miles from the east bank of the Hudson River and some 35 miles south of Albany, was selected as a rendezvous, probably to relieve Fishkill, where the militia was to assemble and where there were extensive stores and supply depots, as well as a general hospital, but where there were the same deficiencies of organization and provision as was characteristic of the service of supply for the American Army in the Revolution. While General Washington issued the necessary orders for the assembling and supply of the Massachusetts Brigade, yet the actual providing for the same was quite a different matter.

Accordingly it was ordered that instead of Claverack the brigade should proceed to Fishkill, especially as the New Hampshire militia had provided for themselves only so far as Worcester.

For the Essex County Regiment which Colonel Wade had organized, the officers were from that region and had more or less military experience, in some cases only with the militia. The field officers were: Lieutenant colonel, Joseph Huse, who had served in Colonel Jonathan Titcomb's Second Essex County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia; Major, Caleb Low of Danvers, who had marched on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, and later was a captain in Colonel Henry Herrick's Eighth Essex County Regiment of Massachusetts Militia. The eight captains were:

Captain Thomas Mighill of Rowley
Captain John Abbott (Probably of Andover)
Captain Richard Titcomb
Captain Benjamin Peabody of Danvers
Captain Benjamin Gould of Topsfield
Captain Jonathan Ayer of Haverhill
Captain Addison Richardson of Salem
Captain Woodbury

For his Adjutant, Colonel Wade selected Lieutenant John Stacey of Marblehead, who had an excellent record of service including time in Colonel John Glover's Regiment, and had been Adjutant of Col. Samuel Brewster's Regiment. Accordingly it will be seen that the line officers selected by Colonel Wade were of usual but not uncommon competence, though he sought to get the best available under local conditions with a majority having more or less field service.

Frankly, these men were militia officers, probably not the best, but by no means the worst of those serving in such a capacity and with troops in no way inured to discipline and training as the Regular Officers, with whom they were soon to serve, had no hesitation in testifying. The companies of Colonel Wade's Regiment were assembled by the captains mentioned in the various towns of Essex County, as indeed were those of the other county militia regiments, and duly marched to (Great) Barrington, arriving there on or about July 25, 1780, and straightway proceeding to form a brigade organization.

In the meantime on July 22, Colonel Wade from Watertown on his way to the place of rendezvous, had written to the Massachusetts Council resigning as Muster Master for Essex County and recommending in his place Colonel Israel Hutchinson of Danvers, a suggestion duly followed by the Council on July 25, 1780. Colonel Wade apparently arrived at Great Barrington on or about July 25, when this section of his Orderly Book was begun with Orders issued in the name of Lt. Col. Daniel Whitmore. Colonel Whitmore had served in the Hampshire County Regiment of Militia and on July 4, 1780 engaged to serve in Colonel Seth Murray's Regiment which continued in the Massachusetts Brigade now being organized.

Why and by what authority Colonel Whitmore issued these orders in place of General Fellows, Colonel Wade, or even his own colonel only can be explained by the absence of these officers, for the Orders of July 27, 1780, as copied into Captain Peabody's Orderly Book³ are signed by Nathaniel Wade, Commandant, though referring specifically to General Fellows' Brigade.

Colonel Wade on arriving at Great Barrington found conditions quite similar to those with which he already was familiar in connection with the assembling and organization of militia units. General Orders of July 25, 1780, enjoined the troops against doing any injury to the persons or property of the inhabitants where they were quartered, as was only too likely when untrained and undisciplined bodies were collected in such fashion. Also the officers at once were ordered to prepare full returns of all men coming in, so that adequate and proper provisions could be issued to them for the march. That day the various companies were directed to appear on the parade ground north of the Court House at five o'clock in the afternoon for drill, and the usual guard was to be mounted, and at six o'clock the detail to be paraded near the store.

On the following day, July 26, 1780, the second entry to be found in Colonel Wade's Orderly Book for this tour of service includes the order to Lieutenant Stacey, Adju-

³ *Danvers Historical Society Historical Collections*, Vols. 18, 19, & 20, 1930, 1931, & 1932.

tant of Colonel Wade's Regiment, to receive and make out a true return of the whole number of troops assembled in the town, including officers of all ranks. All troops were ordered out for drill and at five o'clock in the afternoon were to be paraded. Everything was to be in readiness to march on the following morning if ordered. Again the General Orders of July 26, 1780, were issued in the name of Daniel Whitmore, Commandant.

Thursday, July 27, did not witness the departure of General Fellows' Brigade from Great Barrington, doubtless on account of the lack of supplies intended to be collected at Claverack, and the subject of correspondence between General Washington and General Fellows.⁴

In these General Orders for the first time reference is made to "General Fellows Brigade" and in the Peabody transcript in that officer's Orderly Book they are given as issued by Nathaniel Wade, Commandant, being headed "Brigade Orders."

Colonel Wade as the senior officer present now took command of the troops assembled and ordered the brigade turned out at five o'clock for exercise (drill) by separate regiments at places most convenient to the regimental commanders. He also appointed his own Adjutant, Lieutenant Stacey, to do duty as Brigade Adjutant, to whom adjutants of the several regiments, or some other proper persons, were ordered to send to temporary headquarters to receive orders at nine o'clock in the morning and four o'clock in the afternoon. All troops of the Brigade were to hold themselves in readiness to march on the shortest notice. Also a guard of 1 sergeant, 1 corporal, and 12 privates was set to parade at six o'clock and relieve the old guard.

The Orders of the following day, Friday, July 28, countermanded those for drill, but directed that the troops draw provisions which were to be cooked that evening and be ready to march the following morning for Claverack, though in the meantime orders had been received from

⁴ See *Letters of Washington*, (Fitzpatrick, Editor), Vol. XIX, p. 246, July 24, 1780.

General Washington that the Brigade was to proceed to Fishkill and West Point.

It may be assumed that the Massachusetts Brigade with its various units got under way the next morning, July 29. It is related in the reminiscences of Daniel Granger⁵, a drummer in Captain Abbott's company of Colonel Wade's Regiment, that they marched to Claverack where there was neither an officer to receive them nor supplies assembled for their use. The troops were billeted in farmhouses along the route and in the particular case of Granger at a Dutch farmer's home, who was most hospitable and to whom his squad reciprocated by protecting him from possible depredations of other soldiers. Eventually the Brigade reached Fishkill, where on August 2, Colonel Wade duly issued orders as commandant, though there is no documentary record so far ascertainable of such authority. On the following day the men were ordered to assemble promptly near the barracks to march for West Point. At this time there were four Massachusetts Regiments commanded as follows: Colonel Wade, Essex County; Colonel Seth Murray, Hampshire County; Colonel John Rand, Worcester County; and Colonel Ebenezer Thayer, Suffolk County.

West Point, which was the destination of the Massachusetts Brigade, was still in course of development as a fortified post at the time of its arrival. It was of great strategic importance, of natural strength by its location, and had been fortified according to the plans of the military engineers of the American Army. It had present and future potential strength, as well as evidencing elements of weakness and other deficiencies common to the American forces of 1780. Its strategic importance on a navigable and important river had been realized as early as 1775, by both New York State and the Continental Congress, and it was decided that it should be fortified with all the strength and resources the Colonists could muster.

In the design of the defences the Americans had the

⁵ "A Boy Soldier under Washington—The Memoir of Daniel Granger," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, March, 1930, p. 538.



THE BEVERLY ROBINSON HOUSE
Garrison, New York

From a photograph by Gherardi Davis given to the author.

Taken a few years before its destruction by fire, March 17, 1892.

This house and estate in the Nineteenth Century came into the possession of the Honorable Hamilton Fish and was occupied by his son-in-law William E. Rogers.

services of such European military engineers as Radière, Kosciusko, and Villefranche, while nature had contributed much in the way of surrounding hills and steep river banks, along with an ample plain where barracks, magazines and entrenchments could be constructed. The system of forts together with the massive iron chain across the River seemed to render the position impregnable to either assault or siege.

Such a position with its adjacent territory naturally became an important military department to be commanded by a general of adequate rank and experience, and here was placed in 1777, General Israel Putnam who made his headquarters in the Beverly Robinson House on the east side of the Hudson River, a mansion of comfort on a well cultivated estate. Later commandants were Generals McDougal, Heath, and Robert Howe, the last to be relieved by Benedict Arnold, August 4 or 5, 1780.

The fortifications of West Point as seen by Colonel Wade and his troops as they crossed the River doubtless can not be better described than in a statement in the handwriting of Arnold given to Major André and found on his person at the time of his capture. This document in the Library of Congress reads:

(Endorsement)

Remarks on Works at West Point. A copy to be transmitted to his Excellency General Washington, Sep'r, 1780.

Fort Arnold is built of Dry Fascines and Wood, is in a ruinous condition, incomplete, and subject to take Fire from Shells or Carcasses.

Fort Putnam, Stone, wanting great repairs, well on the East side broke down, and rebuilding from the Foundation. At the West and South Side have been a Chevaux-de-Frise, on the West side broke in many Places. The East side open; two Bomb Proofs and Provision Magazine in the Fort and Slight Wooden Barrack. A commanding piece of ground 500 yards West between the Fort and No. 4 — or Rocky Hill.

Fort Webb, built of Fascines and wood, a slight work, very dry, and liable to be set on fire, as the approaches are very easy, without defenses, save a slight Abattis.

Fort Wyllys, built of stone, 5 feet high, the work above

plank filled with Earth, the stone work 15 feet, Earth 9 feet thick. — No Bomb Proofs, the Batteries without the Fort.

Redoubt No. 1. — On the South side wood 9 feet thick; the Wt., North and East sides 4 feet thick, no cannon in the works; a slight and single Abattis, no ditch or Pickett. Cannon on two Batteries. No Bomb Proofs.

Redoubt No. 2. — The same as No. 1. No Bomb Proofs.

Redoubt No. 3, a slight Wood Work 3 feet thick, very Dry, no Bomb Proofs, a single Abattis, the work easily set on fire — no cannon.

Redoubt No. 4, a wooden work about 10 feet high, and fore or five feet thick, the West side faced with a stone wall 8 feet high and four thick — no Bomb Proof, two six pounders, a slight Abattis, a commanding piece of ground 500 yards Wt.

Apparently Colonel Wade's first view and cursory inspection did not reveal all the items quoted, but he saw the post and its buildings and defences on his trip across. Landing he proceeded to the Commandant, Colonel Malcom of the New York Levies who had been ordered with his troops to join the main army below. Colonel Wade duly reported and received instructions as to the disposition of his regiments, doubtless being warned as the deficiencies in the way of barracks, tentage, and other necessaries.

The various defenses at West Point as planned had not been completed at this time, and there was much fatigue duty to be done by the garrison. Previously in the summer of this year General Steuben, who had been detailed here when Major General Howe was in command, had given the garrison troops a course of rigorous military training and had arranged for their exemption from fatigue duty, but on his relief and detachment to the Southern Army such work had lapsed, and the administration of the post was far from efficient. Details of men were sought for the supply services at Fishkill, and for cutting wood and similar duties. The York Levies were still at West Point when Colonel Wade's Brigade arrived, and what was most important by order of General Washington to General Benedict Arnold, that officer already had been put in command of the post and department in an order of August 3, 1780, with duties and responsibilities definitely specified.

Strategically and otherwise, West Point was a most vital defense, yet in any consideration of it and its fortifications its connection with Arnold and his treason naturally is predominant, though in the present pages this phase may be discussed only briefly. Aside from the Traitor's personality and his plotting, his administration of the post in August and September of 1780 was not marked by any great personal attention to points of importance or otherwise, with all matters of routine handled by his staff.

Few greater mistakes can be attributed to General Washington than his acquiescence to Arnold's request for the detail to this command. In spite of his brilliant record as a field general⁶ there was nothing in his nature to demonstrate any administrative ability or capability for organization which might be considered as demanded in such a post unless it was to be considered more or less of a military sinecure, too often considered before and since as characteristic of such a position. Added to this was Arnold's utter absence of principle and common honesty, as shown in his court-martial and various transactions at Philadelphia and elsewhere as well as figuring at West Point in a less conspicuous degree.

While the command of West Point and its dependencies was hardly adequate for an active field soldier such as Benedict Arnold, and was so stated to him by General Washington, yet in view of his ostensible poor health due to slow recovery from the wound received at Saratoga and the desire to have his wife with him in a position of reasonable security, this assignment could be understood quite independent of the treasonable schemes he was then developing. These Arnold realized could be carried on with greater facility in view of his proximity to the British

⁶ Benedict Arnold as a fighting general in the opinion of the British military historian Major General J. F. C. Fuller, *Decisive Battles of the U. S. A.*, New York, 1953, p. 92, "easily tops the list" of American Revolutionary generals. J. W. Fortesque, *A History of the British Army*, Vol. III, New York, 1899-1930, p. 410, wrote, "To boundless energy and enterprise he united quick insight into a situation, sound strategic instinct, audacity of movement, wealth of resource, a swift and unerring eye in action, great personal daring, and true magic of leadership."

Lines below and his contacts through flags of truce with their Headquarters in New York or the various intermediaries employed for that purpose.

Arnold did not propose to live on the post, which he had visited for the first time on June 16 of that year. He had in mind headquarters at Robinson's House, an estate belonging to the Tory, Colonel Beverly Robinson, an acquaintance with whom already Arnold had carried on treasonable correspondence. This commodious house was located on the east bank of the Hudson River, opposite and below West Point. With Arnold at his headquarters at Robinson's House were to be his two aides, Major David S. Franks, who had served with him in Philadelphia, and who was to bring from that place Mrs. Arnold, and Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick of New York who was to join the military family as secretary a few days later.

It must be appreciated that this post at West Point gave vital concern to General Washington in view of possible attack by the British Army, and also to Colonel John Lamb of the Continental Line Artillery, who became commandant of the Garrison August 14, for both realized its weakness due to the incompleted condition of the defenses and with a garrison insufficient both in numbers and quality along with inadequate supplies and ammunition. Yet always there was the important consideration that Washington's main army was reasonably nearby and available to meet with a considerable force any British advance which must be undertaken through a difficult country, or even should such progress be made any attempt at its capture would be a most serious enterprise of assault, or even of siege of an almost impregnable position.

As Colonel Wade's Brigade was ferried across the Hudson from the landing at or near the defenses at Constitution Island, the attention of the militiamen and their interest doubtless was aroused by the massive chain supported on a boom of logs stretched across the River. This chain, each length of which weighed some 140 pounds, was constructed in 1778 at the Stirling Iron Works at Chester and was protected by shore batteries.

With the New England troops moved across the River

the Garrison Orders of August 5 provided that returns of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire militia should be made as soon as possible, as the latter contingent by this time had joined the Massachusetts Brigade. From this time the Garrison Orders included the new levies from New Hampshire. Colonel Wade ordered that complete returns from the regiments of his brigade be made that afternoon specifying "where and what Command these troops are upon that are Returned upon Command The troops that are off Duty to be employed in Cleaning their Arms and fitting them for Immediate Use."

Brigade Orders were issued on August 8 requiring "A Return of all Carpenters, Smiths and Seamen belonging to the Several Regiments in General Fellows' Brigade to be sent in Immediately. Likewise Coopers to be returned in the above return." This information doubtless was required in developing the construction and internal economy of the post.

In addition to the various batteries, fortifications, and other defences as described, the New England militiamen as they marched to their camp grounds, could see magazines and storehouses of the post quartermaster and commissary, the latter it may be inferred far from adequately supplied and sustained, together with the supply depot of the engineer detachment. The incompleted defenses naturally suggested fatigue work for their development, while the plain itself offered opportunity for intensive drill, much needed by these countrymen whose training had been most meagre in their home militia organizations. There were no nearby towns for rest or recreation, and no evidence of an enemy at such distance as to occasion direct concern. In fact the picture was distinctly military, but without any indication of the future employment in the hands of the high command rather than any local commandant. For the Massachusetts rank and file it was not only an excursion to parts unknown, but a most novel experience.

It is not known whether the Massachusetts Brigade moved immediately into barracks on their arrival on August 4, taking over the quarters relinquished by Colonel

Malcom's New York State Levies. These barracks as shown on the accompanying map were adjacent to Fort Arnold, soon to be known as Fort Clinton, at the north of the plain.

For the Massachusetts Brigade drill straightway was ordered twice a day and the drums were ordered to beat "retreat" at sundown. While there was a shortage of quarters, barracks, and tentage at West Point along with other facilities, space or coverage was found as rapidly as possible. Perhaps not always to the liking of the men for Daniel Granger recalled⁷ that the "Barracks in which we were quartered, had been left extremely dirty, & very infected with Millions of Fleas, & other insects."

When and where Colonel Wade reported and paid his respects to General Arnold, who officially took command on August 6, there is no record, but from this time he received the General Orders which were duly inscribed in his Orderly Book and along with his Brigade Orders and the Garrison Orders were issued to the regiments of the Massachusetts Brigade.

Of course at this time there were under consideration at General Headquarters matters of grand strategy as involved in a possible operation against the British in New York, and in connection with the arrival of the French forces under Rochambeau at Newport, but of such developments there is no reason to believe that Colonel Wade was informed or consulted. Of the deficiencies at West Point it was only too obvious that soon he was too well aware, and it was most likely that when Colonel John Lamb of the Artillery detachment became commandant of the post on August 14, with the departure of the New York State troops under Colonel Malcom to the Main Army, he received adequate reminders though nothing in the way of reprimand or positive orders of criticism has remained on the record.

On this same date August 14, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick joined Headquarters and became military sec-

⁷ "A Boy Soldier under Washington—The Memoir of Daniel Granger," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, March, 1930, p. 554.

PLAN
des Forts, Batteries
et Poste de West-Point
1780.



FROM BARBE MARBOIS "COMPLOT D'ARNOLD ET DE SIR HENRY CLINTON" PARIS 1816

Note Key to Map on Reverse, 1 Toise 1.949 meters 6.4 Feet

KEY TO MAP IN BARBE-MARBOIS
COMPLIT d'ARNOLD ET DE SIR HENRY CLINTON

A. Magasin detruit	Destroyed Storehouses
B. Vieilles Casernes	Old Barracks
C. Magasin militaire	Military Storehouse
D. Muraille	Walls
E. Embarcaderes	Wharves
F. Hopital	Hospital
G. Batteries	Batteries
H. Horn-Point	Horn Point
I. Colline de Bunker	Bunker Hill
K. Duck-Point	Duck Point
L. Jardin de Kosciusko	Kosciusko's Garden
M. Prisons. Casernes	Prisons/Barracks
N. Ecole du Genie	Engineer School
O. Ateliers	Shops
P. Etang	Pond
R. Magasin militaire	Military Storehouse
S. Bibliotheque	Library
T. Quartier-General	General Headquarters
U. Laboratoire	Laboratory

retary for Arnold, in part on the recommendation of General Philip Schuyler with whom he had served as military secretary at Saratoga. General Schuyler had resigned in the previous year. Arnold's other aide was Major David S. Franks, who had served for some time with Arnold in this capacity and was with him when he assumed command of the department on August 4 or 5. Varick's room at Robinson's House served as Arnold's office, but much if not all of his personal and private correspondence and affairs were kept most privately by himself. At this time, August 14, it was announced in General Orders that Captain Lieutenant Hubbell of Colonel Lamb's Regiment of Artillery was appointed to act as Deputy Adjutant General to the garrison until further notice.

One especially significant comment by Arnold in a letter of August 8, 1780, to General Washington was that the New York Levies under Colonel Malcom ordered to the main army from West Point should be retained there, where their officers, and particularly Colonel Malcom, were well acquainted with the duty and could be depended upon, while the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Militia by virtue of having superior arms should be sent below to the main force. The New York men he stated had in general bad arms and few bayonets.

According to Arnold the officers from the State of Massachusetts Bay for the most part never had been in the service before and were extremely ignorant of their duty which threw everything into confusion; and in case of an attack on the post, from their inexperience he believed little dependence could be placed on them. The troops were "good and well armed."

Whether Arnold assumed that the Massachusetts Brigade of Militia would bring little or no strength to the Main Army where the New York Troops, better trained would more than suffice at West Point, and would present fewer administrative and disciplinary difficulties to the post without adding to its strength, can only be inferred. He might have considered this an early means of reducing the garrison, but it is interesting to learn that he considered the Massachusetts Troops "good and well armed."

However, as the fortifications at West Point had developed and it became a post garrisoned for its own defense as well as an essential strategic point for the American Army, the same deficiencies in the way of barracks, tentage, and other necessities and conveniences characteristic of the various army stations and posts, here became more than evident. Officially such conditions were commented upon by the commanders and other officers detailed to the post including Arnold himself soon after taking command. Indeed General Washington realized conditions here as elsewhere in the Army and the failure of the services of supply in general properly to function can be explained, if not excused, by lack of sagacity and direction on the part of the Continental Congress in its dealing with these problems.

Of course there was involved the matter of providing funds for the pay of soldiers and military purchases of all descriptions, and failure to adjust with the various State governments only too loosely bound together and uncertain of their control, powers, their responsibilities, and ability to raise the requisite funds by taxation or otherwise. Supply officers with the American troops, even when competent failed to get their requisitions honored, while transportation difficulties were equally serious. In short during much of the time in the American Revolution the troops in the Line and the militia to a lesser degree, had more than legitimate grievance against the service of supply and it in turn was far from able to secure funds, resources, and adequate powers from the Continental Congress, which in turn was unable through circumstances and the incapacity of its members, for many reasons both individual and inherent in its constitution to act effectively, not to mention adequately supervising the necessary functioning of such departments in the field of logistics.

Indeed, when any phase of the American Revolution is studied, one is brought face to face with the inadequacy, one might say often the absence of a properly organized and functioning of a service of supply, and a situation far from helped by the Continental Congress. Too often at critical times there were lacking ammunition, food, cloth-

ing, and other equipment, and vital medical supplies.

Any consideration of West Point as a military post in 1780, should bear in mind a number of fundamental matters that applied to the American Army at this time. There was a marked deficiency in men, food, clothing, equipment, and money, accompanied by a distinct lowering of morale and the inability of Congress to appreciate, much less relieve, the existing serious situation. Furthermore, this condition was reflected in the various States that were not filling their quotas for the Continental Line and meeting the drafts of militia, as well as sending essential supplies to the field forces. As a result larger forces, even if available, could not have been supplied and General Washington did not urge increased militia numbers. In short conditions at West Point in August and September of 1780, cannot be considered as anything more than static and far from satisfactory.

All of this, and more too, was realized by General Washington, and West Point was but one of the serious considerations pressing upon him at this time. He was in conference with the French Marshal Rochambeau, there were threats of military activity by the British Army based on New York, and important campaigns were in progress in the South. West Point could not be considered an isolated fortified post, as the main army after a projected march to the east now was back and located at or near Tappan, where it was available to resist any enemy movement towards the Highlands of the Hudson.

As soon as the Massachusetts Brigade was settled at West Point a substantial part of its duty was furnishing details for guards and fatigue work of various sorts. Lists were ordered made of carpenters, smiths, masons, boatmen, and shipwrights, all of whom could be found useful at the post. While such details naturally reduced the strength of the garrison available for drill and instruction, Brigade Commander Wade prescribed exercise and manoeuvres for each regiment twice a day, in order to instill some idea of military discipline and efficiency.

(To be continued)

CAPTAIN SAMUEL WATTS

Descendant of Thomas and Hannah Duston

By COURTLAND BOWKER SPRINGER

Captain Samuel Watts³, son of Samuel Watts² and Abigail Duston, was born August 29, 1716, in Haverhill, Massachusetts, and died about July 4, 1787, in Jonesboro¹, Maine. On February 15, 1742-3 he married, in Amesbury, Massachusetts, Hannah Foote, daughter of John, Jr., and Mary Foote. On November 13, 1755, he married, in Hampstead, New Hampshire, Allice (Elsie) Bean, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Bean.

George W. Drisko, of Machias, Maine, in his *Life of Hannah Weston*, published in 1857, second edition, 1903, refers to Captain Samuel Watts as follows: (page 9) "Served as a captain during the French and Indian War, covering a space of seven years, which terminated in 1763, during which time he was in many close engagements and always maintained the greatest endurance, coolness, and bravery." The writer has a certified copy of the Captain's commission.

During the Revolutionary War, Samuel Watts served in Lieut. Joel Whitney's company, Col. Benjamin Foster's regiment, in 1777-1778. (See *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, Vol. 16). Two of his sons, Samuel, Jr., and David, also served during the defense of Machias, and elsewhere.

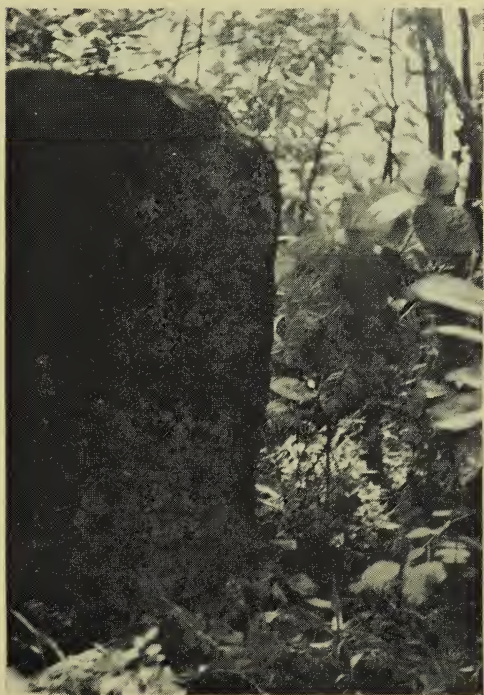
"Captain Watts built his house sometime about 1769 (in Chandler's River, now Jonesboro), very near the spot where Reuben Whitney's house now stands. His lands comprised the lots now occupied by Francis Schoppe" and others. (Drisko, page 21) There he died about July 4, 1787, as on that date his wife, "Elce Watts," applied for letters of administration.

Drisko states: "No stone, or slab, has been put up to mark the spot where he lies. His grave is but a few steps

¹ Capt. Joseph Peabody of Salem had some interest in land in Jonesboro.



BURIAL PLACE OF CAPT. SAMUEL WATTS AND WIFE ELSIE
JONESBORO, MAINE



STONE SLAB WITH INITIALS S. W. CLEARLY CUT, OVER THE
GRAVE OF CAPT. SAMUEL WATTS, JONESBORO, MAINE

distance from where his house was, being in the Schoppe field, at the southeast of the house occupied by Francis Schoppe. She who was his companion through life, slumbers by his side. Her death took place some years subsequent to his." (page 22) That she died after May 5, 1802, is evidenced by her having signed a deed on that date

The writer and his wife, Ruth, spent vacation periods of 1946 and 1947 largely in Maine, and in 1947 decided to find, if possible, the burial place of Captain Samuel Watts and his wife, Elsie. We spent much time in and around Jonesboro, making inquiries of any person we thought might know the location of the little family cemetery we were seeking. None had any definite knowledge of its existence, though one or two remembered having heard many years ago, that there were some graves "in a clump of hackmatacks," not far from the village.

Finally, after days spent in the Court House at Machias, going over old land records and charts, we decided to return to Jonesboro for further search. And this time, while in the Post Office and General Store, we met Mr. David Watts, great-great-grandson of Captain Samuel Watts, who recalled that in his early days — he is now a man well along in years — he had heard something about this little cemetery. Moreover, he knew the location of the property that had once belonged to Francis Schoppe! He very kindly offered to go with us, and crossing the Chandler River bridge, we drove a short distance to what had been the old Schoppe Tavern, now used as a private dwelling. Looking southeast from this ancient home we saw, at the edge of a field, a little knoll grown up with tamarack trees, or "hackmatack," as they are sometimes called. The intervening field was grown up with high grass and weeds. but Mr. David Watts said, "Let me go over and have a look." He did so, and presently came to the edge of the little mound, waving his arms and shouting, "I have found it!" We hurried over, and found the knoll covered with undergrowth, poison ivy, and weeds. Mr. Watts had already cleared away a small space, and, we as-

sisting him, finally dug up a stone slab from under several inches of earth and growth. On the slab were the letters "S W" clearly cut and about four inches in height. This indicated that we were right, and had definitely located the last resting place of Captain Samuel Watts. A smaller stone nearby was apparently the marker for his wife's grave, but no lettering could be observed. Drisko says (page 22) that others were buried there, too, but we saw no evidence of other graves.

We immediately got in touch with the regent of the D. A. R. Chapter in Machias, Maine, and with other persons in the immediate vicinity, and suggested that some effort be made by the local descendants to clear up this little cemetery and put some kind of marker on the lot to show who is buried there. Certainly Captain Samuel Watts, in his last resting place, should not be completely ignored and forgotten.

Mr. Springer's research thus called to the attention of the Haverhill Duston Association, led to the following information reported by Lena Pearson Low, State Registrar of New Hampshire D. A. R.

THE TRAIL OF HANNAH DUSTON

From Rev. Nathaniel Lawrence, October, 1815, as obtained from one of Hannah's relatives, more than 100 years after she was taken captive, we have the following:

"On the 15th of March 1697, the Indians made their descent upon Haverhill, and according to Indian warfare they divided their tribe into small parties and made an attack all around the town at nearly the same moment, so, on that day in and around the village they took and carried away 13 captives, burned 9 dwellings and killed 27 people, men, women, and children. Feeble as Mrs. Duston was, both she and her nurse sustained the fatigue of the journey, her wounded feet leaving blood marks on the snow. Their distress for the death of her child and of their companions, the anxiety of those they had left behind and the increasing terror for themselves, kept these unhappy women so tense, that notwithstanding all the exposure of cold, hunger and sleeping on the damp ground under stormy skies, they

made the distance of 150 miles of their continued ramblings Northward."

The first settlers of Nutfield, N. H., (now Manchester) had many difficulties and dangers to contend with. Soon after these emigrants had established the colony, a party of about a dozen from *Haverhill* headed by a man named Herriman appeared one day on the scene looking for trouble. They were well-armed and threatened to drive the Scotchmen away from the region. They had not reckoned on the fighting prowess of these Pioneers, who had fought in the Siege of Old Londonderry and who were not easily frightened.

A public religious service happened to be held on that day the Haverhill invaders arrived and the Scotchmen after listening calmly to the insolent command, informed them that their first duty was to attend this religious service. From an old record we learn that the assailants retired, at a short distance to watch, and were struck with the Colonists' solemnity and devotion; they gave up their hostile design, Herriman remarking "It is vain to attempt to disturb these people; we shall not succeed, for God is evidently among them."

The above is given to prove claim to the fact that the general route from Haverhill was to Nutfield across country, then Northerly. Three miles South of Nutfield Colony was what was known as Wigwam Hill which took its name from the row of wigwams which stood there. A lady 84 years old told me that her mother could remember seeing these and hearing *her* mother tell of these Indians who lived there.

Old Ezekiel, the last descendant of one of these few friendly Indians, lived for many years in a cabin on the land of one James Wilson, who came from Londonderry, Ireland, soon after the arrival of the first colony. 'Zekiel's cabin was in a meadow and a canal connected it with a pretty sheet of water about 300 feet distant, so that he could paddle his canoe from what is still known as "'Zekiel's Pond" to his cabin door. Incidentally our farm joins one shore of this body of water. Until within a few

years the canal was dimly traceable, and the meadow in cultivation disclosed several Indian relics, to make this tradition credible, that it had once been an Indian Camping Ground, and that it was here where Hannah Duston, with her captors, rested the first night after the "Haverhill Massacre of 1697."

From this sheet of water the trail, according to Mrs. Annie Bartlett Shepherd, Regent and Founder of Molly Reid Chapter, D. A. R., went due North to the Junction of Route 28 and 28A, thence northeasterly through woods now gone, to East Derry through the "Green Lane" so-called, to Beaver Lake, another Indian Camping Ground. This Lane passed between Mrs. Shepherd's barn and house to the present shore of Comeau's Beach. From here Hannah and her captives travelled northerly and up the river to "the Falls" now called Amoskeag to Penacook (Concord).

From the above related incidents of earlier historians, there is abundant proof that this was the trail of Hannah Duston, when she was taken to Penacook, where the brave woman won fame, in scalping the Indians, and with her companions made her miraculous escape down the Merrimack River to her home in Haverhill.

THE WIFE OF GEORGE GARDNER OF SALEM

By G. ANDREWS MORIARTY, A.M., LL.B., F.S.A.

Referring to my paper in the Collections for July, 1953, (p. 211), further evidence compels me to change it in some respects. It is to be observed that there is, at least, *one* instance where the wife of George Gardner is named in the records; in the Salem Court Records, where the birth of his daughter, Bethia, on 3:4 mo.: 1654, is recorded, she is called the "daughter of George Gardner and *Elizabeth* his wife." This shows that the wife of George Gardner was not Anne Freestone, as stated by me. However, there can be little doubt but she was her sister, Elizabeth (Freestone) Turner, widow of Robert Turner of Boston, who had died between 14 August 1651 and 3:10 mo.: 1651 (Collections, vol. XLVIII, pp. 273/4). This might possibly account for the settlement of her sons, Capt. John Turner (born 8 Sept. 1644) and Habakkuk (born 18:2 mo.: 1647), in Salem, where they may have been carried by their mother, after her marriage with George Gardner, and also for the erroneous tradition that George Gardner married 2ndly. "Ruth, widow of Capt. John Turner of Barbados," a person who never existed (cf. Collections, vol. XLIX, pp. 347-353). An examination of the account of the Hathorne family (New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg. vol. 67, pp. 248-260) shows that the name of Judge John Hathorne's daughter Freestone could not have been derived from a Hathorne-Freestone marriage.

Accordingly, we may conclude that George Gardner, born about 1619, married 1st *** and had i. Hannah bapt. 15:10 mo.: 1644; ii. Samuel bapt. 14:3 mo.: 1648; iii. Mary bapt. 10:5 mo.: 1653 (married Habakkuk Turner, son of Robert and Elizabeth (Freestone) Turner) and perhaps iv. George¹ bapt. 24:7 mo.: 1654. He married 2ndly. after 3:10 mo.: 1651, Elizabeth (bapt. 17 Oct. 1619) widow of Robert Turner of Boston and daughter of Richard Freestone of Horncastle, co. Lincs (cf. Collec-

1 George may have been the son of Elizabeth.

tions XLVIII, p. 268) and had v. Bethia born 3:4 mo.: 1654; vi. Ebenezer born 16:6 mo.: 1657; vii. Mehitable, born 23:2 mo.: 1659; viii. Ruth 2:2 mo.: 1665 (born about 1655/6), married on 22:1 mo.: 1674/5 Judge John Hathorne, by whom she had, among others, Freestone Hathorne, bapt. 26 Feb. 1698/9 (Perley's Salem vol. i, p. 284). George Gardner married 3rdly. about 1669, Elizabeth, widow of the Rev. Samuel Stone of Hartford, by whom he had no issue.

NOTE:—I am indebted to Prof. George McCracken of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, for calling to my attention that the mother of Bethia Gardner was named Elizabeth and for helpful suggestions.

BOOK REVIEWS

UNTIL VICTORY: HORACE MANN AND MARY PEABODY. By Louise Hall Tharp. 1953, 367 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Price, \$5.00.

The readers who have enjoyed *The Peabody Sisters of Salem* will welcome this new and fascinating biography which deals with Mary Peabody's husband — the distinguished educator, Horace Mann. Mrs. Tharp has told his story in her own inimitable style. She has dealt with the little and finest details which add immeasurably to the recreation of the person and the period in which he lived. One can readily see Mr. Mann walking elegantly down the street with his "greatcoat" or buying "one real stone and fine gold ring" for his engagement to Charlotte Messer, his first wife. Mrs. Tharp quotes freely from letters, diaries, journals, and personal papers which always adds to the quality of realness. Mr. Mann's life was full of activity—from a childhood full of work on the farm, lawyer, member of the General Court, Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, Senator, to the presidency of Antioch College. Throughout all of his life he was involved in reform and way ahead of his generation in ideas — hospital care for the insane, normal and public school work, co-education, temperance and anti-slavery matters. Mann spoke of his own life a short time before his death as follows — "When I think, after the experience of one life, — what I could do and would do . . . more and better than I have ever done for the cause of humanity, of temperance, of peace; for breaking the rod of the oppressor; for the higher education of the world and especially for the higher education of the best part of it — woman: when I think of these things, I feel the Phoenix-spirit glowing within me . . . I yearn for another warfare in behalf of the right . . . I would enlist for another fifty years' campaign, and fight it out for the glory of God and the welfare of man."

One of his students at Antioch College, Clay Badger wrote the following concerning him in 1857. "Fifty years hence, men will ask, Who saw him? Who walked with him? And was he such a man as he demanded that others should be? We do not realize our privilege that we walk under his eye and with his cheer. I suppose that there have come upon

earth, among all mankind, not a hundred such as he." There are chapter notes containing bibliographical notes and an index. Recommended to all libraries.

HENRY CABOT LODGE: A BIOGRAPHY. By John Garraty. 1953, 433 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. Price, \$6.00.

Mr. Garraty has here presented an intensely informative biography of a controversial political figure. Past biographies of Henry Cabot Lodge have been either by friends or opponents and written definitely from their point of view. Mr. Lodge had a varied career — teacher, historian, politician and maker of foreign policy. All these facets of his life and character are intermingled admirably with an account of his family to form a disinterested biography. Mr. Garraty in his introduction tells exactly what he is trying to accomplish. "How well I have . . . avoided the twin perils of the white-wash and the tar barrel is for the reader to judge. At least I have been aware of the problem. I have not hesitated to praise Lodge where I have thought him worthy; neither have I refrained from condemnation when that seemed proper . . . But my chief aim has been to show my subject's point of view." This has been accomplished remarkably well by an exhaustive research into the private papers of Henry Cabot Lodge made available by the Lodge family.

Mr. Lodge's activities in Congress from 1887 until his death in 1924 span an epoch making period in United States history and he was at the forefront in making decisions which had long reaching effects. The climax of the biography is the conflict between President Wilson and Mr. Lodge especially concerning the League of Nations. It is here presented in full detail and adds new light on this very misunderstood struggle. At this point one of the unusual features of the book is the footnotes by Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. giving his interpretation when it differs from the author's concerning his grandfather's stand on the League of Nations. Good bibliography and index. Recommended to all libraries.

SON OF SALEM, THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN MERRILL. 1953, 202 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. New York: Vantage Press, Inc. Price, \$3.00.

This autobiography will bring back pleasant and entertaining memories to those who have lived in Salem or are ac-

quainted with it. To others it will portray a way of life that has gone. Even in John Merrill's childhood the glory of Salem's trading days when her ships were all over the world was practically only a memory — a part of the sea captains' adventurous tales. But the houses were still full of the treasures (each with its own story) from China and far away places. Even as a child Mr. Merrill was unusually sensitive to his surroundings and he has portrayed Salem with a vividness and an eye for detail. He recalls with pleasure the wild barberry preserve, the blackjacks and gibralters, the visits to the Peabody Museum and the fun sliding on Sliding Rock. Another phase of his remembering is the following — "Beauty appealed to me and I was unconsciously influenced by its various manifestations. The dignity, good taste, reserve, simplicity and exquisite proportions of Salem's fine architecture helped mold my taste and create standards which influenced me when years later I staged plays in Chicago. Salem has always served me as a backdrop against which I have measured all places." His account of his life while on the stage in Boston reveals delightfully and humorously life backstage — little incidents, etc., which the audience rarely sees. The last chapters deal with his teaching and methods at the Francis W. Parker School in Chicago.

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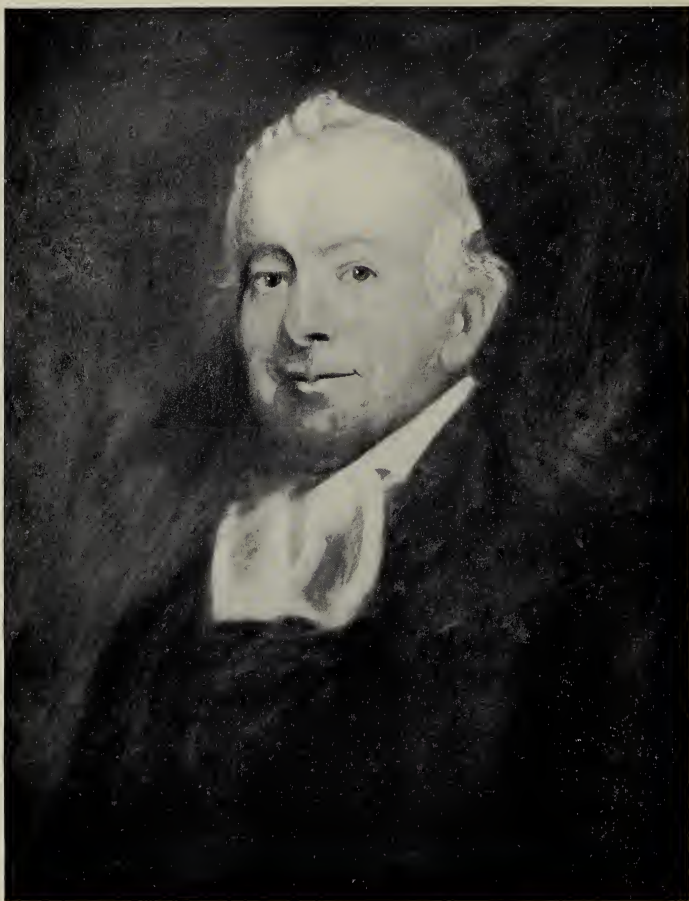
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REV. MANASSEH CUTLER, L. L. D.

1743 - 1823

ESSEX INSTITUTE

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VOL. XC

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No. 2

REVEREND MANASSEH CUTLER, LL.D.,
1742-1825

His Career as a Botanist

By MRS. WILLIAM DARRACH and MRS. ERNEST G. VIETOR

Brilliant, distinguished, versatile, Manasseh Cutler takes his place among the pages of this book in his role of botanist. Were it a volume of early American history or a biography of religious leaders of the same period, he would be entitled to a place of importance. It is as a botanist that he must be described here and the spotlight thrown on that facet of his many sided personality.

Born in 1742, he grew up and worked beside his father on a farm in Killingly, Connecticut, a farm through which ran the dividing line between Connecticut and Rhode Island. One can imagine him during the spring planting season listening with pleasure to the first song sparrow and looking with interest at the vivid green of skunk cabbage, for even early in life Cutler was entranced by the joys of nature. His father and mother were religious, industrious, economical, of exemplary character, and firm in the faith of stern Puritanism. His mother was "a lady of great personal beauty and strength of mind with an education in advance of her time." His father was "a peacemaker among his neighbors, friend to the poor and an intelligent, public spirited citizen." Manasseh Cutler's early life on the farm led to superb health and an interest in nature, New England schools to his intellectual development. Puritanism led to frugality and determination. He was described as "in person of light complexion, above the

common stature, erect and dignified in his appearance. His manners were gentlemanly; his conversation easy and intelligent. As an adviser he was discerning and discreet." His early practical experience under the guiding influence of his father accounts for his marked success as a farmer and horticulturalist. In his youth he attended country schools and later developed an earnest desire for a more liberal and thorough education. The Reverend Aaron Brown, pastor of Killingly Church, prepared him for college and thanks to this training, he entered Yale in 1761.

Cutler kept a journal, a daily record of his personal affairs, from 1765 to the year of his death in 1823. Nine years only of this journal are missing. It may have been lost in 1812 when a fire in his study destroyed many of his valuable papers. In the early pages of the dairy there is a delightful description of his journey to New Haven. He and several friends who were entering college at the same time, rode in to New Haven on horseback taking a young companion to bring back their string of horses. Cutler, distinguished for diligence and proficiency, graduated with high honors from college in 1765. In a thesis written while at Yale the title page contains an extract of sixteen lines from Virgil, commencing, "Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas." This seems, indeed, to have been the keynote of his character throughout his long and useful life.

After leaving college, he taught school in Dedham, Massachusetts, and joined there a congenial and convivial group of young men called the "Free Brothers Club." It was in Dedham that he met Mary Balch, the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Balch, who in 1766 became his wife. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1767. At this time he and Mrs. Cutler moved to Edgartown to settle the affairs of an aunt of Mrs. Cutler's. He became a successful merchant, fitted out whaling vessels, conducted business and practised law before the Court of Common Pleas. On his return from Edgartown he studied theology and was ordained pastor of the church at Ipswich Hamlet, Massachusetts, in 1771 where he remained as pastor for more than half a century. While performing his pastoral

duties with great fidelity he gave much time and thought to political and scientific investigation.

His journal tells of his receiving a Master of Arts degree at Harvard. He speaks of supplying the pulpit at Boxford and says "my discourses condemned as heretical!" Through all of his journal runs the thread of interest in nature. In the entry of February 8, 1771, he says "Trees this a.m. very much loaded with ice, which the Indians supposed predicted a fruitful year." His farm and garden throughout his long life received his personal attention and he was the author of the first treatise on New England Botany. It antedated by two years the "Materia Medica Americana" of Johann David Schopf which was the first work on general American Medical Plants. Dr. Jacob Bigelow, Rumford Professor and Lecturer on Materia Medica and Botany at Harvard in 1817, frequently refers to Cutler's botanical works.

Cutler felt that the wild plants of the New England states were too little known and believed that much could be learned from the Indians about the medicinal value of these plants. His later research along these lines resulted in an article in the first volume of the *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*. In this same volume appear two other articles of his, one on meteorology and another on astronomy.

It is interesting to quote a few bits from this botanical article of his for the amusement and enlightenment of our horticulturally minded readers:

According to sexual system, plants of the second order in the third class are all esculent, affording food for men, beasts or birds; and no one species of all those numerous genera has been found to be poisonous. The starry plants of the first order in the fourth class are chiefly diuretic. All the pulpy fruit of the twelfth class may be eaten with safety. Plants of the thirteenth class are chiefly poisonous.

Later he says "For the want of botanical knowledge, the grossest mistakes have been made in the application of the English names of European plants to those in America." And further:

The native Indians were acquainted with the peculiar properties of certain vegetable productions, which if thoroughly understood by the present inhabitants might be made extensively useful, both in physic, arts and manufactures and new branches of commerce. The Indians had discovered effectual antidotes against the venom of rattlesnakes which must have been a discovery of great importance to them, and may, possibly, be reckoned among their greatest improvements in the knowledge of medicine. Mr. Catesby mentions a fact, which he says was well attested, of an Indian's daubing himself with the juice of the purple bindweed, a species of the convolvulus, then handling a rattlesnake with his naked hands, without receiving any injury.

Of our well known friend, the skunk cabbage, which he names "Scunk Cabbage," he says:

Scunk Cabbage. Roots dried and powdered are an excellent medicine in asthmatic cases and often give relief when other means are ineffectual. It may be given with safety to children as well as to adults. In collecting the roots particular care ought to be taken that the white hellebore, or poke root, which some people call scunk weed, be not mistaken for this plant as the consequence might be fatal. There is an obvious distinction. The hellebore has a stalk but the scunk cabbage has none.

A few other references to his article may amuse our readers:

Black Currant: The tender leaves will give a tinge to rum nearly resembling brandy.

Sassafras. It is said that bedsteads made of this wood will never be infested with bugs.

Black Currant jelly very good for sore throat.

Elder Flowers if fresh gathered they loosen the belly.

Wild Rose, the blossoms gathered before they expand and dried are astringent; but when full blown are purgative. This species is generally preferred for conserves, a perfumed water may be distilled from its blossoms. The dried leaves of every species of rose have been recommended as a substitute for India tea, giving out a fine colour, a sub-astringent taste and a grateful smell.

Strawberries dissolve the tartarous incrustations upon the teeth. People afflicted with stone or gout have found great relief by using them freely.

His interest in the indigenous plants of New England led him to study carefully the drugs used by the Indians. His interest in the artistic and commercial as well as the medicinal value of New England plant material is shown in the above mentioned article. He speaks of the artistic merit of certain wild flowers under cultivation, the value of certain plants for dyes and other commercial uses, the medicinal value of many of our well-known wild flowers and shrubs. He is not above calling attention to the properties of some of these plants for beverages. One is puzzled how it was possible for him to keep so many glittering balls in the air at one and the same time, theology, the law, medicine, astronomy, meteorology, chaplain in the War for Independence, pastor of a Congregational church, headmaster of a private boarding school, a representative to Congress and last but not least, his contribution to botanical research. He is, perhaps, a less-known botanist to the layman than Jacob Bigelow and others, but his versatility and what he accomplished during his eighty-one years is nothing short of amazing.

Although one never finds evidence of criticism by his parishioners, on one of the pages of his diary he speaks of having someone substitute in the pulpit for him. He wished to spend the day in his observatory to record an expected partial eclipse of the sun!

While an army chaplain he still found time to make entries in his diary. He recorded an interesting experience in Rhode Island:

August 16, 1778 (Lord's Day). No opportunity to attend public worship. Almost the whole brigade on duty. Visited the garden of one Mr. Bowler, the finest by far I ever saw. It is laid out much in the form of my own, containing four acres, has a grand aisle in the middle, and is adorned in the front with beautiful carvings. Near the middle is an oval, surrounded with espaliers of fruit trees. On one side of the front is a hot-house containing orange trees, with some ripe, some blossoms and various other fruit trees of the exotic kind, curious flowers, etc. But the whole garden discovered the desolation of war and the want of gardeners to dress it.

A number of cannon fired from the enemy's lines this

afternoon, but no damage done. Marquis de la Fayette took quarters at this house.

August 17. Stood by the Marquis when a cannon ball just passed us. Was pleased with his firmness but found I had nothing to boast of my own and as I had no business in danger concluded to stay no longer lest I should happen to pay too dear for my curiosity.

Returning to Ipswich Hamlet in September, Cutler decided upon qualifying himself to practise medicine with the idea of increasing his usefulness and supplementing an income inadequate to the wants of a growing family. "With a mind well disciplined to study, his progress was rapid."

Again to return to the ever interesting diary: "I have spent considerable of an estate in the support of my family and now am driven to the practise of physic."

Later he says "Preached on Sunday in Marblehead. Home to Ipswich. Assisted two doctors in opening the body of Mrs. Brown of Wenham." Never a dull moment in his active life!

"October 27. Visited the sick (small pox patients). Rode to Mr. Willard's in the afternoon and carried my telescope. Viewed the sun and Mars. In the evening we measured the distance of some of the stars with a sextant and with Hadley's quadrant."

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences was incorporated on May 4, 1780. At its first meeting in the Philosophy Chamber in the University of Cambridge, Dr. Cutler was elected a Fellow. He faithfully attended the meetings which alternated between Boston and Cambridge.

On May 29, 1780. "A parish meeting. The parish sent to me to know if I would take the sum the Committee reported for the last two years (his salary as preacher not having been paid in full during the war years) which, for the sake of peace, I consented to accept, if paid in three months."

"July 3, 1780. Visited the sick. Saw Saturn's rings through my glass." One cannot help wondering whether his scientific instruments, constant travelling by chaise or on horseback and the many specimen plants he purchased for his garden and herbarium may not have been one reason

why it was difficult to provide for his family. Eventually he had eight children whom he scarcely mentions in his diary. Too personal, doubtless, in those early days when one's wife is mentioned or addressed as "Mrs. Cutler."

"July 10, 1780. At Salem. Bought a chaise from Mr. Cook, gave him £1,200. Paid him (depreciated currency)".

In 1782, Dr. Cutler established a private boarding school which he conducted for about a quarter of a century. His popular and successful boarding school prepared boys for college, even had theological students, and navigation was taught. The Honorable Nathaniel Silsbee, a colleague of Daniel Webster in the United States Senate, in a letter dated August 1, 1849 says of Dr. Cutler, "During the four years that I was Dr. Cutler's pupil, and a resident in his family, very much of his time was devoted to botany, so much as to attract attention and to cause frequent calls upon him from different parts of our own country and occasionally from Europe."

One cannot help wondering a bit about Mrs. Cutler who bore him eight children, managed to take into her house about twenty boarding students and who in her own right must have been a remarkable person.

On April third of '82 he "plowed and planted his West India seeds in a hot-bed" "April 24 Set out some mazzard cherries I brought from Mr. Balch's at Newbury and some thyme and hawk's weed. Budded several cherries and one plum tree."

In March of 1783 he writes "Tarred apple trees to keep the millers from going up."

"April 1, 1783. News of Peace between America and Great Britain."

"April 29. Eight years and ten days after the commencement of the war."

Because Dr. Cutler's life was such a full and active one we must pass rather rapidly over the next four years, noting simply that in January, 1785, he received the honor of being elected a member of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia. Early in June of the same year he was elected an honorary Fellow of the Massachusetts Medical

Society and later in June he was visited by Count Castiglioni who had come to this country for botanical information. Throughout his life he was close to the most cultured and conspicuous men of his day, men who shared his intense interest in science, religion and politics, and he corresponded with scientists and statesmen both in the United States and abroad.

Dr. Cutler advocated a government policy of sale of vacant lands to pay off the large post-war debt. The Ohio Company of Associates, of which Cutler was a director, undertook a service to the country by this plan. The success of this plan came particularly from Virginia and the Southern states. In a letter to Major Sargent who was helping Cutler to work out the details of the plan, April 20, 1786, he said:

Should you meet with anything new or curious either in fossil, vegetable or mineral kingdoms, I should be happy to receive specimens or descriptions. The blossoms of vegetables with two or three leaves are the parts of the vegetables I wish most to see. The best way of preserving them is to open the blossom and press it between two pieces of clean paper, taking care that all the parts within the blossom be preserved, and the time of blooming and place of growth be noted . . . "An early attempt to cultivate in that country a number of foreign vegetable productions appears to me a matter of consequence, among others, the Indian tea, Japan varnish trees, and European grapes. I have no doubt the tea seed perhaps plants too, may be obtained from the East Indies in a vegetable state."

In 1787, the Continental Congress was sitting in New York, and a convention which was framing the Constitution of the United States was in session in Philadelphia. Sunday, June 24, 1787 Dr. Cutler set out on his important trip from Boston to New York and Philadelphia. Although his mind was full of the important plans which he was carrying to Congress, he still had time to enjoy and record in his diary the beauties and wonders of nature. He wrote "in the distant western horizon, the Farmington mountains raise their detached heads, almost lost in the azure sky, and added great beauty to the variegated scene."

This trip was a lesisurely one and Dr. Cutler stopped off to visit several of his distinguished and cultured friends. He was prevailed upon to tarry awhile in New Haven. He had collected a number of flowers the day before which he had not had time to examine. He was with friends in New Haven and says in the journal "They were perfectly fresh in my botanical box. From them I gave a short lecture on the parts of fructification, separating and exhibiting the parts at the same time, which was highly amusing to the company."

This article being a project of the Greenwich Garden Club, perhaps it will not be unseemly to tell in Cutler's own words of passing through Horse Neck (later named Greenwich). It was on the Fourth of July, 1787.

Arrived at Napp's in Horse Neck about ten o'clock (p.m.). The extreme heat prevented my riding in the middle of the day. His house is situated on a very high hill of most difficult access. At a small distance from his house, the road ascends a precipice by different windings, which appear to me to be nearly sixty feet high. As you approach, it appears inaccessible but nature has formed crevices in certain directions which seem to have been designed for a road, and by labor it has been made tolerably good. Both Napp and his wife have much the air of a gentleman and lady, but keep good attendants and a house well furnished with everything necessary for a tavern, etc.

Bill 3 shillings and four pence, York currency.

Thursday, July 5. Rose very early this morning and was on my way sometime before the sun rose. Road very bad; the land in general rich and fertile; the farms abound in orchards; vast numbers of red cherry trees set on the sides of the road which were loaded with fruit, fully ripe. I replenished my carriage with branches full of ripe fruit as often as I pleased and ate until I made myself almost sick. The fruit is large, fair and sweet.

During his visit in New York he visited Columbia College.

In the second story over the hall is the library. It was once large but most of the books were pillaged by the British soldiery and a greater part of the shelves are now empty. Here I found a number of volumes of Dr. Hill's Natural His-

tory. It consists of thirty volumes, in large folios, but the greater part were carried off by the British. This is the fate of war. The engravings of the plants are well executed and it is the best work of that voluminous writer. It cost one hundred guineas and is the only set ever imported to America.

Cutler continued on to Philadelphia where he was graciously received and dined and wined. He took tea with Benjamin Franklin, visited Charles Wilson Peale, the famous portrait painter, and was much interested in his wax reproductions as well as his portraits. Later, accompanied by a Dr. Clarkson he crossed the Schuylkill River to visit the home of Dr. Bartram. Cutler says in his diary, "We found him hoeing in his garden in a short jacket and trousers and without shoes and stockings." Dr. Bartram was embarrassed to welcome visitors in such informal costume. His embarrassment vanished and he became very sociable when he found Dr. Cutler to be a fellow botanist with similar interests. The diary describes Bartram as follows: "I found him to be a practical botanist though he seemed to understand little of the theory . . . Everything is very badly arranged for they are neither placed ornamentally or botanically but seem to be jumbled in heaps . . . We proposed a correspondence by which we could more minutely describe the productions peculiar to the Southern and the Northern States."

Meanwhile he presented his plans for the settling of Ohio, and, thanks to his powers of persuasion, his sagacity and great ability, the act was unanimously passed. Several of his patriotic contemporaries helped in the wording and drafting of the plan but historians tell us that the main credit for the enactment of "The Ordinance of 1787" must be given to Cutler and he was entitled to great praise. He had two objects in view; first, the settlement of the new Territories of the United States for the benefit of those men in the Eastern States who had been impoverished by the war of the Revolution, and second, the foundation of new States there on the best system of government known to the States already in the Federation. He declared that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude should exist within the Territory." He had presented himself at the

doors of Congress with the terms of the purchase in one hand and the terms of the settlement in the other and both were accepted.

On July 21, 1788, Cutler set out from Ipswich to make the long journey to the new Ohio settlement. Long it was in those days of stage coach and chaise and it was August 19 when he reached Marietta, after a seven hundred and fifty-one mile trip from home. He wished to see for himself the "reservation" which had been accomplished by his efforts. He was given an LL.D. degree at Yale in 1789, doubtless in recognition of his service to his country as well as for his scientific attainments.

Serving as a legislator from 1801 to 1805, he boarded with friends in Washington. He describes frequent trips to Mount Vernon to call upon Mrs. Washington who had become a disconsolate widow. The years in Washington were busy ones, but he found time to carry on his botanical interests and to keep in close touch with the distinguished scientists and famous men of the day.

A great tragedy happened in 1812. A spark from the open fire in his study set fire to and destroyed many valuable papers on his desk. Among them was the manuscript of a book on Botany, one upon which he had worked for a long time and in which he had recorded the results of his research over the years. It contained, too, his correspondence with noted botanists at home and abroad. How disheartening it must have been to have had the work of a lifetime wiped out in a few brief moments!

One of his granddaughters wrote the following description of her grandfather's garden:

Dr. Cutler was deeply interested in horticulture and his large garden was adorned with many beautiful exotics and his orchards were enriched with rare and choice fruits. His passionate love of flowers was not satisfied with their dissection and classification but he enjoyed their beauty and fragrance as well. He introduced from England the buckthorn, a living, charming substitute for the dead, barren stone wall.

A friend and contemporary wrote of Dr. Cutler: "Dr. Cutler was a remarkably neat man, both in his person and in all his surroundings. His fields and his garden, and

he had one of the finest in the whole region, filled with a great variety of plants and trees, his barns, his sheds, and other premises were always in order."

The Honorable George F. Hoar, in his oration at the centennial celebration at Marietta, Ohio, on April 7, 1888, said of him: "He was probably the fittest man on the continent, except Franklin, for a mission of delicate diplomacy. Cutler was a man after Franklin's pattern, and after Franklin's own heart. He was the most learned naturalist in America, as Franklin was the greatest master of physical science. He was a man of consummate prudence in speech and conduct, of courtly manners, a favorite in the drawing room and in the camp, with a wide circle of friends and correspondents among the most famous men of his time."

The Reverend A. P. Peabody, D.D., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has written: "For diversity of good gifts, for their efficient use and for the variety of modes of valuable service to his country and to mankind, I doubt whether Manasseh Cutler has his equal in American history."

He died in his eighty-second year having been a botanist, lawyer, parson, doctor, school teacher, merchant, chaplain in the Army and a legislator!

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SALEM AND THE ZANZIBAR-EAST AFRICAN TRADE, 1825-1845

By PHILIP E. NORTHWAY

Much has been said and written about the decline of Salem's shipping after the War of 1812. Yet there were widely scattered evidences that this was true only in a relative sense, for by the exercise of ingenuity and determination, the Salem merchants for a long time retarded a decline in shipping which in the face of many larger economic, technological and political forces was in any event certain to come. The ideal of the old merchant adventurers had not been lost! The opening and fostering of the Zanzibar trade is an example of these attempts of the town to maintain its own economic standing, as well as its position in world trade. For this reason the Zanzibar enterprises are an interesting case study which reveals much of the goals, the methods, and the personalities of the Salem merchants.

Richard P. Waters, the Salemite, who through political maneuvering became the first American consul (indeed the first consul from any Western nation) in Zanzibar, provides an interesting example of the New England spirit. Waters was, almost, a classic New Englander. If at certain times, perhaps especially on the Sabbath, the memory of Roger Conant, that saintly founder of Salem, inspired him to devout meditations on the glory of God and lamentations for the sinfulness of man, on other occasions he fulfilled with diplomacy, canniness, and patience the vocational calling that had brought him into this pagan outpost.

This paper, then, has been written to portray the converging interests of Salem and Muscat: the decline of Salem which forced its merchants to spread out into lesser known regions; the rise of Muscat under Said bin Sultan to a dominant position on the African east coast. Attention is thereafter given to the development of early trade connections between Salem and Zanzibar, the position of the consul in the commercial relations of the two areas,

the nature, extent, and changing developments of the trade in the period of the first consulship, and finally the effects upon Salem.

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF SALEM SHIPPING

The date July 20, 1825, marks the opening of a new area for Salem's industrious shipmasters and merchants, when the *Laurel*, under Captain Lovett, arrived at Zanzibar after an unscheduled voyage along the Brazilian and East African coasts. Apparently the ship had no articles suitable for trade at this point, unless it consisted of exchange for provisions required for the rest of the voyage. In the following year the brig *Ann* sailed for Mocha and arrived home May 9, 1827, having made a stop at Zanzibar for goods to supplement those received at the former port. However, the first ship to arrive directly from Zanzibar was the schooner *Spy*, under Andrew Ward, two months after the *Ann*. From then on the little known island in the Indian Ocean assumed increasing importance in Salem's foreign commerce.¹

At the time of these casual voyages, there was little to indicate that they would become significant in the years to follow. Zanzibar was scarcely known beyond the Sultan of Muscat's circle and a few ship's captains, and the fabulous Orient still attracted the most attention beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, two lines of force developing simultaneously were to bring Salem and Zanzibar into close relations. The first was Salem's gradual loss to New York and Boston of the more lucrative, stable markets, a process which forced the rising merchant class to push out into untried areas in the search for markets for American goods and a source of raw materials.² The second force was the extension of the Sultan of Muscat's domain down the East African coast, which provided the

1. Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, "Historical Sketch of Salem, 1626-1879," Salem, Essex Institute, 1879, 163, 164.

2. Samuel E. Morison, "The Maritime History of Massachusetts," Boston, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1921, 213.

basis for his subsequent political, economic and mercantile policies. If the coast had continued to stagnate in the manner encouraged by the Portuguese, Salem could scarcely have promoted any more trade than these early ships had found possible. The convergence of Salem's predicament with the vigorous policies of the Sultan of Muscat provided the materials for developing an East African trade of world importance.

The codfish of the New England fisheries had provided a very humble source of the early fortunes established in Massachusetts, and though scorned somewhat by later generations, it appropriately became the state emblem, a reminder to the following generations of the important role it played in the old Puritan economy. That Benjamin Pickman, one of Salem's oldest and richest merchants, about 1750, had painted replicas of the cod hung on the sides of the front stairs in his home illustrates the honor accorded the cod in those days.³ With great quantities of codfish, Salem had begun its foreign ventures in the seventeenth century, first with the West Indies and then to many parts of the world by the first quarter of the nineteenth. For more than a hundred years Salem and the other ports of New England flourished on the trade which centered upon Europe and the West Indies. In return for the codfish and lumber, the staple products exported in the period up to the Revolution, the ships brought back large quantities of West Indian sugar and molasses, the sugar destined principally for Europe and the molasses for the distilleries which opened early in New England.⁴

With the rise of great merchant enterprises, there simultaneously developed a set of secondary industries, providing the various supplies and services required for shipping: block and tackle, ropes, sails, rigging, and sundry iron articles. Along the rivers and inlets small shipyards were built, wherever the forests were plentiful and easy of access. Salem from its earliest days had excellent ship-

³ Osgood and Batchelder, *op. cit.*, 184-186; Joseph B. Felt, "Annals of Salem," 2nd Ed., Salem, W. and S. B. Ives, 1849, II, 167.

⁴ Charles E. Trow, "The Old Shipmasters of Salem," New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, 44.

yards, surviving into the day of the clipper ships and down to its eclipse by Boston and New York. Of the numerous shipbuilders in Salem, the more prominent were the Pickerings, Hardy, the Becketts, Mann, Turner, Magoun, the Briggs, Jenks, and Hoyt. The Becket family alone built ships from 1655 to 1818 when Retire Becket built his last one, the brig *Becket* for John Crowninshield.⁵ The competition was strenuous in shipbuilding so that no great fortunes seem to have been accumulated to compare with those derived from trade. Among the more important industries developed to supply the shipbuilders, mention should be made of the duck factory, started in 1790, employing twelve spinners and four weavers at first, besides a number of sailmakers;⁶ the Salem Iron Foundry, established in 1795; the blacksmiths making the spikes, bolts, and sundry pieces; small boat builders providing the boats to be carried on the larger ships; carvers, for the intricate scroll work on ships (not to mention the mantel-pieces of the town); the lockmakers, who also turned to making nautical instruments; and the rope-makers, among whom the Vincent family figured for many years.⁷

In the period preceding the Revolution, Salem and the rest of New England continued to flourish until the British began to tighten the enforcement of the Navigation Acts and exclude the colonists from the benefits of her mercantilist measures. From then until the end of the Revolution, Salem's maritime industry fell upon evil days, saved from total destruction only by the extensive privateering and some remains of the coastwise trade. Shipbuilding and all its allied trades declined severely; at the end of the war the future looked black indeed, and Massachusetts as a maritime power was but a mockery of earlier days. Fortunately, for Salem in particular, the prophets of gloom were belied by the gradual recovery up to 1790, and then the rapid expansion until 1812. The days of the Confederation witnessed the emergence of the great India and

5 Osgood and Batchelder, *op. cit.*, 211-215.

6 James D. Phillips, "Salem and the Indies," Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1947, 158-159.

7 James D. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 159-165.

China trade, which grew rapidly, revived New England trade, and created a new group of fortunes in a few years. Boston pioneered in opening the Northwest fur trade with China, aided by some Salem capital, while Salem pushed out beyond the Cape of Good Hope to reach the rich markets of India, the Dutch East Indies, and Manila. In the following years these two towns in Massachusetts established a practical monopoly of the American trade in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, seldom venturing into the other's territory except at Canton and Calcutta where they seemed to shake hands. As Samuel E. Morison described it: "Boston was the Spain, Salem the Portugal in the race for Oriental opulence."⁸

The opening of trade with the most distant places on the globe, from Archangel to Alaska and Canton, led to a change in the size of ships employed. Prior to 1790, ships of over one hundred tons were the exception; for Salem's type of commerce, the smaller ships were adequate. Afterwards, to take advantage of the richer trade of China and the Indies and to meet the requirements of the longer sea voyages, larger ships, from 150 to 500 tons were designed; at the latter figure, however, the shipbuilders and merchants stopped out of fear that anything larger was unsafe.⁹ Moreover, those days of relatively small capital accumulation required a cautious use of funds, and the loss of one of these smaller ships was less likely to be ruinous than one like the second *Grand Turk*, Salem's largest, of 564 tons, which was sold in New York in 1795.¹⁰ The increasing size of ships was to the disadvantage of Salem particularly, since anything drawing more than twelve feet had to be unloaded by lighters, whereas Boston and New York had much more adequate harbors in addition to a greater dependent hinterland.¹¹ Despite these natural handicaps Salem prospered until the War of 1812 put an end to her heyday.

8 Samuel E. Morison, op. cit., 46, 47, 84.

9 According to Prof. Morison's account (97), this superstition was current in New England until 1830.

10 Ibid., 96.

11 Ibid., 96, 97.

The effects of those three years upon Salem's merchant marine were well calculated to make ardent Federalists out of even rabid Republicans, although the Crowninshields and some others still adhered to the party of Jefferson.¹² Shipping had but just recovered from Jefferson's embargo, when Madison declared war, thus reversing the brief period of prosperity. Of Salem's two hundred registered vessels in 1812, but fifty-seven survived to recommence the foreign trade at war's end.¹³ When war broke out, many of the town's ships were abroad and unable to return while the British blockade remained in force; besides, once in the home port, the ships could not legally leave again, unless fitted out for privateering duty, as the *America* and many others were during the course of the war.¹⁴ Many of the ships abroad continued to trade from place to place, accumulating profits wherever possible, until the British picked them off one by one. Many others were sold abroad and some sunk in battle. But for the rich fruits of privateering, Salem would have collapsed entirely. When the news of peace arrived, the people of Salem went wild with joy, despite the mutterings of die-hard Federalists who had condemned the war as useless and suicidal.

With the coming of peace there was a mad scramble to assemble goods and specie for renewed trading. Within a year twenty-five ships had been sent out beyond the Cape of Good Hope, and Salem began to reap the riches with the earliest returns from that area.¹⁵ But the post-war world presented new problems; Salem faced a new set of trading conditions both abroad and at home. The return of peace to Europe after over a quarter century of strife meant the return of continental shipping to the sea lanes of the world and a new source of competition. At the same time the continuous westward movement of the center of American population made Salem and all New England farther removed from the growing markets which had previously

12 James D. Phillips, *op. cit.*, 377, 386.

13 *Ibid.*, 422.

14 *Ibid.*, 421.

15 *Ibid.*, 422.

sustained them. The balance of political power also shifted to the west and south, which meant less favorable legislative consideration for the region's needs. In New England itself there was a shift of political power away from the trading and mercantile interests to the new industrial developments. The Erie Canal, started in 1817, completed in 1825, served further to channel trade into New York's capacious harbor; concentration of shipping interests in one area, similar to the later industrial developments around Pittsburgh, helped to make the later forms of it possible. The flight of local merchants to the greater centers such as Boston, New York, and Philadelphia accelerated in the years after 1815, and control of the more lucrative established trade routes gradually passed out of the hands of small ports like Salem. Since Salem was the victim of these many varied forces both national and international, economic, and political, her decline was perhaps inevitable.

Salem did not passively submit to her fate, however, her merchants faced the problem directly, realizing that they must exercise even more ingenuity and enterprise if the prophets of doom were not to be justified in predicting the demise of Salem as a major mercantile center.¹⁶ Much of the older trade was lost to Boston and New York, but the small Salem ships continued to lead in certain developed specialties like the Sumatran pepper trade. At the same time, coinciding with the growth of tanneries in and around Salem and due to the needs of the cobblers' shops of Lynn and Essex county, Salem maintained a strong hold on the South American trade, principally hides and rubber, until New York seized the lead in Para rubber after 1845.¹⁷ Throughout the period, hides were a principal material sought wherever Salem ships sailed, from South America to East Africa. The ships also pushed out into the lesser known areas such as the Fijis in the South Pacific, Mocha, and the whole extent of the East African coast. Venturing beyond the older trade lanes brought the Salem mariners into more dangerous waters; pirates abounded

16 Samuel E. Morison, *op. cit.*, 213.

17 *Ibid.*, 223.

in the Red Sea along the Arabian coast; and "the proletariat of Fiji would unite, and make Salem stew in the 'pot-houses' . . ." ¹⁸ Nonetheless, the trade continued and expanded gradually in spite of these dangers; the dangers merely seemed to make the Salem men more cautious, more ingenious, and more adept in the use of firearms.

The same period in which Salem merchants pushed out to the fringes of the trade routes ushered in the days of increasing industrialization. Some of the older industries continued to grow, like the tanneries, and new ones, like lead, oil, candle, and cotton manufacturing made their appearance. Salem's tanneries increased from seven in 1801 to forty-one in 1844; the tanned and curried leather was valued at \$398,897 in 1836 and eight years later at \$642,671. In 1819 the Salem Laboratory began the manufacturing of chemicals, probably to supply the needs of tanners and curriers; in 1826 the Salem Lead Company began the production of white lead, followed in the same year by Colonel Francis Peabody's lead business. Ten years later Francis Peabody began the refining of sperm and whale oil and producing sperm candles; a year or so later he started to produce linseed oil at a plant in Middleton with flaxseed imported from Calcutta. Rather later, compared to those already mentioned, came the establishment of cotton manufacturing, second in importance to the tanneries. The Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, incorporated in 1839, opened its factory gates in 1847, with a capital stock of \$700,000. To complete the account of Salem's early industries, brief mention should be made of Jonathan Whipple's varnish works, which grew out of Salem's new trade with Zanzibar in the early 1830's; in a later section more details will be given of this venture. ¹⁹

The struggle of the Salem merchants to retain some measure of their sometime supremacy, a struggle which showed favorable results in the development of trade with Zanzibar and East Africa, assumed a dual significance for Salem. The steady demand for cotton goods in such tropical areas provided a ready-made market for the Naumkeag

18 *Ibid.*, 220.

19 Osgood and Batchelder, *op. cit.*, 229-232.

Steam Cotton Company. Similarly it provided an outlet for the products of minor trades, such as the chairmakers, ropemakers, cobblers, millers, and glassmakers, thus providing a cushion to soften the impact of her commercial decline. From another viewpoint the profits derived from ivory, gum-copal, salted beef, cloves, and shells, supplemented by the substantial profits from Mocha coffee provided a source of capital. This capital provided a firm basis for the shift to manufacturing which made Salem a city of diversified industries. The names of many merchants in the Zanzibar trade appear on the rosters of banks, insurance companies, manufacturing concerns, and the like. This shift in emphasis is clearly illustrated in the career of Richard P. Waters, the first American consul at Zanzibar. Upon his return, with accumulated savings of \$80,000, he bought a large farm in North Beverly and became a gentleman farmer, besides a merchant; in later years he became interested in the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company, appearing on the board of directors by 1855. The same process was duplicated many times over by many prominent merchants.

In view of the effects the Zanzibar trade had on Salem, it is purposed next to discuss the various developments in the Sultanate of Muscat that made possible increasingly effective and profitable trade relations in these years, 1825-1845.

II

ZANZIBAR AND THE EXPANSION OF MUSCAT

Zanzibar in 1825 had a long history of over a thousand years of contact with Arab peoples. The first large-scale recorded settlement of Omani on the island occurred in 695 and was followed by intermittent migration from the homeland until the appearance in 1503 or 1504 of the Portuguese, who retained control of the island until the latter half of the seventeenth century when the Omani aided the coastal Arabs north of Mozambique to throw off

the infidel Christian rule.²⁰ This does not mean, however, that the Moslems were politically united. No tight control over the East African settlements of Arab traders in the major ports could be maintained under the existing conditions of communication and naval development. Although the Omani were the major group of Arabs throughout the coastal region, the fluctuating affairs at home permitted the rise of practically independent rulers from Mombasa to Mogadishu. In 1746, Zanzibar succumbed to the first of the governors sent down by the Al bu Said family which, after a three-year struggle, had gained control of Oman under Ahmed bin Said in 1744. In this year Ahmed ousted the Persians whom he had in 1741 called in to help depose the Yaareba dynasty.²¹ The new governor of Zanzibar, Abdullah bin Jaad, promptly subdued the towns of Kilwa and Marka, on the mainland, which with Zanzibar was the practical extent of that dynasty's possessions in East Africa until Seyyid Said had consolidated his holdings in 1828 and become engrossed with the idea of founding an East African empire.²²

The Mazeri dynasty of Mombasa, the most powerful of the local, independent tribes, continually threatened the Said holdings until Seyyid Said sent small forces in 1817 and 1822 to subdue Patte, Brawa, and Siu. At the same time the governor of Zanzibar equipped a force which seized the neighboring island of Pemba from the Mazeri garrison, and the following year, 1823, the Mazeri chief, Abdullah bin Ahmed, died after a vain attempt to get aid from the Bombay government. A short interval of British intervention was begun by Captain William F. Owen of the ship *Leven* in December, 1824 when the Mazeri regent appealed for aid as the forces from Oman arrived before Mombasa. Owen accepted the suzerainty of Mombasa, proceeded to Pemba expecting to occupy it, but,

20 W. H. Ingrams, "Zanzibar, Its History and Its People," London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1931, 73-76, 96-99; R. Coupland, "East Africa and Its Invaders." Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938, 66, 67.

21 Rudolph Said-Ruete, "Said bin Sultan," London, Alexander-Ouseley, Lt., 1929, 1-3; Ingrams, op. cit., 120.

22 Rudolph Said-Ruete, op. cit., 48-51.

failing this, he occupied Barawa in January, 1825 and arranged a temporary agreement with the governor of Zanzibar until further orders should be received from Bombay. The following year the British detachment was ordered to withdraw, although the possibility of establishing a protectorate continued to be discussed in London for years. This departure left Seyyid Said an opportunity to continue his campaign of conquest. The British withdrawal was, nevertheless, perfectly logical since they had strongly supported Said in Oman during the years when Napoleon's schemes threatened their dominions in India.²³ In the meantime the Mazeri regretted offering the British any measure of political control and were in a threatening mood.²⁴

Withdrawal of the British protectorate left Mombasa still in the hands of the Mazeri, a thorn in Said's flesh. Affairs in Oman being somewhat unsettled at this time, Seyyid Said was unable to send any further troops to subdue the city immediately; he made his plans, however, and in 1828 appeared before the city with a fleet of ships and about 1200 men. By means of bombardment and secret negotiations, he concluded a treaty which gave him control of the fort and half the customs duties, and which recognized his suzerainty in return for the concession to the Mazeri family of local political control. Upon leaving Mombasa, Said visited his loyal colony of Zanzibar, but after three months more trouble in Muscat forced him to return home.²⁵ Meanwhile the success at Mombasa led to the peaceful submission of other Arab ports, with the exception of Mogadishu which the governor of Zanzibar proceeded to subdue with the troops sent for the earlier campaign against the Mazeri. At the same time the new governor of Mombasa arrived from Pemba, upon Said's orders, only to have the Mazeri refuse to accept him and proceed to starve the fort into submission. Thus the town became free once more while Said was ordering affairs at home and attempting to add the island of Bahrein to his

23 Ibid., 48-50.

24 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 264-270.

25 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 272-274.

dominions in the Persian Gulf.²⁶ Once again Said led an expedition again Mombasa in 1829; repeated assaults were made upon Fort Jesus which commanded the town, but all were repulsed with heavy losses. In the end Said offered to renew the old treaty; and Salim, the Mazeri chieftain, accepted it after deleting the one provision absolutely essential to any effective control, the right of the Sultan to garrison the fort.

Early in 1830, Seyyid Said made his second visit to Zanzibar and gave orders to begin the construction of his palace at the seashore and the planting of clove-trees and rice on his plantations.²⁷ As usual he was recalled to Muscat by another uprising, but in 1831 he returned to Zanzibar for a short while. Then internal dissension broke out once more in Muscat; and the British advised the Sultan to rule in person or risk the possibility of losing all control. After a renewed struggle with the Wahabi, Said offered to resume the old religious tribute to insure peace from that direction. With stability thus established more permanently at home, the Sultan again took up his plans for East Africa.²⁸

Control of East Africa in 1833 depended upon possession of the impregnable fortress of Mombasa, and the Sultan resolved to accomplish that by one means or another. Not having enough force of his own to storm the town and fort, he sent a mission to Queen Ranavolana of Madagascar, offering his hand in marriage and asking for several thousand troops. As he sailed with another expedition for the third or fourth attempt on Mombasa, Said met his mission returning from Madagascar with the queen's polite rejection of the marriage proposal, an offer of a young princess as a substitute, and all the men he might want.²⁹ Being fearful, however, of risking his alliance with the British, essential in the control of Muscat, Said proceeded to attack Mombasa without the aid of allies, and once again his Arab troops failed to take the

26 *Ibid.*, 276.

27 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 276-277.

28 *Ibid.*, 278-279.

29 *Ibid.*, 279-282.

fort. The Sultan sailed on to Zanzibar. He must have realized then that other means would have to be employed, but the appropriate time for ruse and bribery was not to arrive for several years. Without the traditional jealousy and bickering of Arab families, he would have had a very difficult time in actually subduing Mombasa. As it happened, the death of Sheikh Salim of the Mezeri in 1835, with the succession in dispute, created a stalemate that was not resolved until a year later when Rashid was duly elected. Meanwhile some of the Arabs and Swahili of the town, outside the Mazeri clan, had become disgusted at the unsettled state of affairs, and asked Said to intervene.³⁰ This the Sultan did, but having learned his bitter lessons well, he appeared before the town with a large force at hand, and firmly resolved to gain the day by means of money and cleverness. Rashid's rivals were stirred up, other Arabs and Swahili were bribed, and Rashid found himself without support. The turning point came when Said threw over his allies by offering to appoint Rashid as governor if he would reside in the town and turn the fort over to the Sultan. Thus it happened that, with Rashid's acceptance, Said gained the commanding fort without further loss of life. But in Said's estimation, this was merely the preliminary settlement, since he had little faith that the Mazeri would keep it as a permanent agreement.³¹

The sequel to the occupation of Fort Jesus and the bargain with Rashid is one of Seyyid Said's still less honorable exploits. Soon afterwards he invited Rashid and his two uncles to Zanzibar, where he offered to set them up with a large pension and a substantial gift; after they declined the generous offer, Said continued to treat them as highly honored guests before sending them back to Mombasa. The final act in the melodrama, however, was performed with less felicity by the Sultan's second son, Khalid, who proceeded to Mombasa to carry out a nefarious conclusion. By deceptive means Khalid lured the leading members of the Mazeri family into the fort, for

30 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 292.

31 *Ibid.*, 292.

political discussions ostensibly; once inside the fort, they were bound and gagged, then transferred to the Sultan's ship in the harbor and taken to Zanzibar. Soon they were on the way to Bunder Abbas in the Persian Gulf, never to be heard from again. Thus by 1838, soon after the arrival of the first American consul at Zanzibar, Seyyid Said had eliminated the strongest of his native rivals in East Africa and was ready to develop the economic possibilities of his domain. Simultaneously Lord Palmerston had quashed any further ideas in London of pursuing Captain Owen's ideas of a protectorate in Said's region.³²

The island of Zanzibar, of coralline formation, located in 6° S. latitude, 54 miles long and 24 across, with an area of 640 square miles, was the focal point for Seyyid Said's plans in 1838.³³ Undoubtedly since the late 'Twenties or early 'Thirties he had become increasingly convinced that Zanzibar was far more desirable as a seat of government than Muscat. Nature had favored it abundantly and the Sultan decided to take advantage of the fact. Its climate was equable throughout the year and far more alluring than Muscat's torrid heat during most of the year; a land where fell 60 inches of rain a year was a heavenly contrast to the deserts of Oman,³⁴ and the island, moreover, was fertile and well drained, very suitable for a wide range of tropical products. Aside from the natural advantages there were many others of even greater importance to a merchant prince like Said. In this period Zanzibar played a role, similar to London's, as an entrepôt for the products of the coast and interior of East Africa. This hinterland provided an ample supply of peaceful natives for the slave trade, the Sultan's chief source of revenue, an abundance of ivory, palm-oil, gum-copal, gum-arabic, hides and spices, while Zanzibar provided an excellent harbor, the finest supply of drinking water on the whole coast, and relative immunity from the intermittent tribal warfare of the mainland. In addition the factional troubles inherited from ages past in Muscat were almost

32. Coupland, *op. cit.*, 292-294.

33 W. H. Ingrams, *op. cit.*, 20.

34 W. H. Ingrams, *op. cit.*, 20.

entirely absent on the island. Thus the Sultan had at least one stable base of operations, free as well from the sporadic uprisings of tribes and religious groups in Asia Minor and Arabia. These considerations prompted Seyyid Said to transfer his headquarters to Zanzibar in 1840. He still retained control of Muscat by leaving his son Thuwainy in charge and visiting the homeland periodically until his death in 1856.³⁵ In such wise the Sultanate of Muscat had achieved economic and political hegemony over most of East Africa when Richard P. Waters, the first American consul and the first consul from the Western world, arrived to take up his duties in 1837.

III

THE COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF ZANZIBAR

The arrival in Zanzibar of American ships in 1825 appears to have been quite accidental insofar as the ship-owners were concerned, except that in this period of early commerce, the captains were expected to take advantage of every possibility for trade. As a point intermediate between Europe and the Orient, Zanzibar and the East African coast had been practically overlooked in the scramble for the commercial riches of China, India and the East Indies. Since the Salem merchants, after the War of 1812, increasingly fell behind Boston and New York in the race for commercial supremacy, her captains ventured into the lesser known areas, of which Zanzibar was one of the more important. But why, one is tempted to ask, should this port become the major entrepôt on the east coast instead of others like Mombasa or Mozambique? In part the answers relate to the political and geographical conditions of the time; in part, to the heritage of the ruling population.

For several centuries the Portuguese had ruled the coast and built sizeable colonies in these three ports, the strategic locations for effective control. By 1825 the Portuguese holdings had been reduced to the areas surrounding Mo-

35 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 295-298.

zambique, while the Arabs, led by Syed Said, had recovered the rest of the north. But, given the relative insignificance of all these ports, it is an interesting contrast to see how Zanzibar took the lead and Mozambique steadily continued in the old course set by the decaying Portuguese empire. The primary fault for the latter's decline can be readily assigned to the shortsighted commercial policy established by the Portuguese authorities, who were apparently still under the sway of the mercantilist theory of national wealth, while the Sultan of Muscat operated under no such preconceptions. In 1834 when Edmund Roberts, United States Plenipotentiary, was negotiating a commercial treaty with Muscat, he reported that the import duties levied by the Portuguese on American trade amounted to twenty-four percent,³⁶ while seven and a half per cent was the usual under Syed Said.³⁷ With the conclusion of the commercial treaty with Muscat, the gap increased even more, since the Sultan agreed to a flat five per cent duty on imports alone and to abolish the extra exactions for pilotage, anchorage, and export fees.³⁸ By the time Roberts visited Mozambique on his return to the United States from Muscat, he states: "The duties and exactions on foreign commerce are so exorbitant, but more particularly on the American trade, that our flag has almost entirely deserted all the Portuguese ports in West as well as East Africa."³⁹

At this early date, when Americans arrived on the scene, the possibilities for a profitable trade were almost non-existent. The Arabs, Portuguese, and French had developed a lucrative trade in "black ivory," which only decreased years later as the British applied strong pressure on Syed Said and the Europeans also. From some British sources it is reported that even some American vessels were engaged in the trade, buying the slaves at Mozambique principally and transporting them to Brazil and

36 Edmund Roberts, "Embassy to the Eastern Courts," New York, Harper and Bros., 1837, 375.

37 *Ibid.*, 362.

38 *Ibid.*, 362.

39 *Ibid.*, 375.

Spanish America.⁴⁰ Between 1820 and 1825 the port of Majunga on Madagascar had become an important source of hides and beef for American traders, who salted the beef for transport to the Havana market and brought the hides home to the tanneries.⁴¹ At Zanzibar itself, the opportunities were strictly limited, both by the exactions of the Governor and the chaotic state of political control of the mainland. The natural resources of the island, consisting principally of gum-copal, cocoanuts, various tropical fruits and palm-oil, were hardly sufficient to support an extensive commerce unless supplemented by slaves and ivory from the mainland. When the brig *Ann* stopped there in 1826, Captain Lovett merely picked up some corn, rice, and elephants' teeth, perhaps because he was looking for a cargo of grain to fill a sudden demand arising at Mocha when he had arrived there a few months earlier.⁴²

Zanzibar, at the time Captain Lovett landed, was a loyal dependency of the Sultan, but the latter as yet exercised little control and had only begun to see its possibilities as a base for an African empire. The Governor levied a series of charges on the foreign traders, the import duty amounting to seven and a half per cent,⁴³ while the system of farming out the custom revenues to a Banyan merchant permitted *sub rosa* charges to fatten the account of the collector. Nonetheless the charges were considerably less than those at Portuguese ports, and trade at Majunga became less profitable to Americans with the imposition in later years of a ten per cent duty on all exports and imports.⁴⁴ Thus as conditions improved at Zanzibar, they were reversed in Madagascar.

For some time the gum-copal gathered at Zanzibar and on the mainland opposite had been shipped in the Sultan's ships to the Indian market. In the case of gum-copal the

40 R. Coupland, *op. cit.*, 364.

41 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 365.

42 Log of the brig *Ann*. A different account for the origin of American trade at Zanzibar is given in Osgood, "Notes of Travel," 54.

43 Edmund Roberts, *op. cit.*, 362.

44 J. B. F. Osgood, "Notes of Travel," Salem, Creamer, 1854, 7.

expansion of the market to include America was no part of the Sultan's plans, whereas the development of the clove trade was due to his direct policy. Until this period the Dutch had maintained a tight control over the supply of this spice, with the exception of the few plants and seeds of clove and nutmeg which had been smuggled into Mauritius in 1770. A few of these survived in the years following, but they hardly constituted a threat to Dutch control.⁴⁵ 1818 marks the first appearance of clove and nutmeg cultivation on Zanzibar, a venture started by a private individual who lost everything in the attempt to cultivate them in a new land, after he had procured them in some way from the French.⁴⁶ Sporadic and uncertain as such individual attempts might be, they proved to the Sultan that Zanzibar was a suitable place for cultivation. Thus in 1828 when he began his extensive plantation outside the town, Syed Said started raising these spices. With very high prices prevailing for cloves, he began to encourage its widespread cultivation by passing regulations requiring every landholder to plant a set proportion of his estate with the clove trees.⁴⁷ Likewise he applied the same policy to his subjects on the island of Pemba, a few miles to the north. However, in 1835 when Ruschenberger visited the island, the trees had not begun to bear fully, and to all practical purposes, the Dutch for a few more years, at least, were to retain their unrestricted monopoly.⁴⁸ While concentrating his attention on cloves, Said didn't neglect other possibilities, experimenting with sugar cane (even hiring foreign engineers to build a sugar mill), and somewhat later with indigo.⁴⁹ Neither of these proved to be very profitable, while time and the fertile soil of the two islands confirmed the wisdom of Said in deciding upon cloves for the principal product. The remaining agricultural products, consisted of cocoanuts, mangoes,

45 W. S. W. Ruschenberger, "A Voyage Round the World," Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1838, 50, 51.

46 *Ibid.*, 51. Also Said-Ruete, *op. cit.*, 74.

47 Said-Ruete, *op. cit.*, 74.

48 Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, 51.

49 Said-Ruete, 74.

colombo, tobacco, cassada, bananas and grain. Along with an abundant supply of good fresh water, poultry and meat, these products made Zanzibar an excellent place for provisioning ships.

In addition to these policies regarding the agricultural development of the islands, Syed Said embarked on an economic policy designed to make Zanzibar the commercial entrepôt for East Africa, a role similar to London's, but on a more limited scale. This economic program evolved in three directions simultaneously; deliberate measures to expand the scope and amount of materials for trading purposes; regulations designed to channel these products into Zanzibar where exchange facilities existed or would be encouraged; and lastly, but equally important, various negotiations aimed at broadening the foreign markets. In the first category come the measures to develop the clove industry on Zanzibar and Pemba supplemented by those specifically intended for the mainland opposite; in the second, the regulation concerned with slaves and copal on the mainland and the direct aids at Zanzibar to encourage business firms to establish quarters there; in the last, the succession of commercial treaties negotiated from 1833 on. At the same time that he effected these public measures, Syed Said steadily widened the scope of his personal business ventures with the sole object of increasing his personal revenue beyond that of a ruler solely interested in governmental duties on trade.⁵⁰

The first course of action designed to expand the types and amounts of products for trade involved a dual policy; on the mainland, it entailed the establishment of a form of hegemony over a wide expanse of territory and the direct furtherance of commercial schemes; on the islands, it was the exploitation of land resources. Although Arab traders had established fairly stable trade routes into the interior long before the advent of Said, his arrival at Zanzibar and the assertion of his overlordship, backed by an extensive naval force, made trading conditions more conducive to widespread commerce. With one exception, the Sultan granted no monopolistic rights or excluded

50 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 300-303, 305, 313, 315.

anyone from trading in his dominions; his was essentially a free trade policy. The exception, embodied in the treaties with Great Britain, France and Germany, prohibited the export of ivory and gum-copal from the territory between Pangani and Kilwa unless in ships bearing his own flag.⁵¹ Since Zanzibar furnished at the most only 70,000 lbs. of gum-copal,⁵² the bulk of it came from the mainland, and provided a source of employment for the Sultan's merchant ships as well as those of his subjects. On the other hand, the ivory trade involved the purchase of slaves to carry it out to the coast, and appears to have been intimately linked with the latter.⁵³ For excluding foreign competition in the ivory trade in the restricted zone, the Sultan had several good reasons: bartering for ivory directly with the primitive tribes, who desired little more than gaudy trinkets, brass wire, or some cloth, brought great profits; and the purchase or capturing of slaves far inland, where the increasing demand for ivory forced the Arabs to penetrate, provided the cheapest means of transportation and an added product for the Zanzibar market. On the mainland, however, perhaps due to lack of direct control, practically nothing was done to develop a plantation economy as on the islands; the one exception appeared toward the end of his reign in the cultivation of sesame in the coastal area between Lamu and Malindi.⁵⁴

The remainder of the mainland's exports, increasing considerably in volume as the letters of Salem merchants testify, consisted of cocoanuts, copra, palm-oil, hides, sesamum, tortoise shell, and bird pepper.⁵⁵

The public policy followed by the Sultan was accompanied by his own commercial ventures, which in time achieved almost a world-wide scope. Almost every year he sent expeditions into the interior for ivory and slaves, with the secondary result of extending his hegemony to the region of the Great Lakes, Tanganyika, Nyasa, and

51 *Ibid.*, 303, 386, 423, 481.

52 Osgood, *op. cit.*, 55.

53 Osgood, *op. cit.*, 56.

54 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 312, 313

55 Osgood, *op. cit.*, 54; Coupland, *op. cit.*, 304.

Victoria Nyanza. Coupland describes the process of expansion very well in his book, *East Africa and Its Invaders*. He describes the old routes preceding Said's arrival in Zanzibar, the dangers involved in the drive further inland as the market for ivory continued to grow, and in part the direct activities of the Sultan. Not until the mid-century did the white explorers, like Burton, Speke, and Livingstone, penetrate to the Great Lakes and find the traces of earlier Arab traders. Since the process of searching farther afield for ivory and slaves meant the invasion of unknown, dangerous areas, the caravans sent from the coast increased in size through the years. Coupland quotes various sources that give the sizes of the caravans as ranging from fifty to a thousand or more. R. P. Waters noted on June 24, 1839: "Last Friday, two hundred men started for the interior of Africa. They go to trade for His Highness and will be gone about one year." That is merely an indication of the Sultan's own party; various other merchants and their company might join en route for self-protection. The records of American merchants in the 1830's and 1840's show that they did a thriving business supplying muskets and powder to the Sultan and the Banian merchants. The need for this increased supply of arms is well illustrated in the log kept by M. W. Shepard on a voyage to Zanzibar in 1844. "His Highness every year sends 100 men into the interior to explore and obtain what ivory and produce of the country as they can and seldom more than 20 to 30 return, the rest dying on the road." The climate itself was almost as deadly as the native warriors, who sometimes wiped out entire trading parties. The long rainy season required the traders to establish temporary quarters in various places; and wherever trade routes crossed or joined, a small colony would arise, as at Tabora in the uplands.⁵⁶ In such wise the power of the Sultan was extended, without, however, the extension of his permanent military force which remained negligible to the very end.

The increasing demand for ivory in the Western markets

⁵⁶ Coupland. op. cit., 308, 309.

and the wide development of plantations on Zanzibar and Pemba gave rise to an extension of the slave trade which Great Britain had begun to restrict in 1822 in the Indian Ocean. Previous to the treaty of that year, the Sultan's dominions had supplied a wide foreign market for slaves; with the Sultan's signature on the restrictive treaty, in return for continued British friendship, naval and military support, it was expected that the trade would gradually wither away inside the Omani area.⁵⁷ The exact reverse was the situation once the Sultan began his clove plantations and required his subjects to follow suit. By 1837, when Waters visited the plantation, he wrote in his journal: "One of the most beautiful sights I ever beheld was the extended plantation of clove trees. His Highness has *two hundred thousand* on this plantation. They are set out in rows of a mile or more, in length, and about 20 feet apart. The tree grows to about 20 feet in height (sic) and it is of a most beautiful green. The air for some distance round is strongly impregnated with cloves . . . There are some Nutmeg trees and Coffee trees, which, being the first I had ever seen, were interesting."⁵⁸ In a later entry in his journal, Waters stated: "Visited Capt. Hassens plantation in company with Jeram. It is a delightful place about 8 miles from the town. It has twelve thousand Clove trees on it."⁵⁹ Such plantations must have required far more slaves than the Sultan could have used in Muscat. In addition to these demands there were those for the sugar, indigo, and sesamum plantations, and for the mills built to process these products. Some indication is given in the words of Waters, according to a talk with Jeram, a leading Banian merchant: "About one hundred slaves (Jeram said) were sold in the market every day now . . . His Highness had bot seven hundred slaves within a few weeks past—to put on a Sugar plantation which he

57 Ibid., 215, 216.

58 R. P. Waters, "Journal No. 2," entry of Aug. 2, 1837. Ruschenberger (50) stated in 1835 that the plantation had "nearly four thousand trees," a discrepancy hard to reconcile without more testimony.

59 R. P. Waters, "Journal No. 3," Oct. 15, 1839.

is preparing."⁶⁰ The manufacture of ivory combs in Connecticut, besides the desire for highly spiced foods, helped to extend a vicious system; at the same time the manufacture and trade in American firearms made it possible for the Arabs to do so on a larger scale than ever.

The economic measures followed by the Sultan in developing the sources of raw materials for enlarged markets were accompanied by measures to make Zanzibar a center of commercial activity. He realized that his Arab countrymen were incapable or not inclined to further his schemes to the utmost, and therefore he did his best to attract merchants from the rest of the world. In furtherance of this policy he extended every protection possible to the Banian merchants, who were to be found all around the Indian Ocean. "All religions, within the sultan's dominions, are not merely tolerated, but they are protected by his highness; and there is no obstacle whatever to prevent the Christian, the Jew, or the Gentile, from preaching their peculiar doctrines, or erecting temples . . ."⁶¹ With this shield Banians flourished in the Sultan's domain, but to the end they remained, as with most Westerners, a foreign element determined to accumulate riches and then retire to their native India. When Ruschenberger visited Zanzibar in 1835, the number of Banians was estimated at three hundred and fifty.⁶² Although despised by the Arabs for their sharp commercial transactions, perhaps also for their pacific nature, the Banians were well patronized by the Sultan and given the most important financial position in the government. The collector of customs, the most coveted job, was always "farmed" out to a Banian.

The most important remaining measures to widen the markets for Zanzibar's products were the series of commercial treaties beginning in 1833 with the American. Until the negotiation of the treaties with Siam and Muscat in this period, the American traders had operated under all the disadvantages of having no legal protection,

60 R. P. Waters, "Notes 1842-43 and 44," entry of Oct. 18, 1842.

61 Roberts, *op. cit.*, 13, 352, 358.

62 Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, 35.

to say nothing of lacking naval protection, in the Indian Ocean or the South China Sea. Edmund Roberts, a native of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was well acquainted with the difficulties encountered east of the Cape of Good Hope and urged his views upon his friend, the Honorable Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Navy, who prevailed upon President Jackson to send out a mission in 1832.⁶³ The mission set sail on board the ship *Peacock* in March, 1832 and arrived at Muscat on September 18, 1833. The Sultan received them very cordially and proceeded to give them very favorable conditions. True to the ideal of Arab hospitality, the Sultan insisted that any Americans shipwrecked upon his coast should be returned to the United States at his expense.⁶⁴ The outcome of the treaty was to place the United States upon a most favored nation basis with Great Britain, to regularize the charges upon American commerce, and to provide adequate legal protection of American citizens in the Sultan's dominions. Thus began the establishment of stable trading conditions necessary for large-scale direct intercourse with the Western nations. In 1839, Great Britain negotiated a similar treaty, followed by France in 1844, and the Hanseatic Republics in 1859.⁶⁵ In the last three treaties there was one major difference from the American; the Sultan reserved the right to create a monopoly, if he wished, in the trade of ivory and gum-copal on the coast between Mtangata and Kilwa; otherwise, full freedom of trade existed throughout his dominions. Other provisions given to the Americans were extended reciprocally to all by the Hanseatic treaty, while technically the Americans still had no right to buy, sell or hire houses or land as the rest did.⁶⁶ Thus foreign commerce was admitted by the payment of a five per cent import duty; no export duties or pilotage fees were levied, as had been customary before 1834, when the

63 *Ibid.*, 10, 11.

64 Roberts, *op. cit.*, 360-361. See Appendix for further details in Roberts' account, a good illustration of the Sultan's generous spirit.

65 Coupland, *op. cit.*, 385.

66 *Ibid.*, 386.

American treaty went into effect; and consuls were received with due legal status.

The effect of Sultan Said's constructive measures to expand commerce is to be seen in the increase in his personal and governmental revenues, the growth of Zanzibar in population, the island's relation to the spice trade, and the scope of Salem's trade with the island in the succeeding years. Prior to his arrival in Zanzibar, the Sultan probably received something like \$50,000 as his total income from the island, which includes the slave trade and tribute money.⁶⁷ In 1844, M. W. Shepard estimated that "the present amount paid for the lease of the Customs House is 125,000 dollars per annum."⁶⁸ And J. B. F. Osgood gave the price a few years later as being \$170,000, a substantial increase of income in twenty-five years from the customs house alone.⁶⁹ The balance of the Sultan's income was derived from plantations and the operation of his merchant ships. From cloves alone, Osgood estimated the Sultan's income to be about \$200,000⁷⁰ but for the other plantation products no figures seem to be readily available. From his twenty or more ships, plowing the seas from India to London, Said received annually about \$100,000, mostly for services as carriers.⁷¹ Any estimation of the Sultan's income from the slave trade, which was almost entirely internal in these years, would be subject to error. Since he was the largest trader in ivory and slaves, he must have derived a large income from the sale of slaves on the market.⁷²

Zanzibar's growth in population indicated its increasing

67 Coupland, op. cit., 317.

68 M. W. Shepard, Journal of voyage of bark "Star" to Zanzibar, 1844, inside the log of bark "Star," Peabody Museum, Salem.

69 Coupland, op. cit. 318 cites Hamerton's figure of 40,000 in 1844 as the total customs revenue for all the dominions.

70 Osgood, op. cit., 24. Coupland, op. cit., 319, gives a figure of \$50,000.

71 Coupland, op. cit., 318, 319.

72 R. P. Waters, "Notes," entry of Oct. 18, 1842: "He (Jeram) said that the Kilwa business was coming out well this year. There was not much Ivory — but Slaves were very plenty and cheap, about *seven dollars each*, and that here in Zanzibar they sold from \$14 to \$25.00 each.

importance in world trade; the estimates range from 5,000 to 12,000 around 1830, and 50,000 to 60,000 in the 1850's.⁷³ In any case it became the largest city on the East Coast, with a large colony of Banians, Arabs, and free negroes. Between 1835 when Ruschenberger visited the island, to 1859, Zanzibar came to take first place in the export of ivory, cloves, and gum-copal; and as the prices for cloves steadily dropped with the increased supply, the emphasis was shifted to sesamum, sugar, and indigo. For 1859 Coupland figured the total exports of Zanzibar at £609,020 and the imports at £760,000 value. The figures for the exports in 1859 give a good indication of the commercial expansion during these twenty-five years: the value of

ivory	£146,666
cloves	£ 55,666
gum-copal	£ 37,166
cowries, for currency in West Africa,	£ 51,444

In the same year, the imports of American cloth totaled £93,744, and muskets £18,840, of which a large amount was probably furnished by American traders.⁷⁴

The state of present records does not permit an accurate knowledge of Salem's trade with Zanzibar in the years 1825-1837, without the expenditure of much more time than was available for this study. The customs records for the port are in a state of chaos, and the attempt to estimate the extent of the trade is complicated by the hazy entries in the imposts books, which throws one back to a search through the mass of invoices, receipts, etc., in the general collection where they are "filed" solely by years.

⁷³ Ruschenberger, *op. cit.*, 46, estimated that town's population at 10-12 thousand and the island's at 150,000. Coupland, *op. cit.*, 319, 320, hazards the guess that it was over 5,000 in 1830 and cites Rugby's figure for 1859 as 60,000. Ingrams, "Zanzibar, Its History and Its People," London, H. F. and G. Witherby, 1931, 27, quotes from Mr. Cave's recapitulation as follows: Capt. Smee in 1811, 200,000 on both islands; for Zanzibar Island, Dr. Krapf in 1844, 100,000; M. Guillain in 1846, 60,000 to 200,000. Osgood, *op. cit.*, p. 35, gives a figure of 50,000 for the town, probably around 1850. Putnam, "Journal," gives a figure of 150,000 for the island also.

⁷⁴ Coupland, *op. cit.*, 316, 317.

Apparently the first Salem vessel in Zanzibar harbor was the brig *Laurel* under Captain Lovett, which arrived on July 20, 1825 after a long voyage along the South American coast and then to the Indian Ocean. On this trip no trading seems to have been done, unless for ships provisions.⁷⁵ The next ship to arrive from Salem was the brig *Ann* commanded by Captain Charles Millet, owned by Henry Prince and Son. The *Ann* had left Salem March 12, 1826 and arrived at Mocha, June 26th. Finding that there was an urgent demand for grain there, Captain Millet sailed south to Zanzibar and Lamo; at the former port he purchased 1210 bags Jonaree (corn) and 60 Bags Rice; at the latter, 1124 bags Jonaree and 10 Bags Dhole. At Zanzibar he had to pay the anchorage fee of \$100.00 and \$7.00 for the pilot; and at both places he was forced to pay export duties of 7½%, which totaled \$92.48. Returning to Mocha in the fall, Captain Millet sold the grain for a net profit of \$2899.67, which was used for purchasing the return cargo. At Mocha he shipped bullock hides, goat-skins, sheep skins, coffee, gum-arabic, gum-copal, sena leaves, frankincense, gum-myrrh, bee's wax, turtle shell, dates, ostrich feathers and pear shells at a total cost of \$29,677.50; at Zanzibar, elephants' teeth costing \$10,730.41 with added charges of \$807.28; at Lamo, elephants' teeth at a cost of \$894.21 and charges of \$55.10.⁷⁶ The ship arrived back in Salem, May 9, 1827, and soon afterwards the owners held a public auction of its contents. Finding the coast-wise trade in Africa so profitable, Captain Millet sailed again August 9, 1827 with a mixed cargo typical of these early years: cotton goods, tobacco, Indian cloth, Havana sugar, pig lead, flour, nails, anchors, and looking glasses with a total value of \$3,159.11. Arriving at Lindi where, November 17th, he "went on shore and found it to be a place of no trade except in slaves, I was informed by the Natives that there was 300 arrived on this day from the Interior for sale; the French carry on a great trade

75 C. S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, "Historical Sketch of Salem," 1626-1879, Salem, Essex Institute, 164.

76 Log, invoices and sales records of the brig *Ann*, first voyage, at Essex Institute, Salem.

for Slaves at this Place from Bourbon—finding there nothing to be done at this place to advance the object of my voyage weighed anchor at Daylight, . . . The natives tell me that this is the first American vessel that has ever visited this place . . .” A similar experience awaited Captain Millett at “Kisswara” which prompted him to sail north to Zanzibar. There he “ascertained that grain the Article I was in want of could not be had at this place was informed that it can be had at Mombas and other places near on the coast of Africa . . .” At Mombasa, Barawa, Johanna, and other ports, Captain Millet disposed of the outward cargo for \$4,026.96 and shipped jonaree and gulgul at a cost of \$3,002.48 from Mombasa and Lamu for sale at Mocha and Berbera. En route he stopped at Hosea. “Remained three days at Hosea [he wrote] endeavouring to Trade for grain but found the People rather unfriendly, disposed to cheat, and deceive us having made three Several bargains with them from all of which they retracted . . .” Arriving at Mocha February 26, 1828, Captain Millet disposed of most of the grain and shipped some coffee, iron, and dates for coastwise sale before returning again to Mocha for the final cargo. At Berbera he was unable to trade, due to a blockade of the port (which probably accounts for bringing the balance of the grain to Salem), but the cargo of coffee, iron, and dates from Mocha he disposed of at Barawa for a profit of \$800.00. After many months of coastwise trade, the *Ann* arrived back in Salem on February 7, 1829 with a cargo very similar to the previous one.⁷⁷

On the customs records the first ship listed from Zanzibar appears as the schooner *Spy*, Captain Andrew Ward commanding, arriving on August 11, 1827. An examination of the customs receipts issued to the consignees revealed the following as its cargo: from Zanzibar, 15 Elephant teeth, 1 keg and 1 barrel tortoise shell, 9 bags and 1 jar dates, 4 bundles mats, and some old iron hooks, total

⁷⁷ Log, invoices and sales records of the brig *Ann*, second voyage, at Essex Institute, Salem. Prof. Coupland has confused the two voyages, which is understandable since the records are in the same volume.

value \$3314.82 with duties of \$237.53; from India came the balance of the cargo, valued at \$21,192.50, duties of \$3,681.45, and consisting of 241,500 pounds gum-copal (duties of \$2,854.54), dates, salted hides, sea horse ivory, colombo root, rhinoceros horns, buffalo horns, tortoise shells, elephants' teeth, and seeds. On the next voyage in the following month to the East Indies, the *Spy* carried a cargo of goods typical of this period when trade in the Indian Ocean had not settled down to a few staples, and the ship's captain was expected to find a market and a return cargo even if it took several years. The previous voyage of the *Spy* had begun late in 1823 and ended in 1827, not quite four years in duration. On the trip in September 1827 the cargo consisted of flour, bread, crackers, brandy, gin, cordials, rum, naval stores, hyson tea, hats, 480 muskets, 3 fowling pieces, handkerchiefs, 'cambricks,' piece goods, blankets, American goods, gun powder (600 cases), 'Segars,' and beads, with a total value of \$9,610.00. With cargos such as those, the American merchants stood little chance of losing much in foreign markets.

The trade in gum-copal, which became a staple product for Salem merchants in the 1830's, started with imports from Mocha and Bombay where the Arab traders had brought it from Africa. The first American ship to carry a large amount of it direct from Zanzibar to America was the brig *Susan*, which arrived at the island October 12, 1828. For three days the captain loaded gum-copal into the hold, and a few days later shipped 28 ivory teeth, shells, and wood. Arriving at Lamu, November 4th, they discharged 20 kegs of powder, 1 barrel of cloves, and "sold to capt. of dow 52 chests of tea, 1 anchor and 22 barrels of beef and 21 half barrels." When the *Ann* arrived there from Barawa, they sent 1 barrel of beef to it. All the empty bags were sent ashore for "Colombo root" which was loaded beginning December 15th. Then on January 2, 1829 the ship sailed for Majunga where they shipped a cargo of frankincense, ivory, and a small number of hides.

Getting under way January 26, the ship arrived in Salem on April 21st.⁷⁸

Since the East African trade was essentially a coastwise collection of products from Mocha to Majunga on Madagascar, it is necessary to consider the other ports as well as Zanzibar and the Sultan's possessions. The trade with Majunga began in 1820 when the *Beulah* under Captain Forbes arrived in Salem, although only part of the cargo was shipped at that point.⁷⁹ In the following year the brig *Thetis* arrived in Salem with a cargo of 216,519 pounds of tallow and some merchandise paying a duty of \$2,187.19. For the next five or six years tallow appears as the major commodity imported, and then beef and hides take its place. The firms of N. L. Rogers and Bros., Robert Brookhouse, and J. W. and R. S. Rogers led the way in the years 1821-1826. During this time there were fifteen arrivals from Madagascar which paid duties of \$40,632.10, a small amount compared to the duties of \$28,082.63 paid by the ship *George* from Bombay in 1824. However, in considering the duties paid by ships from Africa in this period, it must be remembered that the raw materials for industry were not taxed as heavily as those already manufactured, such as those from Europe and India.⁸⁰ Following the voyage of the *Ann* in 1826, the trade with Madagascar became of less importance, although it still provided an added source of hides. Nonetheless, since the ships leaving Zanzibar for Salem stopped at Majunga en route, most of the entries are from Majunga until some time in the early 'Forties. In the years 1827-1836, East Africa furnished forty entries for the customs records; many

78 Log of the brig *Susan* at Essex Institute, Salem. In Osgood and Batchelder, op. cit., 163, it is stated that the *Black Warrior* arrived in 1832 "with the first large quantity of uncleaned gum-copal that had been imported into this country." A similar account appears in Coupland.

79 George G. Putnam, "Salem Vessels and Their Voyages," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. LXV, 133.

80 Between 1833-1838 practically all the ships listed in the customs records from East Africa merely have the notation "No dutiable goods" or a similar phrase. Thus in this period it is very difficult to estimate the value of the goods imported or the particular types of goods without going through all the commercial records of the firms engaged in this trade.

others are entered solely as from Africa. At the same time the number of ships from Europe and India was dropping considerably, so that the few engaged in East Africa became of even greater importance in Salem's foreign commerce.

For Salem the years 1825-1837 were years of steady decline in foreign commerce with very few bright spots to relieve the effects: East Africa was one of those few spots. The profits which were realized in this trade seem to have been about 100 per cent, but the markets and raw materials were quite limited in extent, which meant that not all the Salem merchants could move into this trade and accumulate more capital. However, the trading experience of these years proved that it was very profitable and worth a reasonable investment; and, hence, the trade continued to expand to a greater extent and became stabilized to a great degree, under the guidance of the American consul, Richard P. Waters, between 1837-1845.

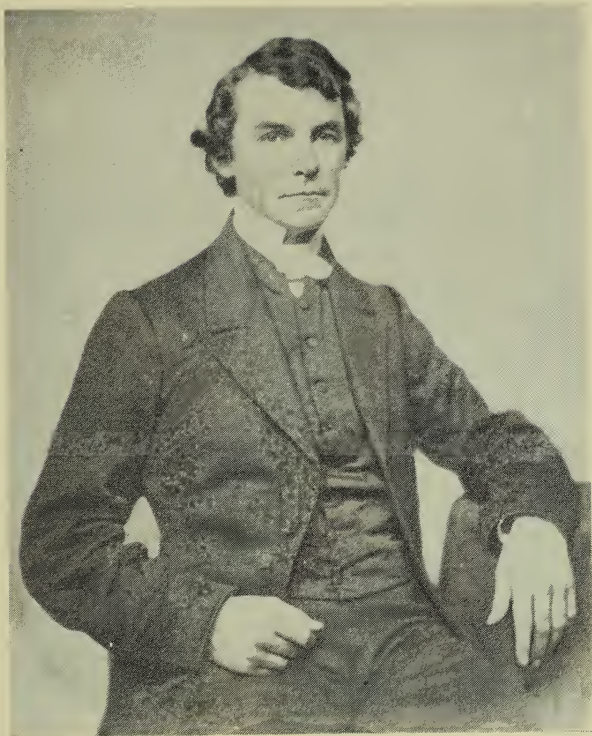
(To be Continued)

DIARY OF REV. GEORGE LEEDS, D. D.,
RECTOR OF ST. PETER'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
SALEM, 1855-1860

Rev. Dr. George Leeds came to Salem from Utica, N. Y., in 1855 and assumed rectorship of St. Peter's Church. He was born in Boston, October 25, 1816, the son of Benjamin Bass and Sally Babcock Leeds, and received his preliminary training at Milton Academy, entering Harvard College in 1831. A change in the circumstances of his father made it necessary to transfer him to Amherst College, from which he was graduated in 1835. Having taken the full course of three years at the Andover Theological School, he became a candidate for Holy Orders and was ordained Deacon by the Rt. Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, in 1839, and Priest in 1841. Dr. Griswold was a former Rector of St. Peter's in Salem and later Bishop.

Mr. Leeds married in Salem on June 22, 1843, Caroline Treadwell, daughter of John White and Harriet K. Treadwell, who was born in Salem, Dec. 8, 1821. Her father was president of the Merchants Bank. Mrs. Leeds died before he came to Salem, leaving three children. According to early Salem directories during his residence in Salem he lived in various places, at 78 Bridge Street, 33 Summer Street, (which became the Doyle House) and 42 Warren Street.

The chief years of his ministry were spent in Grace Church, Utica, N. Y., St. Peter's Church, Salem, St. Peter's Church, Philadelphia and Grace Church, Baltimore, where he died on April 15, 1885. Dr. Leeds successfully started services in Danvers in 1858, which resulted in the formation of Calvary Episcopal Church in that town. Edward D. Kimball and Joseph Adams, merchants of Salem and residents of Danvers, were the promoters of the new parish, and contributed generously to the building of the church in 1860. One of Dr. Leeds' daughters married into the Heard family of Ipswich, and it is from the Ipswich Historical Society that this manuscript diary has been obtained.



REV. GEORGE LEEDS, D. D.

Rector of St. Peter's Church

1855 - 1860

June 20th 1856. Drove back to Utica. Dr. Leland¹ of Detroit and his bride, a daughter of Mr. Aaron Livermore of Cambridgport formed a part of our company. I discovered in the Doctor yesterday a former classmate in Danvers, who used to sit by my side in the recitation rooms

June 24th. . . . The bridegroom was a young lawyer of Malone, N. Y. whose name was Pierce. He afterwards proved himself to be a friend of one of my early parishioners, Mr. Jno Kirkland, this reminds me that I must not forget to mention our pleasant interview at Niagara with Mr. and Miss Rochester,² and of our later acquaintance with Lieut. Parker

June 27th. . . . I was happy to find at the Hotel the Rev Dr. Creighton & daughter, Lieut. Parker, Mr. Willard Phillips³ of Salem and the delightful family of Mr. Yarnell of Philadelphia whom we had seen at Niagara

August 3d. Sunday. This morning I found myself officiating in my own place at home, to the people of my peculiar charge

August 10th. Preached in the morning In the afternoon, Rev. Mr. Mason preached and I read prayers This week I have driven to the beaches to see friends and to enjoy the impressive roll of the ocean. Mr. & Mrs. Gold with Mrs. Johns from Whitesboro have been staying for some weeks at the Ocean House, with whom I have had the pleasure of meeting. Mr. Jeffrey Richardson & family are also there, and frequently drive over to Church with us. This summer a very considerable portion of the congregation on Sundays seems to be made up of visitors. I

1 Aaron Larkin Leland was born in Shelburn, Mass., 1813, son of Joseph P. Leland; Harvard, 1835, practiced medicine in Pontiac, Mich. and Detroit, died in 1858.

2 This family, prominent in Buffalo, N. Y., has a Salem connection, Mr. John Rochester, being a son-in-law of Mrs. McDonald White; from him the Essex Institute purchased the Safford house.

3 Willard P. Phillips, was son of Stephen C. Phillips, and was associated with East India trade, later in coal business at Phillips' Wharf, State Senator, trustee of Eastern Railroad; married Mary, daughter of Capt. Francis Boardman. Two daughters, Mrs. George W. Mifflin of Boston, and Mary Phillips of Andover; died in Andover, May 13, 1901.

have been happy to see Mr. & Mrs. Dexter habitually in the pew usually occupied by Mrs. Payson,⁴ for whose return we shall soon begin to look, and of whose happy visit to England I have heard with great pleasure. She is now upon the Continent, & has been during most of her absence. The Church Review for July contains my review of Prescott, which friends are kind enough to speak of in flattering terms

August 30th. Preached in St. Stephen's Lynn on an exchange with the Rev. Mr. Hallam Dined with the pleasant family of Mr. J. B. Reynolds, at whose table I met with a sister-in-law of Mrs. R. Mrs. Carter of Troy a parishioner of Dr. Coit's — an intelligent & excellent Churchwoman. After services prayed with Mr. Hallam's family for their sick child.

Sept. 7th My friend the Rev. Mr. Brandegee, who has been making us a pleasant visit at my father-in-law's since Thursday last, preached in St. Peter's two excellent sermons which I heard with great satisfaction

Sept. 9th. I forgot to mention yesterday a walk from Church with Mrs. Gardner,⁵ who said that her sister had written home for the first time that her health was decidedly improved. She is now in Paris, from whence she will return by way of England home I have been with Mr. Brandegee to the funeral of Mrs. Richmond wife of my brother, the Rector of St. Michael's Marblehead — a sad bereavement . . .

Sept. 9th & 10th. Went with my friend from Utica to Mt. Auburn, where I paused a few moments in passing by the peaceful grave of Mr. Arthur L. Payson. Afterwards went to Melrose to attend our Classical Assocn. from which I was called away to perform funeral offices over an infant child of the Rev. Mr. Hallam in Lynn.

Sept. 17th. Went to Boston to witness the inaugura-

⁴ Mrs. Payson was Clara Endicott Peabody, daughter of Col. George and Clarissa Peabody; born in Salem, 1828, married Arthur Lithgow Payson, and died in Paris, 1856; she was sister of Mrs. William C. Endicott, Sr.

⁵ Mrs. Gardner was Eliza Endicott Gardner, b. 1834, wife of George Augustus Gardner, and sister of Mrs. William C. Endicott, Sr. She died 1876.

tion of the Franklin Statue which was attended with an imposing pageant in the shape of a procession & an immense concourse of people from all parts of the country around. Mr. Winthrop pronounced an eloquent oration.

Sept. 14th & 21st. At home on both of the Sundays . . . the Rev. Mr. Denning of Texas kindly preaching in the afternoon. . . .

Sept. 28th. . . I was pained to find that Mr. Peabody's family had heard from Paris accounts of the absent which made them quite anxious. My brother also writes me that my brother Theodore is failing rapidly. . . . I should have made mention under date of Sept. 27th that I drafted a letter to Mr. Albert G. Boyden Usher in the Classical & High School of this City which was signed by all the members of the sub Com^{ee} on the occasion of his removing from his present situation to a submastership in East Boston. His place is to be supplied by Mr. Bartlett, late of Lynn. — Have written letters to Dr. Peckham.

Oct. 7th. Learning that Mr. Geo Peabody and wife were about to sail for Europe in order to minister to Mrs. Payson I called on them today & made them a parting visit. I was sorry to find that Mrs. Peabody felt so solicitous. I trust her fears are not well grounded. Miss Mary⁶ one of the daughters embarks with them tomorrow, Mr. Endicott Peabody⁷ also bearing them company.

Oct. 9th. A grand reception was given to the London Banker Geo Peabody Esq. by the inhabitants of his native town of Danvers. After a public escort through the streets in a long & beautiful procession he was handsomely welcomed in front of his own Public Institute, to which he replied in felicitous terms, and was then attended to a dinner at which fifteen hundred guests sat down; and among them Mr. Everett, President Walker, Prof Felton & Judge White, the first of whom made one of his graceful speeches, followed by many others of an interesting & lively character. I went to this ovation with a heavy

⁶ Mary C. Peabody, b. 1835, married Knyvett W. Sears, 1855, (2), Bryant W. Lewis, 1858.

⁷ S. Endicott Peabody, b. 1825, son of Francis and Martha (Endicott) Peabody, was the owner of "Kernwood" in North Salem.

heart, feeling that it was due to the noble benefactor of his native village & urged by the presence & cheering words of my sister in regard to Theodore. But hardly had I returned to my study at tea-time than I was informed of a report circulating through the city that Mrs. Arthur Payson was no longer of earth. Miss Helen read me a most affecting & consolatory letter, written by Mrs. F. Peabody in Paris, who had watched over the sick one during the whole of her illness. . . .

Oct. 12th. . . This morning I preached on the death of Miss Elizabeth Smith, a young expectant bride. . . . This afternoon all Mr. Peabody's family who are at home were present with Mr. and Mrs. Perry and other relatives, according to previous appointment; and I was called to pay the last sad tribute to the memory of one . . . mourned by us all.

Oct. 19th. . . . Preached in allusion to the death of the excellent Mr. Michael Shepherd⁸ whose daughter Mrs. Silsbee is one of my Parish. I had occasion to add a few words upon the sudden death on Saturday morning of a very constant and a much respected attendant at St. Peter's Church, Mr. Jno Howard,⁹ who was smitten with paralysis the evening before. . . .

Oct. 20th. I married this evening the youngest daughter of Mr. Caleb Newcomb to Mr. Joseph H. Webb. A few days since I was present at the marriage of another parishioner Mr. Henry Ives.

Oct. 21st. Wrote to Mr. Jno L. Payson a letter of sympathy on the death of his beloved daughter-in-law, & sent it through the mail to London.

Oct. 26th. . . . in the aft. the Rev. Mr. Denning of Texas, recently returned from Philadelphia, preached. . . . I go to spend this evening with Mr. & Mrs. Peabody who returned yesterday to Salem. . . .

Nov. 2nd. . . . Went to see Mr. Norsworthy who appears very feeble

⁸ A prominent merchant of Salem.

⁹ Merchant with office on Derby wharf. The family later moved to New York where his son was a successful merchant. Miss Anstis Howard and Mrs. William McDuffie of Andover, whose husband was a mill agent in Lawrence, were descendants.

Nov 9th. . . At night I went to the Old South and heard an impressive sermon before the Moral Society by Dr. Huntington of Cambridge.

Nov. 10th. This morning I went to Boston for the . . . service of committing . . . Mrs. A. L. Payson to . . . earth . . . Mr. Jno Appleton, Mr. Wm. C. Prescott, Mr. James Lawrence and many other friends were present with the family circle. The Rev. Mr. Smith, assistant Minister of Trinity read the anthem. . . .

Nov. 15th I spent this evening with Mr. & Mrs. Peabody and Mrs Gardner.

Nov. 16th. . . . Owing to the repairs and improve^s Now in progress in the interior of the Church we were obliged to worship in the Lecture Room below, which was crowded both morning & afternoon. . . . Mr Denning preached in the afternoon. . . his last sermon previous to his going South. He leaves this week with his family for Texas.

Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 27th. Our Church being still under repair, and the S School Room hardly an appropriate place for a Thanksgiving service, it was thought best to omit any attention to the Day in the way of public worship in our own Parish. Accordingly I have passed this time honored festival with my dear children in Dorchester, where I am spending a few days with my brother Richard & his wife. This morning we went to Church at St. Mary's. I read prayers, and the Rev. Mr. Robinson of Boston preached. Daniel dined with us at a most bountiful table. We called upon Sarah after dinner.

Nov. 30th. . . . A snow storm preceded us on our way yesterday from Richard's to Cambridge. This morning about three inches of snow lie upon the ground. . . . On Friday I drove in the morning to see Mrs. Codman at her former place of residence, my sister Sarah accompanying me. . . . In the aftⁿ we took the cars & spent the rest of the day with our children in Brookline. . . . Preached at Christ Ch. on an exchange with Mr. Hoppin. . . . Saw many friends in the congregation, & among them Mr. Fry's family, Mrs. F. Webster, Mrs. Lovering, Mrs. Choate, & Mr. Foster and daughters. In the afternoon, having dined with the Rev. Mr. Lowell at Mrs. Hoppin's I had service

& preached upon "Reaping as we Sow". Took tea at Mr. Choate's.

Dec. 6th. Made a charming call on Mrs. Geo. Peabody, with whom I found Mrs. Gardner and Miss Fanny. The dear little ones were sent for, both Clara & Fanny as well as Mrs Gardner's babe. . . . Upon my return home I find on my table a note written by Mr. Peabody enclosing another containing seventy five dollars, of wh he asks my acceptance. Valuable as is this gift I feel that it is doubly so for the beautiful words with wh it is accompanied. . . .

Dec 14th. The third Sunday in Advent, and the first of our return to the Church proper after an exclusion of many weeks. . . . Our Ch interior is really made quite attractive. The block work upon the walls is a handsome imitation of stone — and the arch around the building being also blocked adds much to the general beauty. By a skillful arrangement of colors the height of the ceiling has been materially increased to the eye of the beholder. The Ch has been provided with a system of ventilation. The old tablets have been put up — over niches on each side of the main entrance. The gas fixtures will be introduced this week. The Vestry Room, wh has also been furnished after the same style with the Ch, is to be lighted with gas — which has already been supplied to the Lect Room below. After evening service I went to see Mrs. Norsworthy, whose aged & decrepit husband of ninety eight years died yesterday. . . .His remains will be buried from St. Peter's tomorrow. Mrs. N. his widow is twenty and even thirty years younger, being the last of a number of wives who have successively been wedded to her husband and have died. . . .

Dec. 19th. Dined with Bp Clark at Mrs. John Lee's.¹⁰ The Bp lectured before the Mechanic Lyceum last evening upon Materialism in his usually happy & lively manner.

Dec. 21st. Passed this Sunday in Lawrence on an exchange with Dr. Packard making my home at the pleasant

¹⁰ Mr. Lee was the father of Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt and the grandfather of Mrs. Alice (Roosevelt) Longworth.

and hospitable quarters of my old friends Mr. & Mrs. Hoadly. . . .

Dec. 24th. Held a service on Christmas eve, lighting our beautiful Ch for the first time with gas. . . . On Tuesday I drove over the city with Beckford on a stormy afternoon & left turkeys, chickens & mutton at the door of about fourteen grateful & depend^t poor. . . . The Church has trees in the windows, chancel & gallery — with running wreath around the pillars, font, pulpit & reading desk — in which latter are placed a “star” & a “cross” most tastefully made up of evergreen & flowers of everlasting. The letters I.H.S. were formed in white flowers upon the arm of the Cross. After Service we dined with Mr. & Mrs. Nichols at father’s table, Mr. Farley calling in directly after.

1857 Jan. 1st. Circumcision Day. . . Mrs. Gardner walked up with us from Church. Her husband sent me this morning a richly bound copy of Webster’s Private Correspondence — a most valuable present. Mr. Lovell also sent me a day or two ago an equally valuable gift. Called on Mrs. N. Silsbee at her New Year’s reception. Last evening I . . . was in Lowell. . . preached a sermon on N Year’s Eve in St. Anne’s Ch after prayers read by Dr. Edson.

Jan. 6th. . . . In the evening preached in Trinity Ch, Haverhill. . . . Am the guest of Mrs. Merrill in H¹ at whose hospitable quarters the Bishop & Mrs. Eastburn are also entertained.

Jan. 7th. Assisted in the services and consecration of Trinity Church — a tasteful Gothic edifice erected at a cost of six thousand & five hundred dollars, inclusive of site & furniture. This is the first fruits of the labors of our E. D. M. Association, wh during the past year has contrib^d \$1000 for the support of Rev. Mr. Brown, the Mission^r. . . . A noble band of intellig^t young men constit^e the vestry, headed by Mr. Ch Wingate as Senior Warden Met with my old classmate, Judge Howe

Jan. 9th. Heard Thalberg at his only concert in Salem — a perfect feast. . . . Mr. Thalberg was assisted by a powerful barrytone, Signor Morellé and by a sweet-voiced

contralto, Madame D'Angri, who was anything but charming in her personal appearance. . . .

Jan. 19th. A snow storm has so completely blocked up the streets with drifts, that hardly a person has ventured out during the day. . . .

Jan. 25th. . . . Today I preached in the morning for Mr. Mason wh has gone to Salem, and in the aftⁿ listened to Rev. Mr. Platt in Grace Church, with whom I took tea afterward at Mr. James C. Dana's. Spent a pleasant hour after Church with Mr. R. H. Dana.

Jan. 28th. For two days I have sat on the examination of the Class¹ High School, wh has proved very creditable . . . This forenoon I have spent at the Lyceum, listening to the pleasant declamat and theses of the Graduating Class of the H. School — to whom I made an address & presented the diplomas. In the aftⁿ heard an instructive & able discourse from Edwin S. Whipple, a graduate of the Salem H. School, (formerly Bowditch) before a reunion in the Tabernacle of all the alumni. . . .

Jan. 29th. Went to Somerville & brought home our recovered sister Lucy. We are all happy to have her again amongst us. The Hon Preston S. Brooks, who was guilty a year ago of the fearful outrage upon Mr. Sumner died yesterday at Washington. . . .

Feb. 15th. Sunday, spent in Waltham on an exchange with the Rev. Mr. Fales.

Feb. 11th. Heard Mr. Emerson¹¹ at the Lyceum upon the "Improvement of Time". . . .

Feb. 24th. Heard today of the death of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane at Havana. . . . But a few days ago, the death of Hugh Miller the geologist startled the world.

March 3rd & 4th. The Ch Mission^r Assocn of the Eastern District met in Salem. About twelve of the clergy were present. . . . Dr. Vinton preached the closing sermon.

Mar. 8th. Spent at Jamaica Plain on an exchange with my predecessor & friend, the Rev. Mr. Babcock. . . .

Mar. 24th. . . . Have received within a few days a charming letter from Utica, written by Mrs. E. Clark. . . .

Mar. 29th. Exchanged with the Rev. Dr. Fuller of

11 Ralph Waldo Emerson.

Andover. . . . Dined at Mr. Samuel Lawrences with whose very pleasant family I spent also Saturday evening. On Saturday afternoon I took a favorite stroll wh I once took so frequently with my lamented and beloved friend W. B. Homer.

Apr. 7th. On Sat last at 8 o'clock in the morning, my dear father-in-law bade adieu to earth. . . . Our friends, the Rev. Mr. Mason & the Rev. Mr. Babcock were present today, by invitation of the family to officiate at his funeral. . . . This very aftⁿ at the same hour of 4 o'clock — the remains of my almost mother Mrs. John Codman, were borne from the Old Central Meeting House in Dorchester to their final resting place. . . .

Apr. 12th. . . . The Rev. Mr. Snow kindly spent this Sunday with us & preached both parts of the day. . . .

Apr. 18th. Wrote to Mr. J. L. Payson, Mrs. W. A. Peabody, Dr. Ducachet & others letters of condolence, and of response to letters of sympathy & the like. . . . Sent also last Monday a letter to Norwich, Conn. in answer to a letter of enquiry from one of a Com^{ee} of the Church there (Ct Church) asking whether I would accept an invitation to the Rectorship. I wrote that I could not consistently encourage an application. . . .

Apr. 23rd. Went to Taunton with my sister Sarah to see Theodore at the Asylum in that village. . . .

April 24th. Dined at Mr. George Peabody's with the family & Mrs. Gardner — enjoyed their beautiful circle in the highest degree.

April 26th. . . . Baptised Catherine Elizabeth, the second infant child of my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Geo Gardner: the family being present, and Miss Marianne Timmins standing as sponsor. . . .

May 3d. . . . Mr. Nath^l Carlile was at Church, brother of a former rector of St. Peter's, . . . He told me that the Rev. Mr. Carlile's remains are deposited in Mr. Forrester's tomb in Charter St Burial Ground.

May 10th. . . . Baptised the infant of Mr. & Mrs. Chs F. Choate of Cambridge. . . .

May 11th. . . . Dear Edw^d & Martha leave today for Longmeadow, and soon the whole family will disperse

perhaps for the last time from the cherished and familiar homestead. . . .

May 24th. The past week another of my Parish (Miss Pickering) has sailed for Europe — and other friends have returned. . . . The Rev. Mr. Wild has assisted me today Last week Mr. Gardner Green of Norwich called to see me again in reference to visiting Ct Church in that city at some leisure moment &c. I could not give him much encouragement.

May 26th. Attended the funeral of Mrs. F. Gordon Dexter, daughter of Mr. Wm Appleton, whose remains were borne fr St. Paul's Boston to Mt Auburn. . . Mrs. Dexter was an attendant upon St. Peter's during the summer of last year & I think of two yrs previous. . . . Passed the evening & night at Mr. Gardners.

May 31st. . . . Upon returning from Church I found a superb set of Milton's Works, Pickering, London — left at the house for me — the gift of Mr. Geo Gardner, who with his lovely & Cn wife was in town today. . . .

June 3rd. Bishop Eastburn confirmed in St. Peter's Ch this evening fourteen persons, & addressed them in a solemn & impressive manner.

June 7th. . . . My home for the day is with our prized friend, Mrs. Foote. My little ones still absent, I go for today. They are now with my sister in Dorchester. Susan has been in town today & has sat in the family pew. . . .

June 10th. After a charming visit to my sister Sarah's, came with my children today to the boarding house of Mr. Kellogg, Ocean St. Lynn. We dined by the sea & afterwards went to Salem for our effects returning before tea. We find our quarters very pleasant & in full view & hearing of the sounding billows. At Harrison Square I wrote letter to Dr. P—l, Rev. Mr. Baker, Mr. Lyon, Mr. Job Spencer, Mr. Rocharle and the sisterhood.

June 14th. Preached at Lynn on an exchange with the Rev. Mr. Hallam. . . . Very kindly taken to & from Church with my ch by Mr. Allen.

June 17th. . . . Today the statue of Warren is to be dedicated.

June 22nd. . . . I have taken my children this afternoon

on a drive to Mr. Peabody's¹² in Danvers — a charming place, . . . C & A rode Donkey with the little ones under the very kind care of Miss Ellen Peabody.¹³

June 27th. Salem was startled by the sad intelligence today of the drowning of Mr. Stephen C. Phillips in the waters of the St. Lawrence last evening. He was on board the steamer Montreal, when the vessel took fire & shortly burnt to the waterside. He was sailing the very same portion of the river where a year ago, lacking one week, on the same night of the week, I was navigating in one of the Q & Montreal steamboats. About 300 passengers are said to have perished — only 150 saved. The telegraphic dispatch made a very great sensation in Salem. The bells were all tolled & the city was overspread with gloom. Salem's noblest son is no more. The most public-spirited, philanthropic & best of her citizens is gone. I loved Mr. Phillips as well as admired him. His departure is the crowning affliction to his family of his previous misfortunes, under wh however they have bowed as becomingly as he had borne their burden with Cn fortitude & vigor.

June 28th. . . .At six o'clock in the evening, I preached in Bank Hall on Danvers Plain to a large & respectable & most attentive congregation. Our Ch choir was present, and a few parishioners of St. Peter's. This was the first service of the Church ever held in Danvers — the first time the chants & prayers of the Liturgy ever fell upon the still air of its village since creation's dawn. The effort to establish a mission wh we have in contemplation, looks well. Mr. Adams, Mr. Pratt & Mr. Gay¹⁴ are particularly active. Mr. Gay took me home at night.

June 30th. . . .The solemnities of the Hon. S. C. Phillips funeral were attended this afternoon at his former place of worship. The house was draped — stores around were draped — an immense concourse was present to testify their respect. Never was pub. sorrow more heartfelt. I

12 The "Peabody Farm" owned by Col. George Peabody, later Mr. William C. Endicott.

13 Miss Ellen Peabody became Mrs. William C. Endicott, Sr., wife of Secretary of War in Cleveland's administration.

14 Ebenezer Gay, principal of Maple Street School.

have called upon his family & found them wonderfully supported. May every consolation be theirs.

July 5th. Sunday. Full Church. . . . Rev. I. C. Smith of Trinity was present & assisted me in the Lord's Supper.

July 12th. . . . In the evening preached in Bank Hall on Danvers Plain after full Evening Prayer. . . . Passed the night and the day following at Mr. Edw. Kimball's beautiful place,¹⁵ my dear children being with me.

July 16th. Alumni Day at Cambridge very successfully celebrated. The heat and the inconvenience of leaving home prevented my joining as a half-child of Harvard. Mr. Everett delivered the Ovation — and Lord Saper was at the dinner & spoke fittingly.

July 19th. Sixth Sunday after Trinity, and my last at home before my Summer vacation. . . . Dined at Mr. Cox's.

July 22nd. About to leave for Utica, I must record my grateful sense of the kindness & attention shown us while on the beach. Our many drives with Mr Allen & Mr La— families — pleasant visits in the neighborhood, charming calls at Nahant, Lynnmere and other places in the vicinity have added very much to the delicious sea views — baths & breezes — and the general health we have been permitted to enjoy. . . . Yesterday drove to Mr. Dexter's place at Beverly, where I had a most gratifying conversation with Mr Gordon D in relation to affliction & its proper consolations. . . . Saw also Mrs F. Dexter the devoted wife of her invalid husband. Afterwards took tea at Kernwood Tomorrow for Utica.

¹⁵ Later known as the Wentworth place, "Locust Lawn," not now standing.

Weekly Return of the 1st Massachusetts Regiment of Foot
 1780
 1st Mass. Regt. of Foot
 1780

Company	Private	Drum	Trumpet	Other	Total	Remarks
1st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
2nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
3rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
4th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
5th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
6th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
7th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
8th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
9th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
10th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
11th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
12th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
13th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
14th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
15th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
16th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
17th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
18th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
19th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
20th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
21st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
22nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
23rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
24th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
25th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
26th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
27th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
28th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
29th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
30th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
31st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
32nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
33rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
34th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
35th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
36th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
37th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
38th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
39th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
40th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
41st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
42nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
43rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
44th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
45th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
46th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
47th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
48th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
49th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
50th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
51st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
52nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
53rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
54th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
55th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
56th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
57th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
58th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
59th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
60th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
61st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
62nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
63rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
64th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
65th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
66th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
67th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
68th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
69th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
70th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
71st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
72nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
73rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
74th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
75th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
76th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
77th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
78th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
79th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
80th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
81st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
82nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
83rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
84th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
85th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
86th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
87th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
88th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
89th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
90th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
91st Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
92nd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
93rd Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
94th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
95th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
96th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
97th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
98th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
99th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	
100th Co.	1	1	1	1	4	

WEEKLY RETURN OF MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE OF NEW LEVIES, COMMANDED BY NATHANIEL WADE, SEPTEMBER 5, 1780

From original in possession of Herbert T. Wade

THE MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE ON THE HUDSON, 1780

NATHANIEL WADE AT WEST POINT

By HERBERT T. WADE

(Continued from Vol. XC, p. 99)

In regard to guard details reference to the list of defences, redoubts, batteries, guardhouses, ferry wharves, and outposts and interior guards including General and Post Headquarters, would account for much of this duty, particularly when some of the tours involved one or more days and presence at some distance from the Grand Parade. Thus on August 30, a guard was posted at an advance post at Fort Montgomery on a seven days tours. This post which was some five miles below West Point had been captured by the British October 6, 1777, but a short while later was relinquished by them and again occupied by American troops.

Accordingly Guard Mount represented an important phase of duty, and it may be of interest to describe the assembling of the various details from each regiment as prescribed by Colonel Lamb who became Commandant of the garrison August 14, after the departure of Colonel Malcom with the New York Levies. According to Garrison Orders of August 19, 1780; as copied in Colonel Wade's Orderly Book:

The guards in the future will mount at 7 o'clock the Drummer at the Main Guard will beat the Drums Call at half past 6 o'clock which is to be immediately answered by those of the Train—Next by those in Fort Arnold and from thence to be taken up by the troops in the New Barracks & Continued Throughout the Barracks and Encampments until it has been answered by all the Regiments on the Ground the Guard Drum will then give the signal by two Tapps on the Drum for the whole to beat the Troop along their several Regiments to the turn out at Roll Call when the Adjutants will march their Respective Details with all the Musick of their Regiments to the Grand Parade as soon as the whole are Assembled The Adjutants of the Day will proceed to tell off (f) the Guards and post the Officers. He will then Order

the musick to beat the Short Troop in front of the Guard from the left to the right then by wheeling to the left about Return with a Quick March to the Left of the Guard taking Care to salute the Officer of the Day and acquaint him the Guards are Ready on which the Officer of the Day will order them to Perform such Exercise as he shall think Propper are to be marcht of to their several Posts. The Adjutant will then Order Attention — Carry Arms Support Arms by Plattons to the Right wheel as soon as he observeth the Plattons are Wheeled and Dressed forward March at which word the Musick strike up a March — Common time. The Officers Commanding Guards will then wheel his Platoon to the Left and March Past the Officer of the Day Ordering his Men to Carry Arms Just as he Comes opposite the Officer of the Day they are again to salute him with 3 Rolls and the Drum of the Guard will Take up the Beat the rest are to be Dismissed — The Retreat is to be beat every Evening at sunset the Drummers are to observe the same signals for beginning as directed for the Troop.

In addition to guard duty at West Point Colonel Wade's Brigade supplied details for fatigue or active labor, both on the post and at other stations or duties. It should be recalled that the fortifications at West Point had been constructed by troops stationed there or in the immediate vicinity and while far from completion in 1780, work involving some \$3,000,000 already had been done. Thus in 1779, when General Parson's Brigade had been stationed opposite to West Point on the east bank of the Hudson River, it was under orders daily to send over fatigue parties to work on the defences. At times there were as many as 2500 men thus employed.

General Washington from June to December of that year was living at West Point with Headquarters in the Moore House, and work proceeded actively as the garrison was substantial and the main army was in the vicinity. Earlier in the summer of 1780, there had been training of the garrison by General Steuben who had the troops exempted from fatigue duty. By the time the Massachusetts Brigade arrived, that famous drillmaster, had been relieved and apparently little if anything was done in the way of intensive training.

As typical of the fatigue work General Orders of August 13 provided that 200 men from the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Brigades be detailed for fatigue work under Major Villefranche, who had succeeded Colonel Kosciusko as chief engineer officer of the post.

Another instance of such work may be found in the After General Orders of August 15, which directed that a detachment of 4 Captains, 6 Subalterns, 12 sergeants, 10 drums and fifes, and 400 rank and file from the Massachusetts Brigade and Colonel Bartlett's Regiment were to be paraded every morning immediately after gun-firing for fatigue at West Point. They were to continue the fatigue from sunrise to nine o'clock in the morning and from three o'clock to sunset. The officer commanding the detachment would receive his instructions from the engineer.

Important as the fatigue duty unquestionably was, it was slighted at times by the various details, and the officers in charge were urged to require punctuality and regular attendance. Such duty was largely required of Colonel Wade's Brigade while at West Point, but unfortunately and perhaps of even greater significance was the despatch of details to Fishkill to serve as guards, or for the making of cartridges, repair of boats, cutting of wood, and similar employment at the supply depot there. For example as early as August 9 there were ordered 2 subalterns, and 90 privates from the Massachusetts Brigade to go to Fishkill to make cartridges under the direction of artillery officers from Colonel Lamb's detachment.

As already suggested the service of supply in the American Army and its supervision by the Continental Congress left much to be desired, and at Fishkill the Commandant, Lieut. Col. Udny Hay, who had the confidence of General Washington, sought to function as efficiently as possible, and from time to time asked Generals Washington and Arnold for substantial details from the West Point Garrison for work and for necessary guards. Thus after Lieutenant Colonel Hay, the commandant, had requested 200 men to cut wood for the garrison, Arnold wrote on August 12 to General Washington as to whether he should send the detail desired. A reply came dated the following day

from General Washington as follows: "The providing wood in season for the Garrison is so essential a matter that you will be pleased to furnishing Colo. Hay with the men required." Accordingly a detail from the Massachusetts Brigade of 2 Captains, 4 Subalterns, 10 Sergeants, 4 Drums and Fifes, and 200 Rank and File who were good ax men, was ordered to Fishkill.

Nevertheless, this depletion of the garrison at West Point was seriously considered by the responsible officers, and on August 16, Major Franks, Arnold's Aid, wrote to Colonel Lamb, the commandant of the post that no more men were to be taken from the garrison and sent up river. Again Colonel Lamb writing to Arnold on August 19 in regard to the shortage of ammunition calling attention to "the details for guards and fatigue at Fishkill" reported "that there were hardly enough men otherwise to turn out." The condition was also realized at Headquarters for Major Franks, wrote to Colonel Lamb, "no more can be taken from the garrison as it will be weakened by the draft of 200 men to go up the river to Col. Hay to cut wood. I agree to your opinion and have recommended it to the Quartermaster."⁸

With such large and frequent details, it was more than evident that both the administration and upkeep of the post at West Point and the maintenance of discipline were most difficult, and the work of Colonel Wade as brigade commander was rendered hard and unsatisfactory with little he personally could do to improve conditions. As Colonel Lamb stated on August 18 "exclusive of the guards we have between four and five hundred men daily on fatigue. This is murder to a garrison whose troops ought to have some little discipline."

However, Colonel Hay was still importunate in his requests and on September 5 wrote asking for more troops. Nevertheless, it should be realized that Fishkill was an important post and depot and various orders were issued for its protection in case the enemy should pass the barriers at West Point. Thus on September 3 Lieutenant Colonel

8 Lamb Correspondence at New York Historical Society.

Varick, Arnold's Military Secretary, had written for Arnold to Major William M. Betts at Fishkill that with indications of an attack from the enemy, and as ordered by General Washington, flat boats should be sent down to King's Ferry.

The garrison at West Point, now under General Arnold's command, including the Massachusetts Brigade, required certain necessary reorganization of personnel. In this connection there is available an interesting letter of Arnold's aid, Lieutenant Colonel Richard Varick, dated from Robinson's House, September 5, 1780, and addressed to Colonel Alexander Scammel,⁹ the Adjutant General of the Continental Army at this time, probably at Headquarters at Tappan. The letter is preserved in the Library of Congress and is significant in that it apparently is in a reply to a suggestion made to name Colonel Nathaniel Wade as a Deputy Adjutant General for the Post and Department. Colonel Varick writes of Colonel Wade,

This Militia Garrison does not furnish any milita (?) officer of sufficient Capacity to execute that office with Propriety. Inclosed you have an opinion of (a) Colonel Commandant Wade's abilities. he commands the Mass^{tt} Brigade & is a man of the most superior talents as well as appearance of any of these Gentry. But is there not an impropriety in such an appointment when we have Continental officers such as Livingston, Sheldon, Bauman etc, in the Department etc.

It would indeed be interesting to know on what Colonel Varick based the opinion of Colonel Wade just quoted, as he is said to have visited West Point only two or three times and was busily engaged at headquarters particularly in the absence of Major Franks, who had left for Philadelphia on August 23 to bring Mrs. Arnold to Robinson's House, which they reached on September 15. Likewise there are few records surviving of visits of Colonel Wade to Headquarters at Robinson's House where he could have met Colonel Varick.

It would seem probable that Colonel Wade's reputation

⁹ Colonel Alexander Scammel (1747-1781) was chosen by Congress to succeed Thomas Pickering, as Adjutant General of the Continental Army and served until January 1, 1781.

was known at General Headquarters as Colonel Scammel had served with General Sullivan in the Rhode Island campaign of 1778, and that in a letter not preserved Colonel Wade had been mentioned for this detail. The opinion of Colonel Varick, just quoted, may be considered complimentary to Colonel Wade in view of his short service at the West Point garrison. The General Orders of September 5, 1780, announced that Captain Lieutenant Isaac Hubbell, who had been serving as Acting Deputy Adjutant General was now appointed to that position and as Sub-Inspector of the troops in the department until further orders.

For this date, September 5, 1780, there is available a return of the Massachusetts Brigade of New Levies commanded by Nathaniel Wade, which gives the total strength of that organization as 1565 all ranks.

The administration of post and department at West Point including the garrison was on a far from efficient basis due to Arnold's lack of interest and administrative capacity as already noted, not to mention his predominant concern with his own nefarious schemes. Yet with the general conditions affecting the American Army in 1780, such a state of affairs was hardly remarkable and much was taken for granted.

Colonel Wade was responsible for the conduct and discipline of a militia brigade of short term troops under conditions that did not permit of their rigorous training and military development as had been undertaken with the garrison troops by Steuben earlier in the summer. The enforcement of proper discipline was far from an easy task in view of conditions existing on the post and with a group of militia officers of varied experience and abilities. Mention already has been made of guard and fatigue duties, but deficiencies of conduct such as robbery of fruit and vegetables from neighboring farms, theft of rails and timber for firewood, mid-day bathing in the River, failure to keep arms clean, and proper policing of quarters, and like breaches on the part of rank and file, and as well as a lack of adequate supervision, promptness and maintenance of military records on the part of his officers were all natural

problems which required the attention of the brigade commander. Nevertheless, General Orders and records of court martials show that a reasonable standard of discipline was maintained, though doubtless far below that of the troops of the Continental Line with the main army. But with short term militia hastily raised with but limited training, it is hardly fair to judge officers and men by other than a reasonable standard of performance and this beyond question Colonel Wade was able to secure.

Arnold wrote on September 10 that the weak condition of the garrison at West Point prevented any detachment of troops to other posts and services. He also wrote the following day to General Washington describing the system of signals arranged in case of a British attack and stated that cannon would be sent down from West Point. Already two cannon, a 4-pounder and a howitzer, had been sent down to Colonel Livingston at Verplancks Point, rather against the judgment of Colonel Lamb. However, they served a very useful purpose as mounted at Tellers Point they were directed against The *Vulture* on Friday morning, September 22, and compelled that vessel to drop down the River out of range, so that André, who had been in conference with Arnold at the house of Joshua Hett Smith, was unable to return to it and was forced to make the overland journey on which he was captured.

As already mentioned General Washington constantly was concerned about any possible attack from below on West Point, and specially mindful for its safety wrote on September 2, 1780, to Arnold as follows:¹⁰

Head-Quarters, Bergen County, 2 Sepember, 1780

Dear Sir,

Having received intelligence that the enemy are in preparation for some important movement I thought it advisable that you should be apprized of it, because it is uncertain, if the information should prove true whether their object will be an attack on the main army, or an attempt on the posts in the Highlands. I wish you, therefore to take every precaution to put the latter in the most defensible state which is possible. Orders are already given for the two State regi-

10 Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. VII, p. 181.

ments of Connecticut to form a junction with Colonel Sheldon, and in case the enemy should make demonstrations seriously attacking the fortifications on the North River, you will call this force immediately to your assistance, collect all your detachments, and withdraw the garrisons from the Post at Kings' Ferry; at the same time removing the stores from thence. For this and other purposes you will, without delay, be pleased to order sixty boats to that place, with five men each, to be ready to act as circumstances may require.

I am, dear Sir, &c.
Go. Washington.

Accordingly Colonel Varick, Arnold's Military Secretary, issued the following order in the name of that general from his Headquarters under date of September 4, 1780:

Sir,

The Genl. requests that you will order five Subs. fifteen serjeants & 250 rank & file who are good oarsmen & well acquainted with the management of boats, to be immediately drafted from the Garrison. The senior officer to call on the Garrison Quartermaster, who will furnish him with Directions. — The men to take their arms & to be supplied with twenty Rounds of Ammunition Each & 2 Days provision.

By Commd. M. Genl Arnold
R. V. Secy.

Colo Wade. —

The orders for Ammunition to be given in favor of the respective Regimental Quarter Masters, who are to be answered therefor.

Colonel Varick to Colonel Wade, September 4, 1780.
(Original in Library of Congress.)

Benedict Arnold's order for the 60 boats.

At this time, so far as is apparent, General Arnold merely exercised the ordinary routine command of this important post. As a result adequate opportunity was afforded for his own personal affairs, of which apparently he was most secretive as well as his reasons for various trips to the south. As a typical instance of ordinary administrative routine may be cited a letter from Colonel Wade to Arnold dated September 6, 1780, and preserved in the Library of Congress. It is in reply to a request for

information as to the dates of the commissions of the field officers of the Massachusetts Brigade. It is reproduced herewith:

West Point, Sept. 6th, 1780

Sir,

Agreeable to Your Hon'rs Direction I have Given orders for the Several Field Officers, belonging to the Massachusetts Brigade, to Send in to Head Quarters, the time their Respective Commissions Bear Date,— The following are the Dates of Mine; and my other Field Commissions, and the Establishment upon which they were Given— By which, when Arranged with the, others, Your Hon'r will be able to Determine our Point of Command according to Rank —

Viz:— Myself Commis'd Col'l of a Reg't of Infantry Raised by the Massachusetts State, Commission Bearing Date 27th Day of Feb'y 1778.

Lt. Col'. Huse Commission Bearing Date July 16, 1779
Second Essex Reg't. of Militia Second Brigade

Maj'r Low Commission Bearing Date March 4th 1778 first
Essex Reg't. of Militia Second Brigade

I am, Sir,

Your Hon'rs obedient Humble
Servt

Nath'l Wade Col'l

Hon'bl Maj'r Gen'l Arnold

In the Garrison After Orders of September 8, 1780, Major Low of Colonel Wade's Regiment was detached to relieve Major Benjamin Farrar at Fishkill. He was to call on the Commandant at 8 o'clock the following morning for orders. There had been complaints of the behavior of the troops at this post and a change of command was determined on.¹¹

At Fishkill a detachment of the Massachusetts Brigade had been stationed as a guard and for fatigue duty. Apparently it had a strategic and intrinsic importance as a base, for frequent reference is found in orders for its protection in case the enemy should be able to sail up the river and pass the fortifications and barriers at West Point.

¹¹ Correspondence of General Washington, Library of Congress, 1915, Vol. II, p. 1515.

About this time Arnold definitely informed himself as to the strength of the garrison and the nature, number and disposition of its armament of defense. On September 5, 1780, Major Sebastian Bauman of the Artillery wrote to him transmitting a return of the ordnance and the arrangement of the guns, howitzers, and mortars, aggregating some 100 pieces of various calibres.

Likewise Major Villefranche, the engineer officers, supplied a list of the various defenses of West Point and vicinity with the number of men outside of artillery required to man them. Already¹² a list of the works at West Point and Arnold's opinion of their nature and strength had been given and this and other data was included in the material given to Major André and found on his person at the time of his capture. While the list of works at West Point was in the handwriting of Arnold as copied from various reports, in some cases the actual documents as reported to him figured in the material actually turned over. This would seem to indicate dependence on the work of others rather than a personal examination and knowledge of the various elements of the defense.

As illustrating what Arnold's principal interest was at this time reference might be made to the fact that he had discussed¹³ with one of his officers the best method of defense in the event of a British attack, whether the works should be defended or the enemy should be met in the defiles as they advanced from the south. Arnold in the discussion was said to have declared for the latter alternative, and it was believed that he had so planned, in which event the West Point garrison so advanced would have been surrounded and compelled to surrender or cut to pieces.

The dramatic development and revelation of Arnold's Treason is of course one of the compelling episodes of the American Revolution and has received the attention of many historians in extenso, especially Carl Van Doren¹⁴,

¹² See ante page.

¹³ William Gordon, *History of the American Revolution*, London, 1788, Vol. III, p. 485.

¹⁴ Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution*, New York, 1941.

who has utilized the significant documents of the Clinton Papers in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

Inasmuch as Colonel Wade had no special part in these events other than as noted, it is unnecessary in the present pages to refer in detail to the capture of Major André and the momentous events happening at Robinson's House on September 25, 1780.

Among the papers found on Major André at the time of his capture was the following summary in Arnold's own handwriting:¹⁵

Estimate of Forces at W'st Point and its Dependencies	
September 13, 1780	
A brigade of Massachusetts Militia and two regiments of Rank and File New Hampshire, Inclusive of 166 Batteaux Men at Verplanck's and Stony Points	992
On command and Extra Services at Fish kills, New Windsor, &c., &c., who may be called in occasionally	852
3 Regiments of Connecticut Militia under the Com'd of Colonel Wells in the lines near N. Castle	488
A detachment of New York levies on the lines	115
	Militia 2,447
Colonel Lamb's Regiment	167
Colonel Livingston's at Verplanck and Stony Pts	80 247
Colonel Sheldon's Dragoons in the lines about one half mounted	142
Batteaux Men and Artificers	250
	3,086

That Colonel Wade from time to time visited Headquarters at Robinson's House and conferred with Arnold is shown by occasional letters and records of slight importance. On one such visit he brought up the matter of the discharge of one Captain Fernald of his command on the score of ill health, and wrote to that officer under date of September 18, in a letter preserved in the Library of Congress.

15 Boynton, *History of West Point*, New York, 1863, p. 112.

It would appear also that Colonel Wade not only visited Headquarters on Sunday, September 17, 1780, but was a guest at midday dinner at that time. It is quite probable that he crossed the river in Colonel Lamb's barge with that officer and the Officer of the Day, who following the usual Army custom was also dining with the Commander-in-chief of the Department. Other guests at Robinson's House at that week-end were Mr. & Mrs. Joshua Hett Smith who figured in the approaching treason episode.

Arnold discussed with Colonel Lamb the propriety and nature of a reply to a communication from Colonel Beverly Robinson, now with the British Army, requesting an interview on personal matters ostensibly under a flag of truce. Such action Colonel Lamb opposed vigorously unless there was direct authorization from General Washington, who it happened Arnold was to see that evening at Kings Ferry on the Commander-in-chief's trip east to meet Rochambeau.

It is more than likely that on this day occurred an interesting incident that Professor Daniel Treadwell recalled as told him after the War by Colonel Wade. In view of Arnold's frequent absences from the post and his keeping secret from his military family most of his personal concerns, it is quite possible that the following occurrence took place.

Colonel Wade, as he told the story to Professor Treadwell, on taking leave of his host after dinner was accompanied by one of Arnold's aids on his way to the shore of the River to take his boat back to return to West Point. The name of the aid Professor Treadwell unfortunately could not remember after the lapse of some years, but the incident he described from memory as follows:¹⁶

On arriving near the shore, the Major suddenly changed the subject of conversation and said in an impressive voice, 'Col. Wade, there is something going on here that I do not understand and cannot find out. I say this to put you on your guard at the Fort. I fear there is something brewing

¹⁶ *Colonel Nathaniel Wade*, by the late Professor Daniel Treadwell, Ipswich, Mass., *Antiquarian Papers*, May, 1881, Vol. II, No. XIX. Reprinted from the *Boston Courier*.

about us, and all I can say is look out for'. With these words he suddenly returned upon his path, evidently to avoid all inquiry or explanation. Col. Wade was wholly unable at the time to guess from what quarter the threatened mischief might be expected. But after Arnold's defection it became evident that the Major had his suspicions excited by the secret communications which were carried on, or by the privacy with which Arnold wrote, and the care with which he kept certain papers hidden from all about him. He therefore took this method to rouse the vigilance of a principal officer of the garrison, though he did not feel sufficiently sure of himself or of his suspicions to make any charges or insinuations against his general. Professor Treadwell in writing these recollections, spoke of Colonel Wade's expression of opinion that the Major presenting these confidences showed a high sense of honor and fidelity to his Commander, as well as acuteness in observing unusual manifestations that he could not explain.

Unfortunately Professor Treadwell forgot the name of the officer and other details of Colonel Wade's reminiscences which would have been most valuable and interesting. He believed that it must have been either Lieutenant Colonel Varick or Major Franks, then serving as Arnold's aids, but he was so impressed by the warning that he would have been put on his guard and might have saved the fort and the garrison had any suspicious orders been received or unusual circumstances developed.¹⁷

In this connection Professor Treadwell wrote of Colonel Wade, that "he was a very taciturn man, rarely speaking of the events of the war, and especially silent as to his own brave and honorable share in it."

Aside from the foregoing incident nothing apparently had come to Colonel Wade's attention to arouse any suspicion of unusual or untoward activity on the part of his Commander-in-chief. Furthermore it may be assumed that without knowledge or suspicion of overt or even questionable acts on the part of Arnold, he probably would have

¹⁷ This incident and Professor Treadwell's communication have been thoroughly considered in William Abbatt, *The Crisis of the Revolution*, New York, 1899, see p. 44 note.

considered anything strange or unusual none of his business or concern.

While Arnold's personal aids were finding various matters in no way to their liking or understanding, they were in total ignorance of his doings, especially when they involved his departures from Headquarters alone except to meet General Washington or Mrs. Arnold. They were perplexed and annoyed by many strange circumstances and unexplained relations with various individuals on the part of their chief. However, it was not entirely extraordinary that for important intelligence work with spies or undercover agents within the enemy lines a general might keep his own counsel, as did LaFayette when Arnold asked for General Washington's sources of information in the City of New York.

Likewise from Arnold's aids, except as noted, came no suspicion or discussion of matters at Headquarters. It is here unnecessary to recall the activities of General Washington on his trip to Hartford to meet General Rochambeau, and his stopping for a delayed breakfast at Robinson's House after Arnold had left suddenly, when he received news of the capture of Major André, leaving a message of excuse that he had been called to West Point.

After Arnold had received such a message from Lieutenant Colonel Jameson informing him of the capture of John Anderson, (Major John André), he hastily left the breakfast table, said "Goodbye" to his wife, and leaving word that he had been called to West Point mounted a horse and went to his barge at the landing. At the table had been Colonels Hamilton and McHenry of General Washington's staff, having arrived in advance of the Commander-in-chief as he had visited certain defences on his way down. After a late breakfast and noting the absence of Arnold, whose message he had received, General Washington, decided straightway to cross the river to West Point. In company with Lafayette and Knox he landed, but received no official welcome or salute. With the guard turned out Colonel Lamb, the commandant, appeared in some embarrassment to inform the General that he had not seen Arnold that morning or indeed for several days. A brief

inspection was made at which we have no record that Colonel Wade was present. In fact probably that officer did not meet his commander, for later Washington, after dispatching Colonel Lamb on a mission to the forts below, inquired who was the next officer in command at the post.

At the landing on the east bank of the River, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, who had opened the package of documents sent to General Washington received the momentous intelligence of Arnold's treason forwarded by an express which had missed Washington returning from Hartford where he had been conferring with the French Marshal Rochambeau.

From this point events moved rapidly and with the characteristic vigor and direct action of the Commander-in-chief, Hamilton was ordered at once to ride down the River Road and endeavor to intercept Arnold on his way to the *Vulture*. Inquiry was made of Colonel Lamb, who was ordered to take over the command of the posts at Verplancks Point and Stony Point from Colonel James Livingston, as to who had the immediate command at West Point. When informed it was Colonel Wade, the General said, "Colonel Wade is a true man, I am satisfied. Straightway in the course of the afternoon Colonel Lamb wrote to Colonel Wade the following order:

Robinson's House, Sept. 25, 1780

Dear Sir: Immediately on Receipt of this send Ten Boats properly manned to Nelson's Point, where they are to remain until further orders. You will pay particular attention to this, as it is indispensably necessary.

I am, dear Sir,

Your obedient servant,

John Lamb,

Colo. Commandant.

Colo. Wade.

(The original of this Order has survived)

Doubtless this order was issued in the hope of intercepting Arnold on his way to the *Vulture*, but it was found he had too great a start and it was countermanded. After sending Colonel Lamb down the River to supercede Colonel Livingston, whom he ordered to report to him, General

Washington made his plans and on the return of Colonel Hamilton found that he brought a letter from Arnold sent from the *Vulture* under flag of truce to be forwarded to the Commander-in-chief. Accordingly he sent the following communication to Colonel Wade, the original of which has been preserved by the Wade family. The text is said to be in the handwriting of Alexander Hamilton. It runs as follows:

To Col. Wade, at West Point

Head Quarters, Robinson's House, 25th Sept, 1780

Sir:

Gen.^l Arnold is gone to the enemy. I have just now received a line from him, enclosing one to Mrs. Arnold, dated on board the *Vulture*. From this circumstance, and Col. Lamb being detached on some business, the command of the garrison, for the present, devolves on you. I request, that you will be as vigilant as possible; and, as the enemy may have it in contemplation to attempt some enterprise, even tonight, against these posts, I wish you to make immediately after the receipt of this, the best disposition you can of your force, so as to have a proportion of men in each work, on the west side of the river. You will see me or hear from me further tomorrow.

I am, Sir,

your mo ob't serv't

Go: Washington

In military affairs it is often interesting to realize how much mere chance or routine plays in later events. Thus on September 20, Major Eli Leavenworth with the Sixth Connecticut Continental Line Regiment reported to Arnold. The command was ordered to Verplancks Point and encamped somewhere in the neighborhood. However, Colonel Hamilton on his hurried trip down the River on September 25 was able to communicate with this organization, which under the command of its colonel, Return Jonathan Meigs, was one of the first organizations to march to West Point.

One of the first orders of Colonel Wade on the early evening of September 25th and recorded in his *Orderly Book* as an "After Order dated at 8 o'clock P.M." provided that 1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 3 Sergeants, and 50 Rank

Head Quarters New York
Sept 25th 1781

Sir

General Arnold is gone to the Enemy
I have just now received a line from him enclosing
one to Mrs. Arnold dated on board the Vulture.
From this circumstance it will appear he being detached
for some business, the command of the Garrison
at the present devolves on you. I request you will
be as vigilant as possible & as the Enemy may
give it in contemplation to attempt some enter-
prise even to night against these Posts I wish
you to make immediately after receipt of this
the best disposition you can of your force & to
have a proportion of Men in each work.
Be most judicious of the Service. You will receive
News from me further tomorrow.

I am Sir

Your most Obedt. Servt

G. Washington

FROM THE ORIGINAL THE ORDER OF GENERAL WASHINGTON TO COLONEL NATHANIEL WADE
COMMANDING THE MASSACHUSETTS BRIGADE TO TAKE OVER COMMAND OF WEST POINT
AFTER THE DEFECTION OF BENEDICT ARNOLD.

and File were to be turned out immediately with arms and blankets, and the Captain was to report to Colonel Wade for orders. This detail was to be made from the New Hampshire and Massachusetts Regiments and is duly specified in the order.¹⁸

Naturally at this time the alarm had become general and the Garrison After Orders issued at 2 o'clock on the morning of September 26, embody General Washington's directions to Colonel Wade to make the best possible distribution of his forces.

"The following Disposition of Troops to take place Immediately and Officers Commanding Regiments and Corps will have their Men Completed with Arms and Ammunition and everything in the most perfect Order for Immediate Action. Officers Commanding Regiments will take post with their own Regiments and those Regiments that are Divided by the field Officer of the same rank agreeable to Seniority.

Disposition

Colo Wades Regiment at Fort Arnold

Col'L Bartletts at Fort Putnam

Col'o Murrays to send 100 to Fort Willis and the Rest to Fort Webb.

Col'o Rands Regiment to be Divided Equally between Redoubt No. 1 & 2 Col'o Thayer at No. 3 & 4.

All the Draughted Artificers to join their respective Regiments Immediately.

Major Boardman (Bauman?) will have everything in his Department in Order for Immediate Service.

The Garrison Orders for September 26 provide for substantial details both for guard and fatigue.

The Stationed Fatigue to be employed this day at Fort Putnam, Fort Constitution and the Forrage Masters a Return of the strength of that part of Col'o Miggs Regiment now in Garrison to be made immediately.

The Garrison Quarter Master will have those Posts and Redoubts that are not already supplied with water Caskes are to be supplied Immediately and the Caskes are to be Filled

¹⁸ See Colonel Wade's Orderly Book, September 25, 1780. Also Captain Ephraim Stearn's Order Book, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol. XIX, p. 385. This text is the same as in Colonel Wade's manuscript Orderly Book.

by the Troops Destined for their Defense by Last Nights Orders.

The Commissary to make an Immediate Return of all Provisions deposited in the Different Works in the Garrison and its Dependencies specifying the Quantity in Each Work and what he has on hand. The Quarter Master of the Garrison is Likewise to make a Return of all the water Caskes deposited in the workes and Order a Cooper to rim all such as shall stand in need.

Whether the above orders were issued before the receipt of the following communication from Headquarters is not known. General Washington wrote as follows:

Sir,

Under the present situation of affairs, I think it necessary that the respective works at West Point and its dependencies be supplied with provisions and water. You will therefore be pleased to have a proper quantity distributed to each of them without any loss of time.

I am, Sir,
your most ob'dt serv't,
Go: Washington.

Head Qr 26 Septr, 1780
Colonel Wade.

Colonel Wade replied to this communication, a draft of which is to be found in the Library of Congress,¹⁹ that pickled fish was about all the available provision, but that the water supply was abundant.

It may be of interest in this connection to quote the impression made on a man in the ranks by the announcement of Arnold's treason and the measures taken to secure the safety of the post. Daniel Granger in the Memoir already quoted²⁰ recalls:—

When for the first time I saw Gen^l Washington He rode round the Point, took a View of all, with Gen^l Wane²¹, &

¹⁹ *Washington Correspondence*, Library of Congress, 1915, Vol. II. Abbatt, *Crisis of the Revolution*, New York, 1899, pp. 45-47.

²⁰ *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 4, March, 1930, p. 558. It should be noted that these Reminiscences were committed to paper when the author was some 80 years old and in some details his recollection seems to be faulty.

hastened off down to head quarters, and sent on Troops to defend the Point as fast as they should come. Much activity prevailed during the afternoon & Night in making preparation to contend and repel the Enemy if they should come. This was confidently expected. A little before Sundown Mager Andree was broat on to the Point. I was on the quay when the Guard landed with him. One of My Messmates was on Guard, to which he was first carried when taken, and the same Guard conducted him to the Point under the command of an Officer by the name of a Janieson, a Major. My Messmate told me much about it, how, and when, Andree was brought to the Guard in the Night, by the Three Men who took him, that he was examined & searched, and that the Papers, which he took from Arnold, were found in his boots, which explained the Treachery of Arnold, which he intended to accomplish, and to deliver up the Point, the strongest Hold, in the United States, to the Enemy for *Money*. The Troops were all out & placed to the best advantage, & stood to the Lines the whol Night, & had Pikes in their hands. I had a Pike as it was called given to me, to defend the Lines, if the Enemy should come & attempt to scale the Walls, having ladders or otherwise. The Pikes were, a piece of Wood about eight feet long, made round & smooth, larger than a Rake-handle with an Iron blade on the End about ten inches long, pointed, & flat, with sharp edges. Once in the Night, I was called off with several others & required to go into the Magazine, to bring out cartridges, for the Cannon &c, Lights were carried in. & open, no Lantons which was very hazardous. If a spark fell on the scattered powder, All must have been into Eternity in an Instant, I felt in more danger than I would have felt in Battle. The Magazine was wholly under Ground, covered with large hewn Timber and covered (with) a Body of Earth & flat Rocks to make it proof against Bum Shals, During the Night there was an Alarm That the Enemy were approaching in great force. This caused a great bustle for a time, all to quarters, Cannon loaded, & also Muskits, in order to receive them with the true Spirit of reses-

21 If this refers to Washington's visit on September 25, Granger is in error as he was accompanied by Lafayette and Knox, while there is no record of any trip to the Post on the 26th. Wayne was left in command of the main army at Tappan, and as stated was ordered by Washington personally and through Hamilton to forward troops to West Point as soon as possible.

tance, but it turned out to be a large Virginia Regiment of regular Troops, ordered up by Washington, and had marched all Night, in order to reach the Point before Daylight, as it was confidently expected that there would be an Attack²²

One of the first steps to be taken by General Washington was to communicate with General Greene whom he had left in command of the main army at Tappan. He wrote as follows:

Robinson's House, 25 September, half past 7 o'clock,
P.M., 1780.

Dear Sir,

I request that you will put the division on the left in motion as soon as possible, with orders to proceed to King's Ferry, where, or before they arrive there, they will be met with further orders. The division will come on light, leaving their heavy baggage to follow. You will also hold all the troops in readiness to move on the shortest notice. Transactions of a most interesting nature, and such as will astonish you, have been discovered.

I am, dear Sir, &C.
Go. Washington²³

The troops were duly started and on the following day, September 26, General Washington wrote to General Wayne:

D^r Sir

Instead of coming to the Ferry you will march your brigade by Storms and Clements to West Point sending your baggage by water. You will for this purpose send forward your Q M. to King's ferry to prepare boats, with directions, if there are not a sufficiency there, to come on to West Point for them.

I am Sir

Robinsons Sep^r. 26." 1780

Your most Obed'
humb serv
Go. Washington

If there should be two brigades
on the march the Officer

²² Granger again evidently is in error here as the Pennsylvania or Connecticut Continental Line troops were probably the first to arrive in response to Washington's Orders.

²³ Sparks *Writings of Washington*, (Boston, 1839), Vol. VII, p. 215.

Commanding will detach one of them in the above manner and halt the other at some convenient place in the rear of Stoney Point ab. William's General Wayne

Brigadier General William Irvine in command of the Second Pennsylvania Brigade reported to General Headquarters from Smith's White House on reaching Haverstraw, that they would rest there and march to West Point on the following day, in the meanwhile holding "the pass by Storms giving access to West Point."²⁴

Irvine marched over the mountains sixteen miles in four hours without losing a man. In this connection he wrote:²⁵

I was ordered on here with my brigade (2d Penn'a) on the alarm that was occasioned by Arnold's villainous business. I made a rapid march and found the place on my arrival in a most miserable condition in every respect. About 1800 militia had been at the Post, but were chiefly detached on various pretences. Those who remained had not a single place assigned them, nor had a single order what to do. I have not heard from Head quarters to-day, but I have reason to believe that Major Andre and Smith must be hung.

General Irvine's strictures on the state of the post when he arrived at West Point seem hardly justified in view of the reports and orders already quoted, but his observations were only natural coming from a regular officer taking over command where the garrison was largely short term militia, and the temporary commander a militia officer.

In fact General Washington personally had been deeply concerned with the security of the post and the following order indicates certain positive measure:

To the Officer Commanding at West Point.

Robinson's House, 27 September, 1780.

Sir,

You will immediately make a distribution of the troops under your command to the several posts, that the whole may

²⁴ Charles J. Stille, *Anthony Wayne and the Pennsylvania Line*, (Philadelphia, 1893), p. 234.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

be in a state of defence at the shortest notice. You will also have each work supplied with ten days' provision, wood, water, and stores, and keep up constantly that supply; and you will take every other precaution for the security of the post. The enemy will have acquired from General Arnold a perfect knowledge of the defences, and will be able to take their measures with the utmost precision. This makes it essential, that our vigilance and care should be redoubled for its preservation. You will do every thing in your power to gain information of the enemy's designs, and give me intelligence, as early as possible, of any movement against you. A party of militia, who have been employed cutting wood, and another as guards to the stores at Fishkill, that have been called in, are to return to their destinations. Colonel Gouvon will remain a few days at this post, to assist in the necessary arrangements.

I am, &c.

G^o Washington²⁶

On September 28, 1780, as shown by Garrison Orders, Brigadier General Irvine took command of the post and in general the increased garrison discipline was tightened. By that evening Major General McDougal arrived and Evening Orders were issued in his name. General Irvine was ordered to detail parties to mount guard at important points and occupy the various forts. In case of a sudden emergency alarm posts were established with an adequate distribution of troops. Thus Colonel Wade's and Colonel Thayer's Regiments were ordered to man Fort Arnold and other posts similarly were covered. Various provisions and adjustments of guards and defence units duly were ordered and fatigue details ordered at the direction of the engineers. Inspection of arms and ammunition continued to be enjoined on all officers and soldiers were made responsible for every cartridge issued.

General McDougal, on September 27 had been ordered by General Washington to take the command of West Point until the arrival of General Sinclair by whom on October 1, 1780, he was relieved under specific orders from General Washington. General McDougal, who

²⁶ From Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, Boston, 1839, Vol. VII, pp. 220-221.

straightway took up his headquarters at Colonel Lamb's quarters, was an eminently suitable choice for this command as two years previously assisted by the engineer officer Kosciusko, he had been engaged in making West Point a position so fortified as to resist any movement by the British up the Hudson River from below. However, General Arthur St. Clair under date of October 1, 1780 received orders from General Washington at Headquarters, Tappan, to "repair forthwith to West Point, and take command of that post with its dependencies till further orders. The troops under your command will consist of the Pennsylvania division, Colonels Meig's and Livingston's regiments of Continental troops, and a body of Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia." Definite instructions as to the organization of this department and its relation to possible attack from below also were included in very definite instructions to govern the commander with due regard to the importance of the post under changed conditions.

As regards Colonel Wade and his brigade the change, of course, dealt with a largely increased garrison and its internal administration and economy, with the usual amount of picket, guard, fatigue, and other duties though much more centralized and rigorously developed. In fact, from now on the post became more adequately maintained and disciplined than it had been at least from Arnold's tenancy of the command.

Colonel Wade was detailed as Field Officer of the Day in the General Orders of October 4, which provided for the control and more regular issue of provisions with proper responsibility for drawing the same by the different units. In the After Orders of this date it was stated that Major General St. Clair having been ordered by his Excellency the Commander-in-chief to take charge of the post and its dependencies General McDougal resigns the command to him.

The General Orders of October 7, the last to be found in Colonel Wade's Orderly Book, give special attention to the visiting of the guards after they have been mounted, and their maintenance with proper vigilance. Colonel Wade

at this time was ordered to post sentinels at Fort Arnold to prevent the serious abuse of burning fascines and abatis for firewood with the threat of serious punishment for any soldier detected in such act. This burning of any available lumber or other wood was one of the most serious breaches of discipline here, and doubtless at many other encampments, and it was only in small part excused by the failure to provide suitable and sufficient firewood from a distance, and not from nearby private owners or government supplies.

On October 9, Major General Nathanael Greene arrived to take over the command of West Point and its dependencies, and the following day came the discharge of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Militia with the sincere thanks of the Commander-in-chief duly announced in the General Orders. Colonel Wade on October 10, left West Point for home, credited with 3 months, 17 days service, including 12 days (240 miles) travel. Captain Peabody of Colonel Wade's Regiment states in his Orderly Book that he also left on the same day and reached his home, Middleton (Danvers) on October 15.

In an official record of a ballot by the Massachusetts House of Representatives for Muster Masters for various counties, dated Nov. 27, 1780, Colonel Nathaniel Wade was chosen Muster Master for Essex County; appointment concurred in by the Senate, Nov. 29, 1780.

Thus both Colonel Wade's field service and his other military activity in the American Revolution ended. At the close of hostilities he continued as a Colonel of Militia in command of the Essex Regiment. This post was rather perfunctory and honorary, but did, however, involve him in a brief though arduous service at the time of Shays' Rebellion in 1787, when State troops under General Lincoln were called out to combat the insurgents. This activity of the Essex Militia will be discussed in a subsequent issue of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*.

MASTER SAVILLE'S POEM ON DESTROYING THE GLOUCESTER MEETING HOUSE IN 1828

By ALFRED MANSFIELD BROOKS

Master Saville, schoolmaster in early life, later trader and finally, twenty years, town-clerk of Gloucester wrote the following poem which he described as "Petition, Remonstrance and Invocation of the First Parish Meeting-House in Gloucester, against pulling it down" which was done in 1828, when it was ninety years old having been built in 1738. The tower of this meetinghouse, seventy feet high, supported a steeple of equal height. On "October twenty-third 1761, about twelve o'clock at night," Parson Chandler records, it "fell by the wind." Rebuilt in 1765, a third shorter, it swayed so dangerously in the great September gale of 1815 that it was taken down and replaced by a still shorter steeple.

The meetinghouse was a large one seating about six hundred worshippers. In these verses about it we have evidence of an early effort to save ancient landmarks, this one a hundred and twenty-five years ago. Also a bit of historically accurate verse which, in connection with architecture, accurate or otherwise, is rare at any time.

A POEM BY "MASTER" SAVILLE

The Petition, Remonstrance and Invocation of the First Parish Meeting-House in Gloucester, against pulling it down.

1828.

PETITION!

"Friends, Countrymen, pray lend me your ears,
Dispel those clouds, dispel my fears,
And do not pull my fabric down,
So venerated by the town.
I do not feel my strength decay,
Time has not made my visage gray;

Although I've stood the test of time
 My Principles are in their prime;
 And I have neither doubts nor fears
 But that I'd stand a hundred years;
 And *firmly* stand, when each of you
 To this vain world shall bid adieu.
 Then listen to my last petition,
 And do not alter my condition,—
 That you, in me, both night and day
 In duty bound may sing and pray.

REMONSTRANCE!

But if to this you will not hear,
 And turn to me a deafened ear,
 This strong Remonstrance I will make,
 That must your finest feelings wake.
 I'll tell you what for you I've done,
 Since first my minutes 'gan to run.
 Have you not had most serious calls,
 Within my venerated walls
 To warn your guilty souls from sin,
 And purify your hearts within?
 Have I not pointed to the skies,
 To show you where your thoughts should rise?
 Of fleeting *time*, with all my power,
 Have I not warned you of the hour?
 And when the hand of cruel Death
 Has stopped at once the vital breath,
 My voice has never failed to tell
 The solemn news by tolling bell.
 Has not my watchful bird¹ on high
 First hailed the dawn of morning sky?
 Or when some dangerous life did flame,
 Say, did I not the fact proclaim?
 With brazen tongue, the warning sound
 Quick send to all the region round?
 Has not the voice of sober *truth*
 Been here promulgated to Age and Youth?

1 The weather vane.

And have I not been *patriotic*,
While some of you, who're more exotic,
Have never felt the dreadful jars
Of Revolutionary Wars?
Did I not stand the Revolution,
Nor feared the shot of execution;
Or did you ever see me run
At sight of ship, or sound of gun?
And do not now their hostile balls
Protrude without my sacred walls?²
And why should you then pull me down,
A patriot, of such renown?

INVOCATION!

Ye noble souls! Ye great and good,
Who built me, where so long I've stood,
I here invoke to save this frame,
Nor let it turn from whence it came;
Rise from the tomb, with spectre power,
And save me from this dreadful hour.

² Some of the cannon balls from the British shipping in the harbor were imbedded in the solid oak timbers and are still preserved.

MASSACHUSETTS TARIFF POLICIES, 1775-1789

By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

The Articles of Confederation were often blamed by historians because of their inability to provide a general policy of federal finance or a unified system of custom duties. There might be some justification for being critical of the national financial situation during this period, but there is really no basis for condemning the tariff systems which were evolving in the thirteen states.

The traditional interpretation of the tariff systems in operation before 1789 held that they were based on expediency and self-interest, that the states were continually striving to discriminate against each other in every possible way, and that trade was being stultified by a veritable maze of conflicting rates, fees, and regulations. This interpretation was associated with the critical period school of history which sought to paint the decade before 1789 as an era of universal confusion and impotence on the part of the federal government.

The long popularity of this view was understandable when one considers that many contemporaries were also convinced that each state, motivated by self-interest solely, was trying to hamper its neighbors' trade. These men pointed to this situation as one of their chief justifications for demanding a stronger central government. So anxious were they to rewrite the Articles of Confederation that many were not above mustering much questionable evidence to support their contention. Their denunciation of the tariff system of the time should not always be taken at face value in light of their desire to prove the incompetence of the central government.

Tench Coxe of Pennsylvania, for example, was one of these advocates of altering the government in existence, and his views were echoed by many. In letters to James Madison and Edmund Randolph he analyzed the current

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situation in regard to commercial regulation and made three principal objections to it. In the first place, Coxe maintained that the tonnage fees being charged on vessels built by and belonging to the citizens of other states were often greater than those imposed on vessels belonging to the citizens of the state enacting the law, and in some cases were equal to or more than the tonnage fees laid upon foreign ships representing countries having commercial treaties with the United States. He further maintained that the duties imposed upon goods imported in vessels built by or belonging to the citizens of other parts of the union were greater than those laid upon goods imported in vessels belonging to citizens of the enacting state. In the last place, he insisted that goods which were grown, produced, or manufactured in the United States were often charged with higher duties upon importation into the enacting state than those imposed on foreign goods of the same kind.¹

The criticism of Coxe was adopted by later historians as a true statement of the situation before 1789. In a brief study published in 1910, Albert Giesecke noted some of the tariff controversies before 1789, but he concluded by cautioning his readers that "We must not forget that such action [discrimination among the states] was really exceptional, for it was usual during the period to exempt goods of the growth or produce of any of the United States from import duties by the legislating state."²

A recent historian, Merrill Jensen, concurred with this, and in his study of America under the Articles of Confederation, pointed out that too much emphasis has been placed upon the differences among state tariff schedules and not enough attention has been paid to their similarities.³ The same criticism has been made of the traditional

1 Tench Coxe to James Madison, Edmund Randolph, St. George Tucker, September 13, 1786, in William Palmer, H. W. Flournoy, eds., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875-1893), IV, 168-169.

2 Albert Giesecke, *American Commercial Legislation before 1789* (Philadelphia, 1910), p. 135.

3 Merrill Jensen, *The New Nation. A History of the United States during the Confederation, 1781-1789* (New York, 1950), pp. 338-341.

analysis of the whole era — too much weight is given to the failures under the Articles to the exclusion of references to the achievements. Successes even more significant in view of the post-war problems confronting a weak government. The success of Washington's government was based on foundations laid under the earlier administration.

In evaluating the state tariff policies in existence during the Confederation period it must be borne in mind that they were designed to achieve four objectives: (1) revenue, (2) protection, (3) retaliation, (4) regulation. In most states all four of these objectives were present in the tariff enactments, but there were some exceptions. W. C. Fisher in his study of tariff policies before 1789 declared the duties levied can conveniently be grouped under four headings: bounties on exports and imports, and duties on exports and imports. In addition there were other charges such as tonnage fees and pilotage fees which were different from impost duties, and drawbacks which were different from export bounties. However, all these different types of duties and fees were designed to accomplish the four objectives mentioned before.⁴

It is the purpose of this paper to examine briefly the tariff system which operated in Massachusetts during the period 1775 to 1789 and to see to what extent it adhered to or deviated from what might be called a national norm. The Massachusetts tariff system should also be studied in light of the criticism made by Coxe and the four principal objectives of commercial legislation before 1789.

An act was adopted by the Massachusetts legislature in November 1781 to raise funds to meet the operating expenses of the government and to suppress "Immorality, Luxury, and Extravagance." This law provided for the following schedule of excise charges which were to be paid by retailers after December 1781:

1.	gal.	Wine.	8 d.
1.	gal.	New England rum.	4 d.
1.	gal.	West Indies rum.	8 d.

⁴ W. C. Fisher, "American Trade Regulation before 1789," *Papers of the American Historical Association* (New York, 1889), III, 467-493.

1.	gal.	Brandy.	8 d.
1.	gal.	Geneva.	8 d.
1.	lb.	Bohea tea.	6 d.
1.	lb.	All other India teas.	1 s. ⁵

This original law was amended and further clarified by a subsequent act adopted in March of the following year. According to this second statute all persons importing any of the items listed above were to be licensed by the state. Twice a year such licensees were to pay the enumerated duties on the quantity of imported goods which had remained unsold. Any goods which had been re-exported was also exempt from duties. The county collectors were empowered to collect the duties from local retailers who had purchased the balance of the goods originally imported and not re-exported or on hand in the importers' warehouses.⁶ At best this was a cumbersome system quite unlike any in operation in the other states. This arrangement made much cross checking necessary and increased the likelihood of error. Unquestionably the state lost much revenue by this system.

Since the existing system was hard to operate, it was soon superseded in 1782 by a more comprehensive system of commercial regulation, although not necessarily a more efficient one. This new act levied a series of excise and custom duties on goods imported into the state or produced there. The complete schedule of charges was as follows:

1.	gal.	Wine.	1 s.
1.	gal.	Foreign brandies.	1 s.
1.	gal.	Geneva.	1 s.
1.	gal.	West Indies rum.	1 s.
1.	gal.	New England rum.	6 d.
1.	gal.	Distilled spirits.	6 d.
1.	lb.	Imported tobacco.	2 d.
1.	lb.	snuff.	6 d.
1.	lb.	Bohea tea.	1 s.
1.	lb.	All other India tea.	2 s.
1.	lb.	Coffee.	2 d.

⁵ *Acts and Resolves of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1890), (1781), November 1, 1781, pp. 525-533, chap. 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, (1781), March 7, 1782, pp. 573-579, chap. 33.

1.	lb.	Cocoa.		2 d.
1.	lb.	Loaf sugar.		5 d.
1.	bb.	Cider. (domestic production)		4 d.
1.	lb.	Bar iron.		1/2 d.
1.	lb.	Imported steel.		1 d.
1.	ft.	Imported glass.		2 d.
1.	oz.	Wrought gold (domestic production)	7 s.	6 d.
1.	oz.	Wrought silver (domestic production)		6 d.
1.		Imported clock.	12 s.	
1.		Imported gold watch	12 s.	
1.		Imported watch other than gold	6 s.	
1.	oz.	Wrought gold imported.	10 s.	
1.	oz.	Wrought silver imported.		8 d.
1.	lb.	loaf sugar (domestic production)		1 d.
1.	lb.	Snuff (domestic production)		3 d.
1.		Clock (domestic production)	6 s.	
1.		Gold watch (domestic pro.)	6 s.	
1.		other watch (domestic pro.)	3 s.	

The same act also provided for excise charges on various types of carriages. There was a 5% ad valorem duty on all wrought iron and steel ware, wrought silks, muslins, lawns, gauzes, cambricks, beaver, castor and felt hats of foreign manufacture, jewelry, looking-glasses, chinaware, earthenware, stoneware, painters' colors, oranges, lemons, limes and dried fruit.

Like the earlier law this one provided that all goods re-exported from the state were not to be dutiable, and the act was to remain in force for only six months after the war ended.⁷

During the following year two additional acts were adopted to explain and to augment the commercial system in existence. The first of these was in the nature of an explanatory act which indicated that the duties levied on sugar were to apply to all kinds of sugar and not only to those enumerated in the act, and the duty on wrought iron and steel ware applied also to all cutlery. Only sugar produced in Massachusetts was to be exempt from all charges.⁸

7 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), November 8, 1782, pp. 91-105, chap. 33.

8 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), March 10, 1783, pp. 128-133, chap. 51.

The second law, which was adopted a few days later, provided for a 2½% ad valorem duty on all European and Indian products and manufactures on which no duty was already specified. This duty was collectible on such items regardless of whether they were imported from foreign ports directly or via another state in the union. The clauses of the earlier acts which allowed a cancellation of duties on goods re-exported out of the state were not applicable in the case of the charges levied by this new law. As in the case of the law of 1782 the new one was to remain operative only until six months after the war.⁹

These acts were soon, however, suspended and superseded by the statute which was to provide the basic system of commercial charges during the period of the Articles of Confederation. Commercial intercourse had been resumed with England by an act of June 4, 1783, and the legislators were motivated to enact a more comprehensive system of duties. The preamble declared that a stable and permanent source of revenue was urgently needed, that every effort would have to be made to build the public credit, and that the earlier acts had proved deficient in these respects.¹⁰ For these reasons, therefore, a new law established the following schedule of duties and excises in Massachusetts:

1.	gal.	Madiera wine.	8 d.
1.	gal.	All other kinds of wine.	6 d.
1.	gal.	Brandy	6 d.
1.	gal.	Geneva.	6 d.
1.	gal.	West India rum.	6 d.
1.	gal.	New England rum.	3 d.
1.	gal.	All other kinds of distilled spirits	3 d.
1.	lb.	Bohea tea.	6 d.
1.	lb.	India teas.	1 s.
1.	lb.	Coffee.	1 d.
1.	lb.	Cocoa.	1 d.
1.	lb.	Imported chocolate.	4 d.
1.	lb.	Imported loaf sugar.	4 d.
1.	lb.	All other kinds of sugar.	½ d.
1.	box.	Lemons (400 to the box).	3 s.

9 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), March 22, 1783, pp. 152-153, chap. 64.

10 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), July 10, 1783, pp. 506-527, chap. 12.

1.	cask.	Raisins.	2 s.	
1.	lb.	Snuff.		4 d.
1.	gal.	Porter, ale, beer.		3 d.
1.		bottle of above.		1 d.
1.	lb.	Imported tobacco.		1 d.
1.	oz.	Wrought silver.	1 s.	
1.	oz.	Wrought gold.	10 s.	
1.		Clock	12 s.	
1.		Gold watch.	12 s.	
1.		All other kinds of watches.	6 s.	
1.		Beaver, beaveret hat.	6 s.	
1.		Castor hat.	3 s.	
1.		All other kinds of hats.	1 s.	

The act further provided for a 5% ad valorem duty on nails, looking-glasses, chinaware, earthenware, stoneware, and glassware, and a 2½% ad valorem on all other goods imported into the state except hemp, salt, and such articles as were grown, produced, or manufactured in the United States. Unlike the earlier acts no remissions were allowed on goods which were landed and then re-exported to another state. The only remission of excise duties was granted to distillers who were excused from paying excise duties on the amount of liquor they produced and then shipped out of the state. If a ship was forced into the harbor to make repairs and compelled to land its goods while doing so, it was also excused from paying duties, but these were the only exceptions.

Within a few months an additional act was passed to explain the law of 1783 and to modify it. According to this new law goods which were not taken from the vessel or float which brought them into a port were to be exempt from paying duties. The law also contained an interesting clause to the effect that if goods, wares, and merchandise were imported which belonged to the citizens of any other state and were to be exported to such state by water, the customary charges would be cancelled if the importer placed the goods under the care of the port authorities and cleared them for their destination through the proper officials within a specified time. However, this was to be granted only under certain conditions for the law provided that "no subject of any other state in this Union,

shall be entitled to the benefit of the foregoing provision, unless there be an act laying duties of impost of equal amount within such state; nor until the legislature of such state shall have passed a law equally beneficial to the subjects of this commonwealth."

The new law also reduced the duty on loaf sugar to 3 d and placed a charge of 1 s. on each hundredweight of cordage and yarns as well as raised the duty on snuff to 8 d. per pound. The ad valorem rates were also changed to provide for charges of 5% on paper, bellows, candles, soap, linseed oil, leather gloves, mitts, beef, pork, butter, and cheese not of American manufacture. There was also to be a 10% ad valorem charge on coaches and riding carriages, harnesses, saddles, bridles, surcingle and girt webbs, boots, bootlegs, shoes, slippers, goloshes, silver and ivory handled knives and forks, and on all kinds of silver plated ware.¹¹

The following year a new act was passed declaring after August 1 there was to be an additional 5% ad valorem duty on wrought pewter, not of American manufacture; an impost of 7½% on all beef, pork, butter, and cheese imported which was not produced in the States; a 10% duty on sole leather, tanned calf skin, bound psalters, psalm books, spelling books and primers, account and blank books, nails, not made in the country. There was a 12½% duty on boots, shoes, bootlegs, shoe vamps, goloshes, slippers, plated ware, hard soap, candles, glue, coaches, chariots, phaetons, chaises, riding chairs, sulkies, and on all parts of riding carriages, bridles, whips, canes, and on all girth web, livery lace, coach and chaise lace, carpets of all kinds, copperplate furniture, umbrellas, muffs, tippets, and on all combs made in foreign lands. The law further provided for a 22½% duty on beer ale, porter, ready made clothes, apparel except such as are made from leather, and on all kinds of cabinet makers' work and ready made wooden household furniture not made in the United States. A 2½% duty was collectible on all woolen and linen cloth, woolen stockings, except on those made in the country.

There was also a 10% charge on gold and silver watches,

11 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), July 1, 1784, pp. 28-34, chap. 13.

jewelry, paste work, gauzes, lawns, cambricks, muslins, silks of all kinds, flowers, feathers, silk hose, mitts, gloves, silk and gauze handkerchiefs, silk, velvet, shawls, ribbons, sarsnet, all kinds of wigs, cushions, and other hair manufactures. The same duty further applied to tinware, compasses, starch, hair powder, toys, marble and china tiles, raisins, citrons, almonds, nuts, cordials, nut and linseed oils.

The same act established the following schedule of specific duties on an enumerated list:

		Anchors (per pound)		2 d.
1.		axes, hatchets, scythes, adzes.	2 s.	
		Bits (per pound)		6 d.
1.		carriage hoops and tires (per lb).		2 d.
1.		Mill saw.	12 s.	
1.		Scale beam (per lb).		4 d.
1.		Steelyard (per each lb. it can weigh).		1 d.
1.		Spade, shovel, hoe.	1 s.	
1.	pr.	Wrought iron hand irons (per lb).		4 d.
		Cast iron ware. (per lb).		1 d.
1.	pr.	Iron shovels and tongs.	1 s.	
		Iron crows, spikes, tackle, and hooks, thimbles, scrapers, marling spikes (per lb).		2 d.
		Pumps and whaling gear (per lb).		6 d.
		Wrought copper (per lb—except sheets).		9 d.
1.		Hats other than beaver, beaveret, and castor.		6 d.
1.	lb.	Loaf sugar		4 d.
1.	cwt.	British cordage, cables, yarns.	7 s.	
1.	cwt.	Other foreign cordage, cables, yarns.	3 s.	
1.	oz.	Wrought gold.	10 s.	
1.	oz.	Wrought silver.	2 s.	
1.	pr.	Wool or cotton cards.	1 s.	
1.	pr.	Buckskin breeches.	9 s.	
1.	pr.	Leather breeches.	4 s.	
1.	pr.	Leather gloves, mitts.	1 s.	
1.	lb.	Wash leather.	3 s.	
1.	lb.	Painters' colors.		2 d.
1.		Deck of playing cards.	2 s.	

1.	lb.	Manufactured tobacco.	4 d.
1.	yd.	Paper hangings.	1 d.
1.		Clock.	24 s.
1.		House jack.	12 s.
1.	gal.	New England rum.	1 d.
1.	gal.	Foreign rum.	6 d.
1.	gal.	Other foreign distilled spirits	6 d.
1.	gal.	Madiera wine.	8 d.
1.	gal.	All other kinds of wines.	6 d.

There was also to be a 5% ad valorem duty on imported molasses, but this duty was waived if it was imported in a vessel belonging to an American.¹²

The last tariff law to be enacted by Massachusetts during the Articles of Confederation was passed on November 17, 1786. This law repealed all existing tariff schedules and it marked the furthest advance of protectionism yet reached in the state. There was to be a 15% ad valorem duty on the following items: every kind of plated ware, silver and ivory handled knives, forks, all jewelry and pastework, carpets, copper plate furniture, umbrellas, looking glasses, earthen and stone ware, silks of all kinds, gauzes, lawns, cambricks and all kinds of cotton goods, silk velvets, muffs, tippets, gloves and mittens of all sorts except leather, silk and thread hose, muslins, hyson tea, hard soap, hair brushes, tin plate ware, all foreign spirits of the kind known as cordials, and all kinds of leather, coach and chaise lace, beef, pork, soap, nails, tinware, wrapping and printing paper and account books.

A 10% ad valorem duty was collectible on: cutlery-ware, all wrought pewter and copper except sheet copper, all kinds of iron, steel, and brass ware, window glass, cordage, cables and yarns of foreign manufacture. While a 5% duty was placed on all other goods, wares, and merchandise of foreign growth and manufacture which would be brought in either by land or sea. However, foreign hemp was to pay only an ad valorem duty of one percent.

In order to encourage manufacturers certain items could not be imported at all. However, this provision applied only to items which were not produced in the United

12 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), July 2, 1785, pp. 453-457, chap. 17.

States. This list included the following goods: loaf sugar, hats made of fur, hair, and wool, or any or either of them, boots, shoes, coaches and all riding carriages or any part of them, harnesses of all sorts, scythes, iron shovels, hoes, axes, flat irons, anchors, iron and brass stoves, mill saws, saddles and bridles, wool and cotton cards, ready made millinery, articles of dress of all kinds, plumes, flowers, lace, fans worth more than 5 s. embroidered patterns for waistcoats or for any other part of dress, gold and silver lace, women and children's stays, leather gloves and mitts, message cards, playing cards, hair powder of all kinds, pomatum, perfumery, paper hangings, children's toys, spelling books, primers, novels, romances and plays, canes, horn and shell combs, porter, beer, ale, butter, cheese mustard, coffin furniture of all kinds, linseed oil, candles, snuff, manufactured tobacco of all kinds, all kinds of wearing apparel, and wooden household furniture. Here one can easily see the desire to encourage local manufacture and also to curb extravagance.

The law also provided that the following items were to be exempt from all charges: molasses, cocoa, sheep wool, dyeing woods, dye stuffs, sewing silk, brass, pigs, bars, or rolls of lead pigs, bars, or rolls of tin, cotton wool, and salt imported in vessels owned entirely by Americans.¹³

The very same day this law was enacted the legislature also set up the following schedule of excise duties on goods which were manufactured domestically or imported:

1.	gal.	Madiera wine.	1 s.	4 d.
1.	gal.	All other kinds of wines.		9 d.
1.	gal.	Foreign distilled spirits.		9 d.
1.	gal.	New England rum.		4 d.
1.	lb.	Bohea tea.		6 d.
1.	lb.	All other teas.	1 s.	
1.	lb.	Coffee.		1 d.
1.	lb.	Cocoa.		1 d.
1.	lb.	Imported chocolate.		6 d.
1.	lb.	loaf sugar.		1½ d.
1.	lb.	All other kinds of sugar		½ d.
100		Lemons.	1 s.	
1.	cwt.	Raisins.	3 s.	

13 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), November 17, 1786, pp. 117-130, chap. 48.

1.	lb.	Snuff.		4 d.
1.	lb.	Imported leaf tobacco.		1 d.
1.	lb.	Manufactured tobacco.		2 d.
1.		Imported clock.	24 s.	
1.		Imported watch.	12 s.	14

The only other modification which had been adopted came in the form of a resolution in July 1785. It will be recalled that in the tariff law of July 1, 1784 there was a provision which granted certain concessions to other American merchants bringing in goods consigned to citizens of other states. Such goods could be re-exported duty free if done so according to a prescribed system and if the other states were willing to grant similar concessions on Massachusetts' goods. The latter portion of this provision was suspended and continued to remain inoperative.¹⁵

One of Coxe's criticisms of the American tariff system had been that American products were charged duties equal to or often greater than similar foreign products imported into each state. How true was this charge as far as Massachusetts was concerned? The tariff law of November 8, 1782 provided for a lengthy enumerated list of duties. Many of these commodities listed were produced in neighboring states and were unquestionably subjected to the prevailing duties. At least there is no indication that American products were to be exempt from the duties prescribed in the law. The only concession to American producers was to be found in a provision for a lower rate from New England rum over West Indian.

The law of March 22, 1783, which provided for a 2½% ad valorem rate to be collected on all European and Indian products on which no duty was already in existence, marked the beginning of the policy of extending exemption to many American products, but it was not a general extension of exemption to American products covered on the enumerated list of 1782 act.

The tariff law of July 10, 1783 continued the lengthy enumerated list of duties on foreign and American products. The only concession was still made on New Eng-

14 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), November 17, 1786, pp. 130-141, chap. 49.

15 *Ibid.*, (1785), July 4, 1785, pp. 697-698, chap. 134.

land rum which was charged half as much as West Indian. The same act imposed a special 5% ad valorem duty on several products, and a 2½% duty on all other products brought into Massachusetts except hemp, salt, and American products. The law of March 1783 merely exempted American products by implication, but this new law made it clear that such goods were not dutiable by a specific reference to their exclusion. It must be added, however, that this in no way affected the American products which appeared on the enumerated list. The subsequent law of July 1, 1784 issued in addition to an explanation of the law of the previous year, continued this principle of exempting certain American products, but it was still no blanket exemption of all American goods.

In 1785 the legislature adopted a resolution to the effect that the governor was to expostulate with other states "to urge the propriety of their making such alterations and amendments, as shall render them not only conformable to the spirit of the Confederation, but consistent with those principles of reciprocity which in a national view, ought to be adopted."¹⁶ This seemed to indicate that Massachusetts, like most other states, was anxious to eliminate as many artificial barriers as possible which hindered interstate commerce. It marked a beginning of the new cooperative spirit in Massachusetts.

This resolution was followed within a few weeks by a new law issued in addition to and explanation of the acts of 1783-84. This act provided for a greater extension of the ad valorem principle and added to the enumerated list, but there was a noticeable effort to exempt the goods grown, produced, and manufactured in the other states. Within two days came the suspension of the clause of the act of July 1, 1784 which permitted the discontinuation of charges against goods entering Massachusetts which were consigned to citizens of other states only in the event of reciprocity on the part of other states. Furthermore the legislature responded to a recent action by New Hampshire which exempted foreign goods owned by citizens of

16 *Ibid.*, (1785), June 27, 1785, pp. 656-657, chap. 60.

Massachusetts from local duties by providing that "in order to introduce a free trade with the interior parts of our neighboring states," that all goods exported by land should be as free of duty as if exported by water.¹⁷

It can be clearly seen that Coxe was not right. The Massachusetts tariff system did not discriminate against American products in favor of European goods. There was an increasing tendency to admit American grown, produced, and manufactured commodities duty free into Massachusetts' ports. Although some duties continued to be levied against goods from other states, they were in no case greater than the duty being imposed on similar foreign goods.

It has been shown that Coxe's claim that American products were discriminated against by the tariff enactments of each state was not true in Massachusetts. He also complained that the tonnage duties on American ships exceeded similar fees on vessels owned by citizens of the enacting state, and that goods imported in bottoms owned by citizens of the enacting state were subject to lower duties than those imposed on goods imported in ships owned by other Americans. We must now examine the Massachusetts tariff legislation during this period in light of these criticisms, to ascertain whether or not they were applicable in the case of this state.

There was some evidence of discrimination and retaliation in the tariff and tonnage laws of Massachusetts, but most of it was aimed against foreign states rather than against other American states. The discrimination against England is particularly noticeable. This policy grew out of the British attitude toward American commerce after the war. American merchants had long been dependent upon the triangular trade involving their own ports, and those of Europe and the West Indies. It was the only way Americans could earn the money necessary to purchase products abroad. On July 2, 1783 the British government adopted an Order in Council which closed the West Indian ports to American ships. Naturally this hurt the American states for they were drained of specie in order

17 Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

to pay for the products they continued to buy from England, which formerly had been paid for by exports to the Indies. The states were forced to retaliate. The Americans were quick to accuse the British of trying to destroy their trade, but actually the principal British motive in adopting this course was that under the mercantile system they were compelled to regard the United States as outside the empire and to treat them as aliens in matters of colonial trade.

Trade with England had been resumed by an act of June 4, 1783.¹⁸ Two years later another law provided that no goods of any kind were to be exported in vessels owned wholly or in part by British subjects. This same law further stipulated that after August 1 of that year no goods could be taken out or landed from any vessel not wholly American owned except at the ports of Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth. Any violator was liable to have the goods seized which were being unloaded. This same act further discriminated against foreigners in general by providing that double duties should be paid on goods imported in vessels not wholly owned by Americans, and there was to be a duty of 6 d. per bushel on salt imported in ships owned by British subjects.¹⁹

The tariff act of July 2, 1785 carried the discrimination against the British further by imposing a heavier duty on cordage, cables, and yarns imported from England than was applied on similar products from other lands.

By these measures the Massachusetts legislature sought to achieve two objectives: retaliate against England for the Order of 1783 and to encourage the building and owning of ships by Americans. It is significant to note that American vessels were treated alike in this law regardless of the state in which they were owned.

An act of 1783 established a fee of 2 d. per ton on all vessels entering a Massachusetts port, which was to be used for maintaining lighthouses. Exemption was extended only to vessels plying between the state's ports or engaged

¹⁸ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, (1782-83), June 4, 1783, pp. 674-675, chap. 3.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, (1785), June 23, 1785, pp. 439-443, chap. 8.

in the fishing industry; the latter type of vessels paid a fee of 4 d. per ton per annum for each ton over thirty.²⁰ The following year this act was amended to provide that ships were to pay 4 d. per ton if not entirely owned by Americans.²¹ A third act of 1785 increased these tonnage fees substantially. All ships owned wholly or partially by foreigners were to pay 5 s. per ton in addition to the fees already being charged, and an additional flat fee of 2 s. 8 d.²² This did not remain in effect for long, however, for a subsequent act passed the same year cut the fees to 1 s. 10 d. pr ton for foreign owned ships in addition to the fees paid by American vessels.²³ In 1786 the fee on vessels not wholly owned by Americans was cut to 1 s. 4 d., and it continued to remain at this figure as long as the Articles of Confederation continued in operation.²⁴

In order to prevent the falsification of tonnage entries a law was enacted in 1787 requiring that if a vessel was found to measure more than it was entered for, a fee of 3 s. was to be collected for each ton it had been entered short.²⁵ One other fee of 2 s. was exacted from each vessel entering a port of permission to pass the fort. This fee was levied on all vessels regardless of registry except on wood sloops and coasters which were exempted.²⁶ Here again one can easily see that every effort was made to encourage the Americans at the expense of foreigners. Coxe was not right in his contention concerning tonnage fees.²⁷

20 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), October 22, 1783, pp. 543-545, chap. 19.

21 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), July 2, 1784, p. 46, chap. 18.

22 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), June 23, 1785, pp. 439-443, chap. 8.

23 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), November 29, 1785, p. 489, chap. 31.

24 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), July 8, 1786, p. 66, chap. 27.

25 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), February 26, 1787, p. 193, chap. 62.

26 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), June 27, 1782, pp. 10-24, chap. 5.

27 In Massachusetts unlike the other states, the pilot fees were fixed by the governor and council. *Ibid.*, (1782-83), July 11, 1783, pp. 528-531, chap. 13. A law of 1784 also established the following fees for navigation in Massachusetts: (1) for every register and recording, 4 s. (2) for endorsing every register and recording, 1 s. (3) for entering every ship and vessel from any Massachusetts port, 2 s. (4) for clearing every ship and other vessel for any port in Massachusetts, 2 s. (5) for entering every ship and vessel from any other port of the United States, 4 s. (6) for clearing every ship or vessel for any other of the United States, 4 s. (7) for entering every ship or vessel

Various items imported into or exported from each colony and state were also subject to inspection fees. After the revolution the system of certification and inspection was actually increased in most of the states. Foreign purchasers often preferred to obtain American products, because the supervision and inspection of them insured they would be of superior quality. The wide acceptance of inspection laws throughout the states and the height to which the fees sometimes went constituted them as an important type of early commercial legislation.

According to a series of statutes enacted during this period many items were subject to inspection and the consequent fees in Massachusetts. A fee of 6 d. each was charged for the inspection of ten casks of flaxseed, pot and pearl ashes, and 4 d. for each cask in excess of that number. Each quintal of fished culled by the inspectors was subjected to a fee of 1½ d. Tobacco, butter, and onions were also inspected prior to shipment. For this service the inspectors received a fee of 1 s. 6 d. each for four casks of flour, and 1 s. for each over that number. The first six firkins of butter inspected commanded a fee of 4 d. each, and 2 d. for each in excess of six. Eight pence per hundred bunches was the fee for the first five hundred bunches of onions, and after that the fee was dropped to 4 d. per hundred.²⁸ Loaf sugar inspected and exported was to pay a fee of 2 d. per hundredweight.

After the Revolution there was much interest in encouraging industry. In Massachusetts this was done by granting lands, allowing lotteries, and by offering bounties for the production of certain items. A law of 1785 sought to encourage the whaling industry by establishing the following schedule of bounties for oil brought back:

£5. for each ton of white spermaceti oil.

60 s. for each ton of brown or yellow spermaceti oil.

40 s. for each ton of whale oil.²⁹

from a foreign port, 10 s. *Ibid.*, (1784-85), July 7, 1784, pp. 52-57, chap. 22.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, (1784-85), November 9, 1784, pp. 99-105, chap. 30; November 8, 1785, pp. 477-482, chap. 25; November 30, 1785, pp. 503-505, chap. 41.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, (1784-85), November 28, 1785, pp. 795-797, chap. 106.

Another act of the same year stated that all foreign loaf sugar was to be forfeited if brought into the state, and a drawback of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound was to be granted on all brown sugar imported which was refined and manufactured into loaf sugar.³⁰ The principle of excluding competing foreign products was carried much further in the tariff law of 1786. By the same law some non-competing items which could be used in local manufacture were admitted free of duty as an additional means of encouraging industry. A resolution adopted by the legislature provided for a bounty of 6 s. per hundredweight for hemp manufactured locally, and this amount was doubled by subsequent legislation.³¹ A special levy of one per cent ad valorem was imposed by this resolution on all imported foreign hemp to raise money to pay the bounty.³² Other laws offered bounties of 8 s. for each piece of topsail duck and sail cloth produced in Massachusetts, and a similar bounty was offered for each hundredweight of twine produced.³³ Laws were passed authorizing lotteries to raise money for the construction of factories.³⁴ In 1787 Thomas Somers was voted a grant of twenty pounds by the legislature in order to continue experiment on a cotton spinning machine, while two years later five hundred pounds of land was granted to encourage the construction of a cotton factory at Beverly with the understanding that 50,000 yards of cloth were to be manufactured in seven years.³⁵

Such laws clearly indicated the desire in Massachusetts to encourage domestic industry, but these efforts were small when compared to those aimed at stimulating it through protective tariffs. Massachusetts was most interested in

30 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), November 30, 1785, pp. 503-505, chap. 41. This was repealed in 1786.

31 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), November 8, 1786, pp. 382-383, chap. 83.

32 This 1% ad valorem duty also appeared in the tariff law of 1786.

33 *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, (1788-89), March 28, 1788, pp. 880-881, chap. 10. Sailcloth measured 38 yards by 28", but this was later changed to 39 yards by 24".

34 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), May 7, 1782, pp. 593-594, chap. 39; March 1, 1783, pp. 121-122, chap. 48.

35 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), March 8, 1787, p. 497, chap. 219; (1788-89), February 17, 1789, pp. 362-363, chap. 119.

protectionism, and it was one of the three states in which the battles against it were most vehement.

There was always a clash between the importers and manufacturers. In all the states the former group wanted to regulate shipping with the intention of keeping out foreign vessels, but its supporters were not anxious to keep out foreign manufactures. When the war ended the British Order of 1783 aided the importers who blamed all the troubles on the English, and they insisted the legislature should take immediate steps to regulate foreign trade. Since baiting the British was a popular pleasure at the moment, this recommendation received widespread support and most states passed navigation laws.

On the other hand stood the manufacturers who were mainly interested in checking the importation of foreign goods. The two views were bound to clash. This struggle in Massachusetts reached serious proportions and resulted ultimately in the passage of two acts: one established a navigation system for the merchants and the other offered protective duties to the manufacturers. The navigation system was established by the act of June 23, 1785, which levied a heavy tonnage fee on foreign ships and called for double duties on all goods brought into the state in non-American vessels.

The act for manufacturers was passed a few days later, and it proclaimed that it was "highly necessary for the welfare and happiness of all states, and more especially such as are republican, to encourage agriculture, the improvements of raw materials and manufactures, a spirit of industry, frugality, and economy, and at the same time to discourage luxury and extravagance of every kind . . ." This act of July 2, 1785, raised the import duties to a new all-time high by means of a lengthy enumerated list which covered the whole gamut of manufactured commodities. There were also heavy excise duties on luxury goods.

This system aroused considerable debate throughout the state, but it also attracted the national attention. The navigation system was too sweeping. Other states had sought to limit primarily British shippers and to encourage their own and those of friendly foreign powers. French

merchants, because of the existing treaties, took particular exception to the clauses in the Massachusetts' system which limited foreign ships to certain ports. They were correct in assuming that this was unfair and not in accordance with the treaty terms. The legislature moved to alter the system. Probably it was not so much the French protest which prompted the legislature to alter the navigation system, but the fact that it was too severe and proved to be unworkable. In 1785 they removed the heavy tonnage fees and double duties on all foreign ships except British. Ultimately in July 1786 the legislature suspended the entire navigation system pending cooperation from sister states. Nevertheless, foreign ships continued to pay higher tonnage fees.³⁶

The suspension of the navigation system was followed by a further extension of the principles of protectionism. The impost law of 1783 with all its additions was continued for three years by an act of 1786.³⁷ Shortly afterward, however, a new law was passed which raised impost and excise duties to a higher level than had been achieved in all preceding acts. Massachusetts was then solidly aligned in the protectionist camp.³⁸

By 1789 Massachusetts, like her sister states, was moving in the direction of greater cooperation in matters of American trade. American products were being admitted duty free, and there was no attempt to discriminate against shippers from the other states as far as duties or fees were concerned. This same spirit of cooperation was also becoming evident when one considers the dealings with the federal government during the same period on the matters of granting Congress power to regulate trade and to have an independent income based on a national tariff system.

Congress had requested additional powers to regulate trade and finance. The Order of 1783 aroused an increased demand for regulating foreign commerce. State legislation on this subject was quite effective, but it lacked

36 *Ibid.*, (1784-85), November 29, 1785, p. 489, chap. 31; (1786-87), July 5, 1786, p. 36, chap. 16.

37 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), July 8, 1786, pp. 67-68, chap. 28.

38 *Ibid.*, (1786-87), November 17, 1786, pp. 117-130, chap. 48; Jensen, *op cit.*, pp. 287-297.

uniformity. Congress finally took this matter under consideration and eventually requested that it be given power to forbid the importation and exportation of goods in vessels of all countries which had no commercial treaties with the United States, and to forbid the subjects of foreign states to import goods from other than their own countries unless exempted by treaty. This grant was to be for fifteen years.³⁹

The proposal was sent to the states for consideration, but they were slow to act. Eventually a committee reported in March 1786 that Delaware, South Carolina, and Georgia, had not yet acted on the proposal. Massachusetts had acquiesced in the request in 1784, but had suspended the operation of the law until the other states complied.⁴⁰ Congress continued to request this power, but it was not granted. The rivalry of importers and manufacturers, and the fear among many people that the government would abuse such power prevented the adoption of the proposal. By 1786 the men who hoped to amend the Articles of Confederation abandoned such an approach in favor of one aimed at completely reorganizing the government under a new constitution.

Far more significant than the debate over congressional control over commerce was the controversy which raged over congressional control over its income. Congress adopted a proposed amendment to the articles which was submitted to the states for ratification. This was the "Impost of 1781" which called for the granting of a 5% ad valorem duty on all imports. The revenue thus accruing was to be used to defray the principal and interest on debts arising from the war. The duration was unlimited. Massachusetts agreed to the amendment in 1782.⁴¹ Eventually twelve states ratified, but in November 1782, Rhode Island flatly refused to comply. Since unanimous approval was necessary, the measure was not adopted.⁴²

39 W. C. Ford, et. al., eds., *The Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904-1937), XXVI, 321-322.

40 *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, (1784-85), July 1, 1784, p. 41, chap. 15.

41 *Ibid.*, (1782-83), April 4, 1782, pp. 589-592, chap. 37.

42 *Journals of Congress*, XIX, 102-103, 110, 112-113.

In 1783 Congress prepared and sent to the states a second financial plan. This proposal was not a constitutional amendment as the earlier impost scheme of 1781, but called merely for a specific twenty-five year grant of the right to collect duties on an enumerated list of items as well as an ad valorem duty on other goods.

Several states assented almost at once. There was actually little opposition in most of the states except Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York. Much opposition to granting such unprecedented powers to Congress had to be overcome before the Massachusetts legislature finally assented in October 1783.⁴³ Gradually state after state swung into line until only New York remained in opposition to the proposal. The law finally adopted in this state proved unacceptable to Congress and was rejected. Governor Clinton refused to call another session of the legislature to reconsider the matter, and it continued to rest at that point.

Despite the failure of New York to agree to the impost plan of 1783, the era was one of cooperation as far as tariff questions were concerned. American goods were moving freely across state lines, and there was a tendency to accord equal privileges to and to charge equal fees against all American merchants whose ships entered the harbors of the states. Although the impost plan of 1783 failed, it did have some effect. Its long enumerated list as well as ad valorem duty stimulated the tendency in most states to agree on a basic list of enumerated items. The individual rates continued to vary and were determined by local considerations, but on the broad outlines of a tariff system there was unanimity. Massachusetts and the other states were compelled long before 1789 to agree on a general tariff policy. By 1789 variations were the exception rather than the rule.

⁴³ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, (1782-83), October 20, 1783, pp. 541-513, chap. 18.

BOOK REVIEW

MESSRS. WILLIAM PEPPERRELL: MERCHANTS AT PISCATAQUA.

By Byron Fairchild. 1954, 223 pp., octavo, cloth, illus.
Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press. Price, \$3.50.

This volume deals principally with the trade and commercial activities of Col. William Pepperrell and his son Sir William Pepperrell from the landing of the first Pepperrell in the mid 1670's to the death of the son in 1759. This period of New England history especially in regard to colonial trade and its effect on the individual merchant has not been so fully treated as other aspects by historians. Mr. Fairchild presents in accurate detail the minute and diversified transactions of these men over the years. "The trade of the Pepperrells was shaped by a frontier environment and by the fact that the Piscataqua region supplied two widely acceptable staples—lumber and fish—for which there was a brisk demand in the West Indies and in Spain and Portugal. Rum, molasses, and salt were, in turn, necessities of life to the people of Piscataqua." The personal relations of the Pepperrells with their ship captains, business agents, business associates and other leading mercantile families of the day are one of the outstanding features of the book. Information may also be found concerning prices, seaman's wages and shipbuilding. Besides being merchants both men were active in town and military affairs serving as selectmen and members of the General Court and in many other capacities. One chapter deals with Sir William Pepperrell's other activities including his receiving a baronetcy for his part in the Siege of Louisbourg. There is a bibliography and index. Recommended to those interested in the maritime activities of the New England colonies.

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PHILLIPS BUILDING, GOVERNOR DUMMER ACADEMY

Courtesy the Academy

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No. 3

THE TRUSTEES OF GOVERNOR DUMMER ACADEMY PAST AND PRESENT

By MARSHALL B. DALTON

An address delivered at the Annual Dinner of the Governor Dummer Alumni at the Harvard Club of Boston on February 2, 1954.

In his letter of invitation to speak to you tonight, Paul Morgan¹ said you would like to hear about how the Board of Trustees operates as the governing body of the School. He said most Alumni remembered the Trustees only as a group of "pious gentlemen" who occasionally met at the School and that where they met was always out of bounds for the day. He suggested, therefore, that I try to humanize the Board of Trustees. With a directive such as this my course was clear. It was for me to find out and tell you:—

What manner of men these "pious gentlemen" were.
What they did in the world when they were not functioning as Trustees.

What they did when they were acting as Trustees.
And, in general, what good they were anyway.

I decided first to find out what responsible people thought a Trustee should be. Mr. Phillips,² who is no mean authority on the subject, defined a Governor Dummer Academy Trustee as one who:—

"Should do all the work he could for the School, give it all the money he could, and expect no reward what-

¹ The President of the Alumni.

² The President of the Board of Trustees.

ever except the consciousness of a duty well performed."

Work rather than honor—although there is plenty of that in being a Trustee; interest and helpfulness rather than great names only, however worthy those names might be. Since character, determination and hard work built this great nation of ours, it is not surprising that Governor Dummer Academy, established as it was to develop those fundamental elements of character and knowledge which would fit its students to take their part creditably in the life and work of their communities, should from its beginning—even before we were a nation—have attracted as Trustees men of character, accomplishment and distinction.

Since March 1, 1763 when Master Moody first opened the door of the Little Red Schoolhouse to twenty-eight boys, most of whom, we are told, boarded in the Mansion House, one hundred sixty-one men have served as Trustees, including those now in office. They have served an aggregate of more than two thousand years. No less than five of them have been presidents of Harvard College. Cabinet members, Senators, Congressmen, Judges—are among them—Ministers—Lawyers—Doctors—Business Men—Scientists—Educators—an honorable and representative group with one thing in common—their interest in and concern for this "Grammar School" which for nearly two hundred years has been training selected boys and sending them out to carry on their share of the work of the world.

Getting back to these "pious gentlemen"—there is much support for Paul's reference to "piety,"—certainly in the early days and only to a lesser degree since. Two of the original three Trustees under Governor Dummer's Will—the Rev. Thomas Foxcroft and the Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy were ministers of the First Church in Boston which the Governor attended. In the record of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Academy, Dr. Nehemiah Cleveland, Orator of the Day and Headmaster of the School from 1821 to 1840, wrote:—

“At the regular annual meeting of the Trustees of Dummer Academy held July 8, 1862, it was resolved that the 100th anniversary of the School to be observed the following June should be celebrated by appropriate observances of prayer—praise—and public discourse and all due social activities.”

The record of the Centennial shows that “prayer” (2) and “praise” (4 hymns—3 written especially for the occasion) outnumbered “Public Discourse” (3) two to one. However, on this great occasion “Public Discourse” got the better of the “Prayer” and “Praise” in one respect at least. The principal discourse as the record so pungently states “occupied two mortal hours in the delivery.”

Governor Dummer’s Will made June 28, 1756 (about five years before his death in October, 1761) and probated November 6, 1761, left his house, farm and all other real estate in Newbury to three Trustees who were directed to build a grammar school house and arrange for the selection of a schoolmaster who, when so chosen should:—

“remain master of said School without any removal, unless through sickness, advanced years and inability or by a profligate wicked life he shall be adjudged and sentenced by a majority of the Overseers of Harvard College to be displaced.”

Thus, the first Board of Trustees, the Messrs. Foxcroft, Chauncy and Dummer had as their job the building of the School and providing for its support from the earnings of the Governor’s Farm. The headmaster was to be selected by others and once selected was supreme in the School so long as he maintained his intellectual capacity, lived a good life and didn’t get too old. Master Moody filled the post with distinction for nineteen years.

In 1782 the School was incorporated under a self-perpetuating Board of fifteen Trustees. The first President, the Hon. Jeremiah Powell (1782-1784), relative of the Governor, was a Judge. He doubtless considered the position honorary because he only served two years and it appears that he never actually attended a meeting of the

Trustees. His successor, Probate Judge Benjamin Greenleaf, (1782-1798) a son-in-law of Dr. Chauncy and one of the original fifteen Corporate Trustees, was chosen President in 1784, attended nearly every meeting and held the office until he died nearly fifteen years later.

The first Treasurer was Nathaniel Tracy (1782-1789), son of a shipmaster, prosperous merchant and leading citizen. For many years, Nathaniel, in addition to his duties as Trustee and Treasurer, was a leader of society in his home town of Newburyport and dispensed, according to the record, "a generous and elegant hospitality." Both Washington and Lafayette stopped at his beautiful home on State Street. Others of this fifteen were:—

Rev. Dr. Joseph Willard (1782-1804), President of Harvard College, a former student of Master Moody before that first headmaster came to Governor Dummer. Dr. Willard remained a Trustee for twenty-two years until he died.

Rev. Dr. Charles Chauncy (1782-1789) one of the original trustees under the Governor's Will and Minister of the First Church in Boston, one of the great men of his day. A powerful orator, he took a leading part in the Revolution and few Patriots were more influential and respected. He signed the petition for incorporation and remained a Trustee for seven years—a service including that under the Governor's Will, of more than a quarter century.

Hon. Samuel Osgood (1782-1789) of Andover one of Samuel Moody's first pupils in Byfield—a distinguished citizen, soldier of the Revolution, First Commissioner of the Treasury, Postmaster General under Washington, and finally, Naval Officer of the Port of New York. He was a Trustee for seven years.

History reveals few human institutions with the power of survival which is characteristic of educational institutions. The "Dummer School" was no exception. And so it came about that one hundred forty-two years, one hundred twelve Trustees, and twenty-one headmasters later, Governor Dummer Academy was approaching a new era.

Dr. Charles S. Ingham had been Headmaster for seventeen years and his had been an heroic struggle. When he came to the School in 1907, he found only 18 students and most of them he thought it wise to dismiss at once! The fact that the Academy is alive today is probably owing more to Dr. Ingham than to any other one person. He was a graduate of Yale, a Latin scholar, and a gentleman of the old school. During his tenure of 23 years, Pierce Hall, Lang Gymnasium, Mason Cottage and the Noyes Library were constructed. The Morse athletic field was built and the Ould Newbury Golf course was planned and developed on property belonging to the Academy. Were it not for these accomplishments, carried out under great difficulties, the modern school as we know it today could not have been developed.

One era does not stop at a precise time and a new era begin. There is always a period of transition during which new forces appear and work, and in due time change the course of events. With the rapid development of free public schools in nearly every community during the preceding three-quarters of a century and, in particular, the competition of free public high schools which fitted their students for college, the Trustees found it no easy task to maintain the school plant and keep sufficient funds coming in to pay faculty salaries and other operating expenses. At the beginning of the school year in 1924, the Academy's total resources were only a little more than \$150,000, of which \$118,000 was invested in its plant mortgaged for \$30,000. The Trustees were also on \$15,000 of demand notes, and cash in the bank amounted to less than \$1500. But there was no spirit of defeat among the Trustees. They were determined to carry on even though it was very hard—almost too hard.

In this period of crisis of the Academy, James Duncan Phillips of Topsfield, became a Trustee, (1924)—A. B. Harvard, '97, Magna Cum Laude, Phi Beta Kappa, able and successful business man, descendant of a distinguished line of New England Yankees going back to the beginnings of the colony in Massachusetts, a student of history

and writer of historical books, a lover of tradition and things old when that tradition and those things old embody virtues worth preserving. He became a friend and benefactor of Governor Dummer, and his contribution to its progress is an inspiration to all who have had the privilege of working with him. His was a natural interest in this fine old school in the neighboring town of Newbury, so much a part of the good Essex County tradition. He found a group of loyal and devoted Trustees, four of whom had then served more than fifteen years each and seven of whom were to serve thirty years or more each. He joined them and to an ever increasing degree made the Academy his special concern.

In the summer of 1928, Dr. Ingham, who had been Headmaster for twenty-one years, announced that he planned to retire from that position at the end of twenty-five years. The President, Judge Alden P. White thereupon appointed Mr. Phillips chairman of a committee to find a successor. Shortly thereafter, Dr. Ingham told the Board that because of his health he felt it necessary to retire the following June. It then became necessary for the search to go on in earnest. But let Mr. Phillips himself tell what happened:—

About then I happened to be in Pittsfield spending Sunday with my friend, Rev. James Gregg, and a lawyer friend of his, Judge Hibbard, dropped in and in the course of the evening remarked to Gregg, "That young teacher from Deerfield who was going to buy the Hanna estate in Lenox to start a private school finds he can't swing it." I at once asked his name, but the lawyer could not remember it. Next day in Boston, I called up Frank Boyden and asked his name. He would not tell me, but invited me to Deerfield the next Sunday to talk about the matter. I went, persuaded Boyden Governor Dummer was worthwhile, met the young man Eames and asked him to meet our Committee. Three candidates came, but Ted outclassed them all and at once was chosen.

Thus, he whose election to the Board of Trustees brought the experience, vigor, and foresight to lay the groundwork for a new and modern era for Governor Dummer Academy found the man who with the full cooperation

and support of the Board of Trustees was to assume the leadership in making that new era a reality.

Dr. Edward William Eames, A.B. Amherst, '22, M.A. Harvard '29 and L.H.D. Bowdoin College '44 was appointed the Academy's twenty-third Headmaster on March 12, 1930 and started his work at the school July 1st. He was elected a Trustee, May 12, 1934. He took over the direction of a school financially weak and in debt, with old and worn-out equipment. He assumed his responsibility on condition that the Trustees would provide \$20,000 to make the most immediate and critical improvements in the physical plant. Despite the already heavy debt of the School and the jaundiced eye with which the bank viewed the Academy's credit, the \$20,000 required was borrowed. The new Headmaster cleaned up and painted up the physical plant and reorganized the faculty to start an administration which has seen the resources of the school grow from \$265,000 at the end of his first year to \$1,370,000 at the end of his twenty-third year, has seen the operating income increase from \$87,000 to \$348,000, plant investment from \$218,000 to \$1,150,000 and the student body more than triple in size. His leadership has brought fitting recognition to the Academy—honor and a national reputation to him. Bowdoin College recognized this in the citation which went with his honorary Doctorate in Humane Letters in 1944:—

Edward William Eames, a graduate of Amherst, Headmaster of Governor Dummer Academy, the oldest boarding school for boys in the United States, deriving its charter as we do from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts but securing it thirty-three years earlier, beloved by his boys, respected by his colleagues, maintaining high standards of work and play, in weekly touch with his lads in the services, representative of the independently supported preparatory schools which are so integral and necessary a part of American education, one of New England's best authorities on one of New England's best products—boys.

These two men—James Duncan Phillips, who after nine years as a Trustee became President of the Board

on September 14, 1933, and Edward William Eames, Headmaster, have spearheaded the great development of the last twenty-three and one-half years. Dr. Eames started immediately on his ambitious program. His 1st Annual Report to the Trustees contained this prophetic appeal:—

I cannot close this brief account of the school year 1930-31 without bringing to your attention what I consider to be the most pressing need of the Academy. The Life of the School is centered at present in the living room of the Commons Building. This room is sadly overcrowded at every evening meeting, at every Saturday night entertainment and Sunday evening sing. This room will also be needed for a dining room in case even ten more boys were added to our Roster next year. Our need is for a large and attractive living room, which will be a part of a new Dormitory. Such a building should be carefully planned and built, and it seems to me to constitute the most pressing need of the Academy at the moment.

This particular need was not immediately filled, but other and perhaps equally pressing things did commence to happen—a third corridor added to Perkins—the building of Duncan House. Then in 1936, the first major addition to the school plant, the new dining hall and kitchen, was built as the first unit of what five years later was to be enlarged into the James Duncan Phillips Building and thus satisfy “the most pressing need of the Academy” to which the Headmaster referred in the report from which I have just quoted. Then The Cottage—Ambrose House—Whipple Field—restoration of the Little Red Schoolhouse—the rebuilding (after the 1940 fire) of Parsons Schoolhouse—the 1944 addition to Perkins—the Pierce Hall addition—Ingham House—the Memorial Gymnasium—these are the major projects in a long line of improvements and extensions which the Trustees have considered and approved and supported on the recommendation of the Headmaster. A reading of the record of the actions of the Trustees reveals a wide variety of matters to which they have given their attention. Perhaps the most common item which continuously recurs is discussion and eventual action on ways and means to raise the



MARSHALL B. DALTON
Treasurer, Governor Dummer Academy

Courtesy the Academy

money to provide a badly needed new building or an addition to an existing building, or some other vitally needed facility. During this modern era, the Trustees have operated under a policy of borrowing part or all of the funds for a self-liquidating project such as a Dormitory, but of proceeding with a non self-liquidating project, such as the Gymnasium, only when funds were in hand or pledged.

Other matters with which the Trustees have concerned themselves are those which would normally be expected and range all the way from action in 1939 to award a certificate of graduation as of 1879 to Carrie Dummer, sister of Joseph N. Dummer, for many years Secretary of the Board, through voting to establish the 1763 Fund with deep appreciation to the Alumni Association for recommending such action—voting to invite the President of the Alumni Association and one other alumnus to meet with the Trustees regularly—voting to establish a pension plan for the faculty—to voting to change the name of the School to Governor Dummer Academy by legislative action. All of these things and more have required and received full consideration by the Trustees who act under By-laws which implement the Academy's legislative Charter. Under these By-laws, the Trustees hold an annual meeting at Commencement time and elect a President, a Vice President, a Secretary and a Treasurer, who perform the customary duties of those offices, and not more than eleven other Trustees. They meet regularly each quarter and at such other special dates as are necessary. Seven Trustees constitute a quorum.

The only standing committee of the Board is that on Finance, which appointed by the President with himself as Chairman, is directly responsible for the Budget, for the purchase and sale of securities and for the appointment of members of the Faculty on nomination of the Headmaster. I have spoken of Mr. Phillips and Dr. Eames although I have not begun to give an adequate appraisal of their contribution to the School. To them more than to any others goes the credit for the Governor Dummer Academy of today. They would be the first, however, to

acknowledge the contributions made by other members of the Board. I'd like to tell you about all who have served with them, but time will permit reference only to members of the present Board:

Dr. Arthur W. Allen, Surgeon, AB Georgetown College, Kentucky, '09, M.D. Johns Hopkins, '13, Honorary D Sc Georgetown '43, D Sc Harvard '52. He is a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England and Edinburgh, and of the Royal Society of Medicine. A former President of the American College of Surgeons and of the Massachusetts Medical Society, he is currently President of the Massachusetts Medical Library. Elected a Governor Dummer Trustee in 1938, Dr. Allen has given particular attention to the problems of our infirmary and medical service, and is a Trustee of our Pension Fund. They call him Jimmie—why, I doubt if even he knows.

Dr. Frank L. Boyden, Educator, AB Amherst '02, AM Williams '04, and Yale '06, Honorary Doctorates from no less than ten colleges and universities, and Principal of Deerfield Academy. He became a Trustee of Governor Dummer in 1930. Looked upon by many people as the dean of American headmasters today, Dr. Boyden has given us a great deal of practical help over the years, as well as the benefit of his sound counsel and advice.

Roger B. Coulter, Lawyer, Governor Dummer '13, AB Williams College '18 LLB Harvard Law School '22. He is Chairman of a special committee of the Trustees which has just completed a study of the Academy's water supply. He is one of the few Democrats on the Board. Perhaps he is the only one. He sent his son, Bob '49, to Governor Dummer, so, he is our only triple threat:—alumnus, father and trustee all in one.

Gerry J. Dietz, Manufacturer, Governor Dummer '35, and Yale '39, recent recipient of the award for Distinguished Civic Service from the Syracuse Junior Chamber of Commerce. Gerry was on the wrestling team and manager of the football team when in school. He flies over from Syracuse and back for nearly every meeting.

Dr. Arthur W. Ewell, Scientist and Engineer, AB Yale

'97, Ph D Yale '99, and honorary D.Sc. Worcester Polytechnic Institute '46, Phi Beta Kappa and Sigma Xi, consulting engineer and author of scientific books and papers. Dr. Ewell, for many years Vice President of the Board, was a member of the Committee which selected Dr. Eames and of the Finance Committee.

Morris P. Frost, Capitalist, Governor Dummer '35. One of three graduates of the school who are also members of the Board of Trustees, Morris has been the greatest single donor of capital funds to the Academy. Not only have his gifts been generous, but they have been made in a generous spirit and in a modest manner. Morris flies his own plane to meetings when our New England weather does not ground him on Long Island.

Dr. Claude M. Fuess, Educator, BA Amherst '05, MA Columbia '06, Ph D Columbia '12, with honorary Doctorates from seven colleges and universities, Phi Beta Kappa, retired Headmaster of Phillips Andover Academy, Author and Editor. He became a Trustee of Governor Dummer in 1933, and his broad understanding and experience have been of immense help. His wit and wisdom as Toastmaster at Commencement dinners delight us all. They call him Jack.

Augustus P. Loring, Trustee and Manufacturer, AB Harvard '38, Harvard Business School '40, a Trustee since 1951. He is a member of the Finance Committee.

Phillip M. Morgan, Manufacturer, AB Harvard '18, public servant, leader in community service. He is a member of the Finance Committee and was Chairman of the Gymnasium Campaign Committee under whose direction funds for that beautiful and essential addition to Governor Dummer's facilities were raised. He is not only the father of one who is our presiding officer tonight (Paul S. Morgan '41), who by the way is a "chip off the old block," but also the father of Peter S. Morgan, '43.

Wm. S. Nutter, retired Manufacturer, Textile Research Consultant and Inventor, Honorary MA Bowdoin '39 and D Sc University of Maine '49.

Lispenard B. Phister, Lawyer, a classmate of Roger Coulter at Williams and graduate of Trinity, '20, former Trustee of Trinity, and LLB Harvard Law School, '24; prominent Episcopal layman and active Republican. A Trustee since 1938 he is Secretary of the Board.

David P. Wheatland, Scientist, Harvard '22 and member of its Physics Department. He is Secretary of the Finance Committee.

And finally, your speaker this evening, Insurance Executive, SB, Massachusetts Institute of Technology '15, Treasurer of the Academy and a Trustee since 1940.

In his response at the dedication of the James Duncan Phillips Building on June 2, 1944, Mr. Phillips said:—

If you tried to hire the type of men we have on our Board to do the amount of work they do for nothing at the going rate for their services, the entire income of the school would not pay the bill. Only the least efficient men in America work exclusively for money. The best men work for the joy of working and for the pride of accomplishment, and our Trustees serve without any other expectation of reward.

Such have been and now are Trustees of Governor Dummer and such are the things they have done and do. They have brought a broad range of experience to the problems of the Academy. Their loyalty, enthusiasm and support have been vital factors in its continued development and growth.

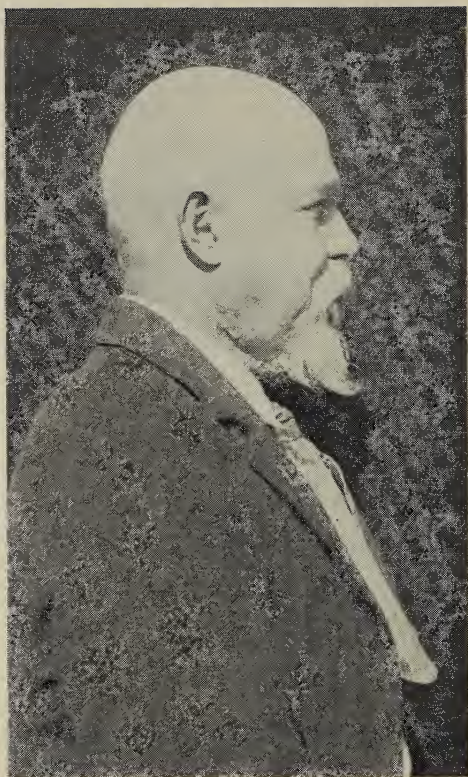


Fig. 1. PROF. ALPHEUS HYATT
Photographed at Annisquam in 1900

EXCERPTS FROM ALPHEUS HYATT'S
LOG OF THE ARETHUSA

Edited by

JEANNE B. BURBANK AND RALPH W. DEXTER
with an introduction by
HARRIET HYATT MAYOR

INTRODUCTION TO THE

ANNISQUAM SEASIDE LABORATORY AND THE ARETHUSA

Father, Alpheus Hyatt, had arranged in 1880 a modestly furnished marine laboratory in two rooms of his summer house "Seven Acres" which had been built by Francis Norwood, (1663-64) at Annisquam, Massachusetts. I dimly recall the names of a few of the first pupils as Arthur Winslow of Boston, B. H. Van Vleck of the "corn-belt" in the West, Samuel Henshaw of Cambridge, Edward Gardiner of Boston, and also of greater Boston a teacher and artist we knew as Miss Hintz. We youngsters were delighted when she painted two frogs, posing as the cherubs in Raphael's Sistine Madonna, on the temptingly wide panel of the laboratory door. It seemed to her and to us children as far more interesting than filling the veins of undersea animals with a waxy fluid—red and blue—as Van Vleck and the others did. One day a vein thus injected burst, and thereafter a gay squirt of color decorated the laboratory's walls. Pupils slowly grew in number, until it was apparent that larger quarters were necessary for teaching purposes, as also was the aid of a larger boat from which to dredge.

Heretofore, the water of Goose Cove adjacent to the laboratory was not contaminated. Delicate bryozoa flourished in the long eelgrass and the rarely-seen sea-horse, with

NOTE:—Alpheus Hyatt, 1838-1902, was born in Washington, D. C., the son of a leading merchant of Baltimore, of abundant means, Yale, 1856, Lawrence Scientific Society of Harvard, 1862, a student under Prof. Agassiz with Bushby, Verrill, Scudder, Packard. Served in Civil War. Came to Salem as Custodian of Essex County Natural History Society in 1867; assisted in forming the Peabody Academy of Science and printing the *American Naturalist*. Left Salem in 1874 to become custodian of Boston Society of Natural History.

curled-under tail and slender trumpet-like snout, was to be found. Under old Hodgkin's Mill (seen in background of Fig. 3), that was still grinding corn, gay colored sponges made flashes of color—yellow and red—appearing and disappearing as the white foam raced over them. And low on the side of boulders near our wharf lovely sea anemones flowered as the tide came in, while dark green lobsters waved their feelers hoping to touch some prey. Today this underwater scene is as paradise lost, and its destruction had already begun when Alpheus Hyatt gave his blue prints and instructions to a shipyard on the shores of Boothbay Harbor, Maine, to build the *Arethusa*. The schooner-rigged *Arethusa*, 58 feet in length, was a dream of my father who was once a pupil of Louis Agassiz. It was a costly dream, as most dreams are, resulting in father using up his mother's patrimony.

His mother, who traveled far afield for those days, possessed a much-worn ancient coin struck off for the Olympic Games. This bore the head of the mythical nymph Arethusa, with fishes swimming about, representing the river into which Alpheus, who pursued her, had been turned. My mother copied the coin (greatly enlarged) in silver paint and had it tacked to the mast between decks. She also painted the swamp flower Arethusa that grew on nearby Dogtown Common to be placed beside the medal.

After the laboratory was relocated at neighboring Lobster Cove, great was the excitement the day there was to be a dredging party and the students came flocking to board the *Arethusa* at our wharf. The preparation of the luncheon they took with them was the work of my mother. The vessel was used for both instructional purposes with summer students attending the Annisquam Seaside Laboratory and for research studies of father and his advanced students. A brief sketch of the history and scientific importance of this laboratory of Alpheus Hyatt has recently been published by Ralph W. Dexter.¹ It was his paper which led to the discovery of the existence of the 1881 log of the *Arethusa* possessed by Jeanne Burbank.² A search through some old trunks in the attic of "Seven Acres" at Annisquam then turned up a portion of the log of the 1885 expedition

to Laborador. These documents are the sources of material for the present paper.

The *Arethusa* was substantially built. Her two lifeboats hung from davits on either side amidships. They could be sailed or rowed. Her cabin held four bunks, and the ample mattress-covered seat running on either side of the cabin in front of the bunks made four more places to sleep. Where the cabin divided from the forecastle, the foremast came through on a slant, and out from it was the narrow center table, with leaves that were on hinges so it could be made wide for dining. To starboard of the mast a door in the partition led to the forecastle; to larboard another door led into the lavatory. The forecastle could sleep two "hands", possibly more. There was a cook stove, and stairs led beside it up through a hatch to the foredeck and the windlass that hauled up the dredge. (See Figs. 2 and 3).

Only twice that I can recall did father use the *Arethusa* for other than scientific work. Once we sailed about Ipswich Bay and stuck for some agonizing hours on the flats off the mouth of either the Ipswich River or Essex River—I have forgotten which—and once father entertained a German professor and wife, Dr. and Mrs. H. A. Hagen, from Harvard. On that occasion we all sailed to the Isles of Shoals and returned without mishap.

Capt. Gilbert Davis of Annisquam was the *Arethusa's* skipper and on long trips to the North, John Lewis Duley was deckhand and John Stanwood and a Mr. Lane served one time or another as assistant deckhand and cook. On the voyages to Anticosti and Labrador in the summers of 1881 and 1885, the students helped as extra hands and took their turns standing watch. The *Arethusa*, after her scientific days were over, was finally sold to the Dorchester Yacht Club, and thence passed south to Chesapeake Bay and into the oyster business.

HARRIET HYATT MAYOR

INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPEDITION OF 1881

In the summer of 1880, the *Arethusa* was taken on its first voyage. A three week trip was made along the coast of Maine as far north as Head Harbor. Dredgings were

made to a depth of 100 fathoms. Hyatt was accompanied by four students from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. They were Edward Gardiner, Samuel Henshaw, Edward Warren, and Arthur Winslow.³

During the following summer an expedition was made to Anticosti Island and to Mingan Islands on the coast of Labrador. The account of this trip is the bound volume recently brought to our attention which bears the title "Cruise of the *Arethusa*."

The following excerpts from this log are verbatim and with no change in order, but paragraphs, sentences, or parts of either have been freely chosen as of special interest and marks of quotation and elision have been omitted in the interest of readability. Descriptions of scenery and geology have largely been omitted in favor of details in the intimate life aboard ship. Editorial comments are enclosed within parentheses. In addition to Dr. Hyatt, eight men were on board—five students called "the young men" were W. H. Kerr, William Brewster, Edward Warren, E. G. Gardiner and Samuel Henshaw; the crew were Capt. Gilbert Davis, John Duley, and the cook, John Stanwood. (See Fig 4).

On this first major trip of the *Arethusa* collections were made of fossils, insects, birds, and freshwater plants and animals. Photographs were taken, but no significant amount of dredging was attempted because most of the available time was needed for shore collecting.⁴

The log is a very interesting and human document and the man Alpheus Hyatt emerges vividly from its pages. There is a great deal of humor in him. The kindness with which he viewed the physical and emotional weakness in others indicates an unusual tolerance of human failings in one so obviously equipped with great physical stamina and courage, possibly bred of true scientific curiosity. There is, too, the rare ability to face and admit his own mistakes without oppressive humility. The bad weather and genuine hardships of the voyage produced no mawkish homesickness. At the same time, he was looking for presents to take home, an Indian canoe for Allie, china and pewter for Della, and the closing entry in the log is a thing of beauty. The bound volume presented to Hyatt's young son is in-

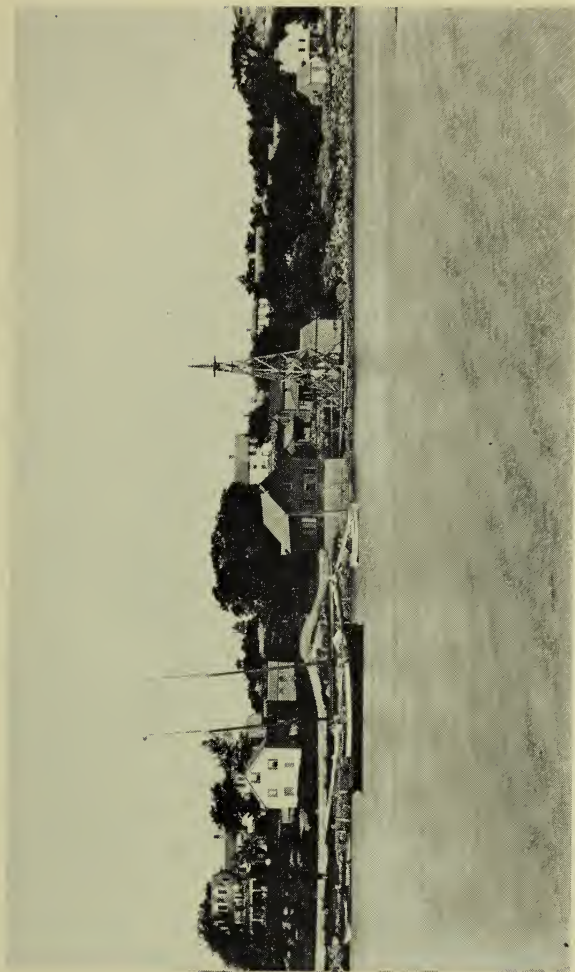


Fig. 2. THE "ARETHUSA" MOORED IN THE CHANNEL OF LOBSTER COVE AT ANNISQUAM.
Hyatt's Sea-side Laboratory is in center of picture with its windmill used to pump seawater into the laboratory
Photographed about 1884

scribed "To dear Allie, Christmas 1883." A companion volume consists of mounted photographs taken on the trip.

EXCERPTS FROM THE LOG OF 1881

Annisquam, June 16, 1881. Hauled off from the wharf but found the wind too strong to put to sea with a green crew and everything in confusion. Found our old jib sheets good for nothing and lost a block overboard. Had to order several things from Gloucester so went ashore after anchoring in the stream, leaving the young men in very good spirits and satisfied to wait, except for young Kerr who was unused to detentions of this sort and grew easily despondent.

The house presented a most disheartening aspect on my unexpected return, Mrs. H. having taken things to pieces in wholesale style as soon as we had started, as she thought, for the Gulf. But I enjoyed an hour of most intense rest stretched in the hammock under a heaven of perfect blue and surrounded by fresh green tints of early summer. To rest is after all the greatest reward. Later visited the boat and met with much applause when I showed them the illuminated heads of the Arethusa medal.

June 17. Arose early, Allie and Hattie (Hyatt's son and daughter) rowing me to the boat. Was greatly relieved to find the cook had decided to sail with us, of which there had been some doubt the night before on account of threatened lumbago. The cook is a character in his way; has been a skipper, but abandoned it for the more profitable post of cook. His mild suggestions as to the course to be run, and a general conducting of affairs in his character as skipper while serving us at dinner, and his free and easy manner in taking a seat in the cabin are evidences still remaining of his former possession of authority.

All hands took a glass of milk and started. Outside of Cape Ann off Thatcher's Island lights, set log and laid the course E. one half S.

Brewster, after spending a considerable part of the day in reducing the chaos of his berth to order, shot some Mother Carey's chickens (sea birds). I found enough to do with the classification and arrangement of my own particular fixings. Every inch of room has been economized and all

my photo stuff, small stores, and instruments finally found accomodation.

The night proved as fine as the day had been, and a comfortable sailing breeze sent us along at a good rate. Watch was set at 9 p.m. and it was so arranged that our cook who had intimated that on board a fisherman "they most generally set the cook into the morning watch so as he could make fires and get breakfast early" was placed in the early morning. Stood my watch until 12 and called Gilbert. Find Duley who is on my watch to be a very good man indeed.

June 18. Fog all day and very cold and damp. Found to my disgust that the deck above my berth leaked badly. Forming a gutter with my rubber coat, which I emptied every hour or so with great satisfaction, I contrived to keep myself dry. Mr. Brewster, who was likewise afflicted, resorted to a sponge which he squeezed out at intervals. The persistent fog-rain seems more successful in penetrating crevices than a heavy rain. The greatest confusion reigns in our berths, the constant wet weather obliging us to change so often that no one attempts to keep orderly. Fog still continuing we altered our course and when night came on kept a bright lookout.

Made Seal Island fog whistle and stood out a little from the land, then changed the course until we heard a second fog whistle, which we identified as that of Cape Sable, laying our course down along the coast E. by N. After an extravagant use of matches we succeeded in lighting our gasoline stove and this made the cabin very comfortable and especially tantalizing to the one on watch who could look directly from the wheel into the cabin windows.

Heard a steamer and exchanged signals, found that she was considerably inside of our course. Had neither torch nor gun ready but it was not necessary to use either. I wonder that we all stand the cold and exposure so well. Even our skipper-cook's lumbago seems to have been forgotten.

June 19. Every one is in the best of humor and Uncle Remus is a staple amusement, the Tar Baby being an especial favorite and Kerr on account of his nativity has

been so christened. Henshaw is still very sick and does not rally as I hoped he would. About 11 a.m. we ran out of the fog, which ceased so suddenly that it looked astern like a solid wall. All hands came on deck to see the sun and hailed it with noisy demonstrations. Our joy, however, was of short duration, we could not see the land and the fog again settled down to lift once more and be replaced by thick clouds. We were able to keep a steady course, and in the afternoon were passed by two huge steamers. The bulk of such vessels can only be appreciated when viewing them from the deck of a small craft.

A sudden squall came up in the afternoon with thunder and lightning, completely surprising us, no one expecting it from such a cold gray sky. The size of the crew, however, enabled us to shorten sail in ample time, though some of the young men were wet through. Our Tar Baby with his usual promptitude and determination to be on hand did not hesitate to appropriate the first coat and unluckily got mine. The result fell heavily on me when I attempted to wear it shortly after.

The squall passed by but left a threatening sky. Before nightfall the storm which we had anticipated began. We shortened sail, double-reefing mainsail and foresail. The sea had been running all day very high and increased with the night, but the boat behaved beautifully, we shipped no water and after the strength of the gale reached the maximum it was really enjoyable. There was no fog and barring the sick folks and the general sloppiness of the cabin, every thing went well.

Our Brittle Man, as we have dubbed Mr. Brewster on account of his general tendency to get his arms and legs snapped at every opportunity, philosophically determined that as he should certainly be sick, he would begin before he went to bed. Being provided with a suitable bucket he proceeded deliberately, as he explained parenthetically, to empty into it the various meals he had consumed during the day. Kerr stayed all the evening on deck, being completely disconcerted by this proceeding, though the Brittle Man most politely apologized.

Slept soundly till my watch came on at 12 M. The iron

keel which adds so much to the safety of the boat, also seems to cause a very quick roll, which though highly uncomfortable in walking seems to be very favorable in other ways leaving our crockery undisturbed at meals much to our comfort.

It was magnificent to see the great combers break into liquid fire as they passed under us to leeward. Gilbert took in the little pocket handkerchief when he came on deck and left us jogging along under foresail and jib.

June 20. At daybreak the wind had abated; I relieved the cook and let him go below to get breakfast. The wind had also gone to the westward and promised a fine day; we accordingly bore away for the land, supposing that we were near Canso. Spoke a fisherman and found the distance to be still 54 miles. We rounded the Head and beat up the Gut to Old Canso (See Fig. 5) passing the French Fort on Georges Island. The wind became heavy later but our little vessel stood it well and tonight we lie safely anchored in harbor. The necktie with which I began this voyage has not been once untied since I left Squam; have never once undressed. We have made the voyage in 86 hours from Cape Ann to this harbor and some hours less to Canso Light. The actual distance run by the Massy log was 543 miles, the distance in straight lines is about 450. Tonight was by far the coldest that I have ever experienced at this time of the year. I went on deck leaving my overcoat below and my teeth actually chattered as I came below. Set our gasoline stove going and was very comfortable in spite of the cold. Put on my pajama for the first time and rejoiced that it was big enough to go over all my clothing including my cardigan jackets.

June 21. Called all hands at 5 a.m., had breakfast and made sail up the Gut to Ship Harbor, otherwise known as Port Hawkesbury. Fine weather and beautiful breeze across Chedabuctoo Bay and up the Gut. Upon coming to anchor we paid a visit to the Custom House and were well treated, our letters being evidently sufficient for all purposes. Passed the afternoon in taking a look at the rocks which are a reddish sandstone with remains of plants. These are the sub-Carboniferous rocks described by Dawson

in his Geological Survey. Commencing to rain, we made our purchases of woolen socks and mittens, and went on board; took an egg-nog in the evening and turned in.

June 22. We were up at 5:30, and a party started to geologize but, were driven back by a furious northwester which began about 8:30. Our small anchor was not sufficient against such wind and we were forced to put over our larger one. This held us nicely and the day was passed in reading, letter writing etc., varied more or less by occasional turns on deck where it blew a tornado. Toward sunset the wind abated and we passed a comfortable night.

June 23. Ran over to McNear's Cove this morning in search of a dory, but met with no success. On our return, however, we found one suitable, bought it, and towed it astern. While at the Cove Mr. Brewster shot some birds of value and forgot to consult his watch. I started the boat leaving him ashore with Kerr, intending that they should lose their dinners for their tardiness, but they both appeared as we started and frustrated my disciplinary intentions.

Reached Plaister Cove and coming to anchor we put off in two parties. Mr. Kerr, Warren, and I went to Cape Porcupine. We saw the altered slate described by Dawson on both sides of the anticlinal formed by the red syenite. On Plaister Cove Point found a large deposit of limestone finely stratified with small veins of calcite bearing crystal of purple fluorspar. Went on board and passed so pleasant an evening that we forgot to do some surface dredging in consequence.

June 24. We made for the Magdalens, passing through the straits of Canso that with its rounded green clad promontories and hills remind one of those about the Scottish lakes. Arrived at Port Hood late in the afternoon. Tar Baby rowed ashore and viewed the cliffs; these consisted of a fine bedded gray sandstone with plants, especially stems of the Calamites of which we procured one good specimen and one large plate of fern stems.

We did some surface dredging in the evening and besides the usual Crustacea etc., found many Sagitta (arrow worms) and young fishes, perhaps flounders. Saw the

comet and discussed the predicted precipitation into the sun in July.

June 26. The weather remains very cold ranging below 59 most of the time. I have slept with my cardigan and pantaloons, my flannel suit above this and my outer coat buttoned tightly over this and then have not found it too warm with three blankets to sleep under. Expecting to be called up at any moment in the night in the rain, cold and wind and every moment occupied in the day, does not dispose the mind to matters of toilet, and I took my first regular bath tonight since starting out. It made my teeth chatter to wash on deck and I went to bed with the feelings of a hero.

June 27. Arose quite early, but was detained by being obliged to report at the Custom House. I am sorry now that I did not take out yacht papers or license instead of the striped artifice adopted by the good intentioned Custom House officers at Gloucester, giving me a mackerel fisherman's license. The officer of the Customs hemmed and hawed over my letters and then charged me 93 cents for entering the vessel, and Harbor Master 50 cents for harbor dues. The consolation proffered, that these were good for one year from date, did not give me the consolation that they supposed it would. The courtesy here was by no means of the same standard as that shown at Ship Harbor, where they not only charged nothing, but furnished us with a chart and otherwise treated us with much politeness.

Left as soon as we could for Entry Island. The weather cleared as we sailed along and finally seemed perfect. Took a boat as soon after anchoring as it was possible and with Kerr and Warren rowed along the escarpments of red sandstone, on the northern side of the island. The Cliffs were cut into by several indentations or small bays and the face of the rock perforated by shallow caverns. These were much larger than when I visited this island in 1861. (A report on that expedition is in preparation.)⁵

Worked hard all day, taking photographs from various points of view. Also took a view from the inside of the cave, also the diorite rocks of the eastern side and had considerable fun in getting off again. Kerr and Warren who

were not used to a surf were thrown down and got wet. Took photographs at this place where the Cliffs were over two hundred feet high.

In the afternoon rowed again by the cliffs and saw the same effect as when here in 1861. The almost still water was of robin's egg green in which the cliffs were reflected in brilliant red, while the wavelets gave back rich bronze reflections. As a background the green cones of the hills rose to the height of five hundred and eighty feet.

June 28. Started at 5 a.m. and concluded to go into Grand Entry Harbor, the wind being unfavorable for landing on Bird Rocks. Off the harbor we hired a fisherman to pilot us in for one dollar. The channel is straight enough but beset by sand bars and it would not have been possible for us to get in without some guide. Ran up close to two small wharves where two lobster factories were in full blast. One of these establishments alone employed forty fishermen, and taking two thousand daily was no unusual thing for two men and one boy attending 116 traps.

Tried to get some guillemots and their eggs on an island in the harbor but Gardiner shot only one. Meanwhile a slight sea had risen and returning in the little boat that had brought us over, quite a little water came in. Kerr remarked that Gardiner looked like a ruffled hen in a rain storm. We undertook to run a shallow place and got caught, the same irrepressible youth acted as driver to the crew while we were pushing her off, insisting in derision that one good mule was better than the whole team. Reached the yacht tired, wet, and hungry; the wind increasing and the barometer falling, we got our large anchor out and moored for the night. Went to bed at 9:30 and slept till six.

June 29. I should not have risen at six even, but for the cook who, Gardiner relates, had been wandering around the boat and cabin since 4:30 in despair until he raised the courage to call me at six. Found the boat had dragged a little during the night on account of the short scope and soft ground. It was blowing a tremendous gale and the barometer still falling, so we gave her more scope and put out the other anchor. The cabin grew so cold that we

attempted to light the gasolene stove, and as usual it gave us much trouble, going out at every puff of wind. We finally protected it by a coat over the companionway and managed to obtain some result. Tar-Baby was as usual very derisive, declaring that Prof. Hyatt's stove demanded all the clothes in the boat to keep itself warm, that it was a demon using up all the carbon in the cabin, in our bodies, etc., etc. There has certainly been a frightful consumption of matches and patience, in trying to use it, and I half suspect the agent in Boston sold me a second hand article.

June 30. Arose at 5, wind still strong and veered to the N.E. and we moved our anchors in accordance. After breakfast took a long walk along the southwestern shore of Coffin's Island. The mongrel curs found on this island are taught to retrieve birds and swim admirably.

Mr. Brewster went out with Gilbert and shot a number of gannets, which were quite abundant. One never tires of watching the flight of these birds, the perfect command of their large bodies and the tremendous force with which they strike the water in diving. A heavy wind did not seem to interfere with their movements. Gardiner shot a raven.

July 2. Had the boat prepared for sailing and accordingly started as soon as I could get aboard. Passed the red cliffs again and observed for the last time the remarkable caverns and also the strata described by Mr. Kerr. The cliffs look low from seaward though really quite high, 250 feet more or less. The wind was N.W. and quite fresh though dead ahead for Bryon which we desired to reach.

Wind veered and after passing through a calm in which we rolled about considerably we succeeded in reaching Bird Rocks. Took the dory and rowed Brewster to the cliff where a man was waiting to assist us to land at the foot of a long ladder, which leads to the top. The surf was running quite high and it was already sunset I preferred not to land, but left word that we would come again in the morning.

Set the anchor watches and went to bed. We had long been wondering why the sun set so early; today Gardiner



Fig. 3. THE "ARETHUSA" BEING FITTED FOR ITS LABORADOR CRUISE AT THE WHARF AT GOOSE COVE, ANNISQUAM, ADJACENT TO HYATT'S SUMMER HOUSE "SEVEN ACRES"

got an observation and we found our watches were one hour and ten minutes slow.

July 3. The treacherous character of this climate became apparent during the night watches and in the morning the wind was too strong to land. We were obliged to weigh anchor and stand for Bryon Island. The anchor came away all right but Warren did not keep the buoy rope taught and it caught again, this time in such a place that all our efforts were unavailing though we worked until we were tired out.

Finally as a last resort we put on all sail and tacked to and fro over it until it came loose again and then hauled it in with a rope. Delighted with this result, for I had determined to leave the whole tackle or break the chain, we sailed away. Found considerable breeze and quite a sea, but had no difficulty in reaching the Island, and here we came to anchor under the lee of high cliffs of stratified red sandstone. Went ashore with Warren and Henshaw, Kerr refusing to go because it was Sunday. Brewster and Gardiner went shooting as usual and brought home quite a number of sea parrots and several razor-billed auks or tinkers. There are some forty inhabitants on this island and they seemed civil and well-behaved. All that we met were Canadian French.

It clouded up later and began to rain again; it seems impossible in such weather to dry anything; we had skinned the breasts of a couple of gannets and had tried also to dry some algae, but it is discouraging labor. Our Tar Baby slept all day, finding this no doubt more in accordance with the requirements of revealed religion than the study of nature. In the afternoon, however, either having satisfied his conscience or totally forgetting that it was Sunday, he went off in the best of spirits to row Brewster and Gardiner, who went gunning again. I stayed meanwhile with the vessel, wrote and attended to other small matters.

On the southwest side of the cliffs we found a large box capable of holding four or five persons, but word came down from the top to take only two in. Henshaw and I took the first trip. The cliff was 100 or 110 feet high, and the sensation of being hoisted at the end of a single

rope with the box revolving was too much for Henshaw, who was obliged to crouch in the bottom, the box was about four and a half feet deep. I stood up in order to see the birds, the gannets, thick on the ledges of the rocks, but having more space to perch than one would believe, seeing them from a distance. The murrees had places to themselves and the puffins also. The gulls built their nests in holes and corners.

They did not seem particularly alarmed at our approach, only the nearest flew off at our coming. I carried eight plates for photographing, and being accompanied by the keeper selected the best places on the edges of the precipices for my views. It was very difficult to handle the instrument and be as careful as was essential for safety. The perpetual screams of the gannets however were the most annoying, though my head kept perfectly cool and I experienced no difficulty in standing on the edges of the precipice and looking down on the flocks of wheeling birds and the moving sea. Went aboard at 2 p.m. after giving the keeper a proper mark of our gratitude for his work, for it was really hard work, as the lifting machine for hoisting is all done by hand; this occasions the pauses in the ascent which must be very alarming to a nervous person. In going down, Brewster and Gardiner squatted in the box being unable to bear the sensation; unaware of the rapidity of the descent, and as the corner of the box first struck on the steep beach, they both sprang in terror grasping the side of the box, supposing as they afterward acknowledged that the corner had struck a ledge of the precipice and they were about to be tipped out.

Later they hunted and shot murrees and gannets with considerable success. Gilbert, however, was as good a shot as any, knocking over his bird in a sportsmanlike style. I sat on the fore-castle skinning a couple of gannets until the last minute though the rain began to come and the fog squall with it and as Duley was urging me to get things ready to be off I worked as long as I could, but was finally forced to take the remainder of my work to the cabin where the greatest confusion reigned. There sat Brewster over a flock of dead birds that he had been forced to bring in

out of the rain, in despair over the treasures that could not be taken care of.

The wind rather increased than diminished this morning and we approached the shore of Anticosti with feelings of relief. Every thing in the cabin was wet, we were also soaked as we found our beds were later.

July 5. Sighted Anticosti, but not seeing a light did not know where we were. Ran her down the coast from where we supposed we must be, and speaking a vessel found that the log had as usual given us an incorrect position a few miles to the E of South Point Light. The wind died out during the morning and was succeeded by a warm pleasant afternoon. We took advantage of this to get out our wet clothing and dry it and for a while our deck looked like a Jews shop, so much of it and so dilapidated was it.

Still calm, though we have not been able to land as yet. A N.W. wind has sprung up since writing and presents the uncomfortable prospect of beating about all night in the effort to reach Ellis's Bay 38 miles to windwards, so we decided to run back and accordingly put the *Arethusa* around and ran for Heath Point.

Wind did not hold after sunset and we did not reach it until the next morning about 2 a.m. At this locality we experienced the peculiar variability of the wind which we learned afterwards to expect. Off Heath Point passed a calm zone and then saw ahead a line of dark water; Duley made me a little nervous about this and almost persuaded me to stand off from shore; I felt, however, that it could not be land and stood on until we saw that it was a breeze coming. Kept on until breakfast time and then ran back under the lee of Wreck Point: went ashore, took two views and collected a number of fossils. The *Arethusa* made signals for us to come off as the *Arethusa* was dragging her anchor, and we had to leave just as we were preparing for a much needed bath.

Stood up for Fox Bay; wind coming strong off the land in squalls, obliging us to double reef our foresail. Reached the Bay and beat into an anchorage, Gilbert saying that he could take her in without a pilot from what he had been told of it from fishermen, and he seemed so confident that

I permitted him to do so, though the rest seemed very timid about it. Gilbert remarked to me "Now don't you get scared too, they all git so skart that it kinder flusters me too." Our Skipper-Cook who was thoroughly scared perpetually falsified the sounding, singing out two fathoms when it was three, etc. But Gilbert had tied a knot at three fathoms and knew better and finally remarked "He knew the depth and that knot was a better tell-tale than the man at the line." We entered a little bay about a mile in depth and sheltered by a reef that is said to make it particularly safe. We were no sooner at anchor than the usual demands for assistance in the medical way were made. On going ashore we found the only one who could read prayers and teach school to be very sick from some lung or throat difficulty. He had exhausted the little strength he had with pills and other violent cathartics.

Saw two children just recovering from scarlet fever; they were in a closely shut up room with heavy fires, the room dense with smoke in order to keep out the flies. A poor little baby teething was the worst sufferer, eaten with flies and a glandular swelling the size of an hen's egg on its neck which had undoubtedly aggravated the case. I could do nothing for her, but succeeded in relieving the school master with rum and quinine, and anointing the chest etc. Also was able to do something for another poor fellow who was suffering from diarrhea, by brandy and opium.

Gardiner caught some trout from the river today which were delicious.

July 8. Kerr and I rowed ashore and walked along the cliffs at low tide, gathering fossils up to Fox Point. The rocks were the only thing of interest, the alternations of fine and coarse limestone layers, and the abundance of limestone pebbles in them is particularly interesting. These pebbles must have come from an adjoining continent of limestone. Several of the fossils gave no clue to their origin, which we found in these pebbles.

July 9. Hired a sail boat and two men to take us to Salmon River, stopping on the way at Table Head. Here two beds of the *Beatricea* (fossil Hydrozoa) occur in cliffs. The beds were three or four feet thick, and the lower one

looked like a fossilized wood pile, so numerous and closely set were the Beatriceae. Found here what I had never expected to see, specimens showing the intimate structure of this fossil; gathered a great many of these and others. Kerr visited the same place and reports that he found on the reef the stumps or bases of attachments of the Beatriceae. The reef was composed of an underlying, finely grained, sandy limestone, having but few fossils. The stump grew upon this, or rather rested on it and the Beatricea grew out singly, never branching in long stalks.

July 10. Visited Battery Point and gathered some fine fossils; the cliffs, however, were not in good condition, most of the loose material having been carried away by an easterly storm early in the spring. The wind proving unfavorable we had to linger here till nearly 6 p.m. John Ellison is one of the most hospitable souls on the planet, and though they had no butter, in fact nothing save fresh salmon and dry bread, I don't think I ever felt better entertained than in his barn-like room, answering his many questions or listening to his long stories about the sea and bears.

A heavy land breeze set in as we left our host and Ellison cautioned us to keep near the land. We were frightened at first by its violence, but soon acquired confidence in our boat that ran before it with great rapidity. Reached the vessel about 9 p.m. and found that the others had also been successful in their shore collecting.

July 11. Warren and I walked around to Gull Cape. On returning to the yacht found a boy with a fish hook forced through the thumb nail. Sent ashore for a lancet and cut it out, though I was obliged to delay the operation on account of sharpening the lancet first.

A small whale, Finback, not over 15 feet came alongside and played around us for some time evidently mistaking us for a larger member of his own species. The little fellow kept diving under us, first on one side and then on the other, until discovering his mistake, he made off seaward.

We entered the beautiful basin of Gaspé. Went to bed with a sense of gratefulness to have reached a safe harbor for the sky looked very wild and threatening.

July 17. I have certainly a harmonious crew to travel

with; the cook is patience itself and when we tickle his vanity by a little praise he actually glows. The closets are greasy and the glasses we drink from invariably dingy, but on the other hand he gives us plenty of food, and it is well cooked, so that I make it a rule never to see the chaos in the fore-castle or ever to slip on the grease in the closets. He prepares a separate breakfast for Mr. Brewster who is not equal to an early one, and is much too weak to keep regular hours or assume any of our work. He has improved, however, since we started and I think will be the better for the trip, but had I known his real weakness I never should have ventured to take him with us.

July 22. Made sail for Niapisca and anchoring between this and Quarry Island went ashore. Found on top of the point two deserted foundations of Indians huts. They had carefully heaped the stones in the form observed elsewhere; here I picked up a boat for Allie that probably some Indian child had cut out.

Made off again for Anticosti. We made ten miles an hour and anchored in English Bay at about 3:30 p.m.

July 23. Made Ellis Bay early in the day and went ashore immediately with Kerr and Henshaw. Mr. Henshaw is a fine collector and an indefatigable worker, though unfortunately made ill at the slightest seaway, but will work till the last, only giving up at the last extremity.

The northern lights were very fine, but I did not see them, Gilbert having remarked how tired I was would not allow anyone to call me and stood my watch and his own.

July 25. Ran up Perce Harbor. Mr. Brewster decided to go ashore here and take the steamer to Campel and the cars from thence to Boston. The wind and rain continued, but we managed to hold on.

July 28. Dressed in order to go ashore and seek old china and pewter for Della (Hyatt's wife).

Gardiner and Kerr got up a story about my snoring. Kerr related that a whale that came up one night off Anticosti, and played about the yacht, would blow and then listen to answering snort; it was an even thing for a while, but finally he became discouraged and retreated fairly beaten and demoralized.

August 12. Still beating to windward, the same ceaseless S.W. blowing and so hard that we cannot carry our light sails, the sea is heavy and she pounds hard into it. This will delay us very much and we shall not reach Cape Sable as we expected to tonight if this keeps up. I ought to record the fact that in spite of a head wind we really had yesterday and last night, warm pleasant weather, with full moon, the only twenty-four hours pleasant sailing that we have had this summer. Today by way of sharp contrast, it is very cold and only comfortable in the sunshine. At noon even that left us and with the thermometer at 57° it was hard to keep from shivering. Add to this a heavy head wind as cold as that in the Mammoth Cave, and the air as damp as it can be, a foggy horizon and the prospect of knocking about all day in a head sea, and one can picture the ordinary daily delights of this cruise.

August 15. The last day of my estimated absence. Sighted Cape Ann a little on the weather bow. The *Arethusa* carries a rainbow in the foam under the lee bow, as she always does, God bless her, when in sight of that dear land.

INTRODUCTION TO THE EXPEDITION OF 1885

Four years later Hyatt made a return voyage with the *Arethusa* in the summer of 1885, to visit the west coast of Newfoundland and the coast of Labrador. While we are fortunate in having at our disposal a complete type-written copy of the log of the 1881 expedition, records of other trips have not been found except a portion of the dairy written on this expedition of 1885. There are indications that this, too, had been typed and bound, but to date such a volume has not been located. The manuscript on hand is the original hand-written record of Alpheus Hyatt made between July 11 and August 26, 1885. It runs from page 93 to 188 with pages 124-27 and 148-49 missing. Following are pertinent excerpts selected from the diary to portray the vicissitudes and accomplishments on this last voyage of the *Arethusa* to the Labrador coast.

Hyatt went ahead of the *Arethusa*, going to St. John's on May 8 and then proceeded to Port au Port on the west

coast of Newfoundland which he reached by June 3. The *Arethusa* left Annisquam under the command of Edward Gardiner and reached Port au Port on June 17, when Hyatt joined the group. On board with Prof. Hyatt as leader of the expedition were: E. G. Gardiner (assistant leader), George Barton, Dr. H. M. Buck of Boston (physician), and two students from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—Sidney R. Bartlett (photographer) and C. L. Burlingham. Gardiner and Barton were both Instructors at M. I. T. Gilbert Davis was again captain of the *Arethusa* and the crew included two men—Lane, the cook and deck-hand, and Baxter, a pilot secured at St. John's. A total of 180 photographs were taken. Not much dredging was undertaken on this trip because of the frequent high winds. Shore collecting was also disappointing because the tidal pools were not rich in specimens. However, many fossils were gathered as on the previous expedition.^{6,7}

EXCERPTS FROM THE LOG OF 1885

July 11, 1885. Barton, Gardiner, and I went to Black Cape prospecting and found the weather though clear rather undulating on account of the wind. When Barton and Gardiner reached the Cape which was composed of some very picturesque cliffs and depressions they found fossils and whistled for me. I had the pleasure of seeing the long and eloquent forms of the *Orthoceras piscator* lying in the rocks. We dug out many specimens of these and of Gasteropoda (snails). In the morning the Doctor, Bartlett, and Burlingham went over to Largamelle and we came back to dinner expecting to astonish them with our news when they should come in. They arrived while we were at dinner and on their entrance took the wind completely out of our sails. They walked up to the table and announced in a carefully worded exultant chorus that they had found specimens altogether better and larger than our pet *Endoceras* which had been dug out at Port au Port.

July 12. Every night I have to sit up until 10 or 11 mending fractured fossils and packing those which are suitable and this became exceedingly irksome after a hard day's work in the rocks especially as I have to be up fre-



Fig. 4. CREW OF THE "ARETHUSA" ON EXPEDITION OF 1881

From left to right : John Stanwood (cook) ; Capt. Gilbert Davis ; W. H. Kerr, (student) ; John Duley (deck hand) ; Edward G. Gardiner (student) ; Edward Warren (student) ; Samuel Henshaw (student) ; William Brewster (student).

quently at 5 and always at 5:30. Our breakfast is invariably at six, the cook being remarkably prompt. The young men are so impatient for their breakfast that they wash in a great hurry and always get ahead of me. I like to do my obligations rather more leisurely. Dr. Buck comes out of his berth with the greatest promptitude and invariably sits like patience itself waiting for his grub occasionally ejaculating with despair the cry of "chuck! chuck!" This cry means in our vernacular "food". I found that in their impatience the youngsters were beginning to eat as soon as the food was placed on the table though often only two were ready to begin promptly. I had to check this and made it a rule that they must wait until either Gardiner or I took our seats. The Dr. is the most constant feeder on board and it annoys me to see the constancy of appetite in a man whose exercise is by no means as constant. The young men are of very little use except occasionally in prospecting for specimens. They are awkward with the hammer and chisel and so easily tired out that after a half day's work they are only fit to go to bed and sleep. I have to thank them, however, for the discovery of many splendid fossils and do not feel disposed to belittle their service on account of some shortcomings. Bartlett takes pictures well, but is constantly neglectful of the best opportunities and puts off a good time for an anticipated better with considerable regularity. He is, however, very cheerful and willing to exert himself when spurred a little and this gives fair results.

July 14. This is the great French holiday and they celebrated the event by opening a cask of wine on shore and some funny shouting, etc. It seems that one set of fishermen are employed by Royalists and another set by Republican owners. One vessel therefore was made gay with flags and while one party sang the Marseillaise and "a bas Les Royalistes" etc. and shouted opprobrious epithets against all royalists in general, the other party indulged in equally noisy demonstrations, but apparently only in answer since they never took the initiative except once so far as I heard. Then one courageous fisherman shouted "a bas la Republique" which raised a perfect pandemonium of epithets

from the abused republicans. We pleased the republicans much by hoisting our colors and they treated Bartlett to wine etc., and expressed their gratitude by sending us some fresh fish.

It is amusing and instructive to notice how primitive is the condition of this French fishing colony. The aspect of the forty to fifty men in their blouses and caps is really picturesque and the noise of their wooden shoes clattering on the stones can be heard at some distance. The men live in the most filthy huts and upon the coarsest food.

Late in the afternoon we found what we supposed was the famed fossil Halibut, a mass of whitish concretion under a cliff near Barbace. My suspicion that this was the famed fossil, which we had heard of more than once, was not abandoned later when the French Capt. came along and declared that the original specimen had been obliterated by the falling in of the cliff. I had heard that he meant to dig this out for himself and I was cruel enough to leave him in ignorance of the fact that we had found out that it was worthless.

July 20. Barton, Burlingham, and I started along shore leaving orders for the *Arethusa* to follow us around the Lo Peninsula shore to Well Bay. We found on the shore of the Haven at once the higher strata of Point Richardson with *Orthoceras piscator* and numerous common bones of *Maclura?* etc. which showed that we had here the higher foundations of the Quebec (stratum of limestone).

July 21. Having found no fossils we got Gardiner, who with the Dr., had come to the west end to shoot ducks. He rowed us around to the easterly end where these observations were made. On the way along the beach I had found a large stone hollowed out on the upper side and in noting the water standing in this hollow I remembered that we had wished for a stone like this at 'Squam to make a bath for the birds. Having missed finding any fossils on the beach, Barton went above and then on to get the boat and I stopped to see if I could work off the extra weight of this slab, and make it fit for our use. I worked harder in doing this than at any time during the trip and at times despaired, but by dint of perseverance finally succeeded just as the

boat came up. We got aboard and lowered my treasure into the hold without accident.

July 22. Gardiner and Buck returned about two with a net full of trout and some salmon. We then got under way and ran east bound for Ferolle. Gilbert steered too near to the Whale's Back and ran the *Arethusa* hard and fast on the rocks. All sail was set and we were going quite fast, but luckily no damage was done. The buoy had been placed out on the outer edge of the reef and on the inner edge was a stick which Gilbert did not see. It was certainly a very decided piece of carelessness on his part there being no need of going so close to the shoals. We got her off after an hour or so of work.

July 23. Several natives boarded us, the first being a man with some turnip tops for sale. He told a dismal tale of a widow ashore at the mouth of the river who wished to exchange them for bread because her children had been without food for days. I doubted his story and did not believe in the man, but took his greens and paid him in bread and also added some slices of ham. It was probably well to have done this, since the young men, Gardiner, Buck, and Bartlett, after returning from the mouth of the stream without catching any fish reported the condition of this family to be apparently very wretched.

July 25. The mosquitoes had boarded us while a mile or two off the coast and when near shore and in the harbor they attacked us in clouds. My head suffered from these attacks considerably though I frustrated them in part by a double headdress of a worsted cap and big handkerchief. The barometer had been falling very rapidly all the afternoon and a storm appeared to be rising on the southern horizon and though some rain and a little spit of wind came as we anchored, nothing further occurred worth mentioning. The cabin was insufferably hot and the mosquitoes prevented us from having perfect ventilation.

July 26. Burlingham continually increases in industry and usefulness. He's now under considerable difficulties making a collection of flowers for Bartlett and himself and also for the Society (Bost. Soc. Nat. Hist.). Having no proper paper he cannot take the whole plant, but does the

best he can with the flowers and leaves of the larger ones. Bartlett seems on the contrary to increase in uselessness and spends most of his time in sleep or reading novels and then loses opportunities of taking pictures. Though a young man of ability he is beyond question the least useful person on board and yet has been an undoubted addition to the party on account of light heartedness and jokes and dexterity with the camera.

Burlingham started out with Bartlett to learn German, Gardiner and Buck tutoring them. Bartlett has completely fallen out by the way, while Burlingham has made great strides. The tortoise has distanced the hare already.

July 30. On descending to the south point of this cove (Norman's Cove) we found a thin bedded homogeneous limestone containing some Gasteropoda and a few Orthoceratites. In the upper of these strata *Piloceras* did not occur, but in the thin bedded limestone it did occur and it was present also in the cherty limestones immediately underlying these in the cove. We also found in this rock *Archeocyathus* and corals etc. and *Nautili* but not *Piloceras*. This indicates a fault which would bring down the higher formation of the Quebec to the same level as H. on the north side of Norman's Cove. . . . My impression is very strong from repeated observations from the vessel that no fault occurs, but that local bendings of the strata amply account for the appearances when one considers also the local undulations which form a cliff about a hundred feet to the west. We could see along the shores of the strait that the unfossiliferous strata upon which the lighthouse stands and which corresponds to the formations of the lower Quebec of the Western shore of Newfoundland were similarly bent or undulated forming cliffs similar to those upon which Cape Norman light now stands.

We had a good day's work in spite of all draw-backs and got one exceedingly large and fine *Piloceras* and several small ones. This was the home of *Piloceras* and the number of siphons in the rocks was very remarkable. The specimens with remnants of the shell attached to the siphon were more frequent, and we saw several besides those that were dug out.

July 31. We met a brig, a Norwegian standing in so as to run directly over the shoals at Cook's Point. Our boatman said she had been beating about in the straits for eight days and from her actions he should think the Capt. was trying to lose the vessel. This seemed very probable to us at the time because of the reckless way in which she sailed in towards the shoals. Our boatman was a good sort of man and yet he seemed delighted at the prospect of a wreck and would not warn them of their danger. We, however, waved to them to keep off and they did so.

August 1. We found the weather unfavorable for a start in the morning it being almost calm. Baxter was very anxious to go and showed his usual want of judgment declaring that it was going to be fine weather etc. I began packing fossils and continued doing so all the morning. About 11:30 some men belonging to a schooner, a trader lying next to us, came up in their boat loaded with the pumps and pumping gear of a wreck. They told us the Norwegian brig had beaten about in the bay until she had finally found a convenient shoal near Schooner Island upon which she had been driven hard and fast. The sails and ropes had been stripped off by the crew before any boats had arrived and the Capt. and crew were all safe ashore with their boats. We immediately started to go to her. Bartlett, Burlingham and the Dr. in the boat ahead and rowing hard to keep their lead. We amused ourselves by watching their exertions and Baxter and Gardiner took their rowing very easily. When off the southwest point of Schooner Island we saw a curious appearance in the offing. The fog in the direction of the Labrador coast was arranged in successive columns looking like great headlands with their white tops lost in the clouds. This aspect looked to us like rain with a little wind perhaps, but we were hardly prepared for the severity and suddenness of the squall which struck over the island from the Northeast. We soon turned back toward the vessel and both boats had a hard row against the wind and sea before we reached the *Arethusa* and all of us got more or less wet from the flying spray. After dinner I continued working at the fossils. Gardiner and I congratulated ourselves that Baxter was not our sailing master. A sailor

who could have been along this coast as much as he has and yet have acquired so little knowledge of the headlands and harbors must be very deficient in powers of observation. He seems not to be able to recognize the principal headlands any better than we do and usually we know them about as soon as he does simply from the descriptions in the Pilot Book and their bearings on the chart.

August 6. I frequently congratulate myself on the arrangements made during this trip and that all the young men are fit for duty. Otherwise, I should be obliged to stand watch and take a part in the duty of running the boat. My immunity from all duties of this kind has enabled me to do much more servicefull work in collecting and taking care of the fossils, etc.

August 13. We started the boat just before breakfast and gradually worked her out of the harbor, leaving this picturesque island and its queer row of dove cots (fishermen's huts) without regrets though we had found friendly shelter and much comfort there during our enforced stay. The wind turned southward for a while and then came off to the northeastward. It seemed as if nature had lent herself to my interests. We are now leaving Cape St. George shoal behind us driven by a mild northeaster. In spite of my desire to have a look at this cape a little nearer I find myself singing and carrying a most cheerful countenance and I notice that the crew shows a similar behavior and work the vessel with unequalled attention and alacrity. They have stood the delays bravely, though I think if I had not set the example and even said some few words about the childishness of regretting inevitable disappointments that they would have complained much more and made themselves very unhappy at every opportunity, but now, 2 p.m., the breeze has disappeared and left us rolling on the sea, but still in sight of the noble mountains of Newfoundland. It is evident that we are not going to make the quick run with a fair wind of which there were such good prospects this morning.

August 15. We sailed with a fair breeze around Cape North experiencing some few small squalls and then passed along the equally unarctic coast of Asper Bay and close

aboard the grand heights of Smoky Cape. We were, however not fated to pass the day without our usual adventures and excitements. It presently fell calm when off Inganish Light. This was a picturesque double bay surrounded by lofty mountains and entrances were studded with small islands some lofty and precipitous with colored cliffs of rock and others low and well wooded. Later in the afternoon, the clouds which had been threatening to leeward, settled down and obscured the headlands towards which we were steering. Gardiner had got the bearings, however, and we could dimly see the outlines of Cape Dauphin, a high headland at the entrance to the Bras D'Or. The wind sprang up and we bowled along at a steadily increasing pace with a northeast breeze. The calm, however, and the late hour of starting from Cape North had delayed us so much that we did not pass the light on Ciboux Island until nearly dark and it was lighted soon after we got by. We had no large charts of the entrance and the small scale of our only chart was not a sufficient guide to run in by. The wind was sufficient to carry us on some ways past Cape Dauphin and nearly up to the light at the entrance of the great Bras D'Or. The sea had risen considerably as we entered and now was remarkably high considering the wind. This was due to the very heavy tide running against the wind and one could see here the curious phenomenon of the waves toppling over backwards and breaking against the direction of the wind. The wind left us, darkness settled down, and we had to anchor just to windward of a rocky shoal laid down on our chart. This did not please me, though Gardiner and Gilbert appeared to be satisfied. I told Gardiner it would not do and he must take Baxter and sound in shore for a better berth or go down to the lighthouse and get someone to take us off into the entrance. If I had known what was coming I should have insisted upon his getting a pilot and would have had one. Very soon after he left us, the tide slackened and the *Arethusa* began to cut such pranks as I never witnessed before. She described concentric circles around the anchor and cut across the seas finally lying almost constantly so as to take them broadside on. This made her roll so that the water came into the ports occasionally

and actually made it impossible to walk along the deck except in the lull between the heavier seas. She threw me once completely backwards on to the top of the house and the topmasts snapped at the end of each roll so it made the boat tremble and we could feel the vibrations in the cabin. Everything creaked and strained and a very slight increase in the size of the seas would have become dangerous and forced us to quit our anchorage. The clouds settled down and it began to rain quite hard. In the midst of this Gardiner returned with the news that we were in a perfectly safe berth and that in case of trouble we could run directly to leeward and enter the harbor. The light keeper advised us, however, to stay where we were until morning and then take a pilot through the Bras D'Or. This advise the darkness obliged us to follow. Luckily the boat, as the tide became stronger, laid head on to the seas and though she put her bow completely under at times, as Gardiner reported in the morning, I slept soundly and it became quite comfortable below.

August. 16 We set the colors early for a pilot, but none came and we had to run into the entrance and were wrongfully directed to a cove in which we anchored. Here Gardiner went ashore only to learn that the pilot lived on the other side of the Bras D'Or. We broke adrift on account of the eelgrass and had to get under way, luckily just as Gardiner returned. A pilot came off as we stood out of the cove. At 8:05 a.m. we bore away and stood along the Great Bras D'Or passage.

During part of our passage I settled Baxter's accounts. He had agreed at first while in St. John to come for fifty dollars a month and had then raised his price to fifty-five, this extra price I had agreed to supposing that the man knew as he had said the principal headlands on the west coast of Newfoundland. After settling his cash I plainly told him upon what grounds the extra five dollars per month was accorded and added that I would pay him this sum upon demand, but that he had not served us as a pilot and knew nothing about the coast. To my great astonishment he assented to this reduction putting it, however, upon the grounds that I was not satisfied. He was not willing to ac-



Fig 5. CAPT. GILBERT DAVIS AT WHEEL OF THE "ARETHUSA" WHILE GOING THROUGH THE GUT OF CANSO, LOOKING NORTH TO CAPE PORCUPINE

knowledge that he was in any way at fault himself and excused himself from not recognizing headlands which we passed on our way back for the second time and which we ourselves knew at sight, such as Point Ferolle etc., by saying that he had considered himself at that time as free from all duties as a pilot and had ceased to think about such matters. He further alleged that we had shut him off from all free access to charts, etc. The whole of his explanation showed that, having been commander of large sea-going craft, he had not the slightest idea of the qualifications necessary in the pilot or commander of a coasting vessel. During our interview he said that I had never given him a kind word or look once I gave him my first blast. Undoubtedly he has had a hard time in the fore-castle because both Lane and Gilbert held his seamanship in contempt and considered him a humbug as a pilot. He was so ignorant of what was required and so unobservant that his self-confidence was in no way shaken by his experience with us.

August 17. We stood across to Port Hawkesbury in order to get letters, etc. The wind was so light that we went very slowly and when near the anchorage Bartlett went ashore to the Post Office. Our disgust and disappointment (was great) when he returned with the information that the intelligent postmistress at this place had just forwarded all our letters to Newfoundland. How this mistake occurred whether through the neglect of our written instructions, on her part or not, it is difficult to say, but the effort on the crew was very perceptible. I had hard work to hold my own and not appear to be depressed. I went ashore and tried for the twentieth time to get some little present for Annchen and Allie. I found one pair of mocassins, all there were in the place, and as this was the only suitable present I had yet come across I purchased these for Allie.

August 18. Found a favorable breeze at 4:20 and awakening Gardiner we got under way. Ran into Canso Harbor arriving about noon so that we had dinner after anchoring. Went ashore in the afternoon. Found in one of the stores some fox tails, and bought one for Annchen in despair of getting anything better.

The sea is getting heavier all the time and there is now

quite a fresh wind, but beyond the discomfort of the lurching which has just thrown me off my transom there is nothing to complain of, no rain or fog as yet. One cannot tell at sea what the next hour may bring forth and such experiences are necessary in order to appreciate the need of the constant watchfulness and often apparently unnecessary precautions taken by a good sailor. When I laid down this diary I had not the slightest apprehension we should be caught in a gale, nevertheless, in less than half an hour we were just able to hold our own and keep on our course towards Halifax. The sea became higher and began to break heavily at times so that we had more water on deck than I had ever seen before on the *Arethusa*... Gilbert was very much disgusted with us for remaining so far off the land during the night and I think myself this was an error. Gardiner calculated the course about what was right and as it turned out we were very nearly where he thought we must be from his dead reckoning with the log etc. It blew so hard at times that the rain stung the face, and it was possible to look to windward only by glances with the leeward eye. It was curious to hear Lane though an old hand and used to hard storms express himself emphatically, that "we were in for a devil of a time" and Gilbert muttered his thoughts that "if this wind held we should catch the devil". I quote these remarks because today neither of these men will admit that it was anything more than a good fresh breeze with a heavy chop. May the Lord preserve me from such fresh breezes in the future for they are altogether too much like storms to suit my constitution. "All's well that ends well." Gardiner proved himself a good navigator and after a morning of heavy work we sighted the land, which presently proved to be the entrance to Halifax harbor and we ran into this haven very cheerfully considering the fact that it was one we had particularly desired not to visit. I dressed myself for a visit to Dr. Honyman and his museum. When I appeared on deck in a white shirt and deck clothes and my Halifax hat I was greeted with most disrespectful shouts and laughter. But I put on an immense dignity and ordered Bartlett to row me ashore in a manner which seemed to amuse the boys as much as had my shore togs.

August 25. This day is a memorable one to me. When we came out of the Bras D'Or I unluckily offered to bet that we would be in 'Squam on the 25. This could have been accomplished easily by putting the *Arethusa* to sea and taking the weather as it might come but Providence and comfort dictated the course we have taken and the result doubled the length of time occupied by the journey. The young men do not let me forget my wager, but bring it up on all occasions along with Barton's failure to make his dynamite go off on the occasion of an exhibition at Lavgamelle Cove, the Dr.'s determined, but unsuccessful effort to explain away a certain bear story, and some other jokes of a similar description.

We are now passing along to the west of this island and hoping to reach Cape Sable before night. If my law holds we shall not reach it. We arrived off Negro Harbor at about 6 p.m. and I concluded to run in for the night. The sky had the same aspect as on the previous evening and the barometer had been falling. We entered the harbor and put up against a land wind, anchored about 8 p.m. The moon came from behind the thick clouds. Gardiner reported that there had been sharp gusts of wind and I have no doubt that I did what was wisest in not trying to cross the tide rips of the Bay of Fundy with such a sky in front of us. Nevertheless, we should have been in Cape Ann tonight if I had not been so cautious.

August 26. The moon came out finally peering from behind the clouds which were being driven over the heavens by the winds in great banks, but which left the zenith most of the time clear. It was a magnificent and impressive sight. The dear little boat behaved like a live thing, she seemed to know just what to do and swung herself over the waves under Gilbert's hand as if he and she had but one mind and one will. The great masses of water rolling and swaying all around us and breaking in great sheets of foam in the moonlight. The dark clouds of the horizon and bright sky of the zenith, the whistle of the winds through the rigging, the picturesque figure of Gilbert at the wheel and the little boat working and straining every fiber as the waves rolled under her made the most impressive and beautiful picture I had ever seen. My confidence in the *Are-*

thusa increased with the gale, she rode the waves like a cork and only occasionally took aboard the tops of some of the worst seas. We filled our cockpit half full three times and everything was wet fore and aft. The tops of the waves were blown by the wind aboard of us and sometimes striking the planks in the stern like small shot. Nevertheless Gilbert would listen to none of my suggestions about lying to. These were often given out by me to find out how he felt for I should have been bitterly disappointed if we could not have kept on. The decks strained a little forward and leaked but no damage was done though we ran all night and until noon the next day.

I relieved Lane at the helm and steered her through the great seas which began to run like small mountains toward morning.

IN CONCLUSION

This ended the last major voyage of the *Arethusa* for scientific research under the command of Alpheus Hyatt. His dream of a private sailing vessel for pursuing his interests in zoology and paleontology was fulfilled. Much had been accomplished; many valuable specimens were collected. The two major expeditions proved to be highlights in the life of Prof. Hyatt. While many trials and tribulations were faced on these voyages, and many periods of discomfort and disappointment were suffered, the exhilaration of pursuing scientific knowledge and pioneering in an undeveloped area of research was ever present. The spirit and drive of Alpheus Hyatt brought success to an adventure which might easily have failed under the leadership of lesser men.

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SALEM AND THE ZANZIBAR-EAST AFRICAN
TRADE, 1825-1845

BY PHILIP E. NORTHWAY

(Continued from Vol. XC, p. 153)

IV

RICHARD PALMER WATERS: FIRST AMERICAN CONSUL

In 1837, Richard P. Waters established himself as the first American consul of Zanzibar. His residence became an outpost of New England, for in him flourished the piety of the Puritan and the shrewdness of the Yankee in such classic proportions that it is well worth while to glance briefly at his background. He was born on September 29, 1807, the youngest of the five children of Robert and Lydia Waters. The family does not appear to have been very well situated financially; and after the early death of the father, the family was in rather straitened circumstances for a number of years. Two older brothers, John and William, went to sea at an early age, and were captains of ships by the time Richard went out as consul. Richard left school early, and finished his education in the business world; at the age of twenty-five he opened a shop for himself in the retail trade district and acquired a thorough knowledge of business management. Before his appointment as consul, John Bertram and Michael Shepard recognized his business ability and helped to further his ambitions.

The year 1832, marked the time when Waters decisively set himself apart from the common sentiment of his community by joining the abolitionist society organized by Garrison in Boston. From then on he was an outspoken foe of slavery, as his private journals testify so well. At the same time he joined the Crombie Street Church in Salem, which was formed in the same year by a group from the Howard Street Church where there had been some sharp differences of opinion on the slavery question.⁸¹ With the arrival at the Howard Street Church of the Rev. George B.

81 Bulletin of the Essex Institute, Vol. XX, 174-175.

Cheever, who was an anti-slavery man, however, Waters appears to have returned to the parent church. His active abolitionist work led to membership by 1836, in the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society where he became very friendly with the Rev. J. T. Woodbury, a brother of Levi Woodbury, President Jackson's Secretary of the Navy. It was in this period that the Rev. George B. Cheever was sentenced to a jail term for his inflammatory abolitionist speeches and released on January 1, 1836. In his journal Waters devoted a long section of reminiscences to the first sermon Rev. Mr. Cheever gave after his release.⁸² While the majority of the people were violently opposed to abolitionist agitation, Waters was so enthusiastic in the cause that he walked to Boston at one time to attend an important anti-slavery meeting.⁸³ Thus by the time the consular position at Zanzibar was open, Waters was well known as an uncompromising abolitionist; and that fact could have scarcely helped in his application for the post under President Jackson. Upon the advice of an ex-Senator Silsbee and Rev. Mr. Woodbury, Waters left Salem for Washington in February, 1836, to apply for the position in person, and Stephen C. Phillips, the districts Representative, presented him to President Jackson. Accordingly, with the aid of such influential friends from this anti-Jacksonian stronghold, Waters was appointed consul to Zanzibar.⁸⁴ In the months remaining before his departure, Waters proceeded to make the needed financial arrangements for his aged mother, his sister and her children, but during the years in Zanzibar he remained worried over their finances and disappointed that he could not have provided for them more liberally than under the circumstances. Soon after landing, he wrote in his journal: "I want money for my own sake, for my dear mother's, sister's and brothers' sake, and to do good with."⁸⁵ To this end he worked hard, and the results justified his single-minded devotion.

82 R. P. Waters, "Journal #1," Dec. 31, 1837. The three journals and "Notes 1842-43-44" besides numerous letters are in the possession of Peabody Museum, Salem.

83 Bulletin of Essex Institute, Vol. XX, 175.

84 Ibid., 176.

85 R. P. Waters, "Journal #2," August 19, 1837.

On October 29, 1836, the brig *Generous* sailed from Salem for the island of Zanzibar with Waters as a passenger. On December 10th he started the private journal which he kept faithfully until he came back for a visit in 1840.⁸⁶ The three journals of these years were not intended to be a comprehensive account of his activities, but merely to give his mother, sister, and closest friends an indication of how he lived while away from home. If anything, while away from the circle of friends and religious associates, his religious tendency became more prominent. Only in his notes for the years 1842-44 was the religious theme almost completely absent. The tone of the early journals is shown in the entry for December 21, 1836, while still at sea:

Went on deck after tea just in time to see the sun set, and to see the moon rise at the same time. And a most splendid sight it was—one which I never beheld before. As I sat reflecting on the beauties of the variegated sky—and the calm and glassy water—I was led to exclaim to myself—What a lovely world this world would be were it not defiled by sin. How delightful to the eye is the works of the Great God—when looked upon by one who hopes he is interested in the greatest of all his works—the Atone-ment made by his well beloved Son—⁸⁷

In such a mood the succeeding entries were written, always with that sense of God's omnipotence, his unlimited and unpredictable power. For the duration of the voyage he observed the Sabbaths regularly and reflected upon his weaknesses, his hopes and desires for the future. "During the day, Jan. 1, 1837 I have reflected much on the events of the past year. I feel that I have been an unprofitable servant in God's vineyard. I have done little to promote his Kingdom in this wicked world for which the Saviour

86 On the rear cover of the first journal is the following: "Although it has given me pleasure to write this journal, yet my principal object has been that in case I should be taken from earth, during my absence—it would afford consolation and a melancholy pleasure to my beloved mother and sister (whose well-being both for time and Eternity are continually in my thoughts) to peruse these thoughts—penned after parting with them."

87 R. P. Waters, "Journal #1", op. cit., Dec. 21, 1836.

died." In remorse for past deficiencies, he continued: "I have desired to be made useful to the Souls of these pagans among whom I am called to reside. That my going to dwell with them for a season may be the means of introducing the gospel of Christ to them. That the way may soon be opened for Missionaries to reside there."⁸⁸ With such high resolves, he earnestly attempted in the following years of isolation in an alien society to fulfill the dictates of his Puritanical beliefs; but one searches in vain for much trace of the spirit of Christian charity and understanding. If he set a rigid course for himself, he expected fully as much from the rest of his fellow Christians. Needless to say, he found little consolation in the lives of most fellow believers who stopped at Zanzibar.

The voyage went along smoothly, and on January 26th they anchored in Majunga harbor. For more than two weeks the ship remained here, and Waters had a good opportunity to become acquainted with trading conditions and government officials. He called on the Governor and discussed the claim of a Mr. Morgan against the Government; for several days he worked on that and arranged the papers needed for translation to be sent to the Queen. For diversion he walked around the town and into the country where he found a few pleasant gardens. On Friday, February 10th, he wrote: "Visited the Church to witness their ceremonies, today being their Sabbath. The superstition of this people is past belief, unless beheld with one's own eyes . . ." ⁸⁹ On February 13th the ship sailed for Mozambique, only 350 miles to the west on the mainland; a week later when they arrived in port, Waters went on shore. After observing the fine stone houses of the city, he went to call on the Governor who offered to furnish him with a suite of rooms in the palace. Waters declined the kind offer, saying that he intended to remain on board. In their conversation a few days later, they discussed American trade there and expressed the hope that a treaty similar to the one with Muscat would be negotiated soon between Portugal and the United States. While there Waters got

88 *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1837.

89 *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1837.

his first view of slave trading activities and observed: "This city is a depot for slave vessels, which collect slaves on the coast at different places. I can see from the deck of our vessel, that the decks of these slavers are filled with slaves, mostly with children, from 10 to 14 years of age. This sight called up many unpleasant feelings. What can I say to those engaged in this trade, when I remember the Millions of Slaves which exist in my own country?"⁹⁰ However, more pleasant memories were connected with the dinners at Raphael's and the visits to the fort and government offices. Then on March 10th the ship sailed on the final leg of its voyage.

On Saturday, March 18th, they came to anchor in the harbor of the city; and the brig *Leander* of Salem fired a salute of 13 guns, followed by the Sultan's frigate *Shahalum*, to which the *Generous* replied. Then the formalities of reception began; and when the government officers came on board "they all welcomed me to Zanzibar. I invited them to take a glass of wine with me, but they declined by saying that it was against their religion to drink wine; they drank a tumbler of lemonade, however, of which they are very fond." Soon afterwards Waters went on shore and called on Captain Hassan, who was a secretary to the Sultan. On the following Monday he appeared before the Sultan to present his credentials and a letter from President Jackson. The interview went very well, and Waters came away highly impressed by the Sultan's character.⁹¹ The Sultan offered to pay the rent on any house Waters could find to rent as his residence, but it took a week to find a suitable building. Then several weeks were spent in repairing and furnishing the place, during which time Waters still slept on board ship. On April 13th he and Mr. Rea from the brig *Leander* moved in with all their baggage; and on the following day there was a steady procession of visitors, anxious to see how an American fitted out his home. The next few days were spent principally in writing letters home to be sent by the *Leander* which left

90 Ibid., Feb. 22, 1837.

91 See Appendix for the full account of the reception.

on the 20th. Then Richard P. Waters was ready to settle down to business.

Although none of Waters' papers present a description of the town where he was to reside, Ruschenberger made some graphic comments when he visited the place two years before the consul arrived. When his party landed in front of the custom house, a crowd of curious Arabs and negroes gathered around them. "The custom house," he wrote, "is a low shed, or rude lock-up place, for the storing of goods; and connected with it, is a wooden cage in which slaves are confined, from the time of their arrival from the coast of Africa until they are sold." "The immundities of the vicinity declared most palpably the filthy habits of the people." Proceeding from there, they stopped to visit with an official. "After chatting a half hour," he continued, "we took leave, and wandered through the narrow, dirty, streets, which wind across each other much after the fashion of the threads in a tangled skein." Farther along the way he observed: "Upon several of the doors were pasted, slips of paper upon which were written in Arabic, sentences from the Koran. The people were all actively employed. Before some of the houses, on raised terraces or porches of mud, men were weaving cloth for turbans by hand; . . ." And then the doctor in him was prompted to say:

Wells are numerous through the town; they are all square, and few of them are more than fifteen feet deep. They have no barrier around them, and their walls are not carried above the surface of the ground; their vicinity is disgustingly filthy, and the water itself is thick as that in a puddle, which may be attributed to the want of rain for the past seven months.

Not much change had occurred in the following nine years to create any different impression on Michael W. Shepard when he arrived on the bark *Star*. "The town presents a very good appearance from the harbour," he wrote, "especially that part situated on the beach composed of stone and covered with choca and mortar." The disillusionment came, however, when he landed. "The beach and streets are very filthy and the horrid smells that sometimes fill the air are enough to turn the stomach of one unaccustomed to

the like effluvia." Such was to be home for Waters for seven and a half years.⁹²

In May, one of the more unpleasant tasks had to be performed, the task of taking up the remains of James Devereux, Jr. who had come out on the brig *Osprey* in 1830, as supercargo to learn the trade and died very suddenly on the island. At this time Waters wrote in his journal that if he died while at Zanzibar, he hoped someone would take his remains back to his native land. No similar tasks seem to have arisen after this, although recurrent sickness from colds and fevers made Waters fear that perhaps he never would see Salem again. His principal duties from this time on involved the adjudication of disputes between American and Arab merchants, occasionally intervention in a mutiny, and his reports for the American government. These official duties will be treated in the following chapter, insofar as the material available permits.

On June 8, 1837 the brig *Cherokee* arrived from Salem, and Waters was happy to receive a large number of letters from home. On May 9th he noted in his journal:

My furniture has all come out likewise. I have abundant reason to be thankful also in regard to my prospects for business—The Brig *Cherokee* brings me goods to sell which I think will sell at a good profit. I hope never to forget my obligations to Capt. Bertram and Mr. Shepard, for in addition to their kindness before I left America, they have now sent me business—and I hope to give them entire satisfaction—so that they may feel that I am not unmindful of their great favors.⁹³

From this date until he returned, Waters was greatly absorbed in the selling and buying of goods for various Salem merchants.

The American Consul at Zanzibar, however, had other affairs with which to occupy his time, and until 1840, he was particularly concerned with the commercial affairs of Captain John Bertram and Michael Shepard. During the

92 W. S. W. Ruschenberger, "A Voyage Round the World," Philadelphia, Carey, Lee, and Blanchard, 1838, 34, 38, 39; M. W. Shepard, paper in the log book of bark *Star*, Peabody Museum, Salem.

93 Journal #1, May 9, 1837.

summer of 1837, he complained: "I am so much engaged in business with no one to assist me, that I am not able to write as much in this Journal as I wish to."⁹⁴ In August he briefly mentioned that he had weighed "200 frasellas" [7000 lbs.] of ivory before breakfast. From such accounts it appears that Waters led a fairly strenuous life in these early years, and it was not until July, 1838 that he hired a clerk by the name of Charles Treadwell, who returned to Salem six months later. In the first three journals which Waters kept there is little mention of his commercial activities; only in the "Notes for 1842-44" does one gain a clear picture of such work. However, a steady succession of vessels arrived from Salem, and Waters was kept busy for weeks and months accumulating the cargo.

For these early years no contracts for future deliveries of ivory, gum-copal, or such products seem to have been used so that each ship spent quite a long time in each port; the reverse is true for the period after 1840, a good indication that trade had become fairly well stabilized. Needless to say, Waters did not overlook the best customer on the island, and on June 19th he wrote: "Called on his Highness early this morning on business. I expect to sell him five or six thousand dollars worth of goods."⁹⁵ It appears that the Sultan, whose palaces were very unpretentious residences, was very fond of crystal chandeliers and similar fancy articles.

Life for Waters in Zanzibar during these first five years was not confined to business or governmental matters; his journals provide many reports of social activities and recreation of an enjoyable nature. Nor did the New Englander abandon religious and intellectual pursuits. However much his other affairs might occupy his time, Waters continued to keep apart some moments morning and evening for daily prayers and reading from the Bible; and on Sundays he strictly observed the religious injunction of his faith. For many months he enjoyed the company of Mr. Hunt, an English merchant, and Mr. Franklin, a naval officer, but when they called one Sunday and engaged in

94 *Ibid.*, June 12, 1837.

95 *Ibid.*, June 19, 1837.

talk of worldly affairs, he wrote: "I said as they were leaving, that on the Sabbath I kept to myself as I desired to obey the command 'Remember the Sabbath to keep it holy.' I wish to be polite to those who call on me—but he who knows my heart—knows that I prefer being alone on the Sabbath".⁹⁶ Most of the Sundays he spent reading the Bible, singing several hymns, and reading devotional works. His reading was centered around the Bible, religious memoirs, sermons, and church periodicals; practically every ship brought him such articles from home.⁹⁷ Perhaps in such alien surroundings he considered this necessary in order to prevent any relaxation in the face of tropical temptations. But as rigid as his standards were, he was conscious of failure at times.

Last evening I manifested a very bad temper about a trifle which a man tried to cheat me out of. I was very much provoked about it. Afterwards I was unhappy for hours to think that I was led into temptation and set so wicked an example before my household as being out of temper [sic]. I find in this warm country I am much more easily irritated than when in America. Altho' I have many trials with servants who are continually trying to cheat me, yet it is my own wicked heart that is to blame. The Lord forgive me for this and every sin.

A natural outcome of his religious zeal was the attempt to convince the Sultan and his lieutenants that Christianity was the true faith for mankind; and the Sultan seemed to enjoy the religious talks, although no conversion took place. At various times Waters devoted a great deal of attention to the visits of missionaries sent out by the American board. He wrote in his journal of their inspiring sermons while visiting his house, of their tribulations, and also of their pleasurable activities as his guests. He delighted to enter-

96 R. P. Waters, "Journal #2", Aug. 13, 1837.

97 Waters listed his reading material as follows: Baxter's *Saints Rest*; James B. Taylor's writings; Harlan Page's memoirs; Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*; the New York *Evangelist*; Dr. Payson's sermons; *Spirit of the Pilgrims*; *The Village Churchyard*; Mrs. Judson's memoirs; Cornelius' memoirs; Mrs. Huntington's memoirs; Pollock's *Course of Time*; the Rev. Malcolm's *Travels in the East*; Finney's sermons and lectures; and of course, the Bible and commentary.

tain sincere Christians; and when there were none in port he would write: "I have had wandering thoughts today. I feel lonely with no Christian friend to speak with."⁹⁸ Repeatedly throughout his journals, he speaks scathingly of his fellow Americans who set evil examples for the natives and profaned the Sabbath. However, not all his energy or time was consumed with religious matters.

Recreational opportunities were severely limited by the nature of the social organization in which the ruling and commercial classes were a very small group. Waters, however, made the most of what opportunities presented themselves, unless they ran counter to his religious scruples. Continuous references are made to dinner parties given to celebrate certain official occasions, to honor the arrival of fellow Christians, or to provide convivial evenings with individuals like Mr. Hunt, the English merchant, whom Waters liked very much. In addition there were the numerous Arab holidays when he would call upon the Sultan, repeated visits to the plantations of the Sultan or Captain Hassan, and excursions to the islands in the harbor. Of one of the latter he wrote: "In company with Mr. Hunt, Mr. Thorn [Hunt's secretary] and my brother I went on a shooting and fishing excursion on one of the Islands down the harbour—had a pleasant time—returned home at sundown."⁹⁹ On one of these trips to the islands the surf filled the boat with water before they could land, and the party was obliged to remain all night before low tide enabled them to empty the boat.¹⁰⁰ Walks in the "delightful" country provided another form of less hedonistic diversion.¹⁰¹

Relations between the Sultan and Waters were very cordial throughout this period and for years after Waters returned home. There were some rather unpleasant moments over official matters, such as the translation of certain papers passing between the Sultan and Waters, but they were settled quickly and neither held any harsh feelings for long. A succession of presents sent to the consulate attest to the

98 Waters, "Journal #2," Feb. 11, 1838.

99 Ibid., June 9, 1838.

100 Waters "Journal #2," July 23, 1837.

101 Ibid., Dec. 3, 1837.

Sultan's respect and liking for Waters; they included a horse for Water's personal use, a steady supply of fruit for the house, and a boat to use in the harbor. In addition Waters went very often to visit the Sultan, either at his palace at Matony or the plantation, most of the time on matters not related to business; and Waters spoke very highly of special dinners and refreshments at the Sultan's palace.

On January 29, 1840, Waters sailed on board his brother John's ship, the barque *Cavalier* for a visit to Salem; of this he gave practically no details in his journal, except to write: "I remained over four months in America visiting different parts of the country and enjoying the society of my friends."¹⁰² He arrived back in Zanzibar, January 8, 1841, on the same ship, to find that his brother, William, had arrived a month before to help him in conducting the business affairs of David Pingree's concern at Zanzibar.¹⁰³ Everything seems to have gone along quite smoothly for the rest of Waters' consulship, except that business matters required much more attention, with ships coming in quite regularly and contracts being signed with native merchants for deliveries of specified articles. His "Notes" are filled almost completely with business activities, cleaning and weighing of gum-copal, weighing ivory, selling cotton goods to the Banians, or attempting to get the better of competing merchants in price and quality of raw materials.

In 1842, Waters had a house built in another part of town to escape from an undesirable neighborhood, and the old one was made over into a warehouse. Besides the difficulties of doing business with the native merchants, Waters was faced with such natural occurrences as fires starting in the thatched roof of the warehouse and the invasion of white ants which destroyed cottons valued at \$30 to \$50.¹⁰⁴ During these last few years Waters had charge of the schooner *Rowena* which was used in trade between Zanzibar and Bombay, saving a great deal of time when a ship arrived from Salem and found a full cargo waiting

102 Waters, "Journal #3," Mar. 28, 1841.

103 Ibid.

104 Waters, "Notes 1842-43-44", Oct. 20, 1842, and May 30, 1843.

at the port; in addition the schooner helped to keep the representatives at Zanzibar in closer touch with world markets and prices. However, on January 14, 1843, Waters sold the *Rowena* to the Sultan, who promptly asked to have it taken back the following day. Rather curtly Waters refused to do so.¹⁰⁵ An interesting development in the copal business occurred on September 16, 1844, when Waters wrote: "Today we washed one frazilla of unscraped copal with potash—it did very well—and lost about six pounds [of approximately 35 pounds]."¹⁰⁶ No further mention of this process was made, and it may not have been practicable in the long run.

October 3, 1844, found Waters setting sail for Salem on board the *William Schroder* after seven and a half years of service for the American government.¹⁰⁷ His closest living relative stated to the writer that the not inconsiderable sum of \$80,000 was accumulated during these years of "duty." In the Salem Directories for the succeeding years he is listed as a merchant; while his large farm, Cherry Hill, in North Beverly, provided him with the recreation of a gentleman farmer. The years until 1887, when death came, were full of great activity for Waters. He continued to support vigorously all sorts of reform movements, from temperance to abolitionism, and found time to encourage young business associates who were struggling to make their way and gave some promise of future success.¹⁰⁸ Of his public activities, two were prominent. He conducted the meeting of January 6, 1860, to secure funds to support the surviving members of John Brown's family, and he served on the ill-fated Peace Conference called by the governor of Virginia in 1861.¹⁰⁹ In 1840, he had joined the East India Marine Society; then in 1846, the Essex Historical Society; in 1847, the Essex County Natural History Society; and in 1848 he became an original member of the Essex Institute. In later years he became a director and then president of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton

105 *Ibid.*, Jan. 14, 1843.

106 Waters, "Notes 1842-43-44," Sept. 13, 1844.

107 *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1844.

108 *Bulletin of Essex Institute*, Vol. XX, 175-176.

109 *Ibid.*, 189-190.

Company; and for years he was a director of the Naumkeag Bank.¹¹⁰

This then was the life, in brief outline, of the first American consul to Zanzibar. In another sense he was Salem's ambassador to the court of the Sultan. Horatio Alger would have prized the story of his ascent to prosperity; but his career also is of significance to the maritime historian. One sees how an obscure consular post in a distant part of the world could become the stepping stone to mercantile and business success, not only for himself, but for his townsmen. The records of Waters in Zanzibar also reveal an aspect of the commercial diplomacy by which the Yankee trader made himself a world-renowned institution. The succeeding chapter will be devoted to a consideration in more detail of the Salem-Zanzibar trade which Waters did so much to promote.

110 Bulletin of Essex Institute, Vol. XX, 190.

(To be continued)

THE CHINA TRADE—PERIOD OF 1844-1846
TONNAGE, SHIPS AND CONSIGNEES

By ELMA LOINES

When the Salem-born Abbot Low (A. A. Low), son of Seth and Mary Porter Low, left China for good in 1839, after having been first clerk and then partner in the American firm of Russell & Company in Canton for the last seven years, he left behind him his younger brother William Henry Low, hoping that he in time would become a partner, too. But William was caught in the Anglo-Chinese or Opium War, and did not like the life there, so he returned in 1841 after only two years in China. In that time he had made \$15,000 largely on ventures of his own, selling the New Year's teas in company with two friends up the China coast and he thought that enough to start him in business at home. Also he wished to marry Miss Ann Bedell of Brooklyn to whom he had recently proposed by letter. So home he came and left his brother Edward Allen Low to take his place. Edward went out that same year at the age of twenty-four and remained eight years instead of the usual seven and became a partner after four.

It was Edward who so carefully preserved so many of the business letters, some from the family, and filed and annotated them with the dates sent and received, so that they show how many months and days it took them to arrive.¹

Among his papers were the following lists of ships that sailed to the United States of America during the years 1844, 1845 and 1846. The originals I have given to the Peabody Museum of Salem and to the Library of Congress.

Of these vessels, those which were used to carry freight from Russell & Co. were the following:

<i>Farwell</i>	<i>Loochoo</i>
<i>Houqua</i> (of A. A. Low & Bro.)	<i>Paul Jones</i>
<i>Tonquin</i>	<i>Swed(ish) Albion</i>

¹ Many of these appear in my recently published *The China Trade Post-Bag*.

<i>John Q. Adams</i>	<i>Swed(ish) J. Boorman</i>
<i>Mont[r]eal</i>	<i>Ann McKim</i>
<i>Horatio</i>	<i>Lennox</i>
<i>Rainbow</i>	<i>Natchez</i>

The *Horatio* was the first ship on which Charles Porter Low, later to become a famous clipper ship captain, sailed as a cabin boy.

The *Houqua* started on her maiden voyage June 1st, 1844. She had been designed by Captain Nathaniel B. Palmer, the well-known yachtsman, discoverer of Palmer land in the Antarctic and consultant to A. A. Low and Brother, as the firm then was called. The Lows always considered the *Houqua* to be the first real clipper, as she had sharper lines than the Baltimore clippers, but she was not the type that was later developed, as for instance the *Great Republic*, another of the Low's vessels. She made a number of fast voyages, but broke no record. She was really a transition type. As A. H. Clark says in his *Clipper Ship Era*: "She was among the first clippers built, but not an extreme clipper." In 1865 she foundered in the China Sea while under the command of Captain McKenzie.

The complete list of the 1845 to 1846 vessels leaving China with date of despatch, cubic measurement, registered tons and name of consignees follows.

Appended at the end is a shorter list without the vessels' names belonging to the previous year.

STATEMENT OF TONNAGE SHIPPED FROM CHINA TO THE UNITED STATES. 1845-1846.

No.	Date of Despatch	Vessels	Cubic Measurement	Tons Reg'd	Consignees	Remarks
1	July 20	Talbot	50ns	300f	624	Olyphant & Co.
2	Sept 14	Austrian				
		Airone	340	04	229	"
3	" 23	Huntress	614	15	547	"
4	Oct 23	Tonquin	968		496	Russell & Co
5	Novr 13	Luca	719		377	Heard & Co
6	" 15	Farwell	263	12	699	Russell & Co
7	" 28	Panama	905		612	Griswold, J.N.A.
8	" 30	Houqua	679	02	582	Russell & Co
9	Dec 1	Heber	864	24	434	Olyphant
10	" 6	Ann McKim	620		450	Russell & Co No tea.
11	" 9	John Q. Adams	1242		661	Heard & Co

No.	Date of Despatch	Vessels	Cubic Measurement	Tons Reg'd	Consignees	Remarks
12	" 23	Mary Ellen	1077	529	" " "	
13	" 27	Mont[r]eal	886 34	542	Russell & Co	
14	" 28	Horatio	805	460	Nye, Perkins & Co	
15	" 30	Lennox	213	370	Russell & Co	
16	" 29	Clarendon	1195 06	536	Nye, Perkins & Co	
17	Jany 2	Henry	945 04	430	Wetmore & Co	
18	" 8	Montauk	628 17	505	"	
19	" 14	Eliza Ann	797 36	380	"	
20	" 14	Cohota	1142	690	Griswold & Co, J.N.A.	
21	" 19	Leland	609 15	347	Wetmore & Co.	
22	" 19	Oneida	745 19	420	Nye, Perkins & Co.	
23	" 22	Grafton	707	330	J.M.Bull	
24	" 24	Rainbow	926 16	747	Russell & Co.	
25	" 31	Geneva	1045	462	Neis (?), Bourne & Co.	
26	Feb 8	Anna Maria	1089 11	480	Wetmore & Co.	
27	" 22	Loochoo	1503 10	639	Russell & Co.	
28	" 25	Natchez	800 32	524	Russell & Co,	
29	" 26	Tartar	854 16	573	Olyphant & Co	
30	Mar 2	Paul Jones	1310 39	624	Russell & Co	
Carried Forward			24,534	20 14,600		
31	Mar 10	Medora	822 35	314	Wetmore & Co	
32	" 27	Wissahickon	198 21	166	do	
33	" 31	Lucas	640 27	350	Olyphant & Co.	
34	Apr 2	Helena	950	598	J.N.A.Griswold	793 tons meast. hemp
35	" 24	Douglass	879 15	466	Wetmore & Co.	
36	" 30	Zenobia	683	630	Griswold, J.N.A.	
37	May 8	Swed Albion	377 12	310	Russell & Co.	
38	" 15	John G. Coster	1384 22	714	Olyphant & Co	
39	June 2	Swed (ish)				
		J. Boorman	514 31	351	Russell & Co.	
40	" 21	Akbar	1333 36	642	do	
41	" 23	Candace	620	398	J.M.Bull	
42	" 27	Thomas W. Sears	1005	500	Olyphant & Co.	
Bro't forward			9,673 11	6,038		
total amt.			24,534	20 14,600		
total amt.			tons 34,207.31	20,738	\$17 per ton	\$582,532.17
Less No. 37 and No. 39			891 43	661		
Two Swedish vessels			33,315.37	20,077		
Less one Austrian vessel			340 04	229		
			31,975.33	19,848		

3.3

Canton 1 July, 1846

(Signed) C.V. Gillespie

		TONS	CUBIC Measurement
Average tonnage of 42 vessels		494	814 19
Average tonnage of 50 vessels	44/45	432	775 32
		892	541
Average pounds tea per ton			
42 vessels	44/45	961	535
42 "			440.534
50 "			415.051

Recapitulation of Statements of Tonnage shipped for two seasons.

<i>Consignees</i>	1844 & 45		1844 & 45	
	<i>No. of Vessels</i>	<i>Cubic Measurement</i>	<i>No. of Vessels</i>	<i>Cubic Measurement</i>
Russell & Co	18	13,309.16	13	10,397.24
Wetmore & Co.	10	6,645.00	8	5,970.54
Olyphant & Co.	6	3,964.15	8	6,003.28
Nye, Perkins & Co.	2	1,971.29	3	2,745.25
Heard & Co	4	3,621.	3	3,038.
Sword & Co	1	1,308		
Tiers, Bourne & Co.	1	1,143	1	1,045
J.N.A. Griswold	2	2,030.	4	3,680
W. Buckler	2	1,472.38		
J.M.Bull	1	700.	2	1,327
A.A.Ritchie	1	725		
Supercargo, Lewis	2	1,900.		
	50	38,790.18	42	34,207.31

The Undersigned has no means of ascertaining the exact amount of tonnage each house actually shipped, but from general information, he estimates the shipments of each of the following mentioned houses, for the past season, to be thus:

Messrs. Russell & Co.	12,000 tons measurement.
Olyphant & Co.	6,000 " "
Wetmore & Co.	4,000 " "

Canton 1st July, 1846.

(Signed) C.V.Gillespie

SAMPSON'S GARDENS—THE "PROPERTY IN THE MOON"

BY EDWARD C. SAMPSON

For all I know half a million pounds, more or less, may be waiting for me (and a good many of my relatives) in England. The last member of the family to try and get it was George Sampson, who inherited the claim from his older brother, Charles. But even at that time (1825), the claim must have been forty or fifty years old, and the chances of recovery slim. George Sampson, who recorded in a journal the history of the claim and his attempts to get the money or property it represented, worked harder on it than any of his predecessors. He began in 1825; the last entry in the journal is dated 1861. He wrote to many people, including Andrew Stevenson, Minister to the Court of St. James; Thomas Aspinwall, United States Consul General in London; Sir Henry Brougham, former Lord Chancellor of England (he never answered the letters); and Daniel Webster. Finally, he went to London himself. Failing to uncover the necessary documents, he sought, without success, the aid of two mesmerists, Professor Bonneville and Professor Stuart.

But if George Sampson was the last one to claim the inheritance he thought was waiting for him in England, he was not the first. Alexander Sampson, the son, it was assumed, of William Sampson, of Sampson's Gardens, London, came to America for his health around 1720. He had, apparently, intended to return to England, but "a Boston Beauty deranged his calculations," and he was married, by Doctor Cotton Mather in 1724, to Rebecca Shaddock. Alexander Sampson, the first, was a man of some means; what interest he might have had in his father's property in London was suddenly terminated when, on a "party of pleasure" in Boston Harbor, he fell (or was pushed) off the boat and was devoured by a shark. Some

NOTE:—The author is an instructor at the Clarkson College of Technology, Potsdam, New York.

years later, around 1780, his son, Alexander Sampson, Jr., received word, in a letter since lost, that he was heir to an extensive property in London called Sampson's Gardens. Alexander was by that time an old man, the Revolutionary War was in progress, and he did not feel up to the trip to London to claim the property. The family fortunes were in a decline, and he could have used the money. His son, the third Alexander Sampson, took up the claim and went to Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the track of some documents which, for some reason, he thought were there. What he found was never known, for he died in Halifax, leaving his wife and two infant sons in Providence, Rhode Island.

A brother of Alexander Sampson III, Joseph Stacey Sampson, got together what papers he could lay his hands on and in 1798 set sail for London. The misfortune which had attended Alexander to Halifax followed Joseph, for on one of his first mornings in London he had a stroke at the breakfast table and died very suddenly. He was buried by the Society of Freemasons; his papers were never recovered. (George Sampson, when he pursued to London what the family was beginning to call "the Property in the Moon," tried, without success, to get information from the Freemasons in London.)

The fourth Alexander Sampson, having grown up and left Providence for the life of a sailor, was not long after—about 1800—impressed into the British Navy. While at sea he fell from the masthead and broke his leg. He applied for a discharge, which was granted, and he was set ashore in England. He made his way to London, where he saw a notice requesting that the heir or heirs of Sampson's Gardens come forward to receive £10,000 which had accrued from the sale of gravel on the property. Alexander applied at once, but as he was poorly dressed and had few papers to prove his identity, he was not believed. He returned to the United States as rapidly as he could, gathered together some papers, and went back to England, landing at Liverpool.

At that time [as George Sampson tells the story] a hot press for sailors was going on, but my cousin was an exempt from impressment, being crippled. He, sailor like, wanted

a frolic on shore, and entrusted his papers with a messmate (who was afraid to venture on shore) for safekeeping. My cousin's frolic lasted for a couple of days, and when he returned on board, he learned that his shipmate had deserted the vessel and took my cousin's papers with him! My cousin was so mortified he did not return until several years after.

The hapless Alexander's life continued to be ill-fated: he lost contact with the rest of the family, and died in 1814 in the workhouse in Providence, Rhode Island.

With the death of Alexander, the fourth, the claim fell upon his only living uncle (Alexander's brother had been lost at sea), Stephen Sampson. Stephen Sampson—who had been married twice and had nineteen children—lived in Roxbury, Massachusetts, where he was a partner in the firm of Aaron Davis and Company. He assumed that the statute of limitations had made the claim invalid and he did a sensible thing: he forgot about the property. After his death his oldest son, Charles, a sailor on the frigate *Constitution*, discovered what he thought was a loophole in the statute of limitations. Charles, too busy himself, or unable, empowered a Mr. John Leighton of Dover, New Hampshire, to claim the property and money. He offered Leighton three quarters of whatever he might recover. Leighton, a shadowy figure, went to London, but what he did there was never discovered. According to George Sampson, Leighton had falsified some documents on file in Newton, Massachusetts, and then, for fear of discovery, had dis-associated himself from the project. Charles Sampson died in Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1825, and the claim descended finally to George Sampson, the next oldest son of Stephen Sampson.

George Sampson had left Roxbury in 1817 and had settled in Cincinnati, Ohio. He was not particularly well off, but he was persistent, and had great faith in his claim to the Property in the Moon. Part of the property had, by that time, been sold to the London Dock Company, and the money, for lack of heirs, deposited with the British Parliament and invested in State Funds to await a claimant.

The efforts of George Sampson, considering the slowness

of the mails, and the difficulties of traveling, were prodigious. He wrote to several attorneys for advice, among them Daniel Webster, to whom he sent a summary of the claim and some other papers. Webster did not reply at once, and the lack of interest in his reply, when it did come, was understandable. For one thing, George Sampson could not pay for any investigation: he could only offer part of the inheritance should the attempt to get it be successful. Webster concluded his short letter by saying:

I will only add that as the property to which you refer, is said to be in "London," it would not be in my power to render you any service respecting it, not as easily rendered by any respectable "Gentleman" of the profession in your vicinity.—Yours with regards

Daniel Webster

Sampson got some slight encouragement from Andrew Stevenson, Minister to the Court of St. James, to whom he had written in 1837 through a mutual friend, B. Storer, of Cincinnati. Stevenson called upon the London Dock Company, but could do nothing without papers to substantiate the claim. Stevenson suggested that Sampson send "say £30 stg." and he would hire a lawyer in London to investigate the claim more fully. Before doing this, however, Sampson began the arduous task of establishing his own identity, and his relationship to the original Alexander Sampson of Boston.

The complexity of the task is shown by the first step: a letter from William Burke, a minister in Cincinnati, established George Sampson as the son of Stephen Sampson; Samuel Davies, the Mayor of Cincinnati, attested to the veracity of Burke; Ebenezer Harrison, Justice of the Peace for Hamilton County, Ohio, swore that Davies was Mayor of Cincinnati; Henry Morse, Associate Judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit of Common Pleas, certified the letter of Ebenezer Harrison; Governor William Shannon of Ohio certified that full faith could be placed on Henry Morse, and finally John Forsyth, Secretary of State of the United States, authenticated the letter of Governor Shannon. With his own identity proved, Sampson proceeded to copy and have

certified birth and marriage records of his father, his uncles, and his grandfather. Most of the records were accompanied by laborious authentication, including letters from Edward Everett, Governor of Massachusetts, Henry Bowen, Secretary of State of Rhode Island, and several more letters from John Forsyth. The oldest record, which established the existence of the first Alexander Sampson, the great-grandfather of George Sampson, was certified to as follows:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts
City of Boston, May 23, 1839

I the subscriber do hereby certify that it appears by the registry of marriages in the Town (now City) of Boston, that Alexander Sampson and Rebecca Shaddock were married by Doctor Cotton Mather, Pres. on the sixth day of October, 1724.

Samuel F. McCleary, City Clerk

George Sampson made clear his relationship to the first Alexander Sampson, and he had depositions from a number of people attesting that they had heard of the property in London and the Sampson claim upon it. He gathered together what he had and sent it, in June, 1839, to London. Andrew Stevenson was not in London, and Sampson directed the material to Thomas Aspinwall, Consul General in London. Aspinwall took the documents, and the thirty pounds, and turned them over to an attorney, Samuel Armory, Throgmorton Street, London. Armory wrote back a very pessimistic report, citing the "act for the limitation of actions" which appeared to disallow any claims such as Sampson's.

In the spring and summer of 1840, George Sampson wrote three letters to Sir Henry Brougham, former Lord Chancellor of England, and at the time sitting in the House of Lords, offering him a large part of the property if he were instrumental in its recovery. Lord Brougham never replied to any of the letters—aside from the impertinency of the application, it was illegal in England for anyone to take a case in which the fee depended on the outcome.

Hearing that a friend, a Mr. Hastings of Cincinnati, was going to London, George Sampson wrote:

I have offered to Lord Henry Brougham one half of what might be recovered, he being at the expense of pursuing it . . . [but] I am almost constrained to believe that he looked upon the offer as a *Bribe*. Otherwise, his courtesy as a Gentleman would have induced him to answer [my letters] . . . I am willing to make the same offer to you, if you can and will attend to it.

In April, 1841, Hastings wrote back to William Sampson, George Sampson's brother, saying that the case appeared hopeless. He included in the letter an account, reminiscent of *Bleak House*, of a man who had for fourteen years been pursuing some property in London:

I was introduced to a Gentleman from S. C. who came over in 1826 to take possession of some property which he supposed he should obtain in three months—He has not got it yet, but he says he has got his opponent into his last retreat and he means to stay till he gets it—to be sure it is not worth what he has expended, but his adversary is a great rascal and had no claim upon the property but threw it into Chancery in the expectation that he would be worried out. He meant to see the end of it, or die in the attempt—He is now upwards of seventy—

But this, no more than Armory's opinion about the "act for the limitation of actions," did not discourage George Sampson. It became clear to him that, assuming he could get around the act (and for some reason he always felt he could) he needed to do two things: establish the relation between the first Alexander Sampson and the last Sampson to own all or part of Sampson's Gardens, and find a deed or will leaving the said property to Alexander Sampson. It seems impossible that with two such fundamental bits of evidence missing Sampson could have gone so far as he did. But hopeless though his position seemed, he did not give up. Forming a stock company, he sold to ten people, something over seven shares of stock at a hundred dollars a share, offering the buyers a part of the property if he could get it. He set off with the money, in the early summer of 1842, for London. He supposed that a thorough search of the various registries and record offices in London would reveal the documents he needed. He did discover, quite by accident,

a reference to the fact that a William Sampson had indeed once owned property in Sampson's Gardens, but he was never able to find any link connecting William Sampson (if he were the last owner) with the first Alexander Sampson, and he never found any will or deed.

While George Sampson was in London, the results of an investigation by Chancery concerning the owners of property bought by the London Dock Company were made public. The names of William Sampson and Alexander Sampson were not among the fifty-one names listed of those who had valid claims. The London Dock Company had bought a large part of the property, which lay along the Thames on the Lambeth side, from London Bridge to Blackfriars Bridge, and some £600,000 were involved. The publication convinced George Sampson, for a time, at least, of the futility of his search, and he decided to return. He wrote his son of his decision on August 7, 1842:

No schoolboy was never more anxious to be let out of school than I am to quit this place and return home. I can go and come from Paris in three days or less, but notwithstanding my curiosity to see the place—with a cheapness of travelling heretofore unknown combined with it—is not sufficient inducement for me to turn my face thitherward—my task is done (altho' unsuccessfully) and I shall now aim for home in the most speedy and economical manner possible—while there was any uncertainty as to the end I was striving after it caused an excitement to persevere—but when I received the Chancery Report—excitement was over. I knew I could not go beyond that. I shall have to go through a very dangerous part of the country to reach Liverpool, as there is a *turnout* among the Manufacturing Workmen and Colliers and they are about being suppressed by the Military—already Blood has been shed. Low wages and starvation made the working classes desperate.

My health has been good every hour since I left home, although I have fell off in flesh very much. However, I hope to regain it again before I return. Tell your mother that I hope to find her as cheerful on my return as though I had returned rich in Cash. I've done my best to obtain it for you all, and should very much dislike to be met with a frown from any quarter.

May this find you in as good health as it leaves me.
God bless you all, is the prayer of your
Affectionate Parent
Geo. Sampson

On August 21, 1842, George Sampson sailed from Liverpool on the *James M. Shepherd*, Captain Redman, bound for New Orleans.

What followed was anti-climatic, and in a way pathetic. George Sampson never, apparently, ceased to believe that he might find the right papers and get the inheritance. In the fall of 1844 he wrote to "Professor" Bonneville, a mesmerist, to learn if lost or mislaid papers could be recovered by clairvoyance. The Professor replied: "Any examination of the kind would and could not be successful in such bad weather; however if I knew what you are willing to know, I will look for it as soon as the weather will be favorable." But nothing came of the application to Professor Bonneville, and Sampson wrote to another mesmerist, a Professor Stuart. Stuart was more helpful: after a seance with his medium, a Mrs. Price, he wrote back that the deed to the property was in London "in the hands of a woman about fifty years old . . . the deed is in a small square box in the second drawer of her bureau. You can get it by going there and keeping the thing quiet." Stuart could not be prevailed upon to be more specific, and the matter was dropped shortly thereafter.

George Sampson continued to write about the property, to friends, to lawyers, but he must have felt the uselessness of the task. The last entry in the journal is a copy of a letter, summarizing the whole case, written in answer to an advertisement in the *Boston Herald* for February 21, 1861. The advertisement offered to send, for thirty cents, a list of the names of those families in the United States who were heir to unclaimed property in foreign countries. George Sampson died December 3, 1866, at the age of 76.

THE JUDICIAL ROBE
OF CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL SEWALL

WORN BY HIM AT THE WITCHCRAFT TRIALS IN 1692

PRESENTED TO THE ESSEX INSTITUTE, MAY, 1954,
BY HIS DESCENDANTS

One of the most interesting and valuable gifts ever presented to the Essex Institute, from an historical standpoint, is the Judicial Red Robe which was the property of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall as he presided over the Witchcraft trials during the great delusion of 1692. As will be learned by the accompanying letters it has been the property of the Sewall family for nearly three hundred years.

The worthy and upright Judge was closely identified with the early history of Newbury, and manifested during a long and eventful life, a deep and abiding interest in the welfare and property of the town.¹ His father, Henry Sewall, came to Newbury in 1635. Samuel, the eldest son of Henry and Jane (Dummer) Sewall was born at Bishop Stoke, Hampshire, England and came to Newbury in 1661. He was fitted for college by Rev. Thomas Parker and was graduated from Harvard in 1671. He married, February 25, 1675/76 Hannah, daughter and heir of John and Judith (Quincy) Hull. John Hull was mint-master in Boston. Judge Sewall was a member of the Governor's Council under the Colonial and Provincial charters for nearly forty years, and for ten years Chief Justice of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. He left a wonderful diary which has been published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. He died January 1, 1730 and was buried in the tomb of his father-in-law, John Hull, in the Granary burying ground in Boston. Savage says that he was the richest man in the Province at the time of his death. Appropriate thanks was voted by the Essex Institute Council and transmitted to Miss Jane Sewall, who deposited the precious garment in our museum.

The following letters from Miss Sewall were directed by the Council to be published:

1 Currier, "Ould Newbury" and "History of Newbury".



CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL SEWALL

40 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts
February 23, 1954

To the

Trustees of the Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

We, my sister Caroline Sewall, our niece Ann Merriam and our nephew Samuel Sewall have decided to present, as a gift, the Robe of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, which he wore at the time of the condemnation of the Witches in Salem, Massachusetts in 1692.

The robe has been in our family for over 150 years. My grandfather, Dr. Stephen Sewall gave it to my father Dr. Joseph Addison Sewall who was born in 1832, and since then has been in our immediate family.

Knowing the robe will have the best of care and consideration, we are giving it to The Essex Institute not only as one of our most treasured possessions, but as an historical memento of that time in the early history of Massachusetts in the making.

Very sincerely,
(Signed) Jane Sewall

40 Beacon Street
Boston 8, Massachusetts
March 21, 1954

Miss Bessom Harris
Acting Secretary, Essex Institute
Salem, Massachusetts

Dear Miss Harris:

Thank you for your letter of March 10, enclosing the acceptance from the Council of the Essex Institute of the Judicial Robe of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall, worn at the time of the Condemnation of the Witches in Salem, 1692.

In my former letter I wrote "The robe has been in our family 150 years," which is true. I recount we have had it in our immediate family home for three generations. I am very old and can remember much of the appearance of

the Robe on special occasions and was told of how it was handed down to us from one generation to the next. Evidently it has had excellent care and devotion as its present condition shows. As a child I was impressed by the color of it, but was quite grown up before we realized what it was all about, for alas! its history was not a bed-time story to tell children, so I think father was a bit sketchy in what he told of the history, of the deeds and the man although every story ended by telling how Judge Samuel had stood up in church and asked forgiveness for his sins or misjudgement.

When the winds subside a bit we hope to go to Salem when we shall hope to meet you.

Very sincerely,

(Signed) Jane Sewall



THE JUDICIAL ROBE OF CHIEF JUSTICE SAMUEL SEWALL

JOURNAL OF REBECCA CHASE KINSMAN
KEPT ON HER VOYAGE TO CHINA IN 1843

Contributed by MRS. FREDERICK C. MUNROE

Ship *Probus* 7th day morning
6th month 10th 1843

My dearest friends:

We have been from home almost a week, and my journal is not yet begun, but I will do what I can to remedy past omissions. You heard from us by the brethren on 3rd day. You may judge how much delighted we were to see them. The next morning on waking we found ourselves sailing away with a stiff breeze, found the Pilot had left us at daylight in the morning, and that we were already nearly out of sight of land. Ecce began to show symptoms of seasickness as soon as she awoke, Natty looked very pale, and Mary Ann was unable to get up. Rebecca was in bed all day . . . and has been a little feverish and uncomfortable ever since, till yesterday I gave her some senna tea, which has quite cured her, and she is bright and happy as possible this morning, having eaten a good breakfast, and is having just now a good frolic upon deck with Natty and John. She speaks with much affection of her Grandmother and Grandfather and dear Auntie, but is very glad she came with her mother. Natty lost his breakfast the first morning, but with that exception he has been perfectly well, and has enjoyed every moment. Mary Ann kept her bed two days but did not suffer much and is now quite well, for myself, I was rather sick the first day wore my double gown, and kept my bed most of the day . . . came on deck after tea, ate some salt fish and hard crackers, and have not had any sickness since, and am pronounced by all hands a good sailor.

So much for seasickness. I think we have great reason to rejoice at our experiencing so little uneasiness, indeed we had no more than was desireable for future comfort. The cow and calf are a source of much amusement to all on board, and are petted and visited by all, Captain, mates, passengers and crew. We have found among the sailors

a young man, brought up on a farm, who milks and feeds the cow, and I love to see the men caress and feed her. We have seen Mother Carey's chickens several times, and vessels have been in sight as yet each day. The first day after we left home I felt rather gloomy I must own. This was the day of my seasickness. I thought a great deal of what Sophronia said and still more at the emotion she manifested at our parting, and tho I should hardly wish to know it, if it were given her to see that we should never more reach home, yet it would have been a great relief to know that the emotion she showed was caused only by the affection she feels for me and regret at parting. But now I feel bright and cheerful, and look upon the boundless expanse of ocean with unmingled pleasure. (Nathaniel has just handed me a piece of thy gingerbread, dear mother, which is excellent.) This is the day for setting off to Newport. I hope you are all going, and feeling as well as I do at this moment. We live excellently well. The table supplied with everything we can desire, and we have good appetites to do ample justice to our Steward's culinary skill. Nathaniel astonishes me by the way he eats, and without suffering the usual consequences. Mary Ann has accomplished considerable crewel work, mine is not yet brought to light, but I intend to get it out today. I have however, done several jobs for the children and read some. "Strife and Peace" is a very pretty story.

And now I should like to introduce you to our ship's company. Captain Sumner, our brothers and my husband say, bears a striking resemblance to Edward Robinson, I say that his conversation and manner of talking remind me strongly of Friend Gurney. He talks slowly and rolls the R like an Englishman, talks well and is a gentleman. I like the manner in which he speaks to his men, firmly but kindly. He says he likes to feel that they are fellow beings. He says there is now no difficulty in getting sailors, but many more offered than he could take, one or two of the younger ones, the boys, shipped at \$3 a month, others at \$5 and the older ones at \$10. He says he finds the youngest work as well as the others, and he shall raise their wages to \$5. The boys come into the cabin to do little jobs for

the Captain, and they all look and seem happy. The children are a source of enjoyment to all on board. One man of property and respectability from one of the towns in the vicinity of Boston, brought his son, a good looking youth of 19, to Capt. S. . . . with the earnest request that he would take him as a seaman, did not wish any wages, and was even willing to pay something rather than he should not go, but our captain was not willing to take any one who had not been at sea before, and knew something of a sailor's life. He says he heard of a ship sailing from New York, where the owners received \$3000 *for letting sailors, young men, go in her.* This seems incredible.

Next come our passengers, Frederick Bush is a jolly, good humored young man, has left a loving wife and a son of nine months at home, something of a bon-vivant, seems to know everybody and everything, everywhere. A pleasant companion, fond of the children and kind to all, has a good supply of books and papers, which he is ready to lend, and has been to Calcutta and China several times, and had several hairbreadth escapes. Horace Story we have hardly become acquainted with, he has kept his room a great deal, having been more seasick than any of us, but when he joins us, he is pleasant and social. Our mates, the chief mate Mr. Canfield is a quiet, pleasant, gentle sort of man, engaged to a lady whose miniature in a daguerreotype is placed over his berth, as a presiding genius. He has his little stateroom arranged and fitted up with the utmost neatness and comfort. He is very fond of the children, always ready (when at leisure) for a run with them upon deck, has sent them and me a plate of very nice cake, etc. I have no more to say of him at present than that I like him. Mr. Colburn, the second officer, is the one that Nathaniel procured, he seems like a genuine specimen of the honest tar, is a first rate man . . . of course I like him, too.

Seventh Day Afternoon
6th Month 17th

Is it possible that a whole week has passed since I have written, it seems impossible, but it is even so. Well, on 1st day we had a very rough sea, and it would have been

difficult to write, and beside I was very seasick in the forenoon, so was Sissy, but we both got it over so as to eat a little dinner, and still better supper, and now I really hope it is over for tho' we have had some days since when there has been a great deal of motion, in consequence of head seas, I have not suffered at all. I have hoped each day to hear there was a chance to write home, but tho' we have several times heard the cheerful cry of Sail-ho! the vessels have passed us at a great distance, bound *across* our path, probably to Europe. We had fair winds most of the time, and perfect weather, only one or two days when we could not be on deck. We have seen Mother Carey's chickens almost every day, and pretty creatures they are—about as large as a robin, with black and white plumage, skimming over the waters, now and then lighting for an instant on the top of a wave, then on the wing again, never weary. Yesterday we saw many porpoises, unwieldy creatures, jumping from one wave to another, and toward night some whales were seen spouting their briny columns in air. We looked long hoping to see one rise to the surface near the ship, but he not knowing our wishes, did not accommodate us. Nathaniel saw some "Portuguese men of war", a curious kind of fish resembling an inflated bladder, but I have not yet seen them. I wish you could see our darling little ones, they are as happy as they can possibly be. Natty has gained flesh, and has rosy cheeks like Rebecca's, and is full of life and joy. Rebecca is full of affection, wonders if Auntie has forgotten her yet, gives me kisses for Grandmother and Grandfather and Auntie . . . Natty learns to talk very fast, puts quite good sentences together. Captain Sumner calls Ecce "Kitty" and "Little Kitty". She says in reply, "I don't think you ever heard a Kitty talk as plain as I do, and I did not know that Kittys wore clothes." Natty has become quite accustomed to his little bed, sleeps quietly all night and for my own part, I think the sea air must be favorable for sleep, for it seems impossible for me to wake in the morning, after a night of sound sleep, and it is a great effort to make, to get up in season for breakfast at 8 o'clock, lazy as it sounds. Today I imagine you returning from Yearly Meeting. I long to hear all about it,

hope I shall get a particular account. Wish I knew whether dear father and mother went and thee too, dear Sister. We are so far to the east of you now, that there are two hours difference in time. It is 5 o'clock with us and with you but three. Our little bossy has paid the debt of nature, his mamma mourned for him considerably one day, but soon became reconciled to her loss; perhaps the company of the sheep may have served in some degree to console her. Sometimes I really forget where I am, and from the lowing of the cow, the bleating of the sheep, the cackling of the fowls, and grunting of the pigs, fancy myself for a few moments far away from my present location. The feeding of these animals is a source of amusement to the children, the sheep drink from a bottle. This is done because sometimes they get diseased, and if they drink from the same bucket they would all take the disease. Nathaniel has been more seasick this time than he ever was before. . . . The weather has been very cold much of the time, so that our thick garments were very comfortable, but now it is getting warmer, we are today in latitude 37-9 and long 38-6. Soon we shall want our thin garments.

Fifth day 6th mo. 21st

We find no time to hang heavy on our hands, there is constantly something to be seen and as soon as I get seated at my work, thinking to accomplish something the cry of sail ho! or whale ho! or shark ho! calls me to the deck. Today we have been very much interested in the dolphins. Before breakfast we heard a noise, which Nathaniel thought sounded like throwing fish on the deck, so we ran up, and there stood the second mate catching dolphins as fast as he could throw his hook and line out. He took 13 in about ten minutes, when the captain said enough. The sailors had a fine chowder made of them for dinner. Afterward Mr. Bush, who is an amateur fisherman, a disciple of old Isaac Walton, threw a line baited without any hook, and it was very amusing to see the beautiful creatures play around it. For a half hour, great numbers of them followed the ship, indeed as long as he held the bait, jumping, leaping and skimming through the water, the sun illuminating their

bodies which reflected the most beautiful and diversified colors. On second day we saw a rainbow, the most beautiful, all on board agreed, they had ever seen, both ends resting on the horizon and apparently not farther from us than the width of Summer Street. It lasted in perfect beauty, I should think half an hour, and then faded away. The same day we saw many whales, some very near us. Little Portuguese men of war are now very common, and every night the water is illuminated with them and other species of jelly fish. . . . Yesterday we had a great job, cutting one of our mattresses in two and filling up the cut sides to fill out our berths, one not being wide enough. Mary Ann assisted me, and she is very efficient. I think I shall soon become attached to her. She seems to have a very affectionate disposition and to be desirous to do everything as I wish, gentle and retiring in her manners, kind to the children, etc. . . . Shall I tell you how we pass a day? Nathaniel rises about 6, (we sleep in those rooms down stairs) takes up Natty who wakes with a smile and asks to be put in Mama's bed. There he sometimes goes to sleep and sometimes frolics until John comes to dress him. I usually indulge until about 7, (in excuse I must say it is rather dark down cellar, as we call it) get up and wash the children (Mary Ann usually dresses Rebecca) and go on deck for a few moments before breakfast, to which meal we generally do ample justice. I wish you could see Rebecca eat. She is almost always the last to finish eating, and the three meals are epochs in her day. Natty, too, has an excellent appetite and they both enjoy greatly our darling Molly's excellent milk. Please tell Enoch Page how much we like the cow. She is gentle and sociable, and gives about 12 qts. of milk a day. After breakfast the children play on deck with their father for a while, visit the *farm*, etc. I go below, attend to my *chamber work*, and read a while in quiet. Then take my work or a book in the cabin, where one of the gents frequently reads to us, or tells us what he has been reading. Between 11 and 12 we generally go into the dining room and take something to eat by way of lunch, crackers or cake and ale, dine at from half past 1 to 2, sit at table till 3 where great sociability prevails.

After dinner, some doze, some read, some work, some sit on deck, some play with the children, etc. Tea at 6. Then there are the children to put to repose, then Mary Ann and I take our sewing, sometimes the gents read and sometimes play at checkers, and occasionally a game of whist. Fine evenings we spend a good deal of time on deck. Retire from 10 to 11. Sleep soundly and awake refreshed, and I hope with grateful hearts for the blessings of health and preservation. The weather is now quite warm, just about right for comfort, mercury at about 70. We have not made much progress the last few days, it having been calm a good deal of the time, tho' Father's predicted long calm has not yet come on.

Fourth day 27th

The weather continues fine. Nothing particularly interesting has taken place since my last date. We have had a slight shower this afternoon, accompanied by a rainbow. We have had a good breeze the last 24 hours, and have made pretty good progress. A brig passed near us today; when she first came in sight, it was thought she was bound homeward and that we might speak her, but it proved otherwise. She passed across our track, probably bound to the West Indies. We have all been weighed today. I will give you our respective degrees of *ponderosity*. Nathaniel's 133 lbs.—Mine 121—Mary Ann's 90—Rebecca's 38—Natty's 27½ and John's 111. I wish you could see the children. They never were so happy in their lives, full of life and frolic. The Mate has fixed them a swing, and you would be amused to see Natty hold on the rope, and laugh and say, "swing more", if they do not push him high enough. They are both very fond of it. Natty grows fat every day. His hair is cut short . . . and he looks like a real boy. He is so smart, it is funny to see him. He pulls the *main sheet*, holding on with his whole little might, lifting up his feet and imitating the sailors' song, climbs about without the least fear everywhere. John is very happy, and seems to enjoy himself more than he did at home. I have been reading Dr. Follen's Memoir today, do get it and read it. Father and Mother would enjoy many parts

of it exceedingly. The first part rather tedious except to literary people. It gives you a beautiful idea of Eliza Follen. How she could have written it is incomprehensible, unless as she herself says, strength was given her from Above for the work, and how she can live as she does, a cheerful and useful life, after such a dreadful experience as has been her lot is only to be accounted for in the same way. I hope you will become well acquainted with her.

First day 7th mo. 9th

After another long interval I take up again the thread of my tale. I am sorry I have not written more regularly but have very good reasons to give. We have vacated our cabin stateroom (where I generally write) the last week. The carpenter is making some alterations in drawers, etc., preparatory to painting. There is no place downstairs where I could possibly write, and the cabin table is usually otherwise occupied, or the children are there at play, or some other good reason why I can not write, but enough. We have a little specimen of what sailors call being in the *Doldrums* the last week, calm, head winds, rains, etc., etc., but no storms as yet. One day we found ourselves 7 miles further north than we were the day previous, carried back by a head sea, now we have a good breeze, but it is carrying us east instead of south. The ship rolls a good deal, which must be an excuse for my bad writing. It is First Day; with us about 11 o'clock, with you some three hours earlier. The officers and men are all cleanly dressed and no work going on except now and then altering sails, indeed so far the men have had a very easy time. We have had no rain since we left Boston Harbour till the last week, when we succeeded in filling up all our water casks. You are now, I fancy, about at the breakfast table, how I wish I could drop in and go to meeting with you. I am sitting in the dining room with my sheet on the table, a very inconvenient place by the bye. Ecce sits near me, looking over some books of beautiful pictures, and Natty sits opposite in Fred Bush's berth, the door of his stateroom open, playing with a pack of cards. He has not moved or spoken I think for a full half hour. You must expect the burden of my song to dwell upon the

wonderful developments of this same Natty. He seems to have changed so suddenly from a baby to a child of considerable maturity. His father is perfectly delighted with his progress. He is very much interested in the cockroaches of which we have a few. Last night after he went to bed he said, "John cut off cockroach's head and throw him overboard if cockroach come to eat Natty all up." Overboard is a favorite word with him, and is used on every *appropriate* occasion. He has a wonderful faculty of accomodating himself to the motion of the ship, and will walk the whole length of the ship when she is rolling very considerably without falling or at all losing his balance. . . . He is still very passionate but I hope this is wearing off. . . . He has become decidedly the favorite, Rebecca sees this but I do not perceive that it produces any unamiable feelings in her. . . . We thought of you on the 4th and wonder if you had a celebration, 5th day I thought of you at preparative meeting. The children talk often of dear Grandpa and Grandma and Auntie and Willie, and I will not say how often we all think of you, dear little Willie, his vacation will soon be here and then he will be with you, I wonder if he will miss us much, I hope he is well; and do not doubt he is so, I almost despair of having a chance of sending home now. We have seen several ships, and exchanged signals with them, French and English, no Americans, and none near enough to speak. Nathaniel thinks we may yet however be so fortunate. The chief Mate caught a young shark the other day, with two sucker fish attached to him. One of them was kept in a bucket of water for the children's amusement for several hours. These little creatures attach themselves to the shark when very young and never leave him, and he cannot shake them off. They sometimes grow to the size of a haddock and even kill the shark.

4th day 7th mo. 12th 1843

Dearly Beloveds,

I left my first sheet unfilled that it might be folded as a letter in case we should meet an English ship or one bound to any port very distant from home, where it would not answer to send a double letter. Yesterday we spoke

a New Bedford ship, the *Milo* outward bound, has been out 40 days, had a lady on board. Please ask Elizabeth if she knows who the Captain is. He was rather a young man I thought, very good looking and very neatly dressed. It was a very interesting occurrence. Our Captain informed her that he would like to speak by letting his ensign remain flying and backing one of the sails to wait till the other should come up. On came the noble ship, obeying her rudder with as much docility as a horse does his bit, and passed directly across our stern, when the following conversation took place:

Capt. Sumner. Ship Ahoy! How long have you been out?

Answer. 40 days.

Q. Have you been into any port?

A. Yes, the Cape de Verds three weeks ago.

Q. Will you come aboard and dine with me?

A. No I thank you. I have company with me. Will you come on board my ship?

Capt. S. I thank you, no.

By this time we were sailing along side by side at some distance.

The whaler then asked Capt. S. his longitude which he told him and asked his in return, and then we parted, saw him again in the course of the afternoon, at a considerable distance, as she went on another tack. There were men stationed at her mastheads on the lookout for whales. She had a great many boats and everything apparently in nice order. Excuse my dwelling so long on this event, but it is one of great importance to us *novices*. We have a head wind, and get south very slowly, shall have a very long passage to the Equator. Yesterday Nathaniel and the carpenter were very busy all day making some alterations in our downstairs apartment by which N. has found room to hang his cot, much to his comfort and better room for ourselves in various ways. We are quite pleased with it. Today we are going to rearrange our trunks, etc., and stow them more conveniently. We now have two men off duty, one Nason (from Berwick whom Edward and Frank saw here) fell backward into the lower hold the other day, a distance of

twelve feet, on to some barrels and why he was not killed seems wonderful, but he escaped with a badly sprained arm. The other cut his hand very badly with a barrel. I have become quite well acquainted with the mates. In the evening I like to go on deck before I go to bed, and when Nathaniel is engaged with the other gents in the cabin, I go out and talk awhile with the officer on deck. The chief mate says if it were not for Mary Ann and I, he should almost forget how to talk at all, as he never talks with the captain except about ship's duty, and the two officers are seldom on deck together and never both at leisure. The second mate, Mr. Colburn, was with Capt. Lamson (Susan Wendell's husband) when he was killed by the Malays. He is an excellent man, every one likes him. He seems like a religious man and feels his dependence on a Supreme power. The other day I saw him in an apparently very dangerous situation on the end of a spar far out over the water, and very high. He said he knew there was danger, but that he must trust in the Lord. I am very much interested in their tales of the sea and their wonderful experiences. Nathaniel fears the captain will not like my talking with them, but if he has any objection he must tell me, or I shall continue a practice which I think can do no harm and is a source of pleasure and amusement. The chief mate loves to talk to me of his ladylove who is only 17 and loves him so dearly "she would willingly go to the world's end" with him. The handsome youth whom Lydia noticed as a second "Dana" is named William Gladding, from Providence, of a very respectable family, and one of the handsomest men I ever saw. Horace Draper from Springfield is another. These two, with Nason, and Charles, the farmer boy and the *cow's friend*, eat and sleep in the steerage, quite distinct from the forecastle (having shipped as boys). The Captain insists upon cleanliness, obliges them to wash their clothes once a week, and to keep themselves nice.

Fifth Day 13th

Monthly meeting at Salem. How often I have thought of you today, at 10 o'clock when I fancied you going to meeting, then during meeting, at dinner, returning to the

parlour after dinner. I have the vanity to think that Rebecca was not unthought of.

Sixth Day

Another man off duty from a cut hand. Wind getting a little more favorable.

Seventh Day

The month is now half gone and I think Willie will return to Salem today for his vacation. How I wish I could see the darling boy. One of the men caught a porpoise today. It was as large as a good sized hog, and looked very like one, substituting fins for legs. The men are to dine from it. Its flesh looked somewhat like course beef. The unwieldy creature was thrown on deck severely wounded by the harpoon, but struggling and agonized, when one of the men by a well directed blow with his knife, instantly despatched him. The children were very much interested in the process of skinning and cutting up. A lamb or rather sheep was sacrificed today, half of which is to be made into a "sea pie" for the sailors' Sabbath dinner. Nason has so far recovered as to be again on duty. His escape from death seems like a special interposition of Providence in his behalf. By invitation of the Captain I went into the forecabin today for the first time. It was very clean but that is all I can say in its favor. It was very close and in hot weather must be oppressively warm, yet all the men think it as an uncommonly good one, so do the mates, and the captain says it is a palace compared to the one he lived in for three years together. The sea has been very brilliant the last two or three evenings. This luminous appearance is caused by animalculae I believe. The mate drew up some water and poured it over his hand, leaving one of the brilliant particles upon his palm. It was imperceptible to the touch but retained its brilliancy. I let Rebecca sit up the other evening to see this beautiful sight. She was as much delighted with the stars above as those below. She said, "There are more than anybody can count."

First Day 7th mo. 15th

The wind for the last 26 hours has been getting fairer

and we have a good breeze and shall probably pass the Equator today. This after all is not so bad as Nathaniel's passage in the *Zenobia*. He was 45 days in reaching the Equator and we have been 40. The winds have obliged us to go very far eastward, and the current assisted, so that at one time we were within a day's sail of the coast of Africa. This is a dangerous locality on account of the long calms which prevail there, sometimes lasting two or three weeks, so we tacked ship and sailed west, and sometimes even made *nothing*, but here we are now, and are pretty sure of favorable and strong winds to bear us forward having taken the S.E. trade winds. We are all very well. Wish I knew that you were so, too.

Fourth day 25th

I have again allowed a long period to elapse without writing, but that now we have nearly given up all hope of meeting a homeward bound vessel I do not feel much spirit about my journal. Nothing of much interest has transpired since I last wrote, till yesterday when one of the men was punished. The facts in the case were these. The man was swearing profanely, when the mate reproved him and told him swearing was not allowed on board the ship. He continued, however, to do it, and when the mate spoke to him a second time, replied that his tongue was his own, and that he should use it as he pleased. The mate then spoke to the Captain, who called the man aft and told him he was sorry to hear he had disobeyed Mr. Canfield, as swearing was forbidden in this ship. He then answered the Captain as he had done the mate, that his tongue was his own, etc. This incident of course could not be passed over, and the Captain had him *ironed* and put down in the steerage, hoping that a night's reflection would bring him to reason (it occurred about 4 o'clock in the afternoon). This morning, however, as he remained in the same state of mind, he was *flogged*. This you may suppose does not make me feel very pleasantly. It took place before we came up. The captain hoped I would not know anything about it, but John told me of it. I have not told Mary Ann of it, as she felt badly enough at his being in irons. This punishment seemed to

have a good effect on him (so they say). Capt S. talked with him afterward, and told him he felt very sorry to have been obliged to punish him, but now if he would return to his duty and let nothing of the kind occur again, he would forgive him and forget his offense, and all should be as it was before. The man said he would endeavor to control his passions in the future, and hoped he would give no further cause of offence. The crew were all called to witness the deed, when three of them expressed their dissatisfaction and one said he wished the captain would put him ashore on some rock. This man was named Baker, an Englishman, whom I have noticed ever since we came on board as being very remarkable looking. He is tall, square built, and so thin that you can see all the bones and muscles of his face and neck. His face is so strongly marked, and expresses determination and dogged resolution. I have framed a romantic tale of early sufferings and hardships, met and combated by a proud and determined spirit, as the life of this man. Whether my imaginings are true I shall probably never know, but if I have any skill in physiognomy, his is not a common character. The other two were a powerful Irishman and a little Russian. They said they were not on board a "Man of War" and did not expect a "Man of War's" discipline. The Captain told them "No, but they were on board an American Merchant Ship, where good discipline must and should be observed. Whether this is the end of or only the beginning of this affair remains to be seen. I pray God in his mercy to avert any further suffering. Did the law of love prevail, would this have happened? Oh! that the mild and forgiving spirit of the religion of our Redeemer might rule all *rulers* as well as ruled. Our Captain evidently feels as badly about this as any one, tho' he has not said a word about it to me.

Second Day 7th Mo. 31st

All is quiet on board, and we hear no further trouble. The stout Irishman has been sick and off duty 2 or 3 days. Capt. S. administered medicine and he is now well again. Perhaps this will mollify his feelings somewhat. . . . The children say and do a thousand things that you would like

to hear. . . . Imagine Natty, putting his thumb to his nose (as the boys do) and saying "Not as you knows on." And "Does your mother know you're out?" And "You can't come it over this little boy." These slang phrases, were he older, I should be sorry he should learn but he is so tractable, and tries to say all these things so readily that it is very amusing and there is no danger of their remaining in his memory. He knows a great many of Mother Goose's melodies, and repeats them very prettily. . . . He says the little evening hymn each night, "Now I lay me down to sleep" all by himself, and if I begin to repeat it he says, "Natty say it 'self."

Third Day 8th mo. 1st

I was called away yesterday after writing these few lines by my husband, to see him catch cape pigeons. He baited a hook with pork and caught them by the bill, as you would fish; one he caught by the feet. After catching three or four and giving the children and me an opportunity to examine the beautiful creatures, he let them go again. They did not seem much hurt but were very glad to return to a congenial element. They are not much larger in body than our pigeons, but have so thick a covering of feathers that they appear much larger and have a greater spread of wings. They are spotted black and white, just alike, and are very tame. They have been flying around the ship in large numbers for a week past. A large black bird called the cape hen we have also seen, the albatross we hope to see a little farther south. The weather for a month past has been perfectly delightful (indeed we have not had more than two or three days when I have been uncomfortably warm) until within a week when it has been getting colder, and we find the cabin with closed doors and windows, and thick clothing comfortable. The *South Wind* now blows cold. We are getting towards winter, and for a month to come must expect cool and cold weather, gales, etc. The wind has been ahead for two or three days which is rather discouraging. Today they have been putting up new sails and I observed the man who was punished working skillfully and looking as happy as usual. For a few days he looked very cross. There is one of our sailors called Frank,

a young Swede, who has a most excellent face. It is a pleasure to look at him; good humor and intelligence are combined in his countenance.

I have had thought of offering him some of Fredericka's stories. There is a youth from New Hampshire that looks exactly like one of the Wolfboro farmer's boys. He wears a *low crowned* black hat, just such as you would see at Wolfboro or Tuftonboro. He is a good man and I like to look at him too. The association is an agreeable one. This forenoon Sissy was looking at some pictures in a book, and I said in looking at one, "Does that remind thee of any one thee knows?" She answered instantly, "Yes, my dear grandfather." It did resemble dear Father, and he was in my mind when I asked her." . . .

Dear Willie, I fancy him now with you attending Miss Pierce's school; how often we think of him, and many times in the day we speak of him. His father's tenderness towards him is very great. He can hardly speak of him without emotion. I have been thinking whether I said anything about his having some new flannel shirts for winter, made high in the neck. His last winter's ones are outgrown. I believe I did mention it, but no matter, I think before long he will be old enough to have some cotton shirts, with long sleeves. Oh, what would I not give to see the darling boy, and press him to my heart; tho I have never for a moment regretted that we did not take him with us. I know that thee, dearest mother, as well as my dearest sister, will feel a mother's tenderness for him. . . . Two months since we left you and two months more before we can expect to reach our destined haven.

Fifth day 8th month 10th

Today I imagine you, my dear Parents and Sister, at Lynn at Monthly meeting. It is usually a very pleasant one in this month. More than a week has passed since I wrote. . . . On First day we had our first gale. Seventh day the weather was squally and disagreeable, and thru the night the wind increased, till it blew a gale from the South, a very unusual quarter, and which was directly ahead. This, with a monstrous sea, made the ship roll and plunge fearfully. I did not get up, neither did Mary Ann or the

children. Sissy was the only one who was really seasick, and I felt a little uncomfortable. Nathaniel was in his cot a great part of the day, going on deck occasionally to look out. John dressed the children to keep them warm, and they sat in their berths with us alternately talking, playing, eating and sleeping (and Sissy now and then vomiting). I believe we were not considered to be in danger, tho were more uncomfortable than we would probably be in a more severe gale blowing from the usual quarters. About half past four in the afternoon F. Bush called down the stairway saying that the gale was abating and the sky clearing. We got up then and went on deck in time to see the ocean in its majesty, the waves ran literally "mountain high." Nathaniel said he never saw the sea go down so suddenly after a storm. The waves subsided into peace almost as if by miracle, reef after reef was let out of the sails, and the noble ship again went on her course. My heart was full of gratitude, and I can truly say I felt as if we were in the especial care and keeping of Him who formerly said to the raging wind, "Peace be still." How often I thought of you all that day, and rejoiced that you could not know how uncomfortable we were. We have since a succession of calms, light and head winds, so that we make very slow progress, and here too where favorable and strong winds are expected. But those on board who know do not feel altogether satisfied with the course our Captain has pursued. He goes too far east (they think) when his great object should be to get south. We have a prospect of a long passage which is the more undesirable as we have a very small allowance of fresh provision and likewise of water. This is in part owing to their having been no addition made to the supply after the addition of two more passengers. However, we will hope for the best, and I trust all will turn out well. F. Bush caught a young albatross the other day. It was a noble bird, measuring as they judged about 12 feet from tip to tip of his ample wings. After keeping him on deck long enough to gratify our curiosity, he released him, promising us a sight of a much larger one (if fortunate) when we get farther south of which there seems little prospect as we went *north* this

week one day 80 *miles* and another day 30. We are now almost in the track of homeward bound ships but I have now little hope of being able to forward you a letter till we reach Anger. I am rather sorry, for what I have written above about water, as I know mother will be anxious about it; and I should not, had I not felt pretty sure of not sending it, till we reach a place where our wants can be supplied, and after all there is no fear of our suffering actually for it, as we catch rain water often, but there is no excuse for our not having an abundant supply, going as we do, in an empty ship. Our fellow passenger, F. Bush, is very indignant, and says he is determined they shall hear of it at home from him.

Fourth day, 8th mo. 16th

Since my last date we have had rough, rolling weather and head winds, so that in a week we have scarcely made more than two days sail, beating first east with a little southing, and when the wind headed us off north, tacking and going west with a little southing(?) This operation of tacking ship is very interesting and amuses the children much. This slow progress has been trying to the Captain and sailors, but I have not felt at all impatient. Indeed I do really enjoy the leisure and quiet for reading and meditation; perhaps the more that from the nature of my duties and occupations I could not enjoy it at home. I have been favored with much tranquility and peace of mind, most of the time we have been out, and can not say that I have for a moment sincerely regretted coming or wished myself anywhere but where I find myself. Tho I sometimes almost doubt my own identity, when I realize where I am; on shipboard, off the Cape of Good Hope, with swaying waves and wintry winds howling around us, and this Rebecca Chase. We are now in the midst of winter. The weather is very cold, and yesterday the Captain said he was fearful of the vicinity of ice from the extreme chilliness of the air, but Nathaniel says it is all nonsense. Now it is that we realize the comfort of our *downstairs* apartments. They are much warmer and more quiet than those above. Indeed we hardly know anything that goes on above. I

wish you could have seen them as they are now, carpets fitted to them (pieces of our old brown parlour ones) enlarged and really comfortable. In the entry between the two staterooms, we have a sofa or settee made by our carpenter, who is a North Country man, and one of the best. It is cushioned with *white drilling*, stuffed with *rattan shavings*. Nathaniel's cot is suspended, so that it swings over the foot of my bed and he enjoys its motion highly. . . . Today the weather is milder and almost calm. I have just asked Captain S. our latitude and he says, 36 degrees south, 5 miles *north* of where we were yesterday. We have been out watching the birds and I thought how much brother William would have enjoyed this beautiful sight. There were two immense albatrosses, measuring we thought 18 or 20 feet across the wings, one perfectly white except the tips of his wings which were brown, the other a light gray, several smaller ones of the same species, cape hens (large birds with black bodies and wings, and white heads with rings of white around the neck), *Mollymocks* large and perfectly black, and the beautiful cape pigeons in great numbers, all following the ship and flying round and round us soaring aloft and looking directly *at* us with their large eyes. It is a beautiful sight. The storm petrels have been around us in large numbers for a few days past, otherwise called the Quaker bird from their plumage which is an orthodox drab, pretty little creatures rather larger than our swallows; I forgot to add to the list of comforts in our downstairs cabin, my little rocking chair, where I often sit the greater part of the day reading and sewing.

First day, 8th mo. 1843

Another sheet, dear ones, and I wish I could make it more interesting than the preceding, for they are so stupid that I am really ashamed of them. I know not how it is, my mind seems full of thoughts worthy of communication, but when I attempt to convey them to you, I seem to have no power of expression, and I am always dissatisfied with what I have written. But perhaps this is pride, and if you are only satisfied it is no matter. My letters will at least serve to convey to you information of our whereabouts at

different times and of our welfare. My last date, I think, was 4th day. On the Fifth day was Quarterly meeting at Lynn. I thought much of you through the day, and should have liked to be one with you. That day we were at noon within 35 miles of the southern extremity of the Cape of Good Hope. Wind bearing us towards it. As night came on, the sky became overcast and it grew very dark. The Captain thought we should steer clear of it. Nathaniel thought there was need of great care in a dark night, and in known vicinity of the land, and with danger of an often experienced current setting in shore. The captain thought there was no current of any consequence. Nathaniel knows just how far it was proper for him to express an opinion without in the least interfering with the captain's prerogative which is and must be absolute, but having been round the cape several times more than Capt. S. considered it quite proper to state his *experience*, respecting the currents, the situation of the land, etc. The captain was on deck most of the evening looking in now and then and expressing his determination not to go on the other tack if it could possibly be avoided. We passed a rather *silent* evening in the cabin (all of us passengers) but about 1½ past 9 o'clock we heard the well known, and at that time particularly welcome sounds indicating "going about" or "tacking ship". What motives induced the "Great Mogul" to change his intentions I know not; as it was, we went to bed easy in mind. You will gather from this incident, if I have been at all fortunate in describing it, some insight into the character of our Lawmaker, the noble Captain of the *Probus*. I think I shall not describe him at present except negatively. Perhaps after we arrive I may give you his portrait; but then, if we are so favored as to reach China in safety, I shall be too grateful and happy to dwell on past disagreeables, and so you may be spared it altogether. The description that we received of him as a pious Christian was sadly misplaced. I hope the name is not often so misapplied, suffice it to say, that nobleness and gentlemanly consideration are not his characteristics.

(To be continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE CHINA TRADE POST-BAG of the Seth Low Family of Salem and New York, 1829-1873. By Elma Loines, Falmouth Publishing House, Manchester, Maine, 1953. Cloth, xvi & 324 pp. fully illustrated. \$12.50.

This very interesting book is really a picture of the Low family from 1829 to 1873, all drawn against a background of the famous American China trade before the Civil War. The Low family began as indiginous to Essex County, Massachusetts as any family could be, with their ramifications through Porters, Hathornes, Dormans, Haskells, Hubbards, Whites and Choates spread over the triangle with its corners in Gloucester, Boxford and Salem till in 1830 they all picked up stakes and moved to Brooklyn to become an integral part of greater New York and supplied a mayor of the city and a president of Columbia College.

No one can say they were not an interesting crowd. Several of them spent five or six years in China and became partners in the famous Canton house of Russell & Co. The girls travelled as well as the boys and Harriet Low's Journal and letters form a considerable portion of the book. A lot of interesting material oozes out of these letters and you learn what Anjer Point and Java Head looked like (p. 74), of dangers in the straits of Sunda from currents (p. 107), what the Banca Straits were like (p. 200) and how it felt to round the Cape of Good Hope in sail in 1834 (p. 202). Those who like to "run across to England" in the *Queen Mary* in four or five days might not feel as cheerful about it if they had to bang around in the little *Montreal* for 48 days trying to get from Portsmouth to New York.

Most of the family, who were partly grown up before they left Salem, always had a longing for the old home town and its people (p. 44). Many of the letters from different members of the family refer to Salem and the boys never forgot the well-known charms of the Salem young ladies.

There is lots of information about China; the opium war (pp. 67-72), the people who were in China in 1841 (p. 90-94), and how they acted. There are some busi-

ness facts which throw light on the size and kind of trade. Apparently tea and silks predominated.

William H. Low was the best letter writer and Josiah came next. Harriet was the best of the girls but we could dispense with a lot of her journal especially as it was printed fifty years ago. A very interesting group of William's letters was printed in the Essex Institute Historical Collections (LXXXIV 197) a few years ago.

Miss Loines has done a delightful job of editing and surely has spared no work. There are genealogies of the families, biographies of all the important actors, lists of ships, accounts of their voyages and final ends, accounts of the China trade and why it ended. There are portraits of all the persons prominently mentioned. While you admire the strong determined men you can also see from Chinnery's portrait, that it would be easy to fall in love with Harriet. To any one who loves maps, Miss Loines' are a delight and a satisfaction and they fully illustrate the text. It is too bad there is no index and while the printing is good, the type is a bit small and the publisher ought to have a copy-reader.

Miss Loines is to be congratulated on doing a very toilsome piece of work well, and making an interesting and unusual book which is an important contribution to the history of the China Trade.

It is quite unlike the stuff hack writers are constantly improvising from old material. Miss Loines is a highly educated woman steeped in her subject.

James Duncan Phillips

Topsfield, Mass.
April, 1954

THE STRENUOUS PURITAN, HUGH PETER, 1589 - 1660.
By Raymond Phineas Stearns, 1954. 463 pp. octavo, cloth, illus. Urbana, Ill., University of Illinois Press. Price \$7.50.

This new definitive biography of Hugh Peter is by far the best yet published. Prof. Stearns has done a most thorough work in describing the life of one of the early founders of the Bay Colony. Although his residence in this country covered only about six years, he witnessed some of the most controversial religious affairs which had arisen in the new Colony. The author, with meticulous care, and with much documentary proof, describes this early Puritan of Cornish birth from the time he left the Anglican com-

munion until he emerged as a militant Puritan under Cromwell. His life in Salem as leader of the Church succeeding Roger Williams, is depicted in detail. At Salem, Peter showed himself to be a brilliant business promoter as well as a popular minister. He actively encouraged fisheries, household manufactures, shipbuilding, a water mill, a glass works and the beaver trade. His skill did not go unnoticed by the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and in 1641, he was sent to England to seek financial aid for the Colony. He never returned to America. A man of action he was in the midst of the wars of his time and finally, with the coming of Charles II to the throne, he suffered execution. Prof. Stearns, who was a frequent visitor at the Essex Institute while he was working for his degree at Harvard, has written a book which is a literary classic in its field. Peter's ancestry is given and there is a full index. Strongly recommended to all libraries and to all who are interested in the beginnings of New England.

THE FINAL SECRET OF PEARL HARBOR, by Rear Admiral Robert A. Theobald, U.S.N.(Ret.)—The Devin-Adair Co., New York—price \$3.50.

Four or five years ago the writer invited Admiral Theobald to present his views on Pearl Harbor before the Salem Marine Society. He made an effective and telling speech, giving a brief outline of the facts presented in this book, and it seemed to the writer made an extremely good case. Admiral Theobald has now improved this case with meticulous care and documented it step by step to show that the Commanders at Hawaii were kept in absolute ignorance of the possibility of an imminent attack on Pearl Harbor. He has also apparently traced this through to orders which must have been issued by President Roosevelt to prevent the Commanders at Honolulu from taking effective precautions against any attack, and also mislead them into the impression that the attack would take place in the Phillipines or the East Indies, rather than at Hawaii, the intention of the whole scheme being to precipitate a war with Japan which would arouse every animosity of the American people. It looks very much as if Admiral Theobald had absolutely proved his case.

Mr. Raymond Moley in the Boston *Herald* of April 27, 1954 says that it proved to him that Roosevelt was "guilty of either gross negligence or deliberate calculation,"

and then he veers away toward the carelessness idea. It is difficult for the writer to see how carelessness could be pleaded when at least eight or ten men in Washington knew all the facts, which clearly pointed more and more definitely to Pearl Harbor as the day approached, and could easily have reminded the President had he wished to be reminded. The whole episode seems to confirm the idea which has appeared in many minds, that Roosevelt was not a statesman, but a political trickster of a very subtle type.

Topsfield, Mass. James Duncan Phillips

ISLANDS OF NEW ENGLAND. By Hazel Young. 1954, 214 pp., octavo, cloth, illus. Boston, Mass., Atlantic-Little, Brown. Price, \$3.95.

Fascinating tales and tall adventure lead the reader further and further into the history of the seemingly peaceful islands of the New England coast from Eastport to Block Island. The volume deals principally with those of Maine. Anyone who loves to arrange an unusual vacation or enjoy life on an island or those who like to travel without leaving their comfortable armchair will enjoy reading this book. As Hazel Young states in her introduction she traveled by several means to visit these islands—by plane, the Maine Sea Coast Mission boat, mail boats, car ferries, lobster boats and even a dragger. "This book is not for the scholar but for the person who has an interest in and a love for these little-known outposts and who wants to know how to get there, and what to see and do when he arrives." But the scholar will find plenty to interest him. The librarian and those that wish to find a certain island quickly will be very sorry that there isn't any index.

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THE REPULSE OF LESLIE AT THE NORTH BRIDGE, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1775
From the water-color by Bridgman, in the possession of the Essex Institute

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No. 4

WHY COLONEL LESLIE CAME TO SALEM

BY JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS

On February 26, 1775, General Gage sent Colonel Leslie to Salem to seize certain cannon being mounted in a shop there. It has never been clear what Gage knew about the cannon or what he thought about the expedition, but when the Gage Papers were acquired by The Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, it seemed as if further data might be forthcoming. For several years the papers were not available to students and during that time my account of Leslie's Retreat was published.¹

Several years later the Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, Miss Margaret Larson, very kindly copied out those sections of the Gage Papers which seemed to refer to the Salem expedition. The first three extracts are evidently reports from some of Gage's informers and indicate a good deal of patriotic activity in Salem and Marblehead. The informers kept Gage pretty well posted and they evidently knew what was going on. The first two reports just preceded Leslie's expedition and are enough to explain why Gage sent Leslie out.

The third report written in French probably on the supposition that few Americans read French and therefore would not understand it, indicate that the Americans were moving their military supplies back from the coast as they had learned from Leslie's expedition that troops could be sent too easily by water.

The third extract from the Gage Papers is Gage's report to the Earl of Dartmouth on Leslie's expedition. The "paper of intelligence" which Gage says he is transmitting

1 See J. D. Phillips: *Salem in the 18th Century*, pp. 350-360.

is not now with the Gage Papers. It may have been a copy of the first two extracts here given. These papers show that Leslie's expedition was part of Gage's general plan to seize the American war supplies which culminated in the day of Concord and Lexington.

Memorandums 21.st Feb.^y

The Gun Carriages that are making at Charles Town is by one Kinney, a wheelwright but making principally wheels for them, at present; many have been carted through Cambridge, 'tis said for Worcester.

Horton a Blacksmith at work at Marble Head on Gun Carriages. Went from hence a month since.

Gun Carriages making at Salem

Twelve pieces of Brass Cannon mounted, are at Salem, & lodged near the North River, on the back of the Town.

Twenty waggons with Flour has past from Marble Head & Salem through Mystick towards Worcester within these 5 days.

[Intelligence report, Gage Papers.
Handwriting unidentified.]

There are in the Country thirty eight Field pieces and Nineteen Companys of Artillery most of w.^h are at Worcester, a few at Concord and a few at Watertown.

There whole Magazine of Powder consisting of between Ninety and an Hundred Barrells is at Concord.

There are eight Field pieces in an old Store, or Barn, near the landing place at Salem, they are to be removed in a few days, the seizure of them w.^d greatly disconcert their schemes.

[Endorsed, in Gage's handwriting:]

Intelligence

Feb.^{ry} 24.th 1775

[Writer of document not identified.]

[Extract from intelligence report,
writer unidentified.]

Hier matin, (Le huit du mois present,) une personne de confiance et de verité a rencontré [near Concord] huit autres Canons de fer dont deux paroissoit du Calibré de

trois ou quatre Livres; Les Restants, considerablement plus grands. Is estoient transportés sur trois charettes qui marchoient lentément vers le village: une des charettiers a informé, que les Canons qu'ils avoit en charge estoient embarqués sur les charettes à Lexington, ou ils ont été déposés depuis quelques Jours; et y avoient été apportés par la route de Salem; du l'on avoit aussi fabriqué des Roues pour monter les Canons en question, et qui devoient aussi bientôt les suivre à Concord

Le 9 de Mars

(Translation)

Yesterday morning (the eighth of the present month,) a trustworthy and truthful person met [near Concord] eight other iron cannon of which two seemed to be three or four pounders and the rest considerably larger. They were carried on three carts which were going slowly toward the village. One of the teamsters stated that the cannon that they had charge of were loaded on the carts at Lexington, where they had been left a few days ago; and they had been brought over the road from Salem where they had also made some wheels to mount the cannon mentioned which should follow them to Concord soon.

[Extract of a letter from Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, Boston, March 4, 1775]

My Lord

I have the honor to transmit your Lordship, a paper of of Intelligence of the Machinations and Projects of these People, which I have obtained since my last letter to your Lordship No. 24. The Authority should be good, but I must wait some favourable Oppertunity to Inform your Lordship, from whence, and by what means the Intelligence has been obtained. The Circumstance of the eight Field Pieces at Salem led us into a mistake; for supposing them to be brass guns brought in from Holland, or some of the Foreign Islands, which report had also given Reason to suspect, a Detachment of two hundred men, under Lieut. Colonel Leslie was sent privately up by Water to seize them; the places they were said to be concealed in were strictly searched, but no Artillery could be found, and we have since discovered that there had been only some old Ship Guns which had been carried away from Salem sometime

ago. The People Assembled in great Numbers with Threats and abuse, but Colonel pursued his orders, and returned to Marblehead where he had first disembarked his Detachment.

[From Gage Papers, English Series,
Volume 28, Clements Library]

These extracts clearly show that the Leslie expedition to Salem was of exactly the same kind as the later one to Concord, but was defeated by the prompt action of Capt. Pedrick of Marblehead in notifying the Salem people of Leslie's approach and their cleverness in delaying him till all the war supplies had been safely hidden. That there was not bloodshed was due to the fact that Col. Leslie showed excellent calm judgment and that the Americans saw no use in killing people when the object of their visit had been defeated already. There were enough Minutemen drawn up in Federal Street to have given Leslie a very bad time and some of them were the very Danvers men later killed on the retreat from Concord at Arlington.

These papers from the Gage Manuscript are reprinted by the kind permission of Mr. Howard Peckham, Director, of The Clements Library of the University of Michigan, and the writer's grateful thanks are due to Miss Margaret Larson, who first searched the manuscripts and located the reports and to Mrs. Georgia C. Haugh, who gave further attention to the matter.

THE ESSEX REGIMENT IN SHAYS' REBELLION — 1787

BY HERBERT T. WADE

In what has been termed the "Critical Period" of the American Republic there is no more interesting feature than the economic, social, and political conditions that culminated in what is known as Shays' Rebellion of 1786 and 1787 in Massachusetts. While the coastal districts of this Commonwealth were not the scenes of disorders and insurgency characterizing the Western counties, yet they too were profoundly interested and concerned in the current agitation and happenings that were taking place elsewhere.

To suppress the resulting disorder in Massachusetts a Regiment of Essex County Militia, commanded by Colonel Nathaniel Wade, along with similar organizations from other counties, was called into active service for a limited period. While such activity may seem of minor importance, yet it afforded a striking example of the use of necessary force in coping with a situation primarily economic and political, yet developing into an armed insurrection where courts of justice were prevented from functioning and violence and disorder in certain regions became prevalent and serious.

The end of the American Revolution brought many problems to New England, as indeed to the other Colonies, and economic and social difficulties pressed on all sides. Maritime activity had not been entirely restored, debts both public and private were mounting, and a period of uncertainty was at hand with political questions of importance distinctly in evidence with the conventions meeting to consider a Constitution and a more compact government, objects of discussion. As follows any war many considerations needed debate and settling, and many changes in ways of life were taking place before anything even approaching definite and final results was secured.

The soldiers of the Revolutionary Army were returning to their homes, many, particularly the officers, having suffered heavy losses in property and business, while, notwith-

standing the adoption of a State Constitution in 1780 by Massachusetts, State and local governments were at loose ends and poverty was only too general and evident. The militia, which had been maintained along historic lines, was far from efficient, being especially top heavy in the higher ranks, while the appointed training days were rather scenes of convivial gathering than occasions of drill and organization.

But the leading characteristic was the depressed condition of commerce, industry, and agriculture, with general debt both public and private, high taxes and foreclosures of land under mortgage, and other legal actions to secure payment of moneys owed. While conditions in the coastal towns were bad enough, it was in the farming districts of the interior of the State that the situation had developed to a condition not only far from satisfactory, but marked by widespread and serious unrest with distress and suffering which led to violent measures and the advancement of remedies not only radical, but leading to riotous breaches of the peace and threats to interfere with the functioning of the courts and the orderly administration of justice.

The Courts of the Commonwealth were clogged with various efforts to collect debts and taxes or to foreclose on mortgages. Thus in Worcester County alone, with a population of less than 50,000, more than 2000 actions were entered in 1784 and during the next year 1700 more were put on the list.¹

In contrast to the social relations prevailing at the time of the Revolution, there now developed bitter class feelings in many regions where debts and taxes became serious matters and their collection involved hardship and further discontent. To meet the costs of the Revolution and the indebtedness thus incurred, the Confederation, the individual States and the local communities had borrowed extensively, and even as regards the pay for their soldiers were distinctly in arrears. Furthermore, private loans had not been difficult to obtain, and coupled with this there were in many

¹ Lincoln, *History of Worcester*, p. 131, quoted in Davis, *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, New Series 21, April, 1911, p. 57.

cases both extravagance and a lack of production. Accordingly the collection of taxes as well as private debts through the medium of the law and the courts, soon developed a spirit of resistance.

In Massachusetts it was estimated² that the State debt at the close of the Revolution was more than £1,300,000, while there was due to Massachusetts officers and soldiers at least £250,000. Immediate relief was sought as well for the depreciation of the money promised to the soldiers. Furthermore the State's share of the Federal debt was no less than £1,500,000. In addition practically every town was in debt for supplies furnished to its soldiers. The privates in most cases were treated far more liberally than the officers, many of whom even before the end of the War were forced to resign to provide for their families. In 1784, the Legislature voted a tax of £140,000 to be devoted to the redemption of the debt, and again in 1786, some £100,000 for the same purpose was appropriated.

Also Massachusetts enjoyed good credit in Europe and there were considerable goods imported with resulting extravagance. Nevertheless, in the coastwise towns maritime activity had not been entirely restored and there was some depression. In short public and private debts were mounting and political questions were beginning to be agitated, and especially prominent were meetings of the convention to develop a Federal Constitution.

The net economic result of the Revolution had been debt, heavy taxation, and the aftermath of inflation apt to follow a war. Coupled with these conditions were inevitably the use of the courts to collect debts and taxes and the role played by lawyers in such practice. Charles Francis Adams³ stated,

The early New Englanders were, moreover, inclined to be litigious. The bar as a profession, was in 1786, and thereabouts, not thoroughly organized; its tone was distinctly low. During the revolutionary period and immediately subsequently thereto a crop of attorneys, self-taught, and of

² J. G. Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1855) Vol. I, pp. 233, 234.

³ *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. XV, (1902) p. 117.

low antecedents had developed, country pettifoggers who would now be known as "shyster" lawyers. These men were nothing more or less than cormorants and blood-suckers, they drew their sustenance from merciless exactions from a suffering community.

As regards the character of the lawyers of this time Judge Jonathan Smith, who made an extensive study⁴ of Shays' Rebellion and its aftermath, takes exception to Adams' statement. He analyzed the number of practising attorneys in Massachusetts at this period and found the majority of them were college graduates and men of character. While he states that charges were not excessive, he vouchsafes the observation that "Under a civilization not highly developed the people are more fond of lawsuits than those of an older and more advanced civilization."

In addition there was criticism of the Massachusetts State Constitution, which came into effect in 1780, and a rather natural feeling of jealousy between the citizens of the farming areas of the Western part of the State and the towns on the coast. These latter, it should be stated, not only enjoyed relative prosperity, but were more broad-minded and more conservative, with the result that they accepted conditions of depression with greater equanimity. They were not so apt to listen to the radical and revolutionary arguments of those who urged a new social and economic philosophy, which involved further inflation of the currency, the scaling down of debts, opposition to current judicial processes, and radical political adjustments.

Thus while in Suffolk County, in which Boston was located, there was little sympathy with the radical ideas and developments of the Western part of the State, Middlesex and Essex Counties were mildly aroused. However, at Groton and Concord there was mild agitation, and at the latter place on August 23, 1786, a convention was held by delegates from a majority of towns in Middlesex County at which grievances now familiar at other meetings were voiced. Also on September 12, 1786, the sessions of the Court here were prevented by a mob.

⁴ Jonathan Smith, *Clinton (Mass.) Historical Society Proceedings*, Vol. 1 (1903). Reprinted in *William & Mary Quarterly*, Vol. V (1948).

Another and important consideration of the situation at the coastal towns was that here there was in circulation specie of one kind or other, often from foreign countries with a fluctuating value, that passed as money, while in the rural districts much had to be done entirely by barter though with taxes to be paid in hard money.

A further consideration was that in the eastern counties there was a more general respect for government and authority together with an abhorrence of violence and irregular action, though similar ideas might be held to a greater or lesser extent throughout the State. There were, however, fewer large and formal gatherings and conventions leading eventually to the formation of armed groups ready to carry into effect measures of violence characteristic of the western counties.

In some cases there were uprisings which were put down by the authorities, the rioters arrested, but later released and pardoned. Thus, in 1783, a mob assembled at Springfield, but the Sheriff with the assistance of citizens opposed and repulsed its members. Naturally with such general unrest there began political rumblings even though party lines had not yet been distinctly drawn. John Hancock, who had been Governor from 1780, now saw fit to resign and thus escape the unpopularity connected with meeting the approaching crisis. James Bowdoin, a leader of the conservative lawyer-merchant party, was put forward as a candidate and took office May 26, 1785. Straightway he was faced with a developing political storm. It began with a series of local conventions in which the leading mouthpieces were rather of the demagogic type, though others were more temperate and sincere, particularly when it came to advocating active violence and insurgency.

It might be stated here that recent historians are rather inclined to take a more liberal view of the men participating in these disorders along with their actions. They call attention to the fact that while the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had a Constitution adopted by popular vote, yet its government still in the main was aristocratic even more or less so than in the Colonial days. Furthermore the people in Massachusetts even in earlier days to enforce their polit-

ical ideas were known to resort to force, of which the Boston Tea Party was a notable example.

Governor Bowdoin⁵ delivered a formal address May 31, 1785, which referred to existing conditions, yet the situation worsened with sporadic outbreaks and meetings, or conventions to our discontent.

In fact, what became known as Shays' Rebellion may be said to have begun at Northampton on August 29, 1786 when the Court House and the sitting of the Court of Common Pleas and the General Sessions of the Peace were threatened by a mob of some 1500 armed with swords, muskets, and bludgeons which took possession of the ground nearby. This gathering sent a message to the judges and no court was held and an adjournment *sine die* was taken.⁶

By the Summer of 1786, the situation was getting quite out of hand and there were county conventions of radicals which threatened the holding and operation of the courts, and in September, 1786, there were other instances of armed interference with judicial processes. Governor Bowdoin had issued a proclamation on September 2, 1786 in which he called upon "all judges, justices, sheriffs, grand jurors, constables and other officers, civil and military, to suppress all such riotous proceedings" as had taken place at Northampton. The Governor assembled the Legislature in special session on September 27, 1786 and ordered the militia to protect the courts. The Governor further announced "that the authority of the Government would be exercised to maintain order and enforce the laws".

Generally throughout the State the newspapers, clergy, and conservative citizens were against mob rule and activity, but opinions varied whether it was a mere outbreak of insurgency or a movement to overthrow the State Government and to establish a pure democratic or communistic government in its place.⁷ It was undoubtedly true that most of the participants had real grievances, and for many it was

5 "Bowdoin and Temple Papers", *Mass. Historical Society Collections*, 6th Series, Vol. IX (Boston, 1897).

6 Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts*, Vol I, p. 239.

7 J. P. Warren, *American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, (1905-6) p. 44.

a spontaneous expression of a demand for relief in a crude way, with a military aspect, when assumed, in organization of groups or units based more or less on their experience in the Revolution.

A number of former soldiers of the Revolution and others, feeling that they had serious grievances against the government, the courts, and society generally, banded together under the leadership of Daniel Shays, a former Revolutionary captain. The General Court of Massachusetts was at first tolerant of this movement and gave ear to those claiming to speak for the malcontents, who in some cases had justification for their feelings together with a certain political strength which the Legislature viewed with some concern.

Gradually the movement attained the nature and size of an armed insurrection which outgrew the control of the local authorities and was specially directed against the courts. Already mobs had broken up the sessions of the Supreme Court at Great Barrington, Springfield, Worcester, and even at Concord, in some cases freeing prisoners from the jails. It was found necessary to call out the militia to aid the sheriff, but this was done in a half-hearted way.

At the session of the Legislature called for September and addressed by the Governor, a joint committee approved the Governor's speech and the Senate approved a report on the situation, though the House of Representatives after a long discussion accepted all but the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* clause. The Senate was behind the Governor, but the House was more sympathetic to the manifestations of popular discontent. Nevertheless, Governor Bowdoin's conduct in calling out and raising militia for the defense of the courts duly was approved. The Legislature voted a promise of pay to all militiamen who had been or should be called into the service of the State. It further recommended a revision of the Militia Law and expressed its determination to examine into and remove such grievances and oppressive conditions as the people might suffer. Among other measures passed by the Legislature was a Riot Act. An adjournment was taken on November 18, 1786.

By this time it was realized that these outbreaks had be-

come a rebellion and had developed to a more than critical point. Accordingly the Governor issued orders to the major generals in command of the militia in the various counties to hold their divisions of State troops in readiness for field service at the shortest notice and to see that they were fully organized and equipped. In fact during December there were calls on local militia units to aid the sheriffs to protect the courts.

In the Western part of the State the militia was under the command of General William Shepard, a Revolutionary officer, who in addition to preserving order and protecting the courts, as will appear soon, was called upon to guard the United States Arsenal at Springfield from any attack or occupation.

In Middlesex County troops of militia under the command of Major General John Brooks were ordered out to protect the sittings of the Supreme Court and be in readiness to march to Cambridge, while four regiments in Essex County were directed to be prepared similarly.

In the latter force in command of one of these regiments was Colonel Nathaniel Wade of Ipswich, a veteran of the Revolution, who had served as a minuteman, in the Continental Army, and in command of the Massachusetts Brigade of State Troops on the Hudson in 1780. Colonel Wade had also been mustermaster for Essex County, and after the Revolution continued his interest in the Massachusetts Militia.

As the disturbances and agitation in Western Massachusetts in the autumn of 1786 had become more than a matter of local and State concern, and had to be considered as an aspect of a general unrest that was being manifested elsewhere, General Henry Knox, Secretary of War of the Confederation went to Springfield on September 20, 1786 and was in frequent correspondence with General Washington as well as reporting to the Continental Congress especially on September 20th when he warned that body of the coming storm.⁸

The question of Federal intervention in what was a State

⁸ J. P. Warren, "The Confederation and Shays' Rebellion", *American Historical Review*, Vol. XI, p. 44.

matter came up with the openly expressed fear that the government of Massachusetts even might be overthrown. So far as General Knox was concerned, the situation further was complicated by the location of the Federal Arsenal at Springfield which was established here by Congress in 1777, during the Revolution as the most convenient place for storing and distributing Military Supplies during the hostilities. It contained in 1786 some 450 tons of military stores in addition to a foundry for brass cannon, 7000 small arms with bayonets, and a most important magazine, with 1300 barrels of powder together with a supply of shot and shell.

On September 29, the Congress took appropriate action and directed Secretary of War Knox, to proceed to Springfield and take such measures as he should judge necessary for the safety of the Arsenal and its contents. Naturally the question was raised whether the protection of the Arsenal was a Federal or a State matter, but General Knox appealed to the Governor for the protection of the military stores.

Indeed this circumstance added another and most serious element to the situation in Western Massachusetts. It involved not only the protection of the supply of munitions belonging to the National War Department, which if appropriated by the insurgents would be a distinct and overt act of rebellion, but at the same time would provide them with a great military advantage should actual hostilities develop by an organized insurrectionary force. The national aspect of this situation was distinctly appreciated by General Knox, the Secretary of War of the Confederation, present at this time in New England, who noted with concern the marked unrest prevailing in Western Massachusetts. General Knox was in constant communication with General Washington as well as with Governor Bowdoin, both of whom were alive to the serious nature of conditions.

At this time there was no national force available for the protection of the war supplies, and as disorders developed in this region Governor Bowdoin saw the need of immediate measures. General William Shepard from Westfield, was ordered to take command of the Arsenal with a force

of 900 militiamen, later reinforced with 200 additional men from Hampshire County. Naturally this force was well armed from the Arsenal with field guns and small arms with bayonets.

General Shepard was authorized to raise in Hampshire County whatever troops General Knox might require, and from now on he figured most effectively in the protection of the Arsenal and resistance to the insurgent forces which soon made their presence felt in the town of Springfield. Already Daniel Shays had a substantial force in the town and Luke Day was at West Springfield with more adherents, so it was realized that the capture of the Arsenal before State reinforcements could arrive from the East would be an important and vital strategic accomplishment for the insurgents.

Also connected with this matter in its national aspect was the question of raising Federal troops for service against the Indians on the Western Frontier. To provide such a force for this field, as well as for protection of the Federal Arsenal, was discussed as a matter of public policy, with General Knox and the Congress interested in the possible increase of the small Regular Army. Here at Springfield, General Knox was afraid that a small guard might precipitate matters and lead to an attack by the insurgents, while a large guard would involve considerable expense.

However, complete authority from both Congress and the Government of Massachusetts duly was placed in the hands of General Shepard and he was able to raise both volunteers and militia with which he later could effectively protect the Court and guard the Arsenal, even when at times threatened by superior numbers of insurgents.

As in the case of other popular uprisings that degenerated into violence and armed insurrection, it should be noted that when the government took firm and active measures to meet attacks in force that such outbreaks generally failed and were checked. Thus General David Cobb⁹, (1748-1830) a major general of militia and judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Bristol County, believing that

⁹ *New England Historical Genealogical Register*, Jan., 1864. A Biographical Memoir of General David Cobb.

violence would be attempted when the court met at Taunton, ordered on his own responsibility several local companies of militia to assemble and occupy the Court House along with a fieldpiece and 30 gentlemen volunteers. Though the insurgents appeared in considerable numbers they did not dare attempt any violence and were assured by the Chief Justice, General Cobb, that "he would sit as a judge or die as a general". Though nothing overt was done to prevent the sitting of the Court, here as elsewhere under similar circumstances, it was deemed advisable to adjourn its sessions to a future day.

In the weeks following the session of the Supreme Judicial Court at Taunton, there was scheduled the meeting of the Court at Cambridge, where such preparations were made that the insurgents did not dare any attempt to interfere with its sessions. The Governor called out the troops of Middlesex County and three companies from Boston with artillery numbering in all 2069 beside volunteers, which greatly strengthened the position and spirits of those upholding the Government, and correspondingly depressed those in the Eastern part of the State sympathetic with any insurgency.

Governor Bowdoin gave orders¹⁰ to Major General Brooks as to measures to be taken for supporting the Supreme Court to be holden at Cambridge. Of present interest is the following section:

"4. Orders to Major General Titcomb at Newbury Port to issue orders to Col° of Ipswich; and to Col° of Salem to hold their regiments in readiness to march to Cambridge upon the call of Major Gen^l Brooks for the support of the Supreme Court".

This order, not dated in the transcript of the Bowdoin Papers as printed, must have been prepared in haste as it did not specify Colonel Nathaniel Wade who commanded the Militia Regiment at Ipswich. These regiments were not actually marched out as a more loyal spirit developed

¹⁰ "Bowdoin and Temple Papers", *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series 7, Vol. VI, p. 128. Printed from the original minutes in the handwriting of Governor Bowdoin.

in this region and it was deemed possible to countermand the orders.

With every indication that serious and more general trouble was impending, the militia of the various counties were directed to be on the alert. This was particularly the case with the situation in the Western counties. Here Major General Shepard from Springfield communicating¹¹ to Governor Bowdoin—under date of December 14, 1786—

“An estimate of the Number of Rebels that would march under the direction of Shays in the County of Hampshire, should the contest be in said county, and the towns where they belong, viz

(List — Total 970)

“Should the contest be carry'd to Worcester the numbers would diminish more than one third.

“The County of Berkshire would probably furnish Shays in Hampshire, with 5 or 600 men, but their numbers would lessen on a march to Worcester nearly one half.”

At Worcester attempts made on the Court House failed due to inclement weather and the lack of enterprise of the leaders of the insurrectionists and failure in their plans and confidence, with the result that the revolutionaries retired by December 9th. The next serious activity was at Springfield where the courts were adjourned to the 26th of December. Here Shays marched into the town with about 300 malcontents seeking to oppose the administration of justice.

On January 1st, 1787, the Governor and Council having received information as to conditions at Worcester and Springfield reached the conclusion that the traditional mode of protecting the administration of justice by calling on the Sheriff with a *posse comitatus*, and the assistance of the local militia was most ineffectual. Accordingly it was realized that it was necessary to consider such uprisings more than local affairs and that the State should exercise its supreme force in the suppression of lawlessness and insur-

¹¹ *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, Series 7, Vol. VI, p. 117. Bowdoin Messages and Other Papers issued while Governor.

rection and call out an adequate force of militia recruited from the various counties.

Such a military force thus to be raised for active service was put under the command of Major General Benjamin Lincoln, an able, experienced and active general officer of the Revolution. It was to be organized as a complete and cohesive unit and proceed to the scenes of disorder with the sole object of putting down violence and restoring normal conditions of government and life. At the same time the various major generals and colonels of regiments were communicated with and warned that their respective commands would be called out. In pursuance of such a plan orders went out from January 8th to January 13th to assemble the companies in the different towns.

On January 10th, 1787, Colonel Nathaniel Wade formally was called into service and his regiment now assembled was part of the 4400 answering the call of the Governor. The Regiment left Ipswich on Wednesday morning January 17th, and from that town 25 men were enrolled in the allotment assigned to Essex County. In addition to assembling militia at Ipswich and other towns of the County, at the Hamlet, (later known as Hamilton) a company was called together in order to secure the quota of men to oppose the insurrection, and the Reverend Manasseh Cutler in his *Journal*¹² under date of Jan. 15, Mon., states, "I read to the people at 1 o'clock, the address from the General Court; and then addressed them upon the nature of our constitutional government, and the present dangerous state of our affairs, and endeavored to point out the consequences of opposition to the laws." The following day he records "the men marched to Cambridge".

Colonel Wade after reporting to General Benjamin Lincoln at Boston was ordered to assemble his Regiment at Woburn, a town about 10 miles northwest of Boston.

Such positive action as just related was taken in compliance with general orders from the Governor and Council issued early in January, 1787, which provided that a force

¹² Manasseh Cutler Biography. *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, 1888) Vol. I, p. 197.

of 4400 rank and file should be raised from the various counties as follows: 700 from Suffolk, 500 from Essex, 800 from Middlesex, 1200 from Hampshire, and 1200 from Worcester. There were also four regiments of artillery from Suffolk and Middlesex. The troops from the three first named counties were to rendezvous in the neighborhood of Boston on January 19th, those from Hampshire at Springfield on January 18th, and those from Worcester County were to join the force from the Eastern Counties at the town of Worcester. The force was to serve for 30 days unless sooner discharged. The disproportionate numbers from Western counties obviously were due to their proximity to the principal seat of what was now becoming a general insurrection.

As the Legislature had made no provision for the support of the troops thus called out an informal loan was supplied by a number of Boston business men looking to a later reimbursement which eventually was forthcoming. The specific orders to General Lincoln from the Governor to take command of this force were issued on January 19, 1787, and attention was called to the fact that the soldiers were dealing with a civil insurrection and that the due legal considerations in suppressing disorders were to be most carefully observed. These orders were as follows:

To Gen'l Lincoln

Boston, January 19, 1787

Sir,

You will take the command of the militia, detached in obedience to my orders of the 4th. instant. The great objects to be effected are, to protect the Judicial Courts, particularly those next to be holden in the county of *Worcester*, if the Justices of the said courts should request your aid;—to assist the civil magistrates in executing the laws; and in repelling or apprehending all and every such person and persons as shall in a hostile manner, attempt or enterprise the destruction, detriment or annoyance of this Commonwealth; and also to aid them in apprehending the disturbers of the publick peace, as well as all such persons as may be named in the state warrants, that have been, or shall be committed to any civil officer or officers or to any other person to execute.

You are to consider yourself, in all your military offensive operation, constantly, as under the direction of the civil officer, saving where any armed force shall appear, and oppose your marching to execute these orders..

The opinions of Colonel Wade on the questions of insurgency and radical ideas so characteristic of the Western Part of the State of Massachusetts apparently have not survived in such definite form that they may be quoted, but it may be assumed that doubtless he had no sympathy with outbreaks of insurrection and that not only was he on the side of law and order but conservative in his political views. As typical of such in the coastwise towns a correspondent of the *Massachusetts Gazette*, published at Boston on January 19, 1787, contributes a letter that doubtless is representative of the more conservative thought of Essex County and Eastern Massachusetts, though it must be stated that even here radical ideas found expression, but did not lead to excesses of conduct.

The letter follows:

A correspondent informs us, that the people of the respectable and loyal county of Essex upon the late call for a part of the militia, to defend and support our free and happy Constitution, and the laws against the hostile attacks of our open and secret enemies, manifested the warmest zeal and patriotism, and that five times the number of men, that were required, might have been enlisted with the greatest ease, if there had been need of them; but that some few individuals, who are greatly embarrassed in their circumstances, and have been a long time suspected at least of favouring the insurgents; who for very good reasons, are strenuous advocates of a depreciating paper currency, and for obstructing the channels of law and justice, were very industrious and *open*, in the exercise of their little powers, to counteract the publick opinion; it is, however, to be hoped, that such characters will be *marked*, as well as known, by the people; and that on the meeting of a certain Assembly, that part of the Constitution, which provides that the *House* shall be the judge of the qualifications of its members would be attended to, and put in practice;—indeed it is high time for a legislative opinion to be declared, that no man should be permitted to hold any place of trust or profit, under the Constitution who discovers, whatever he

may pretend, that he is a radical enemy to that Constitution, and consequently to the rights, privileges and properties of the GREAT MAJORITY of the States.

Colonel Wade's Regiment, to which various towns in Essex County, including Ipswich and the Hamlet, (the modern Hamilton) had contributed, arrived at Woburn on Thursday evening January 18, and remained in billets there until Sunday, January 22, when they marched to Concord. On January 19, Colonel Wade resumed the entries in his old Orderly Book which had not been used since his service on the Hudson River with the Massachusetts Brigade in 1780.¹³ On that date he issued Regimental Orders directing the commanding officers of the several companies should see that their men provided with three days provisions including that day, which were to be cooked the same night as the Regiment would march the following morning, (Saturday) after parading near the Meeting House at half-past nine o'clock. The officers were requested to pay particular attention to their men, that they did not injure the inhabitants, nor their property, or insult their persons. The Quarter-Master as soon as the Regiment shall march was to proceed immediately to Concord and provide quarters for the troops on their arrival.

On Sunday, January 21, the march was resumed and Marlborough was reached, where the Regiment was joined to the detachment commanded by General Lincoln. On this day General Orders were issued providing Field Officers of the Day, Aids to the General, and a commander of the Artillery. Specific instructions were given as to the order of march and the provision of advance and rear guards, as well as the baggage train. Definite orders were given for "observing a profound silence when marching into Worcester and for the observance of strict discipline on the march and in quarters." The General stated that:

The troops employ'd in the present service will consider that they are bound by every obligation & duty to protect the citizens & maintain the public safety, they will not take

¹³ See *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. XCI, 1954, p. 88. This Orderly Book has been preserved by Col. Wade's descendants and is quoted from in these pages.

upon themselves to determine the political characters of men, should violence or injustice be offer'd to any individual, a plea in paliation of the offence of the injur'd party is evitably admitted—Those Offenders, & all marauding or any infringement of the peace must be discountenanced & the Offenders must expect the most exemplary punishment. Should the Militia force in any way become indispensible proper orders will be given for the exercise of it.

Col Wade's regiment now had joined the main body of troops from the east under General Lincoln, and from his headquarters at Marlborough were issued General Orders quoted above for the government of his command and particularly for the march to Worcester.

General Lincoln and his troops reached Worcester on Monday, January 22nd, and were there joined by local and loyal militia units. So far they had encountered no opposition and the stated sessions of the Court were held without interruption until the completion of the term on January 25th. Colonel Wade's regiment with the other commands waited here until the morning of Wednesday, January 24th, when they marched on towards Springfield.

Reference to the General Orders of the Day for January 24th, issued from headquarters at Worcester, indicates that General Lincoln's entire force now had been organized and was proceeding forward towards the troubled regions. That the need for the militia was urgent may be concluded from the receipt of an express from General Shepard, at Springfield who was in contact with the insurrectionists. He urged General Lincoln to proceed with all haste as a body of rebels amounting to 1500 or 1600 was approaching his lines and threatening the Arsenal for the safety of which and of the town of Springfield he was seriously concerned. Consequently he was relieved when General Lincoln replied to his request for help by ordering forward one regiment of infantry and a small detachment of cavalry. This force arrived at the Arsenal Camp on the night of Friday, January 26th, and General Lincoln with his full command marched into Springfield the next day.

The march from Worcester to Springfield was executed most satisfactorily and Colonel Wade's regiment was among those which reached Springfield on Saturday afternoon,

January 27th. For this march the troops were commended by the General in the General Orders for that date.

In the meanwhile on January 25th the insurgents under Shays with increased strength had gathered at Springfield. They now moved to attack the defenders of the Arsenal and threatened General Shepard's lines which were formally drawn up. The General by means of a flag of truce inquired as to their intentions and was informed that the insurgents desired to lodge in the barracks at Springfield. He then drew a line and forbade them to cross, in which event he would fire on them. This did not deter Shays and when he had passed the limits prescribed, General Shepard ordered artillery to fire. This accordingly was done and after due warning and shots overhead and to the right and left, a point blank fire was delivered from his two field pieces and three of the insurgents were killed and one wounded. At this their advance was checked and the rioters retreated in disorder.¹⁴

While the attempt on the Arsenal was thus easily repulsed General Shepard was disturbed by the strength of the various insurgent bands that had gathered in the neighboring countryside and were quartered in adjoining farmhouses. Shays force after this setback now withdrew and proceeded up the East side of the Connecticut River pursued from about two o'clock in the morning until Amherst was reached. Shays, however, continued with his main body to Pelham, where temporarily he made his headquarters.

General Lincoln's force, which included Colonel Wade's Essex Regiment and three other regiments of foot and four pieces of artillery had arrived at Springfield, Saturday afternoon, January 27th, and Colonel Wade's Regiment hardly had taken quarters when they were ordered to fall in and march to West Springfield where a band of insurgents commanded by one Luke Day were grouped. It had been the insurgents' plan that this force should act with Shays' troops in Springfield, but in some way there was a failure

¹⁴ From General Shepard's Report to Governor Bowdoin describing the Attack on the Arsenal at Springfield, January 26, 1787, *Massachusetts Archives*, Vol. 190, pp. 317, 318, reprinted in *American Historical Review*, Vol. II, (1896-97) pp. 694, 695. Contains also reports to Governor Bowdoin from General Lincoln.

to unite. General Lincoln's command crossed the Connecticut River on the ice to attack Day's force. As soon as his advance guard with a small party of Light Horse came to the River the insurgent picket guard on the far side, as Doctor Whitney, Surgeon of Colonel Wade's Regiment related:¹⁵

Ran like foxes, leaving their guns behind. Some of them arrived at the Meeting House, where the main body paraded with all speed, and betook themselves to the brush with confusion. Our Light Horse followed them, picking up of them about forty or fifty, which were brought to Headquarters, and upon taking the Oath, were discharged. A number of sleighs with provisions were taken at the same time. Day's party reached Northampton, that night about 12 o'clock, much fatigued The next day they left Northampton, and joined Shays' party at Pelham (the modern Prescott).

Doctor Whitney further related that:

General Lincoln marched Monday morning, and arrived at Old Hadley in the evening. Here we remained till Saturday evening, in which time Shays sent in several flags desiring to discuss a general pardon. If granted, they would resign up their arms, and become good and peaceable subjects to government. General Lincoln returned Printed Letter (which you must have seen a copy of on the Boston Papers), if they would deliver up the leaders he would recommend them to the Court for mercy; which did not please them.

General Lincoln now finding the enemy out of his immediate reach and with adequate cover for his troops at Old Hadley remained here until Saturday evening February 3rd. On this march to Hadley, Colonel Wade's Regiment, which had the left of the line, supplied the rear guard. During the wait here there was drill and court martials dealing with prisoners, principally those confined for plundering the inhabitants on the march. Provisions also were issued in view of a forward movement at short notice.

¹⁵ Dr. E. Whitney to the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, *Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL.D.* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1888), Vol. I, p. 197.

Bad weather conditions also affected this stay at Hadley, and in the meantime various parleys were held with the rebels who under flags of truce asked what terms they might expect. Communication was maintained with the Governor at Boston, where the political aspect of the situation was considered carefully. A company of Light Horse and a band of volunteers from Brookfield at this time were active in running down the insurgents and making a number of arrests. Their efficiency was such as to secure commendation from the commanding General.

Colonel Wade, during this wait at Hadley, was active in enforcing discipline and keeping his regiment ready for any emergency that might develop, and especially for a future advance. His Regimental Orders of January 31, (Wednesday) direct the commanding officers of companies to see that their men do not stroll from their quarters that they may be ready to turn out whenever called for. Further the men were ordered on that day to draw the charges from their guns in cases where they were loaded, if this were possible, and to clean their pieces so that they would be ready for immediate service. There was an express prohibition against firing any piece without orders.

During this time General Lincoln, who as early as January 30th, had sent a letter to Shays at Pelham, whither he had withdrawn, was in correspondence with that leader exchanging various communications with him, while his mounted troops were able to run down and capture various bands of the insurgents. In particular from Pelham, Shays had sent flags of truce suggesting negotiations and asking a general pardon for all his men. These parleys continued until Saturday morning, February 3rd, when Shays with about 1500 of his adherents left Pelham and marched to Petersham, a distance of about 30 miles.

General Lincoln about noon on February 3rd received news that Shays' army was moving from Pelham, but he thought it was merely a shift of position, nevertheless to be ready for any emergency he ordered his troops to provide themselves with cooked provisions for three days and be ready to march at an instants orders. Then at 6 P.M. he received definite confirmation of Shays' withdrawal from Pelham, and by eight o'clock that night his force, including

Colonel Wade's Regiment was on its way to take up the pursuit.

General Lincoln already had decided that the time had come for active effort, and accordingly in the early evening began the important march against the Insurrectionists that definitely settled the rebellion. It was his intention to march his troops to Petersham and there intercept the enemy so as to prevent any further concentration of the rebels, and to forestall any forward movement in force on their part. It was a night of intense cold and the march was executed through a region bleak and with high wind-swept hills, so sparsely settled as to afford little if any shelter.

Nevertheless the march was duly effected without incident and by two o'clock the next morning after passing through Shutesbury, New Salem was reached, when a severe snowstorm with a violent north wind added to the discomfort of the low temperature. It was essential to keep the column in motion notwithstanding intense suffering from the cold, and the troops advanced towards Petersham where the Insurgents had found comfortable billets, fancying they were safe from cold and storm, and that Lincoln's troops were thirty miles away at Hadley. The advance guard of the State Troops under Colonel Haskell, followed immediately by a company of artillery with two pieces, now reached Petersham, with the main force not more than five miles behind and coming up by nine o'clock.

The surprise was complete as the Rebels had no idea that the militia was in their vicinity to oppose them until they espied them at the top of a hill waiting for them. The snow was reported eighteen inches in depth and covered with an icy crust. The insurrectionists hurriedly aroused, advanced against the State troops who were ordered to fire on them, but the muskets for the most part were discharged into the crust. It was quite evident that the militia had a feeling of sympathy for the Rebels and the men in the ranks as well as the officers were unwilling to shed blood over what many considered more or less a political question. No one was injured in the exchange of shots, and the Rebels soon retreated in haste and confusion with hardly time to take up their weapons and provisions. Between one hun-

dred and fifty and two hundred were captured along with a considerable part of their baggage. The remainder fled along the Athol Road with Government forces in pursuit. Those captured were released after they had taken the Oath of Allegiance while those not apprehended scattered in various directions, many not stopping until they were beyond the borders of Massachusetts and taking refuge in adjoining States, where their presence was a source of embarrassment and soon led to exchanges between the respective authorities.

Colonel Nathaniel Wade later said¹⁶ that this thirty mile march from Hadley to Petersham, in the face of a severe snowstorm, exceeded in severity anything he had endured in his service during the Revolution. In this connection he was quoted subsequently as follows:—

On arriving at Petersham we suddenly came in sight of the rebels, collected in several masses upon the hill in front of us. We had come upon them by surprise, and were very soon so near as to command their position by our field pieces. When this state of things became apparent to the officer who commanded the artillery he became anxious to bring his guns in play. The officer was a Colonel, brave and excellent soldier of Revolutionary proof, but of singular personal appearance, being very short and so fat as to render his seat in the saddle somewhat infirm. He bore the temptation for some time measuring the distance with his eye; but at last he could stand it no longer. Putting spurs to his horse he rode rapidly to the head of the column where I was at the moment talking with the General. Checking his horse with a jerk which nearly cost him his seat, he made a hasty salute, and burst out with full force of his deep voice: "For God's sake Gen. Lincoln, let me unlimber and give um one pouze." "Don't be in haste," said the General: "The Sheriff must read the Riot Act first; if they do not disperse at that I pledge you my word that you shall have a shot at them.

The successful outcome of this night march was expressed in the General Orders of February 4, 1787, issued at Petersham.

¹⁶ *Ipswich, Mass. Antiquarian Papers*, May 1881, Vol. II, No. III.

The Gen'l congratulates the Troops upon the success of the Day, that so large a number of the Insurgents have fallen into our hands; & that those who have not been arrested have been oblig'd to fly.

This has been affected after a long and distressing march of thirty miles without a halt but for a few moments. It is impossible for him to describe the anxiety he felt during most of the time for the safety of the Troops, endangered by the inclemency of the weather, & for the fatigue they unavoidably suffer'd in a March thro' a deep Snow in a violent storm in a Country where cover cou'd not be obtain'd. The patience & alacrity discover'd on this occasion cannot be exceeded in point of merit, but by the noble & virtuous Principles which stimulated them to Action. The Generals most cordial thanks are due to the Troops, which He begs them to accept.¹⁷

Colonel Wade, who was one of the Field Officers of the Day on this day also supplied the Main Guard from his Regiment.

While the various negotiations at the front were taking place between General Lincoln and the insurgents the General Court of Massachusetts met at Boston on February 3. Governor Bowdoin duly reported on the efforts of the Government and summarized the recent activities of the various malcontents, along with the views they had formally and otherwise expressed. He described the measures taken to oppose them and to restore law and order, and again he called for vigorous action to stop the violence of the rebellion which he stated was unprovoked and expressed the opinion that lack of firmness might lead to civil war.

He urged an appropriation to reimburse the Boston merchants who had advanced funds to provide for bringing out and providing for the militia, and for any further campaigns that might be required.

On February 4, Samuel Adams, who once might have been considered a mouthpiece of radical thought, introduced a resolution "declaring a rebellion to exist and promising to support him (Governor Bowdoin) in all his measures to restore the supremacy of the law." This was passed the following day, unanimously by the Senate and concurred in by the lower House.

¹⁷ From Colonel Wade's Orderly Book.

General Lincoln's offer of clemency to those rioters serving in the ranks of the insurgents was approved and the Governor empowered in the name of the General Court to promise a pardon under certain conditions of disqualification to privates and non-commissioned officers if they should lay down their arms and subscribe to an oath of allegiance within a specified time.

The conduct of General Shepard and the militia was approved as well as that of the Governor who was urged to continue measures to extirpate the spirit of rebellion which was duly declared to exist.

As was announced later in General Orders:¹⁸

The Legislative Body have noted that the Order & Zeal of Gen'l Lincoln & the troops under his command in performing a March of thirty miles with only a momentary halt in the most inclement weather, and their perseverance after such extraordinary hardships in proceeding immediately to Action—and repelling the Rebels from their advantageous Post merit the highest approbation of the General Court, who request your Excellency to make this communication to the General.

It should be realized on behalf of the Militia, participating in Shays' Rebellion, that their commanding officers for the most part were veterans of the Revolution to whom war and carnage were indeed familiar. While possibly an attack in force on the insurgents in the early days of the rebellion might have produced definite results, they hesitated to incur any serious loss of life by mass infantry fire or discharge of artillery. In fact such officers as General Lincoln, General Brooks, General Cobb, General Artemas Ward, and General Shepard, not to mention the field officers of the militia regiments, exhibited policies and control of measures and men that were far beyond criticism on the score of humanity, yet were positive and in keeping with the needs of the situation.

Their actions were in marked contrast to the elected members of the Legislature, where those of the House of Representatives showed a tendency to temporize and an inability to recognize the seriousness of the development.

¹⁸ Colonel Wade's Orderly Book, Pittsfield, 12th Feb'y 1787.

However, at times the militia, especially when called upon by the sheriff to enforce legal measures, had refused to turn out and showed little desire to oppose the insurgents. In fact when ordered to fire they failed to aim directly at those groups active in insurrection.

This contact of the Government troops with the insurgents at Petersham virtually brought to an end the organized and active manifestation of the insurrection, though there were occasional outbreaks and threats of partisans in the Western counties of Massachusetts.

General Lincoln and his troops were at Amherst on February 7th, and the following day resumed their march, reaching Chesterfield on February 9th, and Partridgefield on February 10th, on which day Colonel Wade was officer of the day. On February 11th the troops arrived at Pittsfield where they remained for a while with Colonel Wade's Regiment on detached duty on February 20th. Various militia units were dismissed as their terms of enlistment had expired, and there seemed no further need of their services.

As the campaign in the field was ending it is of interest to record:

Morning Orders for the 22 Feb'y 1787

With this day expires the time for which the troops now in the Field engaged to serve. That the Great Objects for which they were embodied are so near accomplished. The Gen'l is persuaded it must be highly pleasing to all, & congratulates the troops on the important events; that it has so speedily taken place may be justly ascribed, under the Supreme Director of all events, to the great caution & military zeal exhibited on every occasion, by the Officers & Soldiers of the Line, & by the system & unremitted attention in the Staff Departments without which every operation must have been delayed,—In justice to the Army and as a gratification of his own feelings he will take the earliest opportunity to lay before the Governor the high sense he entertains of their important services. The troops will immediately draw provisions for the 23rd and 24th,—They will draw at North-Hampton three days provisions more & at Worcester provisions to carry them to their respective homes. The Commissary will make the necessary provision for these supplies. The troops will be march'd thro' the

Country in Regiments & not act so military a part as to straggle on the Road, as this irregularity would operate much to their own injury, to the distress of the Inhabitants, & to the dishonor of the Army. Every person who continues with his Reg'y and subjects himself to the order of his officers will receive his pay untill he arrives at home. The Gen'l wishes the troops an agreeable march a happy sight of their families & friends & that hereafter they may be free from internal broils & foreign invasions.

Accordingly the duty of Colonel Wade's Regiment was nearing its end and the Regimental Orders of February 23, 1787, contemplated an early return. They read:

"The Gen'l to beat tomorrow morning at 4 O'clock. The troops to be on the parade ready to march precisely at five, they will march from the Right, one Sergt—corp—& 12 Privates for the Rear-guard—Capt Whitherly with the Artillery will march in the Centre. The baggage in rear of the Regiment."

Presumably the returning march was without incident and the accompanying pay roll indicates that Colonel Wade and most of his field and staff officers were at their homes by March 3rd, having served for one month and twenty-two days.

Thus terminated the connection of Colonel Wade and his Essex Regiment with this Rebellion, though in certain of the Western counties there continued to be sporadic outbreaks and repercussions of earlier disorders. There were incidental trials and convictions of various insurrectionaries, but these resulted soon in their subsequent pardon and the adoption of various measures aimed at ameliorating economic conditions and improving court procedures. Generals Lincoln and Warner continued in the field with small parties of militia, but disturbances were for the most part localized and more attention was paid to politics and normal measures of redressing economic wrongs.

Pay roll of the Field and Staff Officers belonging to the Regiment detached from the County of Essex, Commanded by Col'o Nath'l Wade, in the service of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.¹⁹

¹⁹ From original manuscript in the possession of Mr. Jesse H. Wade, Ipswich, Mass.

Names	Rank	Time		Whole time	
		Entered Service	Times Expired	Month	Days
		1787	1787		
Nath'l Wade	Col'o	Jan'y 10th	March 3rd	1	22
Jonathan Evans	Lt. Col'o	Do 10th	Feb'y 23d	1	13
John Robinson	Maj'r	Do 10th	March 3rd	1	22
Robert Farley	Adjutant	Do 10th	Do 3d	1	22
John How Boardman	Q. Master	Do 12th	Do 3d	1	20
Elipha Whitney	Surgeon	Do 12th	Do 3d	1	20
Thomas Farley	S. Mate	Do 14th	Do 3d	1	18

Dissatisfaction with Governor Bowdoin and certain of his measures continued to provoke discussion, and at the spring election of 1787, he received but 6000 votes as compared with John Hancock's 18,000. Hancock had offered himself as a candidate realizing that the situation had materially calmed down. Also a legislature was chosen more sympathetic to rather obvious reforms. Only a quarter of the former House of Representatives were returned and a number of the former insurgents from the Western counties were included in their representatives. Lack of settled policies and vacillation and temporizing in the previous House had been responsible in part for much of the disorder.

In fact where on account of the expense there had been returned from the Western counties but sixty-eight representatives, now one-hundred and eighteen were elected in a marked show of interest. With increased attention to politics this legislative upturn was considered practically a revolution of government. At the same time the ratification of the new Constitution was vigorously debated. Measures of amnesty for the few revolutionaries awaiting trial were adopted, or these convicted received pardons, so that normal conditions soon were restored. By and large however, the necessity for firm and positive government was realized and serious efforts were made to improve economic conditions and the administration of the law on a more democratic basis along with the development of political parties based on something more than personal popularity.

The disorders in Massachusetts, as already suggested, were taken very seriously in the other States and particularly at the seat of government, and especially by General

Washington with whom Generals Knox and Lincoln regularly had communicated. In fact such manifestations of unrest were considered more important than the underlying causes and were fraught with danger to the Republic. An efficient and orderly government at this time was considered the prime essential, whatever form it might take, and there were many problems to be settled by the federated States.

This general solicitude as to current matters was well expressed in a letter²⁰ from General Knox to General Washington which aptly summarizes the point of view of the conservative Massachusetts citizen who had both served in the Revolutionary Army and had prospered in his business. He thus was associated with others of the well-to-do class who had similar good fortune, and like other descendants from earlier settlers General Knox and his forebears had made good use of their opportunities. With more or less affluence along with the merchant and professional class he had acquired a culture that involved at least an appreciation of political and economic conditions, even if the individuals did not have sympathy with the common man who irrespective of his merits or deficiencies had failed to achieve economic independence, and too often was the gullible mark of the shrewd and unscrupulous demagogue offering political nostrums or revolutionary propaganda. Such men had their misfortunes, as already outlined, which in many cases were most real and quite undeserved. Whether such conditions adequately explain, if they did not excuse, the tendency toward insurrection and violence may be debatable, but to General Knox there was to be no compromise with law and order. Consequently the following extract from his letter of February 22, 1787, to General Washington explains his position as also that of others of like minds:

The storm in Massachusetts is subsiding for the present. But what effects the disenfranchisement of a great number of people will create, it is not easy to say. A numerous body of high-spirited men, conceiving themselves oppressed by the government, composed of their equals, will regard the oppression more, than the causes which gave birth to it. They will be probably plotting perpetually to relieve

²⁰ Sparks, *Writings of Washington*, Vol. IX, pp. 235-6, February 22, 1787.

themselves from burdens which they think intolerable. This will manifest itself variously, and perhaps in some cases in open hostility. Although the insurgents have fled and are dispersed, yet the government considers itself unsafe without a force. Accordingly fifteen hundred men are raised for five months. This force is to be posted by detachments throughout the disaffected counties. Neither discipline nor prudence will restrain the troops to such conduct as to avoid offense. The people will think themselves curbed and tyrannized over. The troops will consider the least symptom of discontent as a step to open hostility. One or the other must be masters. The operation will require force; and hence probably springs a standing army for the support of government. My conjectures may be erroneous, but it is not improbable that something like this will result from the commotions of Massachusetts.

Accordingly when Washington heard of the suppression of the Rebellion before it had developed further and threatened the Government of Massachusetts and its subdivisions he was greatly relieved. He wrote²¹ to General Knox:—

On prospect of the happy termination of the insurrection I sincerely congratulate you; hoping that good may result from the cloud of evils which threatened, not only the hemisphere of Massachusetts but by spreading its baneful influence, the tranquility of the Union. Surely Shays must be either a weak man, the dupe of some characters who are yet behind the curtain, or has been deceived by his followers. Or which may be more likely, he did not conceive that there was energy enough in the Government to bring matters to which they have been pushed. It is to be hoped the General Court of that State concurred in the report of the Committee that a rebellion did actually exist. This would be decisive, and the most likely means of putting the finishing stroke to the business.

Washington in the accompanying letter²² to General Lincoln under date of March 23, 1787, wrote:—

“Permit me also, my dear Sir, to offer you my sincerest congratulations upon your success. The suppression of these tumults and insurrections with so little blood shed is

21 *Writings of Washington*, (Fitzpatrick, Editor) Vol. 29, p. 169. March 25, 1787. To Henry Knox.

22 Ford, *Writings of George Washington*, Vol. VI, p. 127.

an event as happy as it was unexpected: it must have been particularly agreeable to you, placed in so delicate and critical a situation."

The disorders in Massachusetts and the matter of Indian uprisings on the Western Frontier developed considerable discussion in the National Congress as to the advisability and responsibility of raising troops to cope with such outbreaks and the support of such units. Massachusetts in fact did better than the Federal Government in developing and maintaining an armed force in its emergency.

The matter of forming a constitutional government, yet with due regard to the rights of the common man now was a subject of general discussion with different points of view represented. Thus outbreaks of disorder were apt to punctuate these discussions and were considered as bearing seriously on the proper evolution of a government that would be firm and permanent as well as protecting the rights of the individual.

Therefore Alexander Hamilton wrote²³ "if the representatives of the People betray their constituents, there is then no resource left but in the exertion of that original right of self-defence which is paramount to all positive forms of government", and that in single states where the subdivisions had no distinct government to oppose the legal authority "the citizens must rush tumultuously to arms, without concert, without system, without resource; except in their courage and despair".

Such a quotation indicates that the statesmen of the day not only were aware of what was happening as well as what might happen as the new republic developed. They realized that men were disposed to take up arms in defense of what they considered their rights and that it was necessary for the political leaders to regard actual conditions and different points of view in evolving a democratic though firm and permanent form of government with the greatest liberty to the individual as well as protection to his life and property. In many quarters there were "distrust and fear of executive, administrative, and judicial powers", even if exercised by officials elected by popular vote, as well as

²³ *The Federalist*, (Edited by Paul L. Ford, New York, 1898) p. 184.

possible power over their fellows to be shown by men of property and education.

Such questions were now openly agitated, and on the political side it was urged that Shays and his followers and those of similar thinking "had threatened to seize the sovereign power and confiscate the material possessions of the middle class commercial group".²⁴ Along with the very obvious defects of the Confederation there were diverse views of the government to be established, while it was admitted generally that there was need of some specific act or actions.

Accordingly this insurrection in Massachusetts is referred to by Charles Francis Adams²⁵ as "an episode second in importance to none; for I believe it is generally conceded that Shays' Rebellion, so-called, was one of the chief impelling and contributory causes to the framing and adoption of the constitution of 1788. A rude shock, it awakened the whole thirteen States to a realizing sense of the anarchical abyss on the edge of which they were then lingering".

Likewise at the time the political and economic aspect of this uprising in Massachusetts was not lost on various statesmen including Thomas Jefferson, who at Paris duly was informed of its progress and culmination. He was at that time considering a draft of the Constitution as proposed and particularly certain articles to which he would take exception. He did not believe that anarchy was prevalent or existing in America and he considered the Massachusetts outbreaks more or less of a spontaneous movement of free people impotent against economic conditions confronting them.

He wrote:

Can history produce an instance of rebellion so honourably conducted? [He demanded] Its motives were founded in ignorance, not wickedness. God forbid we should ever be 20 years without such a rebellion . . . what country can preserve its liberties if their rulers are not warned from

²⁴ B. C. Rodick, *American Constitutional Custom*, (New York, 1953) p. 84.

²⁵ Proceedings of *American Antiquarian Society*, New Series Vol. XV, (1902-3) p. 114.

time to time that their people preserve the spirit of resistance? Let them take arms. The remedy is to set them right as to facts, pardon, & pacify them. What signify a few lives lost in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots & tyrants. It is its natural manure.²⁶

One very important effect of the disorders in Massachusetts in 1786 and 1787 was the general appreciation of the necessity of a strong central government, which led to the adoption of the Constitution and a Federal Government by the Massachusetts Convention held in January and February, 1788. This was controlled by the Federalist Party.

At this time it should be recalled that there were developing in Massachusetts political divisions which originally hardly could be called parties as they represented factions with rather a personal leadership. One of these was the group headed by Hancock, and another more conservative was the one in which Bowdoin was prominent and became the Federalist Party of the State. The third was the faction of James Warren and Elbridge Gerry which became the Republican or Democratic Party of Massachusetts.

However, the administration of the government of the State continued largely in the hands of men of means and social position, nevertheless, while there was far from unity of political thought there was to be noted a development of more democratic ideas not only as regards government and the operation of the courts, but also a more general appreciation of unwholesome conditions in the economic life of many of the people, much of which could be ameliorated by proper study and suitable effort.

There was a more tolerant attitude between the mercantile and agrarian centres of the State, and more immediate was a decline in the feeling of bitterness towards the erstwhile Rebels which led to amnesty duly conferred on those under arrest and the discontinuance of legal proceedings against those formally indicted, as well as pardons for those under sentence.

While regional or other groups more or less united have swayed political action both in the early days of the United

²⁶ Jefferson to William S. Smith, Nov. 13, 1787. Ford, *Works of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. V, pp. 360-3.

States and since, such activity has been marked by little organized violence. For that reason Shays' Rebellion stands almost unique, though force was used in early New England and of course later in labor disorders, but rather isolated and independent of national crises. Modern liberal historians recalling depression and unemployment of 1921, in the United States and the political efforts made to improve the condition of the less fortunate are apt to stress the fact that from 1780 to 1788, less concern was paid by political leaders to the causes of economic distress and its alleviation than to the suppression of disorders.

Furthermore, attention is called to the fact that most of the contemporary accounts of the Massachusetts insurrection of 1786 and 1787, were written by the more prosperous and stable citizens and authors far from sympathetic with the misfortunes of those of more limited circumstances, irrespective of their lack of responsibility and poor judgment in many cases.

In the opinion of some of the later writers violence not only was excusable, but was the only resort. They dispute the statements frequently made that these insurgents were an irresponsible mob without considering in many individual cases their previous honorable military service and good character, and that their economic troubles were quite beyond the control of themselves or of their duly elected representatives.

In the long run, however, it may be considered that an important result of this insurrection was that it forcibly called attention to certain functions and forms of government which not only were expressed in the Federal Constitution and its Amendments as adopted, but in the future evolution of political thought in the United States. Charles Francis Adams quoting from the *Diary* of his grandfather John Quincy Adams, the statement that the Federal Constitution was "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation", added²⁷ that "Shays' Rebellion was the extorting agency".

²⁷ *Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. XV, p. 114, April, 1902.

PUNISHMENT IN THE OLD NEW ENGLAND ACADEMIES

BY HARRIET WEBSTER MARR

Considering the severe system of flogging in the English schools from which ours are derived, and the Puritan adherence to the oft quoted precept about "sparing the rod and spoiling the child," it is amazing to find the gentle attitude toward punishment taken by many of the trustees and masters of the old New England academies. These early educators, read John Locke, who said in his *Thoughts on Education*, "I cannot think any correction useful to a child where the shame of suffering for having done amiss does not work more upon him, than the pain, . . . the child dissembles obedience while the fear of the Rod hangs over him, but when that is removed . . . he gives the greater scope to his natural inclination Beating them, and all sorts of slavish and corporal punishments are not the discipline to be used in the education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenious men; and therefor very rarely to be applied."

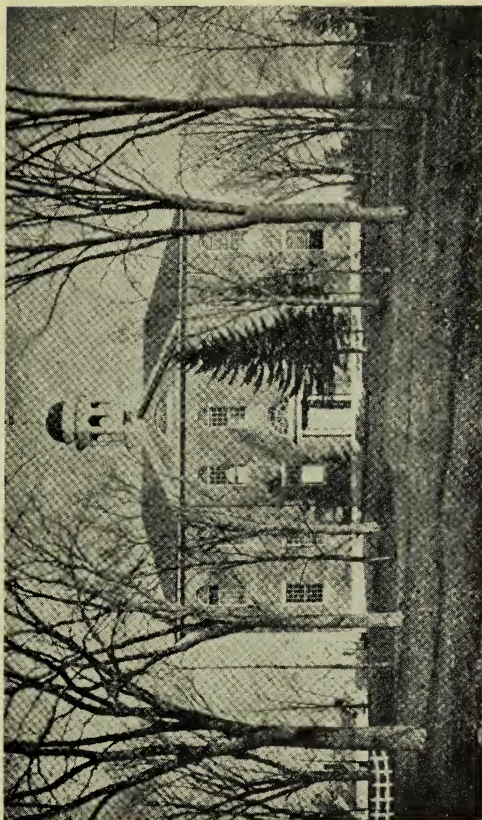
Timothy Dwight, further wrote in *Thoughts from Greenfield Hill*:

"Convince ere you correct, and prove
You punish not from rage, but love;
And teach them with persuasion mild
You hate the fault, but love the child."

Of course there were some masters who used corporal punishment, and used it to excess. There is a story from Groton, now Lawrence Academy, of a boy who was flogged every day. Once the master realized that he had mistaken the offender, and said, "Oh well, it is all right. You have received your flogging. They can't cheat you out of that. You know you are sure to deserve it by tomorrow, and you might just as well take it in advance."¹

And there was John Adams at Andover who had a ferule with a bulb on one end that would give the master a firm grip, and a "salad spoon termination" on the other that

1 Lawrence Academy, Ninetieth Anniversary.



PHILLIPS ACADEMY, ANDOVER

As it appeared in 1830 when John Adams was principal

Courtesy Phillips Academy

would fit into a boy's palm. There was his assistant, Jonathan Clement, who wielded a hickory switch or a cow hide with which he "argued a posteriori."² And at Amherst the master who employed "Unguentum Bacilinum" (stick ointment).

Sometimes these masters had a sense of humor even about a whipping. At Wilbraham Academy a boy was told to prepare for a public whipping the next day. When he was called out for his punishment the master ordered him to take off his coat. He did so, but there was another coat under the first. When that was removed he was told to take off his vest, but another vest appeared under that. The boy explained: "Sir, you told me to prepare for a flogging and I have done so." The master burst into laughter, and the boy escaped his punishment.

Although Adams of Andover used the rod at times, his writings on education deplore the use of corporal punishment. He said that "flogging was a strange work, a catastrophe to be avoided if possible," . . . never to be used in anger, and never publicly. Later he added, "Never threaten, and then you will not commit yourself, nor embarrass yourself. . . . When you do punish, never dismiss the subject, nor let the offender pass out of your hands so long as he exhibits a sullen, revengeful, or pouting temper."³

Earlier than John Adams, Samuel Moody of Dummer Academy boasted that he had taught for thirty years, and never used corporal punishment. He did at times make a pretense of administering it, for example, he brought down a fire shovel with great force *almost* upon a boy's head. "Boys," said he, "did you observe the Brigadier? He never winked. He'll be a general yet!" The boy was the son of Brigadier Preble.

Timothy Dwight of Greenfield Hill Academy, later President of Yale College, declared that corporal punishment was useless except with very little children. At Exeter Academy, W. G. Perry, of the class of 1833, admitted that tradition pointed out a certain room where boys were

² John Coleman, Class of 1823, quoted by C. M. Fuess, *An Old New England School*. Boston, 1917, p. 168.

³ M. E. Brown, *Story of John Adams*, N. Y., 1900, pp. 76, 77, 146, 147.

supposed to be taken to be flogged, but he said nothing of the sort was done in his day, nor had he ever known of anyone who was sure it had happened.⁴ The precept of one early master at Exeter certainly implied an intention to avoid the necessity of punishment: "Obsta Principes" (Resist beginnings).

Rules laid down by trustees are of more permanent value than the beliefs and practices of individual teachers. As early as 1795, corporal punishment was absolutely forbidden by the rules of the trustees at New Salem Academy, Massachusetts. The first meeting of the trustees of Westfield Academy, Massachusetts, in 1799 voted that corporal punishment was to be avoided.⁵ In the sermon preached at the dedication of the academy was this statement: "Strict government will be necessary in the Academy, but this will be maintained not by corporal punishment or necessary [in the margin has been written *pecuniary*] punishments, but by means better adapted to influence ingenuous minds." At a reunion at Westfield in 1844, Peter Star, an early preceptor, claimed that corporal punishment was never inflicted except on the smaller lads, that is, the boys in the preparatory department maintained by many of the academies.

The 1830 catalogue of the Friends' Academy at New Bedford reads, "Punishment should seldom be found necessary, and when it is necessary, never to resort to the degrading practice of inflicting it corporeally." (sic) The trustees of Bristol Academy at Taunton voted in 1840, "Discipline shall be strict and mild as possible, if practicable entirely to exclude corporal punishment."⁶

At Peacham Academy, Vermont, the rules read that the pupils might be punished "at the discretion of the Preceptor, by admonition, reproof and moderate correction; who shall always remember, that it will be better to expel the refractory and incorrigible, than to proceed to violent and excessive measures."⁷

In many academies where corporal punishment was per-

4 Exeter Bulletin, March, 1907, p. 59.

5 Manuscript history of Westfield Academy, by T. Abernethy, at Westfield Athenaeum.

6 Laws of 1840 of Bristol Academy.

7 E. L. Bogart Story of a Vermont Hill Town, Vermont Historical Society, 1948, p. 127. By permission.

mitted it was hedged about by restrictions under the rules of the Trustees. The rules drawn up at Fryeburg Academy, Maine, in 1792 sound decidedly modern: "A transgression may be punished . . . if it should ever be thought necessary, by corporal punishment . . . to be inflicted in the presence of one or more of the Trustees. All crimes by the Preceptor adjudged worth of a greater punishment than admonition, shall be recorded in a book, kept for that purpose, together with the punishment inflicted, which shall not be erased unless ordered by the Trustees upon reformation."⁸ This book has apparently not survived, but the present writer found in the records of the Trustees several entries ordering records of punishment to be erased.

Berwick Academy, Maine, was founded the same year as Fryeburg. Their rules note the "desire of the Trustees to exclude corporal punishment, though a case is possible where it may become necessary . . . no corporal punishment of females."

Blue Hill Academy, Maine, limited corporal punishment to certain types of wrong doing, particularly "profane and indecent language."⁹

In the rules of Middlebury Academy, Vermont, 1806, corporal punishment is implied: "The Preceptor shall have the power to inflict any reasonable punishment at his discretion, always giving a preference to punishments addressed to the honours of the scholars so far as they shall be found efficacious (sic)." The rules at North Yarmouth Academy, Yarmouth, Maine, provided for "reasonable chastisement." At Atkinson Academy, New Hampshire, the Laws of the Preceptor in 1814, stated that the rules are "to be enforced by such penalties as he, the preceptor, may think proper. But cruel and unnecessary punishments shall not be inflicted While the Trustees of the Academy enjoin the foregoing rules and regulations to secure the morals and promote the honour and felicity of the students, they hope that their necessary execution will be seldom. And while they will give their painful acquiescence in the punishment of the disorderly and the vile, they will ever lend an ear to the aggrievances and complaints of even

⁸ Manuscript records at Fryeburg.

⁹ M. E. Chase, *Life of Jonathan Fisher*, N. Y. 1948, p. 104.

the least of the sons and daughters of this Institution."¹⁰

Rules of Dummer Academy, compiled in 1849, were probably copied from those of an earlier date. They stated that corporal punishment "must be known only as a last resort when other means have failed, or for open contumacy and defiance, and then it should generally be inflicted in private, but never under excitement, and a record should be made of the time, the manner, and the offence."

At Middlebury the rules of 1828 allowed "wholesome punishment" whatever that may mean. In the pedantic style of the day an early Leicester Preceptor stated his views: "Aut disce, aut discede; Manet sors tertia, caedi." (Either study or go away; there is a third way—you must be whipped.)¹¹

Many schools had graded lists of punishments, including in varying order and with varying omissions, private admonition, public admonition, degradation, solitary confinement, corporal punishment, suspension and finally expulsion. Since some of the schools do not mention corporal punishment, they might possibly be added to those not using it: Chester, Vermont; Gorham, Maine; Green at Smithfield, Rhode Island; and Montpelier, Vermont.

Wilbraham Academy had an extra step in the series, for there "Private Admonition" was followed by "Public Invitation to Private Admonition." In 1841, at Wilbraham the whole problem of punishments was reduced to a demerit system: 11 demerits, private reproof from the Principal; 21 demerits, publicly invited to the Principal's room for a second reproof, and 5 demerits added; 30 demerits, publicly reproofed before the school; 50 demerits, publicly expelled.

The rule about public admonition at Andover read; "Publicly and solemnly admonished before the Academy and such of the Trustees as can attend the sad solemnity."

Public admonition strangely enough does not appear in any of the rules the present writer has had access to prior to 1812. At Montpelier public admonition was replaced by public confession.

¹⁰ Manuscript rules in records of the Trustees at Atkinson.

¹¹ Alumni address of Alonzo Hill, 1871.

The most detailed story of a public admonition was told at a reunion at Bristol Academy, Taunton.

"The whole school was assembled. The silence was awful. The culprit was ordered to rise. He stood alone. The charge was distinctly stated by the worthy Preceptor, accompanied by a hint that the offence was of such a nature as to require proper and severe admonition. A venerable barrister with much dignity arose, and in a brief speech admonished his caustic rebuke. Another made appropriate remarks. Another, a few words in condemnation of violated rules. The kind and benevolent Mr. Piper closed the occasion with some words of gentle rebuke in which he emphatically taught all present that to err is human, to forgive divine, and then addressing the Throne of Grace in a spirit of unusual tenderness, commended the offender and all his associates to the guidance of heaven. After this ceremony, and after both the Trustees and school were beginning their departure from the hall, the good old man caught his hand, and grasping it as a father, turned to the jolly barrister and said loud enough for him to hear, 'I think it would do as well to give him a piece of plum cake.'"

We wish all public admonitions had ended as happily!

"Degradation" is a vague term, apparently borrowed from the Harvard and Yale rules, where in early days students were classified according to the social standing of their families. Whether in the academies it meant that a student was placed in a lower class or a lower social grade is not clear, except that for a long time there was no organization into classes.

At Belfast, Maine, there was the Rogue's Seat, mentioned by Joseph Williamson in *Belfast Academy, Fifty Years Ago*. He speaks of "conspicuous and condign expulsion to the Rogue's Seat." New Bedford mentions "recording in the Black Book."

Solitary confinement is mentioned in varying terms in a number of schools. At Fryeburg it was called "imprisonment," at New Bedford, "solitary confinement"; at Taunton, "solitary study." At Wilbraham there were in the basement two rooms, one a "penitentiary," which had a "gleam of light," and seat; the other, the "dungeon," which had

no seat, no light, only a slide six by eight inches through which a plate of food (bread and water?) could be pushed! The decorations in the foyer at the academy today show a sad little boy seated in the penitentiary.

Usually these punishments were meted out by the principal, but in some academies suspension or expulsion required action by other teachers, or by the Trustees. At Westfield "degradation" was given by the Master, "with the advice of the Ushers;" suspension or expulsion "by advice of ushers and the Committee of the Trustees." At Chester, Vermont, a report to the Trustees preceded expulsion; the rules of 1849 read: "In case of persevering disobedience or of disorderly conduct calculated to have an injurious effect on the school, the Preceptor may suspend any student, but he shall immediately inform the President and parent or guardian of said individual; no member of the Academy shall be expelled except by the Board of Trustees." At Hopkins Academy, Hadley, Massachusetts, "suspension or expulsion to be inflicted by the Preceptor with the concurrence of the Prudential Committee." At New Bedford the same was true, except that at that Quaker school the committee was called the "Visitors." At Peacham, Vermont, the rule read: "If . . . found guilty of . . . any . . . violation of the laws of this state, whereby he exposes himself to corporal punishment, or imprisonment, shall be expelled as unworthy of the honors of the Academy."¹² Hebron, Maine, had no formal series of punishments, but their rules of 1805 or 1811 stated, "Standing committee with the Preceptor shall have the power, and it shall be their duty when they find a student and the good of the Institution to require it to suspend or expel such student in any way and manner necessary to promote the interest of the Institution and the reformation of the offender." At Wilbraham "Any three of the Trustees shall have power on application of the teachers to expel any student for improper conduct."

The trustees, or a committee from the Board had to concur in cases of expulsion in Westfield, Mass.; Chester, Vermont; Hopkins at Hadley, Massachusetts; the Friends'

¹² E. L. Bogart, *Story of a Hill Town, Vermont Historical Society*, 1948, p. 118.

School at New Bedford, Massachusetts; Hebron, Maine, and Wilbraham, Massachusetts.

Public expulsion was often a dramatic event, like the case at Exeter described by Cunningham in his *Familiar Sketches of Exeter*. The rules provided that when a pupil was expelled, "his name should be stricken from the rolls," and the *Sketches* tells, "as he [the Preceptor] read the sentence he drew his pen across the name of the offender."¹³

Several of the academies had long lists of fines evaluating the relative seriousness of school offences. The longest lists come from Fryeburg in 1792, and Deerfield, 1795. The Fryeburg fines are named in shillings and pence, and the Deerfield in dollars and cents. The Fryeburg list included the following:

Profane cursing and swearing, one shilling.

Playing cards, one shilling for each offence.

Striking or abusing a fellow student, fine not exceeding two shillings.

The Deerfield was very long:

Playing ball near the school, 6 cents.

Playing cards, backgammon or checkers, one dollar.

Walking or visiting Saturday night or Sunday, one dollar.

Out of room during study, six cents.

Absent from morning prayers, four cents.

Tardy to morning prayers, two cents.

Blot on a book, 6 cents.

Drop of tallow, six cents.

Torn leaf, six cents.

Mark or scratch, two cents.

Chesterfield, New Hampshire, twenty five cents a day for each day of absence.

Some other schools had fines for a few offences, but not a long list.

Wilbraham rules of 1818, ended with the statement "Any student violating any of the preceding rules shall be liable to a fine not less than 25c nor more than one dollar for any one offence, to be assessed at the discretion of the teacher or teachers."

Most of the schools assessed money payment in case of

13 Cunningham. *Familiar Sketches of Exeter*, p. 227.

damage to the building. The Middlebury rules of 1806 required: "All injuries done to the building shall be charged in the quarter bill to the person doing them if such person be known, and if not, they shall be apportioned to the whole school."

Timothy Dwight of the Greenfield Hill Academy, Connecticut, did not approve of fines, as they punished the parents rather than the children. He said it was a mistake to rely on one kind of punishment only. Students should never know what to expect. John Adams at Andover must have agreed with him, for he "used all sort of devises to avoid the stinging birch." He hung labels about the necks of children; he used wooden bits for whisperers, and leather blinders for idlers. One of his punishments was to assign the culprit to sweep the school room. Evidently his pupils long remembered the booming voice that announced at the close of the day, "Jones and Smith, SWEEP!"

Sam Moody at Dummer kept a boy who had told a falsehood in from sports every holiday until he had read the whole of the Book of Proverbs.¹⁴ But Zilpah Grant at Ipswich said "Never make Bible study a punishment."

Greenleaf at Bradford Academy had a sense of humor. He took a boy who had been guilty of some discourtesy into the room where the girls sat, and introduced him as a model gentleman. The boy bowed low, and said, "How do you do young ladies?" The sense of humor held, for Greenleaf laughed. On another occasion he said to a boy, "When you go down the street just call at the blacksmith's." "What for, sir?" asked the boy. "To put a handle on your hat, young man."

In the course of his remarks on punishment Timothy Dwight said he recommended "earnest and affectionate reproof. Public reproof brought too keen a sense of disgrace, . . . but if a youth faced a respected and fatherly adviser in private he found himself only at war with his conscience. . . . Explain clearly and persuasively why behaviour was wrong."

¹⁴ Biographical Sketches of Moody Family, Boston, 1847, p. 122.

¹⁵ Cunningham, Life of T. Dwight, Macmillan, 1942, pp. 148-149. By Permission.

These same theories appear in many of the old schools. At Westfield the Preceptor was urged to "Point out to them the indispensable duty which lies upon them of living soberly, righteously and godly lives." At New Ipswich, the catalogue of 1832 contained this paragraph:

"We endeavor to excite in those who shall be placed under our care, a spirit of diligence, punctuality, and perseverance; a desire of doing right for its own sake, and a strong and abiding sense of the solemn obligation resting on every accountable being to render himself useful to those among whom he shall be called."

The first Preceptor at Kent Academy, Rhode Island, "treated his pupils as ladies and gentlemen."¹⁶ At Green Academy, Smithfield, Rhode Island, James Bushee treated pupils as if on an equality with himself. If a rule was broken he would show the offender the reasons for the rule, and the result that would follow the infraction. Infraction would cause the Principal sorrow, and it was because of the affection for him that the pupils would not willingly do anything to hurt his feelings."¹⁷

If anyone thinks that self-government and friendly relations between teachers and pupils are purely modern ideas, these examples and the following paragraph written by Catherine Beecher, sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe, and principal of the Hartford Female Seminary, may prove enlightening. It was in 1829 that she wrote:

" . . . if teachers can gain their confidence and affection, the decided and dictatorial voice of authority is seldom required. A request is the most effectual command; a kind and affectionate remonstrance the most severe reproof. Teachers can mingle with pupils as companions, and gain a thousand times more respect and influence than could be gained at the most elevated and imposing distance."

It is well to remember, however, that the early academies were not schools for all the children of all the people, but for the ambitious and studious boys and girls. The catalogue of 1830 of the Friends' Academy at New Bedford reads: "School is not the place for the reformation of the

¹⁶ Alumni Address, 1882.

¹⁷ Tolman, Education in Rhode Island, p. 71.

depraved and the dissolute, but for moral and intellectual improvement of the tractable." A speaker at a reunion at Lenox spoke of the "mature students that gave a high and orderly tone to the institution." There were a few "fighting schoolmasters;" there were a few incorrigible pupils, but they were the exception and not the rule. The rule was a serious and earnest desire for an education.



WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN AND ADJOINING REGION

SALEM AND THE ZANZIBAR-EAST AFRICAN
TRADE, 1825-1845

BY PHILIP E. NORTHWAY

(Continued from Vol. XC, p. 273)

V

COMMERCIAL AND CONSULAR RELATIONS: 1837-1845

The arrival of the American consul, Richard P. Waters, marked a turning point in Salem's commercial relations with Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa. Whereas there had not been any means of redress available before, the consul became instrumental in settling claims of Americans against native merchants; while information concerning trade conditions flowed back to Washington and provided the basis for more intelligent policies, on the part of both government and merchants. The treaty, however, had no provisions concerning the methods of settling claims between citizens of the two countries, and this very problem faced Waters soon after he reported for duty.

The controversy between the firms of N. L. Rogers and Brothers and Messrs. Silsbee, Pickman and Company against Armere bin Syed antedated the treaty by two years and became R. P. Waters' principal problem as consul in the fall of 1837. For five years the case had dragged out and finally came to a head when Captain Conant, representing the Rogers firm, kept possession of a watch belonging to Armere as partial settlement of the debts which amounted to \$2250.11 plus interest.¹¹¹ Armere took his case to the Sultan in an attempt to regain the watch, worth about one hundred dollars, and Captain Conant called upon Consul Waters for aid. Said sent a letter to Waters requesting some information from Captain Conant. The latter replied in a note which Waters enclosed with the following consular letter of October 21, 1837:

Your communication of yesterday was duly received. I immediately addressed a note to Capt. Conant informing

¹¹¹ Letter of N. L. Rogers and Bros. to Armere bin Syed, August 22, 1835, in the Peabody Museum, Salem.

him in regard to its contents which he has this morning answered, and a copy of which I shall enclose.

Your Highness will perceive, that Capt. Conant acknowledges having in his possession a watch, which he received from Armere bin Syed, and although it is not worth more than one hundred dollars; yet Capt. Conant feels that it is right for him to retain the watch and place it to the credit of Armere bin Syed.

It appears that Capt. Conant has large demands on Armere bin Syed, which he has authority to collect on account of some of the most respectable merchants in America. Your Highness will likewise notice that Capt. Conant requests me to demand of your Highness authority to take the house and other effects of Armere bin Syed sufficient to discharge the just debts which Capt. Conant holds against him. I do now, most respectfully, request your Highness to take immediate possession, or give me authority to take possession of the house and other property of Armere bin Syed, for and on account of Messrs. Silsbee, Pickman & Company; and N. L. Rogers and Brothers, citizens of the United States of America. The amount of their demands on Armere bin Syed is stated in the copy of Capt. Conant's letter.¹¹²

On October 23rd Waters received another communication from the Sultan (which is probably in the consular records in Washington) and on the 26th he replied as follows:

Your letter of the 23rd inst. was duly received and I hope I understand its contents. I have from my first arrival in Zanzibar experienced great difficulty in obtaining a correct translation of your Highness' communications to me.

Your Highness states that before Armere bin Syed's property can be taken to pay the amount of these debts which we hold against him, we must prove our demands to be just and good. And you name two ways by which this must be done, agreeable to your Highness' laws, viz. "Go before the judge, and let him decide it; or prove it by the man's own handwriting. We wish to prove our demands, by the latter way, *the Man's own signature*. But how is this to be done? The copy of the Treaty which I received from my Government provides no way, by which disputes between citizens of the United States and your subjects are

¹¹² Letter #6 in R. P. Waters' copybook of consular letters, Peabody Museum, Salem.

to be settled. I do not object to any just course, and would wish to comply with any formalities which your Highness' laws make necessary to prove our demands.

I am ready to appear before your Highness at any time, for the purpose of proving these demands and I will not doubt but that, after an investigation by your Highness, of this matter, these debts will be pronounced just and immediate measures taken to secure the amount of them.

Respecting the controversies, which your Highness so much regrets—I can assure you that it is with reluctance that I am obliged to trouble your Highness on any occasion. But while I am entrusted with the interest of my Countrymen who may from time to time visit your dominions, I should betray my trust unless my best endeavors were directed to promote their interest, in every lawful and proper manner.

Let me say, with respect, that the present controversy is caused by one of your Highness subjects, Armere bin Syed, and that if any one is to blame for the trouble which it causes you, it is not for me or my countrymen, but the man who has for years held the property of Americans, and when respectfully requested to settle these demands, adds insult to injury.

Your Highness will oblige me by requesting Capt. Hassan to translate the communications which pass between us. P. S. The watch, Capt. Conant will place in my hands for safe keeping, until the demands are acted on—¹¹³

From these letters it can be seen that the treaty of commerce was quite deficient in respect to establishing methods of claims settlements and further complicated by the difficulties in securing proper translation of the papers passing between the consul and Said. In this particular case the affair was probably embittered by an earlier encounter between Armere and Waters in which the latter had been beaten severely by Armere and three of his slaves: it was the subject of a letter of protest to the Sultan on July 15th.¹¹⁴ Quite likely Waters now had a double reason for wishing to settle accounts against Armere, but as to the final outcome the consular records are needed or sufficient time to go through the papers of the Silsbee and Rogers firms. Undoubtedly it was satisfactorily settled since

¹¹³ Letter #8 in R. P. Waters' Copybook.

¹¹⁴ Letter #4.

Waters makes no further reference to it in any of the available papers, except in connection with a series of letters through November concerned with the matter of translation. Apparently there were very few officials who knew English very well or Americans who understood Arabic; and Captain Hassan, who had been educated in Bombay and Calcutta and spoke English with only a slight trace of an accent, refused to help Waters in the translation.¹¹⁵ Then the latter asked the Sultan to order his secretary to assist in the translation. The Sultan appointed two merchants to the task; and when Waters called upon them, they likewise refused to translate the letters from Rogers and Brothers to Armere. Thus for several months Waters was occupied in getting this case settled, but no ill feelings, except on Armere's part, perhaps, were carried over into later dealings.¹¹⁶

Despite the succession of complaints which Said received from Waters, their relations remained amicable. After the repeated stoning of Waters' house, the Sultan asked him to find another house in some other district, which was finally accomplished in 1842.¹¹⁷ Many times Waters visited the Sultan at the Matony palace or the plantation, "Kisambana", and they both enjoyed discussing religious matters or questions about the United States. The Sultan was very curious about the distant country which had been the first to send a consul, and several times sent gifts to the President and to other Americans who had visited him.¹¹⁸ An instance of the Sultan's cooperative nature arose when a mutiny took place on an American whaler. Captain Norris of the whaler, "London Packet," made out a complaint to Waters on the mutiny of his men, and Waters went to Said to ask for some soldiers to help put these men in prison. Very obligingly the Sultan sent twenty-two men and the affair was easily settled.¹¹⁹ Perhaps the consular records would reveal more events of a similar nature and further elaborate

115 W. S. W. Ruschenberger, "A Voyage Round the World," Philadelphia, Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1838, 28.

116 Letters #9, 10, 12, 13 in Waters' copybook.

117 Letter #5.

118 Letters of Said to Waters, May 16 and May 20, 1845; letter of John G. Waters to Richard P., May 31, 1844.

119 R. P. Waters, "Journal No. 2," Dec. 10, 1837.

on the better relations between Americans and the Sultan.

The course of commercial relations between Zanzibar and the United States was intimately affected by the changing tariff regulations, more particularly by the American alternations. An examination of the impost books for Salem from 1825 to 1837 and then 1845 revealed that, for at least the four or five years following 1833, most of the ships from East Africa paid no duties at all or at times merely a few hundred dollars. Accordingly little information about the cargoes could be gathered from these records. By 1845, however, when ivory, gum-copal, hides, and spices were still the major products imported, the ships entered on the books show large payments of duties, in fact twice the average of the earlier period when this trade was in its infancy. While the Salem merchants faced a fluctuating, but gradually increasing, tariff schedule at home, they could be thankful that the Sultan still maintained the single five per cent import duty. Undoubtedly this wise restraint was partially responsible for the increasing value of Zanzibar's imports and exports.

In a sense the years 1837-1845 witnessed the end of the age of exploratory voyages when American captains roamed the coastline in search of a market and cargo with little knowledge of what was available or how it would sell on the American market. Now the trade began to settle down to a few major staple products, such as cloves, gum-copal, hides, ivory of various sorts, cocoanut oil, and indigo, with minor products at times to fill specialized demands. Indicative of the change is the appearance of formal contracts between American and Arab merchants for the delivery of specified articles on approximate dates. Usually the acceptance of delivery was contingent upon the shipment's being equivalent to certain samples exhibited when the contracts were signed, and in Waters' official and unofficial papers there are numerous examples of flagrant violations or outright attempts to cheat. Such examples gave rise to much ill feeling, suspensions of contracts, and official protests to the Sultan. A typical contract of this period is the following:

It is hereby agreed between Jeram bin Seva on the one part, and Capt. Wm. B. Bates on the other part, that the said Jeram is to sell to Capt. Bates as follows, and to deliver

the articles *at the longest time*, by the expiration of *two months*, and as much sooner as he receives the same, and can have them ready for delivery, viz.; 200 Fraz. (two hundred frazills) Prime Ivory, each tooth weighing fifty lbs, or over, at \$29.00 (twenty-nine dolls) per frazill— Also, as Capt. Bates may want, from 800 to 1200 Frazills Gum Copal, the *cleaned* to be \$3.50 and the *uncleaned* \$3.25 per frazill, and as much of it is to be of the *cleaned* kind as Jeram has on hand, and all of it to correspond with the samples—It is further agreed that this contract is to be fulfilled in preference to any that the said Jeram may make with other vessels which may arrive here—

Witness:

P. S. Parker [interim consul]

Arab signature

(signed) William B. Bates¹²⁰

By this system of contracting for a market and raw materials the Salem merchants were able to eliminate a great deal of expense entailed by a ship's waiting for a cargo at Zanzibar or in chasing around for one. Hereafter warehouses were established, as when Waters converted his old house in 1842.¹²¹ Ships captains gradually were given less authority in the accumulation of a cargo, and more limiting letters of instruction were given to the captains and supercargoes, and for the larger concerns, regular agents were appointed at Zanzibar. Time had become, gradually, a more important element in the merchant's calculations, particularly since competition was becoming more strenuous. Moreover, the necessity of a rapid turnover is mentioned in many of the letters after 1840.

The principal product carried out to Zanzibar by the Salem vessels was cotton goods, which was both inexpensive and of great durability; the second in importance was brass wire. Practically every Salem ship that entered Zanzibar in these years had a cargo containing from three hundred to five hundred bales of cotton piece goods. The balance of the outward cargo was usually composed of the articles common in the earlier years, varying from shoes to crockery

¹²⁰ Contract of April 21, 1840, in the Peabody Museum, Salem.

¹²¹ Entry of July 26, 1842, in "Journal #3" states that he moved into the new house. In the "Notes" the shipping and receiving is done in the "old house".

and looking-glasses. These were the articles which the Arab traders used in their barter with the natives on the mainland; for their own use they ordered a wide variety of household furnishings from chandeliers for the Sultan's palace to ordinary chairs and clocks for the smaller merchants. "Yankee notions" were carried to the heart of Africa by the Salem merchants via Arab traders, and until the Civil War the American merchants held a substantial lead in this market against all foreign competitors.¹²² The profits realized on such goods ranged from one hundred to five hundred per cent. Even at such rates the native merchants were able to flourish; and with their network of trade routes, American cotton goods appeared from Central Africa to Central Asia.¹²³ In fact, as Coupland explained, American cloth ousted much of the British and Indian cloth and practically became a form of currency in the bargaining process; and the native word for cotton cloth was "merikani", as early as 1850.¹²⁴ The extension of the market for American cotton cloth was not, however, an unmixed blessing, since the increased demand led to stiffer competition for the output of the Massachusetts cotton mills and increases in price. Then it became necessary to contract for the future delivery of certain cotton goods, which would require payment at the price current when delivered.¹²⁵

An interesting sidelight on the Sultan's trading activities is given in Waters' "Notes". "Ahamed bin Aman told me today [Nov. 8th] that his Highness had made up his mind to send the *Gazelle* one of his ships to London, to sell her cargo—and then proceed to America, for an Engineer &c. The reason for this arrangement is so as to avoid the high duty in America!!!"¹²⁶ Two days later he wrote: "In the afternoon Ahamed bin Aman came to my house and said he had some news to tell me, viz. That His Highness had given orders to sell what copal they had bought for him

122 R. Coupland, op. cit., 1938, 316-317.

123 Ruschenberger, op. cit., 47; Coupland, op. cit., 379. Both authors cite from Lt. Burnes' "Travels into Bokhara" in regard to the spread of American cotton goods from East Africa to Muscat and Persia and the increasing competition with the British in India.

124 Coupland, op. cit., 379.

125 Letter of John G. to Richard P., July 16, 1844.

126 Waters, "Notes", Nov. 8, 1842.

as he should not send the *Gazelle* to America!!!"¹²⁷ Then on the following day: "At noon Ahemed bin Aman called and said that Sied bin Suniene ? requested him to say to me that he had the selling of Highness copal and if I wished to buy and would call at his house he would show me the samples." Waters concluded his observations in good Yankee manner. "I told Ahamed that I saw through all this business."¹²⁸ And the outcome was described by Waters on Dec. 2nd:

Jeram called in the forenoon and said he wanted to talk with me about buying His Highness copal. We had some talk about it—and then I told Jeram that I would make *him* my agent to buy the copal. But that I was not going to enter into any competition to buy it—and thus run the price up—but that if I could buy it at a fair price I was willing to buy it—and now I would leave it with him to manage the business. Toward evening Jeram called and said he had bot all the copal for me—at the price which it cost.¹²⁹

Another aspect of business with the Sultan appears in several of Waters' letters of early 1844, in which Waters transmitted an order to David Pingree from the Sultan for the outfitting of a ship of 600 tons. The order consisted of rigging, spars, blocks, paints, tar, canvas, several guns, powder, shells, fuses, pig lead, fowling pieces, and some hunting watches.¹³⁰ With such orders the firm had an advantage over most of the others, although they do not appear to have made much profit as in the ordinary trade.

Some of the later developments in this period appear in a series of Waters' letters of 1844-1845. The competition for the available supplies of ivory had pushed the price up from \$25 to \$31 per frazilla, and Waters refused to buy at that price for his firm. In the case of gum-copal, however, he was forced to raise his offer to \$4.18½ per frazilla because "the other concern here is paying \$4.50 per frz. and I shall not be surprised if they raise the price still higher and pay \$5.00 per frz." At the same time the

127 *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1842.

128 *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1842.

129 *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1842.

130 Letters of R. P. Waters to David Pingree, Jan. 29 and Feb. 3, 1844, in Peabody Museum, Salem.

British had entered the Zanzibar market and were offering Salem merchants even more competition. In a letter to his brother John in Salem, Waters complained that the firm had not sent out enough cotton goods, that much of the powder was of poor quality and sold for less, and that narrow cotton goods were difficult to sell. He also complained that the firm's people at home were wasting too much time on politics and inconsequential affairs which detracted from their efficiency. At the same time he wrote that it was useless to send out specie because he could get a better return for the firm's money with cotton goods. As further evidence of changing conditions, he wrote: "I have already written you that the *Cavalier* [a ship of some 300 tons] is too large for this trade confined as we now are to Zanzibar, and that you had better procure another to take her place of about 200 tons and a fast sailer."¹³¹

The competition now was really severe, and the Pingree firm bought a new ship, at a cost of \$12,000, to replace the *Cavalier*.¹³² Shortly afterwards John wrote to his brother at Zanzibar:

Agreeable to your request, we have purchased the Barque "Wm Schroder", and now send her to you with a cargo as per Invoice, which you will dispose of at Zanzibar, or send elsewhere to be disposed of as may be for our interest, always keeping in mind, that it is best to do all you can at Zanzibar under your own eye—Cannot you do something by forelaying the copal before it arrives at your place, by sending the vessel to some of the outports, and take it there—*Copal is our best article and you must get all you can of it and at as low a price as possible.*¹³³

Then in another letter, two days later, July 1st, he wrote:

The Barque *Wm Schroder* Capt Jackson sailed for Zanzibar on the 29 ult two days ago. She is a first rate vessel & sails very fast. We have hurried her away as the Brig *Cecilla*, Wm H. Brown sailed from Boston on the 25 said to be bound direct for Zanzibar to contract for Ivory & Copal & then proceed to Mauritius (as she has provi-

¹³¹ Letter of R. P. Waters to John G., Mar. 19, 1844.

¹³² Letter of John G. to R. P. Waters, July 16, 1844.

¹³³ Letter of John G. to R. P. Waters, June 29, 1844, *Italics mine.*

sions) & then to Latham Island for a cargo of *Gauno*, then to return to Zanzibar for his Ivory & Copal. This Brig is owned by A & C. Cunningham who have *means (if they succeed in this attempt)* to carry on the trade in futer to any extant, & they are men that will pursue a trade as closely & for as little proffit as any Merchant in Boston. You will use your best indeviors [endeavors] not to let them contract if possible.¹³⁴

Two weeks later he wrote as follows from Salem:

I have conversed with Capt. Bertram he says Mr. Webb [his agent at Zanzibar] did not advance the price until others had, & that he had orders to get copal at the market price. We shall of coars have to doo the same & I hope you have secured a good lot. The *Eliza & Stars copal* is nearly all cleaned & gone, most of it has been sold as fast as cleaned at 40 cts. *Chiefly for Export.*¹³⁵

Thus it appears that the two principal Salem firms, Bertram and Pingree, engaged in the Zanzibar trade were being closely pressed in their near monopoly and were cooperating to some extent in their commercial policies. Even more was to come as the following section from John's letter of August 31st shows:

I have wrote you three days ago by the *Emily Wilder*, Capt. Ward who sailed from Boston on Thursday direct for Zanzibar with a large cargo of sheeting, Tobacco, Soap, Flour, Sugar, Muskets, Crates Specie &. Capt. Ward hurried away as the Barque *Moholk*, Ballard, Master sailed from Boston four days before him for Zanzibar, with a cargo as near as we can assertain of 160 Bales Sheeting, 40 Boxes Tobacco & about \$20-000 in Specie. None of us knew of her going untill the day she sailed, we hope you will be able to manage so that they will not be able to load in Zanzibar. She belongs to a House in Boston who have ample means if they succeed this time to carry on the bussiness on a large scale. You are so situated that they will be calling at your house & we hope you will not harbour them, as they will be in the way of geting information. Capt. Bertram hase wrote strongly to his folks to keep clear of

134 Letter of John G. to R. P. Waters, July 1, 1844.

135 Letter of John G. to R. P. Waters, July 16, 1844. Italics of last three words mine.

them, & we trust you will do *what you can honorably* to prevent their contracting in Zanzibar.¹³⁶

When these last few letters were sent, Richard P. Waters was making plans to visit Bombay and from there to proceed home via Europe on the overland route. In fact the above-cited letter reached him in Bombay where he stayed for a while to settle some business and visit several missionary friends. While he was there, he wrote home that in order to take advantage of the world market for copal and other East Indian products, the firm should establish an agent in Bombay where he would have access to the most recent commercial news and "price currents" from London, and would be able to compete more favorably with the other concerns abroad.¹³⁷ This was the situation when Waters finally returned to Salem. He was succeeded as consul by C. Ward of Maine.

The era of leisurely voyages and a loosely organized market was practically over: the days of modern competitive conditions had arrived and were forcing the adaptation to a new set of trading conditions.

VI

THE IMPACT ON SALEM

The effects of twenty years of trade with Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa are difficult to assess apart from the rest of Salem's foreign trade. The losses of old trade routes to Boston and New York greatly outweighed the gains in Africa, Sumatra, and Australia. The custom-house impost records indicate that the trade with South America retained its strong position.¹³⁸ The change is clearly illustrated by the fact that in 1845 only four ships entered from Europe and about the same number from the Orient. The most startling change of the year appears in the 106 arrivals from Canada, principally Nova Scotia, which is, however, no indication of its relative value in Salem's total foreign commerce. In view of these shifts, the nine arrivals

136 Letter of John G. to R. P. Waters, Aug. 31, 1844.

137 Letter of Richard P. to John G. Waters, Nov. 27, 1844.

138 In the Salem Custom-House impost books, there were listed 28 arrivals from South America in 1845.

from Zanzibar assume a greater importance than a similar number would have in the year 1825. When Dr. Ruschenberger visited the island in 1835, he wrote that from September, 1832 to June, 1834 there were 32 American vessels in the harbor, of which 20 were from Salem.¹³⁹ To judge by the entries in the Salem customs records, his statement may be exaggerated, but in those days when the ship's captain was permitted to buy and sell where the markets warranted, it is possible that many proceeded to other ports than those indicated. Only a more detailed investigation could prove or disprove the reliability of the doctor's observation.

The result of this continued relation with Zanzibar, an outpost of the Orient with its large numbers of Arabs and Banians, was to give Salem an exotic atmosphere which few other towns of its size possessed. The arrival of many spices, such as cloves and aloes, besides Mocha coffee, the elephant "teeth", and gum-copal, transplanted a bit of old Zanzibar to the New World. The waterfront, particularly, retained some measure of its Oriental air with the unloading and storage of the fragrant cargoes from Zanzibar. These years of a flourishing trade with the island witnessed the arrival of Arabian horses and their native attendants, the varied handicrafts of an Eastern city, from shawls to wicker baskets.¹⁴⁰ At the same time the ethnographic collections of the East India Marine Society were being enlarged by the gifts of captains returning from this island metropolis. And it is said that the mother of Richard, John, and William C. Waters knew more about Zanzibar's surroundings than she did of the country around Salem. Such statements could be duplicated undoubtedly in the families of other captains and seamen who regularly voyaged to that distant land.

The influence of this trade on conversation in Salem is instanced in a letter of the Rev. Alexander Sessions to Richard P. Waters, while the latter was at Bombay en route home:

139 W. S. W. Ruschenberger, "A Voyage Round the World," Philadelphia, Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1838, 47.

140 The John G. Waters family in Salem still have the wicker baskets in which many of the consul's possessions were shipped home.

I hope it is some evidence—if I may thus freely speak—that you are strict in adhering to the will of God, that some speak evil of you and may you be so strengthened continually that neither foe nor friend may find anything really wrong—One good woman asked me whether it was true that ‘Palmer Waters traded in slaves’—I told her, ‘yes, & he is a cannibal, probably, & that is the reason why he makes money—it costs him so little to live’—or rather, told her to say this to those who said the other thing. Let not this allusion to remarks assume an undue importance to your mind.¹⁴¹

Changing a leopard’s spots would have been easier than to change Waters’ attitude towards slavery; for years he labored to convince his townsmen that slavery was a grave injustice and absolutely contrary to God’s laws. In a similar vein letters such as Waters’ from Zanzibar regarding pagan ceremonies must have animated large numbers in Salem to missionary endeavors, supplemented as these were by the reports of missionaries sent out by the American Board. It has also been frequently remarked, and not without justice, that these wide contacts with the Orient and Near East gave Salemites a peculiar sophistication about world religions that made them particularly susceptible to religious liberalism.

These twenty years of Zanzibar trade saw the steady rise of manufacturing, directly and indirectly fostered by the products imported from that island. A direct example of the trade’s influence was the development of Jonathan Whipple’s gum-copal plant. It had been preceded by a small establishment run by Daniel Hammond, but his processing was scarcely any improvement over the one used in India, of tediously scraping the gum by hand to eliminate impurities. The entrance of Jonathan Whipple into the business in 1834 marked another application of Yankee ingenuity, since he substituted an alkali bath for the laborious task of scraping. After soaking the gum overnight, it was placed upon racks in the open air for drying, then carefully brushed, and sorted.¹⁴² At first Mr. Whipple employed only

141 Letter of the Rev. Alexander Sessions to Richard P. Waters, June 28, 1844.

142 Charles S. Osgood and H. M. Batchelder, “Historical Sketch of Salem,” Salem, Essex Institute, 1879, 166.

four or five men, but on May 31, 1844, John G. Waters wrote to his brother: "Copal sells off faster than Mr. Whipple can clean it with twenty hands employed, it is unaccountable (to all) the quantity that is consumed . . ." ¹⁴³ The business had certainly thrived, along with the Salem merchants; in 1844 a million and a half pounds were being cleaned annually with a value of \$300,000. ¹⁴⁴ For its day, the Whipple factory was an important segment in Salem's industry, since few shops, if any, employed more workers than his.

Although large quantities of ivory were imported year after year, it does not seem to have given rise to any manufacturers of ivory in Salem. The town was merely the warehouse for ivory pending its sale, largely to Connecticut manufacturers. "Mr. West & myself," wrote John G. Waters, "have paid a visit to the comb factories on our return from N York four weeks ago two of them are cutting up 1000 lb a week each at the present time and cannot supply their orders (they are worth seeing I assure you)." ¹⁴⁵ With the other major import, hides, Salem provided the manufacturing service of its tanneries which doubled the value of their output between 1836 and 1844. ¹⁴⁶ Tallow from Madagascar and palm oil from Zanzibar also provided material for the soap and candle factories of Salem.

The export aspects of Salem's trade with Zanzibar presents a character similar to the import trade, with one major item being supplemented by a score of other products designed to supply the luxury demands of the island's merchants. The cotton goods which were the staple article of export were bought from the Lowell mills and found great favor among the native Africans. The mid-forties, however, brought such sharp competition for the Lowell products that the Salem firms were obliged to contract for delivery far into the future, or risk the possibility of losing

¹⁴³ Letter of John G. Waters to Richard P. Waters, May 31, 1844.

¹⁴⁴ Joseph S. Felt, "Annals of Salem," Salem, W. and S. B. Ives, 1849, 169-170.

¹⁴⁵ Letter of John G. Waters to Richard P. Waters, Aug. 15, 1844.

¹⁴⁶ Osgood and Batchelder, *op. cit.*, 229.

business in Zanzibar to their competitors.¹⁴⁷ Thus the price of cotton goods rose steadily, and it was this development, besides the desire for the profits of manufacturing in a time of increasing demand, which undoubtedly led to the building of the Naumkeag Steam Cotton Company in Salem, with many of the Zanzibar merchants on the board of directors. The secondary products exported from Salem were chairs, nails, rope, lumber, paints, tobacco, shoes, candles, crockery, glassware, soap, and many other minor articles. Although this foreign market may not have been decisive in fostering these lesser manufactures, it certainly supplemented the demand from the home market and made their success more likely.

The area of competition in connection with the Zanzibar trade was hardly limited to the textile output of Lowell's cotton mills: it extended to the procuring of ivory and gum-copal in East Africa and the sales of these articles in America. Although the competition among Salem merchants had narrowed down to practically two firms, Pingree and Bertram, the 1840's beheld the rise of outside competitors, from Boston mainly; and in Zanzibar itself, there was increasing pressure from British and French merchants. These dangers to their privileged position, moreover, required various changes in business methods. To secure an adequate supply of gum-copal and to avoid the price competition in Zanzibar, it was suggested to Richard P. Waters that the material be "forelaid" on the mainland.¹⁴⁸ At the same time competition for the gum-copal supply led to a drastic price increase, which fact enabled West African copal, of inferior quality, to enter the Salem market. The method of meeting this threat was suggested in George West, Jr.'s letter of June 28, 1844:

We are somewhat interrupted with copal from the West Coast as it is obtained freely and at low cost, but the quality is very inferior it has on account the high price of Zanzibar found purchasers but we think it will soon lose its reputation and eventually work itself out of use. We may have to

¹⁴⁷ Letter of John G. Waters to Richard P. Waters, July 16, 1844.

¹⁴⁸ Letter of David Pingree to Richard P. Waters, June 27, 1844.

lower the price of Zanzibar to check its operation.¹⁴⁹

The Salem merchants had no mind to lose their very profitable business in gum-copal, nor were they any more tolerant when competitors from Boston ventured into the market in Zanzibar. Richard P. Waters was cautioned to give them as little information as possible and to prevent their contracting in Zanzibar, insofar as "honorable" means permitted. Similar instructions were sent by Captain Bertram to his own agent on the island, thus presenting a united front to the interlopers.¹⁵⁰ To compensate for the increased price of cotton goods the Pingree firm even considered the device of shipping less goods in the hope of raising the price in Zanzibar, but, fearful that their competitors would thereupon ship a larger quantity, the firm discarded this idea.¹⁵¹

Until the Civil War, however, Salem retained its leading position in the Zanzibar market despite difficult problems and serious competition. The war also ended the dominance of American cotton goods in the East Africa area,¹⁵² and brought to a close a colorful era in Salem history.

149 Letter of George West, Jr. to Richard P. Waters, June 28, 1844.

150 Letter of John G. Waters to Richard P. Waters, Aug. 31, 1844.

151 Letter from John G. Waters to Richard P. Waters, July 16, 1844.

152 R. Coupland, "East Africa and Its Invaders," Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938, 380.

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I. MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

1. Journals, notes, and letters of Richard P. Waters. Originally the writer was unaware that any "Waters Papers" were in existence, but a reference in the Bulletin of the Essex Institute led to a search for them. Mr. Jenkins of the Peabody Museum informed me that Mr. John G. Waters, a nephew of Richard P. Waters, was the most likely possessor. Mr. Waters, now eighty-two years of age and hard of hearing, after long reflection on the travels of the papers through the hands of the various members of

the family, successfully established their location. I was amazed to find such a wealth of material from the one person in the key position of the trade and gratified that I could take them to my home for study.

The three journals were written for his mother's information and contain a great many reflections on religion, the sinful state of the world, and the need for missionaries in the "Dark Continent." There are, however, in the midst of these religious accounts some excellent descriptions of the Sultan's character, his plantation, and different activities. The book of notes for 1842-1844, in which his business affairs are well covered, provides a fine account of how business was conducted in Zanzibar. The miscellaneous letters were those which the family had not yet turned over to the museum and were written in 1844, the last year of R. P. Waters' consulship. Study of the Waters letters for 1837-1838 in the Michael Shepard Collection, besides those of 1844, and the journals and notes, gives a realistic idea of the developments in this trade.

This collection included:

Journals, Nos. 1-3

Notes, 1842-1844

Letters to and from: John G. Waters, Geo. West, Jr., David Pingree, Josiah Adams, Rev. Alex. Sessions, Wm. C. Waters, his mother, and his sister, Mrs. Wilson, and others.

2. The Peabody Museum has a large collection of the business papers of various Salem firms, which are well arranged and relatively easy to examine. In addition there is a large collection of ships' logs, the value of which it is difficult to appraise until thoroughly studied. Most of them were found to contain little more than observations required for the navigation of the ship; but occasionally references would be made to the cargo or to trading conditions. Of greatest value to me in connection with the Salem-Zanzibar trade were the accounts of supercargoes, the letters of instructions to the captains, and particularly, the papers of the Waters' family. The most important were the following:

A. Family Business Papers

Shepard papers. A large collection, mostly of business affairs, filed in regular folders within a series of file

boxes. A great collection of invoices, bills of lading, sales accounts, ships lists, contracts, and letters of instructions. This includes some of the Waters' papers and the copybook of consular letters for the first two years principally.

Devereux Papers. A similar collection, but much smaller.

Waters Papers. A small but very useful collection.

West Papers. A collection which includes some of the Pingree and Waters papers.

Brown Papers.

Fabens Papers.

Emmerton, Ropes Papers.

Silsbee, Pickman & Allen Papers.

B. Logs:

The bark *Star*, 1844. A valuable account of the trade which included a short journal kept by Michael W. Shepard, the supercargo on the voyage.

The brig *Virginia*, 1828.

The ship *George*, 1826-1827.

3. The Essex institute has a vast collection of family papers, many of which have never been investigated. Such collections as the Pingree and Ward papers provide an immense source for future study. Unfortunately there seems to be no collection of Captain John Bertram's papers, and this will leave a large gap in any future account of the Zanzibar trade. The papers of the Whipple family are still unavailable to shed light on Salem's copal works. Besides this large collection of family papers, there are a great number of logs and the Salem Customs House records. The latter are a mine of information for the student with time and perseverance, particularly for the period after 1821. In addition to the logs listed below, the writer has looked without factual remuneration into many others.

A. Family Business Papers

David Pingree Papers. One of the largest collections in the Institute. Worth a thorough investigation for the manifold shipping interests of an important firm. Contains far more than just the Zanzibar records which are a minor part. Many of the Pingree papers are also in the Waters and West collections.

Waters Papers. This collection had very few papers connected with Zanzibar and contained most of the papers of Joseph G. Waters, the attorney.

Ward Papers. A very large collection covering generations of the family. The writer attempted to locate some of Captain Andrew Ward's papers but with no success.

B. Logs

The brig *Ann*, 1826-27. Provided some scattered bits of information on early trading conditions at Zanzibar and along the coast.

The brig *Susan*, 1828-1829. A few passages which established an early record of copal export direct from Zanzibar to Salem.

The ship *Perseverance*, 1826.

The brig *Shawmut*, 1829-1830.

The brig *Quill*, 1833-1834.

The brig *Thos. Perkins*, 1833.

The bark *Star*, 1839.

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Ruschenberger, *A Voyage Round the World*, Philadel-

phia, Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1838. A much more detailed account of the mission for the ratification of the treaty between Muscat and the United States in 1835-1837. Many details of the country, people, and customs are given. Ruschenberger was the surgeon, U. S. N., on one of the official ships.

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APPENDIX

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF RICHARD P. WATERS

1. The Journal

Monday March 20, 1837. This morning at 8 o'clock I started in company with Capt. Conant & Mr. Rea, for Matony, the residence of his Highness the Sultan. Capt. Kimball was to have accompanied us, but he was prevented by sickness. We arrived there at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8. Capt. Hassen, his secretary received us at the door, and took us into the audience room—where we were introduced to his Highness *Syed Sied, Sultan of Muscat and his dependencies...* He received me with great apparent good feeling, and invited me to take the seat which he always occupied. We had considerable conversation in regard to the United States and his Highness Dominions. I delivered my credentials from the President of the United States, appointing me Consul for his Highness dominions. I delivered likewise a letter from the President, to his Highness, expressing his thanks, for the service rendered the American Sloop of War *Peacock*, at the time she got on shore near Muscat. I spent an hour in conversation—assuring his Highness that it was the wish of the President to promote the interest of the trade between the two countries. His Highness expressed the same wish. He offered me any assistance which I might wish, and said that he was highly pleased that I had come to Zanzibar to reside. I left the Sultan quite pleased with my first interview. His Highness is a fine looking man about 50 years old. The *Brig Fox* of London arrived today.

Wednesday April 26 Not much rain to-day. At 3 o'clock I received a visit from his *Majesty the Sultan*—I had no notice of his coming until 15 minutes before he entered the house. He was accompanied by his youngest Son, the Prince, who is about 17 years of age—and 25

or 30 of the principle inhabitants. He had also 15 or 20 soldiers attending him. He stopped 10 or 15 minutes, and we merely passed a few compliments. He then left—I being much pleased at his visit. He said again, if I wished for anything, call on him.

Saturday May 13— It is pleasant to me, to begin again, in my own house those closet devotions, which are so refreshing to the soul of the child of God—ever since my leaving home, I have not had a place, where I could retire by myself, free from interruption, and hold secret communion with my blessed Savior—Now, thanks be to God, I have a place where I can retire, with no one to intrude. I am now getting much writing, which had accumulated on my hands, finished—so that I shall have but little to do—until a vessel arrives from home—which will give me plenty of business again.

Received a present of one pot preserved Ginger, one pot preserved pine Apple, and two bottle Sherbert—from his Highness the Sultan, this morning.

Sunday May 21— This has been one of the most profitable Sabbaths, I have enjoyed since leaving my home. I have been free from interruption and have had a delightful season of prayer. As I read of Christ sufferings and death, my hard heart broke, & tears run down my cheeks. In this frame of mind, I went to a throne of grace, and had a sweet season in prayer.

Wednesday May 24. This people remind me of those spoken of in Holy Writ, “They honor me (saith the Lord) with the *lip*—while their *hearts are far from me*”—I often talk with them on the interest of the soul, and they most always reply by saying—“Our book (the Koran) speaks all the same as yours—(the Bible.) and we pray plenty—first in the morning at sun rise—then again at 12 o’clock when the sun is up—then again at sunset.” I tell them, yes, it is true, you pray often with the lip—but your hearts are destitute of the true spirit of prayer I fear. And then I tell them wherein they break the laws of God—that they break his Sabbaths, take his name in vain—commit adultery & fornication, by keeping 3-4 and sometimes six and eight concubines. They will acknowledge this to be true—“but say that it is the fashion to do so here.” Well, I tell them, that very soon they are to stand before the great God, and then they will find that all their excuses will be of no use to them, and that unless they repent and forsake *all* their sins, God will send them to hell, there to remain forever.

They seem to listen with interest, and say, "all I speak is very good." I tell them there are many good people in America who desire to live as God has commanded them—and who desire that every people would do the same—that they must not think that all the people in America are like those Captains and mates and seamen who come here—for generally those who visit this port are not the professed followers of Christ.

The more I become acquainted with foreign lands—I am impressed with the importance, that seamen should be converted to God! Their example has a great influence over the people they visit when absent from home. The Lord grant that the time may soon come—when instead of a *curse*, they may prove a *blessing* to many heathen Souls.

Wednesday August 2— The Brig *Kite* of London arrived today 8 days from the Sea Shell Islands. The supercargo Mr. Lee, is very feeble, having had a fever for four months. I met Mr. Lee in Majunga on my passage out—and became a little acquainted with him.

Yesterday I visited the Sultans plantation, about 6 miles out in the country. His Highness said to me in a conversation I had with him several weeks ago—that he would like to have me visit his plantation with him, sometime. Last Saturday afternoon he sent me a note saying, that he was going out to the plantation on the morrow and would be happy to have me accompany him—that he had given orders for his boat to call for me at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 o'clock in the morning and take me to Matony (where the Palace is) and our horses would be all ready to start precisely at 6 o'clock, so as to enjoy the ride in the cool of the morning. I sent his Highness a note thanking him for his polite invitation, and said "that although I should be very happy to visit the plantation, being desirous of seeing the country, Yet it was against my principles and practice to indulge, either in pleasure or business, on Gods holy Sabbath—and that I would take some other day to ride to his gardens."

In the evening he sent me another message by his secretary—"that he had concluded to stop at the palace tomorrow, and not go into the country—and would like to have me name a day when it would be agreeable to go with him. —I sent word, that I would go on Tuesday, so Yesterday I went. I got to the palace a little after sunrise, and met His Highness at the door. He said that he had been ill all night, and he thought it was occasioned by his eating a hearty supper of fresh fish last evening—and he still felt

too unwell to ride out to the plantation—But that the Prince, Syed Harled would accompany me, and he hoped we should have a good time. He then invited me in to take some breakfast before starting—Had some fine coffee in gold cups. At 7 o'clock we mounted our horses and started for His Highness country seat. Our party consisted of his Highness son, the Prince, a young man 18 years old, two of the Sultans secretaries and several other gentlemen either connected with the Navy or Army. We were preceded by a guard of 16 soldiers, dressed in red coats and white pantaloons. The Prince insisted on my taking the lead, next to the guard. Our horses were first rate arabian. The road was very good, and the appearance of the country most delightful. The birds were singing, which reminded me of the many pleasant rambles I had enjoyed in the company of beloved friends at home. We rode slowly and were one hour and a half in going out. His Highness country seat is a most delightful place. The house is built of stone, one story, and plastered and white washed out side, which gives it a very pleasant appearance. It is situated on a high hill, which overlooks the surrounding country to a great distance. One of the most beautiful sights I ever beheld—was the extended plantation of clove trees.

His Highness has *two hundred thousand* on this plantation. They are set out in rows of a mile or more, in length, and about 20 feet apart. The tree grows to about 20 feet in height—and it is of a most beautiful green. The air, for some distance round, is strongly impregnated with clove. I was reminded of Bishop Hebers "Spicy Breezes," in his beautiful Missionary Hymn—"From Greenland's icy mountains," etc. Their are some Nutmeg trees and Coffee trees, which being the first I had ever seen, were interesting. I saw a great quantity of Cloves spread out in the sun to dry. After they are dried, then they are put into Bags for the market. We started for home about 3 o'clk. and arrived at the palace at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4. I went in and spent $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour with his Highness; thanked him for the pleasure I had derived from my visit—and he seemed gratified to see that I had enjoyed it. He said, he was glad that I was pleased with my ride, and he had that day given orders to his head ostler in the town, to keep a horse ready for my use whenever I wanted one, and likewise to send a man with me, so as to show me the different rides in the country. After $\frac{1}{2}$ an hours conversation I started for home, which is two miles

from the palace, highly pleased with my first trip into the country.

Monday August 14. To-day, (by invitation of Mr. Hunt of London) I dined with him on board his Yacht, the *Sandwich*. He requested me to come in Uniform, in the character of Consul. And so he made a great day of it. He has five vessels in this port at the present time, and he gave orders to have all their colors hoisted in the morning. At one o'clock I went on board. As soon as it was noticed that I was approaching the vessel, with the American flag flying over my boat,—the Yards of the Yacht was immediately maned, with 36 men, all dressed in uniform. When I landed on the deck a salute was fired. The dinner party consisted of Mr. Hunt—his Doctor, & Secretary, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Leigh, Capt. Hassen—Capt Whitecomb of the Brig *Fox*, & the Capt of the *Sandwich*—and my humble self—who for the time was made a very great man. However, I shall come down to my usual dimentions in a little time!! We had a very pleasant time, and at 5 o'clock returned to the shore.

Saturday Aug. 19— Spent a great part of to-day in weighing Gum Copal & Turtle Shell. For the last two months and a half, I have been busily occupied in selling the Brig *Cherokees* cargo, and procuring a homeward cargo for her—I am nearly finished now—and begin to look for another vessel from the United States. As I have no clerk all my business must be attended too by myself. Well, I am willing to work hard for a few Years, and be sepperated from my dear friends, if I can acquire a necessary portion of riches. Not that I mean to make gold my God—but feel that I am in the performance of duty—while engaged in an honest business and acquiring riches—I want money for my own sake, for my dear mothers, sisters & Brothers sake, and to do good with.

Wednesday August 23 His Highness the Sultan lost his youngest child by death on Sunday last. It was a very interesting little boy, two and a half years old. He was sick only 4 days—The ceremonies attending the death of the child, lasted, or was continued, three days—so that to-day was the first oppertunity for me to visit his Highness, and condole with him on the sudden death of his child. I sent him word the day before that I was coming. I found him with his son the Prince in great grief. The conversation was all upon the event which had called me there. I remarked that however much the child was be-

loved by his earthly parents yet, he had gone to his heavenly parent, whose love was infinite—and although this providence looked dark and was distressing to his Highness, yet God had done it in infinite wisdom, and that it was all right. His Highness replied that what I said was true. I remarked, that death, and all our sorrows, were occasioned by sin—which God hated. I said on leaving his Highness that I had called as a friend, to mourn with him, but that God only, could heal his troubled and sorrowful heart—but my desire for him was—that his death may prove a blessing. He thanked me and said that my remarks were true.

I have remembered his Highness in my prayers daily—O that this event might lead him to enquire in regard to the *true* way to eternal life!

Saturday October 21 —There has been a Spanish Brig lying in this port for one week—who came in to purchase large supplies of provisions. It turns out that she is a Slaver. The Capt. who seems to be quite a pleasant man visits my house daily. This evening (as he was going to sail in the morning) he called and bid me good bye. I shook hands with him and said, I cannot wish you a prosperous voyage for you are engaged in a business which I hate from the heart. He smiled and said that they were better off where he carried them. I talked a little with him, and told him, If he come to Zanzibar with a cargo of merchandize to sell I should be happy to see him. As we parted I told him to remember that their is a God above us who knows all we do—and that soon we must meet him. He thanked me for my advice and parted.

Wednesday July 4 [1838] Fired a salute of 26 guns at 12 o'clock, which was returned by the Sultans Ship *Charlam*, and the English Brig *Sandwich*. In the evening sent up some rockets which frightened some of the people out of their wits. They said the stars was falling—and many trembled with fear. I visited the Sultan in the morning.

Friday July 5th [1839] In the afternoon, visited his Highness the Sultan in company with all the missionaries, and Mr. Thorn & Capt. Millet. His Highness treated us with great kindness, invited the Ladies up stairs to see his family. He presented each of the four ladies with a cashmere shawl. They delicately declined taking them but he insisted on it—and so they received them. We then visited the Yacht which the King of England sent out as a present to His Highness, and returned on board the *Waverley* about dark.

Saturday July 6. To-day the brethren have been pursuing their inquiries in regard to the interior of Africa—We have been fortunate in finding a very respectable man who has been five times far into the interior—and whose statement can be relied on. Brother Burgess will communicate what intelligence he may obtain to the Board and we trust it will hasten the time when an exploring mission shall be sent here. In the evening had a short season of prayer on board.

2. The Notes 1842-44

Friday Nov. 4. To-day and the two following days are great days—or holy days—which are called in Arabic Biaram. They are days of feasting and pleasure on which no business or any amount can be done. The Sultan gives a great feast to several thousand persons today.

Saturday Nov. 5th. This morning with Frank and John, I rode to Matony to make a visit to His Highness, which is customary on the occasion of Biaram. The audience room was full of people who had called to make their respects. We were treated to some fine cake coffee & sherbert—and returned at 11 o'clk after quite a pleasant visit. At 12 o'clk. I called on Syed Hallal and Seyed Harlid—and past a pleasant ½ hour.

3. A Letter to the Rev. Alexander Sessions, Crombie Street Church, Salem, Dec. 25, 1844

Today I have witnessed a scene which makes my heart sad and perhaps I cannot better employed this evening than in presenting it to you. I remember many years since reading about Hindo cruelties and that one of their religious rites consisted in placing large hooks in the back of individuals and then elevate them at the end of a long pole and swing them round for a time. But I never supposed at the time I read about such things that I should ever witness them with my own eyes. Nevertheless I have done so this afternoon and now proceed to give you a hasty account of it. A large car, consisting of two wheels and an axeltree resembling a common cart is first bro't out. On the axis was fixed a perpendicular post 10 or 12 feet long. On the top of the post was placed a pole 35 or 40 feet long and so arranged that either end could be pulled down at pleasure. When the shorter end was pulled down, the other end was elevated 25 or 30 feet from the ground (much like the well poles with which they draw water from the wells in the

country towns of New England). Near this end was fastened a small canopy of cloth—and immediately under this were the ropes for suspending the man who was now to perform his vows.

He was a young man of about 20 or 22 years of age. Having walked round the temple (which contains his idol god) several times accompanied by music and a great many devotees, two iron hooks were then thrust through his back and fastened to the ropes attached to the pole. His end of the pole was then elevated 25 or 30 feet and the other end was fastened down. About two feet from the ropes on which he was suspended hung a short piece of rope, to which he could reach his hand, and so preserve his balance. When the man was thus suspended in the air, the music struck up its jargon, the people shouted and seizing hold of the car drew it as fast as they could around the temple which contained their idol God. In this manner, the man suspended by the iron hooks inserted through his back (on each side of the spine just below the shoulder blades) which were fastened to the elevated end of the pole so that his feet were about 25 feet high above the ground, the car was drawn 4 times round the temple. While he was thus being drawn round he threw down now and then some fragments of the articles or offerings previously made to the idol, which he had taken with him in a bag for this purpose. These fragments were eagerly seized by the people coming as they did from so devoted a follower of the idol god. When the man was let down, the people crowded round, applauding him for what he had done and anxious to touch him as they believed him possessed by the God. There were several thousand people present to witness this scene consisting of all the various castes and classes of the natives.

JOURNAL OF REBECCA CHASE KINSMAN
KEPT ON HER VOYAGE TO CHINA IN 1843

Contributed By MRS. FREDERICK C. MUNROE

(Continued from Vol. XC, p. 308)

Since fifth day night we have been sailing South and are nearly in the latitude of 40 South today. We want to go East but the winds are most unprecedentedly disoblising. Our invaluable second mate thinks we must have a *Jonah* on board. We have however the consolation of delightful weather, a clear sky and smooth sea. Nathaniel says he never knew a passage made thus far with so little rough and uncomfortable weather. The sight of the children would do you good, they are so well and so happy. Sissy has grown fatter and has lost nothing of her loveliness. She has still an answer for every occasion. Her great concern is now, that she shall not know when she gets to China, and each night I receive a charge not to forget to tell her the important fact.

First day is distinguished here as elsewhere as a day of rest. The sailors have no work to do, except the necessary care of the ship, and this in fine weather is little or nothing, there often being no change in the sails for days together. They sit about the deck reading and often singing.

First Day 8th mo. 27th

A whole week since my last date; on second or third day, I forget which, we were favored with a fair wind, since which time we have got on very well as to our progress. I felt sorry after I had written what I did the other day about our captain and had it not been that I have a rather small supply of large paper, I think very likely I should have taken another sheet. But since then, he has given several new evidences of his selfish and disoblising disposition, so that I should very likely now have attempted to give you an insight into his character, if I had not done so then, he is constantly saying or doing something to annoy one or other of his passengers and to show that he considers them very much in his way. What I said at first of his

pleasant way of speaking to his men, would not be true now, for he speaks so tyrannically that it makes my heart swell with indignation whenever I hear him. He must either have changed very much, or else he put a strong restraint on his natural propensities when he first came out. I think instead of being loved, he is disliked (if not hated) by all on board. But enough of him. He says he intends, should he live to get home, to go and see father and mother, and you will hardly be able to treat him civilly (which I should wish you to do) if I tell you any more. I have been reading Daniel Wheeler's Journal, how interesting it is and how much the poor man had to encounter in his tempest tossed little bark. We have certainly been remarkably favored (may I gratefully acknowledge the merciful protection vouchsafed) so far having had but one gale of wind, and that of short duration, no thunder and lightning (that we have seen) and for the most part pleasant weather.

I am attempting to teach Rebecca to read. I find her very different from Willie. She is so volatile and finds it so difficult to fix her attention on the book, yet I am not discouraged, and in time hope to succeed. Willie, the darling, how much I think of him, his vacation is now I suppose nearly over. I hope he is a good boy and has not given you much trouble. Do not let him forget his Father and mother who love him so tenderly. Sissy and Natty often speak of him with much affection. Thy soapstone, dearest Mother, has been of great use, and is an inexpressible comfort to us. It is heated regularly twice a day, to warm Natty's bed for his morning nap, and at night we have the comfort of it in *rotation*. The wind has been from the South for some time, which makes the air very cold, but by dressing ourselves and the children very warmly, we manage to keep comfortable. Thy mandarin, dear Mother, is most comfortable. I do not remember to have said anything about the books which Sarah Neal so kindly provided for the children, If I have not before requested it, I will now ask thee, dear sister, to tell her when thee sees her that the little ones have enjoyed these books very much and never get weary of looking at them. . . . Natty is very much enamoured of Mother Goose's melodies and has almost worn

out the copy I took. . . . I think I must ask you to send me a *bound* copy of this *valuable* work with other articles of which I shall send a list.

Fourth day 8th mo. 30th

Yesterday afforded us quite agreeable interruption to the monotony to our everyday life, the speaking a ship. On second day morning we heard the agreeable cry of Sail ho! for the first time for many weeks. When the ship came near enough to exchange signals, we found she was Dutch. All day we were in company, but owing to light baffling winds could not get near enough to speak, and when night came on she was a short distance astern of us. Next morning at breakfast table, Captain S. said he could easily speak her by laying to and letting her come up, and would if he thought there was any chance of getting anything in the way of provisions. He concluded to try at any rate, so after laying to a little while to let her near us a little, the boat was lowered, and the second mate, with four men, a bag of dollars, and a list of *wants* was despatched. Soon after the boat had gone, our neighbor instead of stopping or coming nearer us, was seen sailing away from us as fast as possible, with all sails set. The poor oarsmen after rowing until they were tired, returned empty handed as they went, heaping bad wishes and hard words not a few on the surly and uncivil Hollander. Just as the boat was about being hoisted up in its place, the stranger was seen to take down his ensign, hoist a larger and handsomer one in its place, turn his head toward us and back his sails, intimating an intention to speak. Some said, "It is done only to baffle us, and as soon as the boat is off again, he will make sail and be off." Another, "I would have nothing more to say to him, but make the best of my way along." But the captain said, "I will wait now and see what it all means," so he came along, and we hailed, and sent our boat and good Mr. Colburn again—and the event proved that "Mynheer" was a very gentlemanly, polite man and regretted exceedingly that he could not supply our wants as he had himself been from home *ten months* and from his last port, Lisbon, 74 days, and having no cabin passengers on board, was not

liberally supplied at first with luxuries. He had a dozen fowls of which he insisted on sending us 8 and offered *one* of his *two* pigs which of course was not accepted. A leg of pork, two kegs of *pickled cabbage*, a case of spiced meats, something like bologna sausages, sewed up in *bags of tripe*, and a case bottle of raisins. He would take no pay, but would like very much a barrel of flour, with this we were very happy to be able to furnish him. F. Bush went the second time (when they carried the flour) taking with him a box of cigars with which our friend and the Dutchman was much pleased, and obtained in return a handful of pipes and bag of tobacco. The Captain treated him to a glass of Hollands and he returned quite delighted with his call. The ship was a handsome one, he said, and in most perfect order, a crew of 27 men, cook and cook's mate, steward and his mate, carpenter and his mate, boatswain, etc. The Captain regretted exceedingly that he did not see our boat, being below at breakfast, and when he came on deck and saw her just returning to our ship's side, when he backed his sails, etc., as I have mentioned. You can hardly imagine the pleasure this incident afforded us. The whole affair might have occupied two hours. The children were delighted spectators of the whole, and not the *least* interested at the opening of the *kegs*. Our friend sailed along with us all day and is still in sight. Spring seems to be coming, the days are getting longer and the sun more powerful. The sea is smooth today as a mirror, although a fine breeze is taking us along at from six to seven knots an hour; all agree that we are having uncommonly fine weather and smooth seas for this place and season. I trust I am grateful for the blessing.

First day, 9th mo. 10th

I am astonished every time I take my sheet, to find it so long since the previous date, so swiftly do the days pass away; five days since we passed St. Paul's which happened in the night, and now we hope to reach Anjer in 10 or 12 days. Lest we should be disappointed, we have fixed on 1st day two weeks hence for this event. The children are full of anticipations of half naked Malay men coming off

to the ship in little boats bringing big monkeys and little monkeys, parrots, tortoises, plantains, bananas, yams, sweet potatoes and divers other unknown curiosities and luxuries, and I think the grown people are not at all behind them in joyful anticipations, to be realized at this, our first stopping place. First of all in the list of *luxuries* we place *water* as we have now been on allowance of this article for 18 days, and tho we really feel no actual want of it, as to drinking and cooking, and our cabin allowance is not all used, yet it is unpardonable in our captain and owner to have suffered the ship to leave so poorly supplied with a *cheap* and absolutely essential article. We had less on board when we left Boston, by several hundred gallons, than Nathaniel had on the *Zenobia*, altho we have *seven more persons and a cow*. The cow may be said to have been on allowance the whole passage, as she has never had as much as she ought, and for her sake far more than our own, we shall rejoice in a fresh supply. We all (except the children) wash in salt water, and this is what is seldom or never necessary in an outward bound ship. The mate says he expects we shall surfeit old "Mulley" the first day we get to Anjer, for the sailors are all so fond of her that each will want to contribute to her comfort in some way. There is cause for much gratitude that this scarcity of water has taken place in cool weather. We are out of the way of gales, or there is little reason to fear them. On the last passage, Capt. S. had constant gales, where we have been for the last ten days; in one of these the round house was broken down, the man at the wheel *killed*, the wheel itself broken down, both quarter boats destroyed, and much injury sustained, while we have had only favorable breezes. Neither my husband or the Captain ever passed here before without one or more gales, such a passage as we have had is not often experienced. Surely we have very good reason for gratitude to the Author of all our Mercies, for his protecting care over us. I can truly say I have enjoyed the voyage very much so far, all unpleasant circumstances to the contrary notwithstanding. Of the ocean, I am never weary; and I enjoy very much sitting on the transom in our lower cabin and looking out upon it in its majesty,

when tossed by strong winds into angry billows, and at other times in its beauty, when it sleeps calmly beneath a bright sun, or (as last evening) under the mild beams of a full moon. At these times I am very often reminded of our trip to Nantucket, dear Sister, which I believe was my first experience of a nautical time. Last evening, just after tea, I was called on deck to look at the moon. It was nearly at the full, and as she rose in queenly majesty from the bosom of the ocean, behind a thin veil of fleecy cloud, which while it was illuminated by her beams, did not obscure her loveliness, the effect was indescribably beautiful. I have not yet seen the sun rise, but hope to make the effort to shake off sleep early enough to enjoy this sight as soon as the weather gets a little warmer. The days grow long apace now. We are every day going nearer to summer, at the same time that the sun is coming toward us, so that in the course of a week or ten days we shall again be in warm weather. Nothing like cold, cough, or the slightest affection of the lungs have either of us experienced, notwithstanding the cold and frequent dampness of the weather

One of the little trials we have to endure, is a *dirty steward*. I think I should not ask Capt. S. to procure provisions, or a steward to take care of them for me, as he spoke so very highly of this man, said he was "a perfect prince in his line", however, he is very good natured and obliging, and that is one comfort. He says he was brought up in the family of Jacob S. Wall of Philadelphia, he does not do credit to his Quaker education in point of neatness certainly. The cook fortunately is very neat, and he does the principal part of the cooking for the cabin after all. The children like very much to pay him a visit in his galley and warm themselves at his fire and his little apartment is always in nice order and he is very kind to them. The sailors are all fond of them, but Natty is so shy, it is not often they can persuade him to come very near them, but Sissy is always ready. There is now about 11 hours difference between yours and ours. We are that much in advance of you, so that when it is 8 o'clock in the morning with us, with you it is about 9 o'clock the previous evening. We have an advantage over you in this respect, as you are

stationary and we always know where to find you, while we are constantly changing our position.

Give my love to Cousin Esther whom I was very sorry not to have seen before I came away; please tell her so. We find our fellow passenger, Horace Story, a very agreeable addition to our little society. He is very intelligent and well informed, and at the same time modest and retiring. He has an abundant supply of excellent and well selected books, in various departments of literature, which we enjoy highly, and please tell Susan Marston our fears in one respect were entirely unfounded, as he is not in the least that sort of person. She will recollect the conversation we had before we came away. Our stock of gingerbread has held out extremely well. Thine, dear mother, which Mary Caldwell made, proved excellent. That being on the top of the box was eaten first, then Sister Mary's which was likewise very nice, and before that was quite exhausted, H. Story offered for the use of the children the contents of his cake box, consisting of gingerbread and some tiny crackers which pleased Natty much. This offer was thankfully accepted and it has lasted up to this time. Had we had plenty of eggs, I might have made it often, but we had rather a small supply, and of these a great many were lost by not being properly packed, the lime consumed them. I have showed the steward how to make molasses gingerbread, which is really very nice and he keeps us constantly supplied. I shall leave my journal now for the present and prepare a letter, to leave at Anjer as this will be too weighty to send except by ship. I shall despatch it as soon as possible after reaching China. Have I told you how much Natty resembles Willie? His father sees the resemblance constantly and it gives him infinite pleasure, as it does me, when I perceive it, which I can do sometimes . . . We suppose he returned to Roxbury about a week ago, the dear boy. The name of the Dutch ship we spoke the other day was the *Susanna Christina*, I forgot to mention it before, is it not a pretty name? We were in company for several days, she outsailed us in light winds, and we her in strong breezes, so we were sometimes ahead and sometimes astern of her. Finally, getting a strong wind we left her behind, and she did not again come up with us. On fifth day last,

a ship was seen astern of us, about 3 o'clock in the morning. When daylight came, she was so near that with a glass her rigging, etc., could be minutely examined, and from some peculiarity in her manner of carrying sail she was pronounced the *Oscar*, Wm. Wetmore's ship, which was to leave New York a few days after we sailed. Two of our sailors were in the *Oscar* the last voyage; they both thought it her, and our captain felt very sure of it, but as the wind was blowing fresh, and a high sea running, it was thought best not to attempt to speak to her. We may meet her at Anjer. We were in sight of her two days, but on the second night lost sight of her. It would be a singular coincidence, would it not, should it prove to have been her. She has on board two or three clerks, I believe, going out to Wm. Wetmore's house. Our chief mate, R. Canfield, a fine young man, has been quite sick for a few days past. He had a bilious attack, which ended in fever and ague, to which he is subject. He is not able to go on deck but came to the table looking miserable enough. He has been exceedingly kind both to us and to the children, devising amusements for us all, and contributing all in his power to our comfort and enjoyment.

First day 9th mo. 17th.

It is well we fixed on a tolerably distant day for our arrival at Anjer, for we had calms and light winds for two or three days the past week which have impeded our progress. Yesterday, however, we got a fine breeze in the forenoon which took us along at the rate of 9 and 10 knots an hour, and today we have taken the S. W. Tradewinds and are sailing steadily along at 9 miles an hour. The weather is perfectly delightful. I can not tell you how high the Mercury stands, as the ship is not provided with a thermometer, and my husband's unfortunately got broken in the gale (we've had only one) which we had some time ago, but it is just right for comfort. It is delightful sitting upon the rail today and looking at the sea. The strong breeze has raised it into pretty large waves which roll gracefully along and break, the spray flying in all directions from their summits, and the white foam produced by the swift motion of the keel through the water, surrounding the ship

to a considerable distance. We have taken leave of the last of our little friends, the pigeons, today, poor fellow, he seemed lonely and out of place, and we advised him to return to a cooler and more congenial atmosphere with all convenient despatch. R. Canfield, our chief mate, has quite recovered, he has been preparing a little surprise for me, but unfortunately it *leaked out* (rather inelegant expression) a little too soon. He has been having a little sailor's suit made for Natty and intended that I should know nothing about it till I saw him dressed cap a' pie. I happened to see, unfortunately, a small pair of pantaloons in one of the men's hands this forenoon as I was walking on deck, and suspected the whole but said nothing, and now while writing this sentence I was called to see my "little sailor boy" and I wish you could have seen the funny little object. The shirt was white, the collar turned over with blue nankeen wrought with white stars and stripes, like those worn in the Navy, pantaloons of blue nankeen, tight around the hips, without suspenders, a leather belt with sheath containing a wooden *knife*, black ribbon with long ends or streamers around his hat, and altogether he looked exceedingly funny. I believe some 6 or 8 were engaged in the production of these articles, and more than that number assisted in the trying on. Baker (my hero of romance) made the shirt. The men were perfectly delighted with him, and stood in a body on the forecastle to welcome him; he behaved very well, though their shouts of laughter rather dismayed him. The captain too, to do him justice, seemed pleased to see the men so much delighted. As I have said so many things to his disadvantage, perhaps it is no more than right to mention one little circumstance which pleased me.

Last evening, the mate wanted one of the men to go out to the end of the boom to fix a rope. Petty (the man who was punished) instantly volunteered to go. When the captain, seeing what was going on, called to the mate, telling him not to send a man out there as it was too great a risk. This showed a greater regard for their safety than I supposed he felt, and gratified me accordingly. We were sailing very fast at the time, and had the man fallen overboard it would have been impossible to recover him. Our car-

penter, of whom I think I have previously spoken, is a very intelligent man; he is a Dane, and although he can not speak English very well, he can read it quite understandingly. Horace Story has lent him Frederika Bremer's stories which, to use his expression "he has been devouring", and more lately Irving's Conquest of Granada. He always assists the Captain in taking his *lunars* and today Nathaniel lent him his sextant (which is a very superior instrument that he imported from London) and his delight was great. He had never before used so fine an instrument. Evening—I was interrupted by a call to tea and have now sat down for a moment before dark, to fill the remainder of my page. How I wish I could see you all, my dearest friends, at this moment, or at least know that you are all well and happy. I suppose you are yet sleeping quietly, it is about 6 o'clock in the morning with you, and I recollect we used to indulge a little longer than usual on first day mornings. I should like much to accompany you to meeting today.

Ship *Probus* in the China Sea,

5th day 9th mo. 27th 1843.

My beloved parents, brothers & sisters:

I left a letter at Anjer to be forwarded, which with one from my husband to his mother, I hope will arrive in safety. In that I promised to give some account of our arrival at Anjer, but I have allowed so long a time to pass, without making the attempt, a whole week, that I fear my first impressions have lost much of their vividness. On fifth day, just a week since, we first got sight of the land of Java Head, the first we had seen since leaving Boston and you can hardly imagine the delight it gave us. A fine breeze carried us swiftly forward all the afternoon, and the scene before us grew each moment more interesting. The lofty mountains of Java, summit after summit rose or rather burst upon the view, as the noble ship rounded point after point in her rapid course, and we were unwilling to leave the deck until the shades of evening partially obscured the beautiful prospect. About seven o'clock the breeze which we had so gladly welcomed increased to almost a gale, so that the top sails were reefed, the foresail and mainsail drawn up, and as it would have been unsafe to proceed up the narrow

channel at night the ship was steered back and forth to keep her in nearly the same position, till about three o'clock in the morning, when the wind had abated to a very light breeze (the blow of the previous evening was probably the equinoctial one) and we again set sail. I was on deck at about four o'clock, as I wished to see the sunrise, and I told my husband that at that moment I felt repaid for all the privations of the voyage. I *do think* I can appreciate beautiful scenery, though I can not give an idea by description to others. As the King of Day rose in majesty from behind the lofty hills of Java, those of Sumatra were in full view on the opposite side and I recollected how often I had answered the question at school, "What strait separates Sumatra from Java" with very little idea that I should ever find myself in these same straits of Sunda. The breeze being very light, it was nearly ten o'clock before we anchored in Anjer roads. For two hours before this, boats were seen approaching the ship, paddled by Malays, and our decks were soon pretty well filled with them. Their canoes vary in size, and in the value of their contents, according (I suppose) to the wealth of their owners. Fowls, pineapples, bananas, coconuts, tamarins, sweet potatoes, yams, pumpkins, eggs, turtles, monkeys, parrots and birds of various kinds are among their articles of merchandise. The men are all of small stature, a few of them taller than John, and at first sight very disagreeable looking, as they file the enamel from their teeth and chew butternut, which stains them black, and their lips an unnatural red. They say "dogs and monkeys have white teeth and men ought to have black ones". But as we became accustomed to them we ceased to notice this and found their countenances generally expressive of innocent gentleness, and some degree of intelligence. Their usual article of dress is the "sarong", which Nathaniel described to us, a piece of calico or colored cotton about three yards long, the two ends sewed together, which they fasten around the waist very ingeniously. They are very fond of dress, and will gladly take any articles in this line that they can get from sailors. Some of them had on thick cloth jackets, and some both jackets and waistcoats (the day you must know was intensely hot), while their legs were perfectly bare from just below the hips. The

most respectable, however, wore a sort of shirt or loose gown of calico, with the "sarong", and *calico* pantaloons reaching just below the knee, the feet and legs were invariably bare. This was the dress of old Mr. "Panjong" of whom Captain Sumner made most of his purchases. He was a very respectable old man and came into the cabin and sat with us some time. His son was with him, a very smart fine looking youth, of whom he said, he was not his own son, but "he catchy my gal" (married his daughter). He could talk a little English and Nathaniel could talk very well with him in Malay, which is a beautiful, soft sounding language. Of the first boat that came to the ship, Captain S. bought a quantity of fowls, and told the cook to go immediately to work, called two of the men to help him, and prepare enough to make the men a nice Seapie. This pleased me and I mention it as I am desirous to say all I can in his favor. About noon, Captain S. with the gentlemen passengers went ashore, called on the "resident", the Dutch government officer, with whom as well as his wife, they were very much pleased, walked round the village, and returned about four o'clock, bringing me two bouquets of *splendid flowers*, very tastefully arranged, which the "resident's" lady gathered with her own hands, and a very polite invitation for me to come on shore in the cool of the evening, which I should have liked very much to accept, but the men were all very busy getting on board the water and provisions, and too tired, had they not been busy, for me to ask them to row me on shore. There seemed no end to the events and novelties of this day after the quiet and monotonous routine of the last few months; but just at dark, two vessels were seen coming into the roads, and anchored close by us, and were heard to hail each other with inquiries of "where from" and we found both were from China. Was it not a singular coincidence, that they should have anchored here within five minutes of each other, although one left some two or three weeks the earliest. F. Bush jumped on board a Malay boat which lay alongside, and went to the nearest ship, which he found to be English, where the captain received him with much politeness, ordered his own boat, and accompanied him to the other which was a Brig, likewise English, and then came and

made us a call. He was an *elegant* and agreeable young Englishman, Captain Prowan of the *Princess*, which he pronounced with a strong accent on the last syllable. He was dressed in *pure white*; and his bright attractive face was a refreshing sight. He gave us the latest news from China, which was of a very agreeable nature; all things being quiet there, and ladies allowed to reside with their husbands at Canton. Captain S. returned his call next morning before breakfast, and recommended our old friend "Panjong" to his favor in the way of supplies. Captain Sumner was disposed to do everything in his power to remedy past deficiencies and procured the most abundant supplies of fowls of various kinds, turtles, vegetables, fruit, and best of all, water. All our water casks, and everything else that could hold water was filled to the brim, and we are now far better supplied in every way than when we left Boston. I may add to the list of supplies, rice, paddy, sugar candy, sugar, and six fine pigs, these were bought off a Chinaman as the Malays are Mohometans and abominate pork (Nattie has just peeked in at the stateroom window and said "splendid breeze, mama.") Horace Story gave Ecce some pretty little parroquets in a cage, with which she is delighted. Their plumage is most beautiful, green with a spot of brilliant scarlet on the breast, scarlet tails, and a spot of blue on the head and one of gold on the back. They brought quantities of shells, too, but mostly cypreas. On seventh day morning a gentle breeze sprang up about nine o'clock and we got under way. First day was calm nearly all day and the heat most oppressive. The poor children felt it very much. The transition was so sudden from cold weather to intense heat, that their systems were not prepared for it, and it was impossible to keep them quiet. Towards evening, however, we had a good breeze, and have gone on well ever since with the exception of one day of which I must give you some account. On third day night, we were approaching some islands, and a huge rock, which stands detached from them at a short distance, Tambelin Islands, and White Rock. The captain had never gone precisely in this track before, and stayed on deck to keep a *lookout*. Nathaniel had been *exactly* in this track and said to the captain, that the course he was steering would carry him

directly on to the island, or amazingly near it. The captain, in his usual positive manner, said that it would carry him at least twelve miles from it. Nathaniel passed a very anxious night, slept but little, went on deck between one and two o'clock, and found the captain *asleep* upon the sofa. He went on deck again between three and four o'clock, when the first object that met his view was the Island *directly ahead*. On turning around, he saw the captain *sound asleep*. He spoke to him, and on seeing the land, Captain S. ordered the ship's course altered, but had not the candour to say "I was mistaken". The breeze soon grew very light and by the time we were up with the Island, it was entirely calm, and we were within *half a mile* of this enormous rock. To prevent being set upon it by the current, the anchor was put down, and we lay an hour or two, then there being a slight appearance of a breeze, the anchor was hoisted, and an attempt made to tack ship, which not succeeding, it was again lowered. In this way we passed an anxious and uncomfortable day, and I suspect our captain suffered severely for his obstinacy and self will of the previous night. During the day, smoke was seen ascending several times from different parts of the island, showing that people were there. We saw no one however, though the glass was in frequent requisition. There are said to be pirates or evil disposed people lurking about in the islands, always ready to take advantage of any opportunity which may occur to help themselves, which would have made it particularly undesirable to be disabled here, or even to remain in the vicinity all night. About four o'clock, a gentle and favorable breeze sprang up, and by dark, we were at a considerable distance from the Tambelan Island. It seemed certain that a kind and watchful Providence had us in an especial keeping, throughout this danger. On the previous night, the breeze which had been blowing quite fresh, abated, so that we sailed only four miles an hour, the latter part of the night, this brought us in sight of the land just as day dawned. Had we gone faster, we should have reached it while yet dark, and the consequence might have been shipwreck, and then the breeze springing up just in time to take us away before dark. Certainly we have great cause for gratitude to our Heavenly Father, for His

preserving care over us, ever since we embarked. I can truly say I was favored with much quietness of mind, throughout this trying day. I felt much sympathy for our poor sailors who were obliged to work very hard, under the scorching rays of a tropical sun, and subjected to the irritable and impatient treatment of the captain, who in times of emergency, instead of being calm and self-possessed, is hurried, fretful, and impatient, gives his orders indistinctly and in rapid succession, and then *scolds* because everything is not done at once. He seems to think it is no matter how *cross* he is, seeing he does not *swear*. The next day fortunately was cooler and we all felt refreshed.

Third day 10th mo. 2d.

Nearly four months since we parted, my dearest friends, is it possible? With you now, the weather is delightful, the pleasant month in the year to my thinking. Since my last date, we have had several calms, though on the whole we have made pretty good progress. Yesterday it was nearly calm all day and the rain fell in torrents in the morning. This furnished the men fresh water for washing their clothes. In the afternoon it cleared away, so that we took tea on deck, a practice we have adopted since leaving Anjer, and which we like much better than sitting at table in the warm cabin. We have two bamboo sofas on deck, which I believe were not there the day you were on board, which afford comfortable seats. In the evening, a breeze sprung up, which though not a favorable one, was gladly welcomed, for its refreshing coolness. The dear children have both been sick for several days with diarrhoea and feverish symptoms. Yesterday dear little Nattie gave me great anxiety. He laid in bed or on the sofa all day, so patient and gentle, it was touching to look at him . . . Whether it was caused by the return of the season or the sudden change from cold to heat, or by taking cold from change of clothing I know not, but he seems better today . . . Ecce is almost well again . . . Mary Ann and I have both been perfectly well, while nearly all our Cabin Company have been complaining. Nathaniel has been poorly, the captain more so, Horace Story really sick and our chief mate of whom I spoke before, has had another severe attack of fever and ague, has

been confined for a week or ten days. The carpenter takes his place . . . I must tell thee, dearest sister, in what pleasant remembrance the children hold their auntie . . . Nattie had shown the flowers brought from Anjer the other day to John, telling him they were auntie's flowers . . . Nattie talked last night about Grandpa's horse and carryall, and Thomas, who he said, came and took him to ride when it rained . . . He remembered the ride in the cars to Boston and talks of Charlotte and Betsy . . . He sometimes looks over the side of the ship and says "almost calm", with a most amusing accent . . . Ecce talks very often of Grandpa and Grandma with much affection, she always fancies Grandpa with a flower in his mouth. Dear Father, I wish I could see thee at this very moment, with one of thy favorite pinks between thy lips. I forgot to say, that our dear old cow is revelling in delicious vegetables, and that she has now as much water as she *wants*.

Fourth day 10th mo. 11th

I am obliged to stop each time as I write 10th month, to assure myself that I am right, it is so difficult to associate this month with such warm weather; though we have had very few really uncomfortable days lately, today being calm, it is pretty warm. I spoke of Natty's indisposition, when I last wrote. I rejoice to be able to say that he is now nearly or quite well . . . I very fortunately have the receipt for julep, which he used to take . . . this is the third of a succession of trying days, each unlike the others. On second day, we had a strong wind, tremendous head sea, and threatening sky. The probability of a *Typhoon* or a gale of wind was discussed, and considerable anxiety was depicted on the countenance of our captain. The mercury in the barometer and the fluid in the Sympiesometer were lower than at any time since leaving Boston, and continued falling until night; the ship pitched fearfully into the tumultuous sea, but through the good Providence of God we were spared a gale, though we were under close reefed sails, all day and night. On third morning, I congratulated myself, on going on deck, on the changed aspect of things. The sea was comparatively smooth, and the wind moderate, but the captain did not much like the aspect

of the clouds and before noon, sure enough, the wind rose, though it did not blow with violence, but we had the most tremendous sea to contend against. The waves rose in three different directions, and the poor ship, before she could recover from an impetus given her in one direction would receive one from another part, and be tossed back again, and there was no comfort to be had anywhere, all we could do was to hold on. About four o'clock in the afternoon, the main top gallant mast went by the board. Two men were upon it at the time, and were saved almost by special miracle. One of them, "Cape Cod Joe" (by way of distinction from "Italian Joe") felt the mast giving away when the ship rolled, and said he knew it must go, when the ship righted, he accordingly clung to the mast with all his strength, and came down with it, head downward and feet in the air, and landed safe and unhurt in the "top". The other man, Charles, the New Hampshire youth, of whom I spoke, as liking his looks so much, not receiving any such warning, was jerked from his hold, and for an *instant* hung in midair, but either instinctively, or with wonderful presence of mind, probably the former, he threw his arms about over his head, and caught a small rope, swinging there; holding tightly on to this, he was swung with the next roll of the ship, over the water, and then with violence in again, where he caught hold of the backstay, and then reached the Top. It was beautiful to see the forgetfulness of self, in which "Joe" the moment he found footing, looked for his companion, exclaiming "Charles, are you safe?" All hands were immediately called, "to clear the wreck", and this same Charles was the *first* to spring aloft. Nathaniel was a witness to the whole, being directly under the scene of action, sitting on the rail. The pumps were tried, and the good ship found to have leaked but very little, considering the trial to which she had been subjected. Nathaniel says she is the *tightest* ship he has ever been in. Toward morning the wind changed, and the sea went down, and today, we have a *calm*. All hands are very busy, preparing a new mast, to take the place of the broken one.

Sixth day—10 mo. 13th

Our trials are over. A glorious breeze all day yesterday

and last night bore us on at the rate of 9 or 10 knots per hour, and now we are with fifteen miles of Macao, and there is so much to see on deck that I must go out.

Macao, 10 mo., 27th, 1843.

Here we are safe and sound, my beloved friends, and I wish you could know how comfortable and happy we all are at this moment. Imagine me seated at my desk, in a spacious apartment, opening in front (by a window to the floor) onto a veranda, overlooking a green yard full of beautiful trees, and adorned with flowers, just beyond, the ocean soothing me by the unceasing music of its waves, as they roll and break on the sandy beach. On the other side of the room, two windows open into a pretty courtyard, the wall beyond, covered with creeping vines and shrubs, and some fine large trees here and there in the yard, and others on a hill behind the wall. Innumerable little birds sing very sweetly among these trees, and some dove-cotes with their pretty inmates, remind me delightfully of Brother William's feathered family. These our kind host has given the children. But it is quite time that I introduced this gentleman to your notice and to do this, I had better go back to the time of my arrival, but my brain being even yet in a sort of a whirl from the multitude of new objects presented to its notice, I fear my recollections will not be very vivid or accurate. On 6th day, the thirteenth, about 2 o'clock P. M., we anchored in Macao Roads and thus after a long, but prosperous passage, through the kind Providence of our Merciful Father and Protector, we were permitted to arrive safely at our destined haven. Captain Sumner immediately went on shore, and remained until evening. William Pierce and two other young men of Nathaniel's acquaintance, presently came off in a boat, and made us a friendly call, bidding us welcome to China. In the evening Captain Sumner returned to the ship, informing us that Wm. R. Lejée, the partner usually residing in Macao was in Canton, but bearing a kind message from William Cooper, the Canton partner, then here for the benefit of his health, inviting us on shore, etc. Next morning Nathaniel came on shore, remained all day, and it coming on to rain violently towards evening, with heavy swell of the sea, he remained all night, Captain Sumner returning to the ship.

This day Mary Ann and I passed in packing up and making ready to leave the ship, and were very busy all day. Early on first day morning, Nathaniel returned and at about 11 o'clock we left the *Probus* in a *Lorcha*, a large Chinese Boat (ourselves, bag and baggage) and I must say that I did so, *not* without regret, notwithstanding the many discomforts of our sojourn in her, but I believe I was the only one of our party who had anything of this feeling. We felt sorry to interrupt the quiet of First day¹ by all these proceedings but the day was particularly favorable, the sea being perfectly smooth, we were strongly advised to take advantage of it. The *Lorcha* not being able to go quite up to the beach, we got into some little boats, managed entirely by women and girls, and when we reached the shore, they jumped out, and drew the little barks high and dry on the beach. In these little boats live whole families, and they look extremely happy and comfortable, and their skill in managing them is most wonderful. There are hundreds of them in view from our windows, and we never want for occupation in watching them. We were met on the shore by Wm. Cooper, and Wm. Lejée, (who arrived from Canton a few moments before) and a Mr. Whitney, the bookkeeper of the establishment, of whom I shall speak further by and by, and kindly and cordially welcomed to Macao. I was immediately taken in a *Sedan Chair*, and borne by two Coolies up to the House. Mary Ann was waited on by one of the Gentlemen, and the Children taken in arms. And now for the House. It is new and in fine order in every respect. It is situated on the "Praya Grande", with a pretty garden in front, a yard at the sides and in the rear, with fine trees, and the whole surrounded by a high wall—over which creep in many places luxuriant vines. To give you some idea of its size, the house is 120 feet front, with a veranda 18 feet wide, supported by massive columns, running the whole length, it extends back 70 feet, exclusive of the veranda. The parlour is 36 feet long and 30 wide and high. Our rooms are at the Northern End, (the house fronting east) and consist of two large chambers, with a large entry between. These apartments extend the whole depth of the House and bathrooms open into the

1 Quaker name for Sunday.

entry by folding doors, so that it may be made like one immense room. In the entry is a small spiral staircase, leading to a bathing room, etc. and to John's room below, so that we have a perfect little establishment of our own. Our host (Wm. R. Lejée) is from Philadelphia. His parents are French people, his father having been an officer under Napoleon. He has been here ten years, and his Parents are now awaiting his return with impatience. We feel very grateful to him for his kindness to us. Nothing that could in any way contribute to our happiness or comfort has been neglected or forgotten. Everything that the house contains, that he thinks we would like, he sends to our rooms. He even sent to Canton for a large dressing glass that was in the House there. He has selected a number of books from his own library and that of the House, and after showing them to me for my approbation, sent them to Mary Ann's room for her use. These consisted of books of history, biography, poems, tales, etc., admirably selected. He has appropriated to her use, too, a very fine harmonicon, presented him by Mrs. Coolidge (my old schoolmate Caroline Shillaber).

Macao, 11th Mo. 2d. 1843

I did not think when I left this first sheet that I should finish it at Macao, but so it is. The Ship *Ann McKim*, leaves in a few days for home, and by her, I shall send this journal and I hope it will reach you in safety. I know you will feel very anxious to hear of our safe arrival here. I trust the letters we left at Anjer to be forwarded, will have reached you long before you get this, and then you will feel in great measure relieved from your anxiety. This journal I think will be sent to Wm. Wetmore's care to be forwarded by private conveyance as the postage would be enormous, and I shall prepare a single letter to accompany it, to be forwarded by mail, immediately on the arrival of the ship, and that it may find you all, my beloved ones, well and happy, as we are at this moment, is the most earnest prayer of my heart. I could fill my sheet with praises of our kind host and friend, Wm. R. Lejée, but as I go on with my journal, and the relation of occurrences, you will see how much reason we have to feel grateful towards him. Nothing that the most assiduous kindness,

(combined with knowledge of the wants of ladies) could do for our comfort and convenience has been neglected. We walk every day after dinner, which would be with us like walking after an early tea, and there are some delightfully pleasant walks here. You will be glad as we were, to hear that the climate is particularly healthy for children. One lady here, with a family of six children, tells me that for a period of 18 months the Physician did not pay them a single professional visit. And this is more than could be said at home, in most families of that size.

The weather has been perfectly delightful ever since we arrived, very like our Indian summer weather, except that the atmosphere is clearer. We have woolen carpets down, and most of the time it is cool enough for a mousseline or silk dress, and toward night, nothing could be more delightful, than the sky and the air. With a great deal of love from my husband and myself to all our friends, I remain ever your loving and affectionate daughter and sister,

Rebecca

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

James Duncan Phillips, Harvard, 1897, President Board of Trustees, Governor Dummer Academy, South Byfield, Vice-President Essex Institute, Salem, retired Vice-President Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. Author of three volumes on Salem history, and other books and magazine articles.

Herbert Treadwell Wade, Columbia University, 1898, retired Editor various encyclopedia and technical works, lives at New Canaan, Connecticut.

Harriet Webster Marr, North Yarmouth, Maine Academy, A.B. and A.M. Radcliff College, on faculty Penbrooke Academy, Atkinson Academy, New Hampshire, retired teacher of history, Springfield (Mass.) Classical High School, author of "History of the Early Years of Atkinson Academy", 1940, and contributor to many historical magazines on early New England Academies including land grants and financing.

Mrs. Rebecca Kinsman Munroe, Smith College, 1895, contributed material from her vast collection of letters from China in the 1840s. Mrs. Munroe passed away in 1954 and the collection has been presented to the Essex Institute.

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