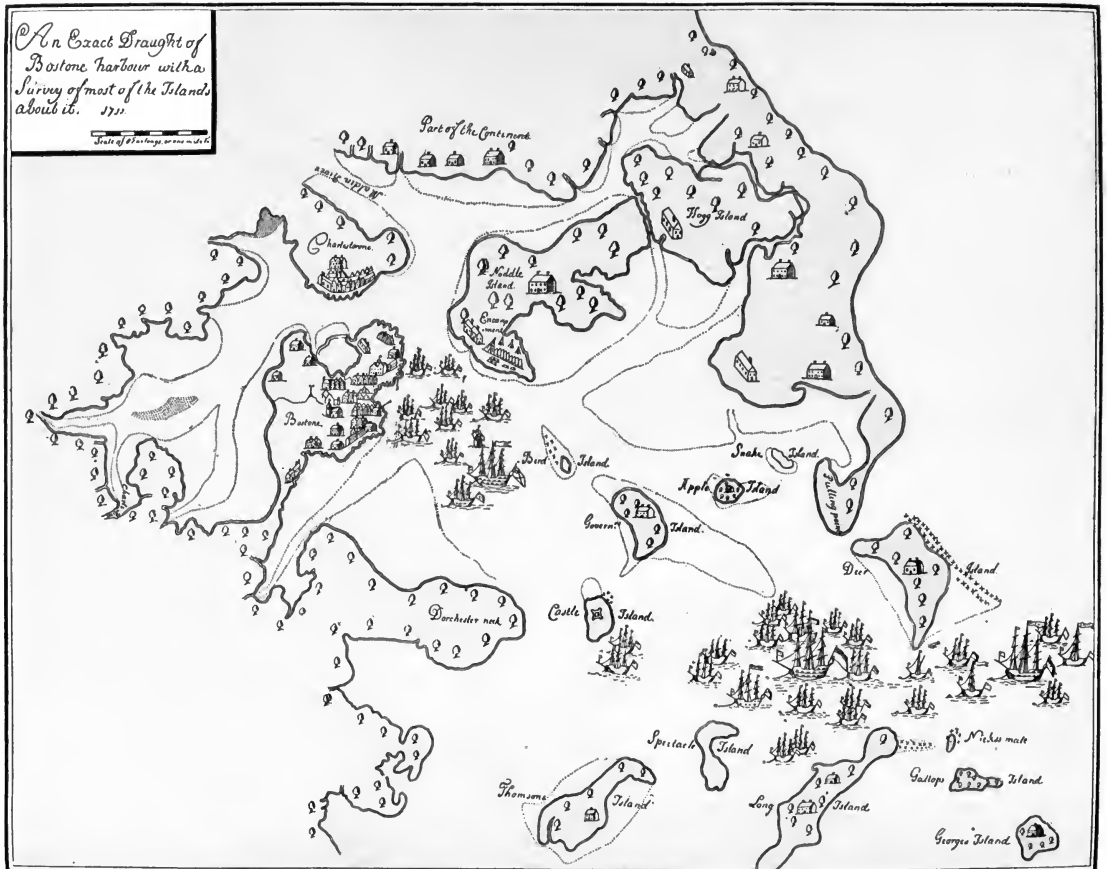
Bostonian Society Publications


An Exact Draught of Bostone harbour with a Survey of most of the Islands about it. 1711
Scale of 8 furlongs or one mile &c.
Part of the Cont.t round
Charlestowne
Middle Island
Noddy Island
Bostone
Bird Island
Snake Island
Apple Island
Gover.t Island
Castle Island
Dorchester neck
Deer Island
Spectacle Island
Nicks mate
Gallops Island
Thomsons Island
Long Island
George's Island

THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS.

VOL. 3

BOSTON
OLD STATE HOUSE

MCMVI.

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ILLUSTRATIONS.

BOSTON IN 1710

PREPARING FOR A SMALL WAR

BY

JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD.

BOSTON IN 1710 PREPARING FOR A SMALL WAR

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER, OLD STATE HOUSE, MARCH 9, 1886, BY

JAMES MASCARENE HUBBARD.

"AS I was setting up a column of Psalters," writes Judge Sewall in his Diary on Saturday, July 15th, 1710, "the 12th Column, about 11 m., I heard a Gun, and a while after, another. Mr. Mayhew and Joseph run up to the top of the House and saw two Flags hoysted at the Castle. Quickly after I went up, and saw the Flag hoysted at the Sconce, and two Guns fired; then presently the Drums beat and Alarm went through the Town." These signals meant simply that ships were below in the Bay which might prove to be a French fleet about to attack the town, "as there was no certainty of any fleet intended from England." The

batteries were accordingly manned, and the town regiment was speedily under arms and awaiting the coming of the enemy, which, Hutchinson says, for a time was actually believed to be the case.

As the ships drew nearer, to the great relief of the town's people they turned out to be a small English fleet, consisting of two frigates, a bomb-ketch and several transports, having on board Col. Francis Nicholson with other officers, and 500 marines for the projected expedition against Nova Scotia. The regiment immediately marched probably to Scarlett's wharf, the usual government landing-place, to serve, as the custom was in those days, as an escort for the newly-arrived British officers to the Town House. Meanwhile the "Pavement," for so the open space under the old building which preceded the present structure appears to have been called, was thronged with people, watching for the coming of the strangers and the military, discussing the news of the day and greeting every fresh arrival, and, it being Saturday afternoon, no doubt the boys were well represented.

A coach drives up, and Gov. Dudley, who has come from his house in Roxbury, alights and courteously greets the by-standers. Possibly he stops to exchange a few words with some of them, until Mr. Secretary Addington, who lives hard by,* can be summoned, and

* Just in the rear of the old Traveller Building, now occupied, 1906, by the Worthington Building.

the two gentlemen go up together to the Council Chamber.

Down Queen Street comes Judge Sewall, very likely still in uniform, — for I take it the ex-Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company would not be backward in doing his part in the town's defence, — notwithstanding his age and position, possibly talking eagerly but gravely with his neighbor* Col. Penn Townsend, who lives at the northern corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets.

Later, good Mr. Edward Broomfield leaves that "shady grove" behind his house in Rawson's Lane, afterwards called by his name, where doubtless he has been praying for the success of Her Majesty's arms and the welfare of the Province. Not improbably there joins him the rich merchant, Mr. Peter Sergeant, from his neighboring brick mansion, afterward the Province House, and Major John Walley, who lives close to the Old South Church. These with others of the Council pass directly to their Chamber, together with other principal gentlemen of the town.

The fleet was long in reaching the anchorage ground, and night fell and Mr. Secretary had ordered the can-

* There is considerable doubt as to whether Judge Sewall lived on Cotton Hill [Pemberton Square] or "on the easterly side of what is now Washington Street, near the corner of Summer Street." The editors of his "Letter-Book," recently published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, have adopted the latter view, though the evidence from the Letter-Book, which appears to have decided them, does not seem to me conclusive.

dles to be lighted in the Council Chamber before the beat of drums announced the approach of Col. Nicholson and his escort.

It is very difficult for me to realize the scene which met his view on entering the room; far more so to give you a picture of it. I am inclined to think that there was far more light and color than in a similar assembly of the present time. The scarlet and blue uniforms, the velvet cloaks and richly embroidered waistcoats of the gentlemen of those days, made a much richer and more beautiful picture than our sombre full-dress suits. The principal figure was, of course, Gov. Dudley, whose "comely person, noble aspect and graceful mien" well fitted him to preside on such an occasion. Near him sat Judge Sewall, his keen, observant eye noting all that took place, with his intimate friend Col. John Foster on his left, for so I would interpret that curious expression in his Diary at the time of the latter's death shortly after: "I have lost a good Left-hand man. The Lord save New England!"

Closely associated with them was John Dunton's "fine gentleman," Col. Penn Townsend. These, with those previously mentioned, the Commissary General Andrew Belcher, and the venerable Eliakim Hutchinson, are the only members out of the twenty-eight forming the Council, who are present. These names are unfamiliar to most in this generation, forgotten for those who lived, either earlier or later, in more stirring times. But I am

persuaded that they were men as deserving to be held in grateful remembrance as any who preceded or followed them. They were just as staunch defenders of their liberties as their children who fought the battles of the Revolution. Four of them, Winthrop, Addington, Foster and Sergeant,— for I include Col. Wait Winthrop whose military duties as Captain of the Castle, probably alone prevented his attendance this evening,— were of the fifteen gentlemen who demanded the surrender of Sir Edmund Andros on April 18th, 1689, one of the boldest acts in the annals of this country. For you remember the success of the Revolution of 1688 was unknown here at that time, the bare fact of William of Orange's landing having only been whispered, as it were, from mouth to mouth a few days before. Col. Foster, though not native born, Gov. Hutchinson, his grandson, tells us, was "among the most active" in this affair. Four more, Lynde, Townsend, Hutchinson and Belcher, for here again I include Col. Joseph Lynde, whose age and the evening hour probably kept him at his home in Charlestown, shared their responsibility and danger by becoming members of the "Council for the Safety of the People," appointed two days later.

Of the townspeople present, not members of the Council, Sir Charles Hobby, colonel of the Boston regiment, was probably the most striking figure from his handsome person and brilliant uniform. He was a man of a very different stamp from those whom we have

named. Gay in his life and loose in his morals, he seems out of place in this assemblage of earnest, God-fearing men. Though there is no intimation of the fact, yet there can be little doubt that some of the ministers are there, — the Mathers, Mr. Pemberton, and "grave Mr. Myles," of the Church of England.

The leader of the intended expedition, Col. Francis Nicholson, was no stranger to most of those present. Not only had he been in Boston the previous year, engaged in organizing an expedition against Canada, which had failed because of the non-arrival of the fleet, but he was Lieut. Governor of New York at the time the Andros government was overthrown. Then, if he had had the power, he would have very gladly, no doubt, hanged for high treason some of these gentlemen with whom he now interchanged grave courtesies. As it was, he was obliged to content himself with sending to Col. Winthrop and the other leaders of the rebellion an earnest protest against the proceedings. Since then he has been Governor of Virginia and Maryland, and was later to fill the same post in Nova Scotia and South Carolina. There was little sympathy between them even now, with the exception possibly of Dudley, for not only was he a zealous Churchman, but he had a violent temper, and whilst under its influence used very vigorous language; and at the same time his private character was not above reproach, though not nearly so bad as his enemies, who were very numerous, would have us be-

lieve. A contemporary, Dr. Wm. Douglass of this town and, it should be said, a very prejudiced writer, says* he "was a knight errant Governor; by his cursing, swearing, and hypocritical devotional exercises, he was at times made use of by the court in dirty affairs." But the latest and most trustworthy historian, Mr. Doyle of Oxford University, speaks of him as one who "was honestly and laboriously attentive to the welfare of those under his rule," and, as compared with the other Royal Governors, "stands out as something more than an efficient and upright administrator."

The busiest man in the company, however, and a far more doubtful character than Col. Nicholson, was a certain Scotchman, Col. Samuel Vetch. I despair of giving in the few minutes at my disposal a true idea of this adventurer, for such he was in fact, who, though a very prominent figure at that time, is almost forgotten to-day. The son of a persecuted Covenanting minister and a woman whose eminent piety is still remembered, he came out to America in the year 1699 with the unfortunate Darien expedition. At its failure he went to New York and thence to Albany. The earliest mention I find of him in connection with Boston was early in 1705, when, in company with the Governor's son William and several other gentlemen, he was sent to Quebec to negotiate an exchange of prisoners. The next year he was sent on the same errand to Nova

* Summary, Vol. ii: p. 969.

Scotia, but, on his return, was accused of using his mission as a cloak for carrying on a very lucrative, but illicit, trade with the French and Indians. For this he and his associates, Capt. Wm. Rouse, John Borland and Roger Lawson, merchants, and Ebenezer Coffin and John Phillips, jun., mariners, were committed to Boston gaol without bail. The next year they were brought to trial before the General Court and were condemned to fine and imprisonment. The Governor himself, I should say, was strongly suspected by many, including Judge Sewall, of having at least connived at, even if he did not directly profit by, this trade, which was held to have enabled the French to do great damage to the commerce of New England. The Queen, however, reversed the judgment on the ground of want of jurisdiction, and ordered the fines to be repaid, the accused "giving sufficient security .... to stand a new legal trial at law, if they should be prosecuted within a year." But Vetch went to England as soon as he was released, and took good care to be employed there for more than the required time, and when he returned in 1709 the fine was repaid on his petition to the General Court, and the matter was dropped. He, more than any other man, had been successful in securing the active co-operation of the Home Government in the present expedition, as he had been in the abortive expedition of the preceding year. By personal interviews, also, with the Governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut he had en-

listed their sympathies and won promises of assistance in carrying out his schemes of conquest. Col. Nicholson has in his dispatch-bag Vetch's commission as Adjutant General of the forces, and the Queen's Instructions say that he is to be Governor of Port Royal if the expedition shall prove successful.

Besides these men there are several British officers, both of the army and navy, who are interested spectators of the scene. None of them attained any special prominence except young Lieut. Paul Mascarene. A Huguenot refugee, he had obtained a commission in the English army, and had been ordered to New England in 1709 to take part in the contemplated expedition. He was immediately appointed to command a company of mattrosses, or artillery, recruited at that time, and had spent a year in drilling them, having obtained permission to throw up a small earth-work at the foot of the Common for that purpose. He spent many years in Nova Scotia, the last part of the time as acting Governor and Commander-in-chief, and before he died in 1760, was made Major General in the British army.

The formal session of the Council this evening was short. Nicholson "presented to his Excellency Her Majesty's Royal letter and commands," and these were read at the Board. A Proclamation for an embargo on all outward bound vessels was signed, and the Council adjourned. The remainder of the evening was spent in making or renewing acquaintance with the newcomers

and, above all, in learning the latest news from Europe. There were letters also to be delivered, Nicholson giving one from Jeremiah Dummer, then in London, to Judge Sewall, who also received secretly, "by an unseen hand," he writes in his Diary from which most of these details are taken, two packets from Sir William Ashurst. This was done in this manner, probably, to escape the notice of Dudley, who was bitterly opposed to Sir William, whom Sewall and his party desired to make the Province's Agent. In this letter to Sewall, however, he declines the office and recommends the appointment of Dummer, enclosing letters to the same purport to Mr. Secretary Addington, Mr. Speaker Clark and Dr. Increase Mather. As this recommendation is sure to please Dudley still less, he takes this means of informing these gentlemen thus early and secretly, in order that they may be prepared for the Governor's opposition, which in fact was very decided, he declaring afterwards again and again, that "he will be drawn asunder with Wild Horses" before he will consent to it. Mr. Dummer was finally appointed, however, and the Governor yielded, it is hardly necessary to add, without the aid of the wild horses.

The expedition, of which this was the opening scene, was intended to attack the French post of Port Royal in Nova Scotia. It was not undertaken for the mere desire of conquest, but chiefly as a measure of self-

defence. The commerce and fisheries of New England were seriously threatened with destruction by the French privateers who found refuge in the numerous harbors of the Nova Scotian coast. In the previous summer two of these "pirates," as they were generally called, had captured forty-five vessels in our Bay, mostly fishermen and provision boats laden with corn, flour and pork, for which the town depended largely on the southern provinces; and this season they had been so active and successful that there was a great scarcity of pork in Boston. It was a veritable "nest of hornets," which at length our fathers were determined if possible to destroy. The French on their part had early information of the intentions of the English, but Louis and his Ministers formed a singular idea as to the real object of the fleet. In some papers in the French archives, which have lately been printed, there are dispatches from Pontchartrain, the Minister of marine and the colonies, to the Governors of Quebec, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, under date of Aug. 7th, 1710. They are all to the same purport, but I will quote only from the most important dispatch, that to the Marquis de Vaudreuil at Quebec: —

"Sir, M. de Costebelle. The Governor of Newfoundland has informed me that the principal object of the armament that the English made last year [was] to establish their sovereignty in Boston and in the Province of New York, the people of these Provinces having

always maintained themselves in a kind of Republic, governed by their Council, without being willing to receive the absolute Governors of the Kings of England. There appears to me a very strong probability of the truth of this view, and it would be very desirable that the Council of Boston should be informed of the design of the English Court and of the importance of their maintaining their republican state, and escaping the yoke sought to be imposed upon them. The King would approve even should you aid the Council in this enterprise, and [to this end] it would be necessary to interview the principal members of the Council in order to learn their true opinions and to induce them [to resist] if it is possible. If you see any prospect of success it is necessary to use every means in your power, and, what is of the last importance, to employ persons having a talent for conducting such a business with secresy and skill, and whose probity and faithfulness are well known. This affair demands your particular attention, and it is necessary to follow it with great care and precaution in order to take no ill-timed step."

These instructions were of course received too late for the Governors to act upon the Minister's advice. The next year, however, M. de Costebelle sent a Sieur de la Ronde Denis, a naval officer, to Boston, with some English prisoners. To arrange an exchange of these was the ostensible object of his mission. But his secret instructions were that he should inform the principal Councillors that their giving aid to these expeditions against Canada would only lead to the destruction of

New England. That if they would refuse aid, Canada would cease all hostilities and maintain a "solid" neutrality during the war between France and England. He is cautioned to use the utmost care, and if he did not meet with a favorable response from the people with whom he talked, he is to turn it off as a pleasantry, so as not to give rise to any suspicions that he was charged to enter into these negotiations.

The envoy reached Boston, June 8, 1711, coming up the Bay at the same time with the first vessels of the great fleet sent out under Sir Hovenden Walker for the expedition against Canada, which resulted so disastrously. Walker, in his account, mentions seeing him at the Castle when he landed. He seems to have gone about freely, picking up information, and was apparently about to return to Newfoundland, when Nicholson ordered him to be detained. Later the suspicions of the people seem to have been excited that he was in reality a spy, for on Aug. 23d, the House of Representatives sent up to the Council a message requesting "That Capt. De la Ronde, French messenger, may be laid under proper restraint."

A few days afterwards a man-of-war came in, having captured a French vessel off Newfoundland carrying dispatches to France. Among them was a copy of de la Ronde Denis' secret instructions. He was finally allowed to leave Boston, November 2d, but encountered a terrible storm off Nova Scotia and was

driven southward, and after being captured by some Jamaica "pirates" at last made his way to Martinique, from whence he wrote to Pontchartrain a report of his mission. Walker, it may be added, hints that the failure of his expedition was due to the machinations of Denis, and the report of the latter gives some ground for the belief that the pilot whom Walker trusted intended to act treacherously. There is this interest in this episode that it shows that the policy of Louis XIV, in view of a contest between England and her colonies in 1710, was identical with that of Louis XVI in 1778.

The next day being Sunday no public business was transacted. Nicholson, as became an ardent Churchman, probably attended service at the "Queen's" Chapel, together with the greater part of the British officers. There was not room to accommodate a much larger congregation than ordinarily worshipped here, and accordingly the leading members of the Church immediately consulted together in regard to what measures should be taken to enlarge the church building, and it was resolved to petition the town forthwith for a grant of land in the old Burying-ground adjacent. Nicholson's first step on Monday morning was to provide quarters for the regiment of marines which he had brought with him. Accompanied by their commander, Col. Reading, and Cols. Winthrop and Townsend, he went to the Castle to see if they could have barracks

there. Judge Sewall, meanwhile, made it his first duty to deliver, I presume to Dr. Mather, "Sir Wm's. Letter with [his] own hand," not daring to trust it to a messenger.

At the Council later, the same gentlemen being present as on Saturday evening, with the addition of Col. Joseph Lynde, who, notwithstanding his age, was very punctual in his attendance, the only question formally discussed was what to do with the marines. Sewall moved to land them at Hull, but the officers preferred the Castle as a place of greater security. They were mostly Irish Catholics, and very much inclined to desert, as I gather from the Nova Scotia Records. The matter was left eventually to Nicholson, Vetch and Reading to decide, who caused barracks to be put up for them in the Castle. On Wednesday the General Court assembled at 10 o'clock, the usual hour of meeting, and the Council having met, the Governor sends Mr. Isaac Winslow of Plymouth, to bid Mr. Speaker and the gentlemen of the House to come up to the Council Chamber, and "the Speaker and the House attending accordingly," he said : —

"Gentlemen, In answer to our repeated humble addresses to Her Majesty, Her Majesties ships of War Forces and Stores by the Good Providence of Almighty God are happily arrived for our Relief against the Common Enemy in our Neighbourhood : — I have no doubt of your ready and cheerful Obedience to her Majesties

Commands, For our Quota of the Forces, Transports and other necessary Provisions for the Service. The Season of the year is far advanced and will demand an instant proceeding to every Article that is necessary.

"Her Majesty has been pleased to appoint and constitute the Hon^ble^ Coll. Nicholson to command the Forces in the present intended Expedition, and I am glad of his Presence with us that he may be a witness, That we are as much in earnest to do our duty in Obedience to Her Majesties Commands as We are sensible of his great care and Solicitude to present on our behalf the Benefit of the present Expedition.

"Gentlemen, I shall take the good agreement and harmonious Proceeding of the General Assembly in their present Session as an Indication of success in our Endeavours, the suppression of an ill neighbour, in addition to all the other glorious Articles of Success to her Majesties Arms in Europe.

"A few Days may I hope dispatch the resolves necessary, That I may have the Service and assistance of the Officers in the several Counties, to which they belong: And there shall be nothing wanting on my part to make every Thing equal and easy for the Satisfaction and Benefit of all her Majesties good Subjects of this Province."

At the conclusion of this address the House returned to its Chamber, and after the reading of Nicholson's instructions adjourned. The principal business of the Council, after finally disposing of the marines, was to order the Province Galley to cruise between the Capes

to "prevent the supply ships from falling into the hands of the privateers which infest the coast." On Friday the General Court appointed a committee of conference with Nicholson, consisting of the Speaker John Clark, Col. Samuel Appleton, Mr. Nathaniel Blagrove, Capt. Thomas Hutchinson, and that old veteran Col. Benjamin Church, who though over seventy* had come up to the Town to aid in furthering the expedition. To this Committee the Council added Elisha Hutchinson, Andrew Belcher and John Otis. On the Monday following, the Committee reported through its Chairman, Mr. Hutchinson, and an animated debate began. Some time this same day, writes Sewall in his invaluable Diary, "The Council Treats the Gov^{r}., Col. Nicholson, Col. Vetch, Sir Charles Hobby, Col. Taylor, Col. Redding and the Sea-Captains at the Green Dragon," the famous hostelry in Green Dragon Lane, now Union Street, just off Hanover Street. A similar entertainment at another time cost the members five shillings apiece, the modern fashion of junkets at the public expense not being then in vogue.

The debate on the report continued through Tuesday and Wednesday, on which latter day, though the Council met, no business was transacted, the Records say, "the

* I have been interested to note that almost all the prominent men of this time were well advanced in years. The youngest, so far as I have been able to find out, of those whom I have particularly mentioned, was Judge Sewall, who was fifty-eight. The oldest was probably Col. Joseph Lynde, who was seventy-four.

extream rain preventing his Excellency's coming to Town." The report, which had been considerably amended during the debate, was finally adopted on Thursday, and is to this effect: — that the number of men Massachusetts is to raise shall not exceed nine hundred including both English and Indians, besides commissioned officers; that suitable provisions for that number for two months be raised, and that the Provincial forces were to return as soon as Port Royal was taken unless they volunteered to remain. This important matter settled, the House proceeded on the next day to order that £15,000 bills of credit be imprinted, an easy way of raising money which would hardly commend itself to the business men of to-day. A committee for procuring transports was also appointed, and it was

"*Resolved*, That the sum of £20 be allowed and paid out of the publick Treasury to Capt. Ephraim Savage and Mr. James Blagrove, to purchase roots and greens for the refreshment of the marines."

Twelve weeks' provisions also, instead of two months', are ordered to be provided, and as there is a scarcity of pork, the Commissary is directed to get it from the country and from Carolina and Virginia. After the session the Deputies have their 'Treat' at the Green Dragon, at which, I presume, the guests are much the same as at the Council's Treat, with the addition of Govs. Saltonstall of Connecticut, and Cranston of Rhode

Island, who have come to provide for their respective quotas of troops.

After the Treat there is a long session of the Council of War, lasting till 10 o'clock in the evening, at which the three Governors assisted, the principal subject of debate being the time of the return of the Provincial forces. Nicholson evidently insisted on this being left an open question, and a conference was held with a joint committee of the General Court in regard to the matter. But the chairman, Col. Winthrop, reported next day that it was inexpedient to recede from the position which they had taken as to the necessity for the immediate return of the troops, on account of the danger to which the frontier towns would be subjected, which were about to be left in a measure unguarded against attacks by the Indians.

After the acceptance of this report the General Court was prorogued to August 22d. A Proclamation for volunteers was issued the same day and carried by the Deputies to the various towns throughout the Province. It promised that all volunteers should have coats of thirty shillings' value, one month's wages in advance, and freedom from impressment for three years, and they were to be permitted to keep their firearms. This last provision accounts for the old Queen Anne muskets found hanging over the kitchen fire-places in so many New England farm-houses at a later date, and which, together with the old Bible, formed the family's most

precious heir-looms. They are immortalized, as you well remember, in Mr. James Russell Lowell's poem, "The Courtin."

> "Agin the chimbley crook-necks hung,
> An' in amongst 'em rusted
> The ole queen's-arm thet gran'ther Young
> Fetched back f'om Concord, busted."

The next day being Sunday was again a day of rest, but I confess to a certain feeling of surprise at finding the Rhode Island Legislature meeting at Newport, not one of the twenty-eight Deputies and eleven Assistants being absent. I took the more note of this from the fact that Dudley wrote a few days later to Addington that the Rhode Island troops which, — too few to form a regiment by themselves, — were joined with several Massachusetts and New Hampshire companies, "refuse" to hear prayers with the Massachusetts men. The religious distinction between the two Provinces lasted longer and was carried to a greater extent than I, at least, had supposed.

I will not weary you by going on with a record of what took place from day to day, as probably I have given you an idea, which is all that I intended, of the general method of procedure in those days. The various committees were now hard at work getting supplies for the troops, and in providing transports and munitions of war.

On Monday, August 7th, the militia regiments were mustered, and the Proclamation for volunteers read. Dudley, in his speech to the General Court when it reassembled a fortnight later, says "the Troops of this Province and New Hampshire are in the villages adjacent, ready arrived . . . . they all standing as Voluntiers in the Field." This apparent popularity of the expedition rather surprised me, but a doubt is cast upon the verbal accuracy of the Governor's declaration by the Diary of John Marshall, a mason who lived in Braintree, preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. He says under this date: "A General muster of our regiment at Weymouth in order to expedition. I was drawn off and impressed." He afterwards spent more than four days in getting a substitute, one Nathaniel Owen, to whom, when accepted, he paid "£10 money."

On the 10th of August there is a day of Thanksgiving "for the happy arrival of Her Majesty's forces from Great Britain for our relief from the insults of enemies, and for the repeated plentiful showers."

The following Monday there was a town-meeting to consider the request for land for the enlargement of the Queen's Chapel. Col. Nicholson was permitted to make a speech in favor of the object, and the petition of the Church was granted, notwithstanding "Mr. Prout, the Town Clerk, made some opposition because the graves of his Ancestors would be thereby hidden." Nicholson,

says Sewall, "came in afterwards and gave the Town Thanks for their Vote."

The General Court assembled on the twenty-second and "Mr. Speaker and the House being come up," the Governor addressed them as follows: —

"Gentlemen: Since your Recess there has been all possible care taken and Expedition used by the General to equip her Majestie's Ships and Forces brought from Great Britain, And the Troops of this Province and New Hampshire are in the Villages adjacent ready arrived and as ready to be clothed, Which the Assembly, I doubt not, will presently direct, They all standing as Voluntiers in the Field, and I am of opinion that any distinction of them in the clothing will be an inconvenience to the Service.

"I have directed the Commissary of the Transports to give you a List of the Vessels taken up for the Service, and the Accompt of the Three Months' Provision as you agreed, which they will also attend the General with, That everything may be to his own and the Council of War's Satisfaction.

"The Season of the Year is so far advanced that We must not lose one Day, without Putting forward what is necessary; And as I have seen the Constant Application of the Council of War, the Readiness of the Military Officers to supply the men and their good appearance accordingly, So I am well assured of your good Intentions to assist the Dispatch of the Expedition so agreeable to the Interest of all Her Majestie's Provinces, as well as the Honor of Her Majestie's Arms.

"The last Session you determined humbly to address her Majesty with your Thanks for the present Expedition and the Assurance of your Readiness and obedience in all things, Which I desire now may be made ready for the first Conveyance.

"I shall not trouble you at this busy Season of the year to proceed to any Thing but the affair of the Expedition; You shall have a Session proper for the Service and Benefit of the Province at the usual Time."

The House votes the next day to allow the soldiers "8*d.* a day per man for billet" and that they be "quartered upon private families at the discretion of the Selectmen, not exceeding two to a family (without the consent of the masters or mistresses of such family) as well as in Publick licensed Houses." The Council's proceedings were enlivened at this day's session by the reading of the following Petition, which I have copied from the original in the State Archives: —

"To his Excellency Joseph Dudley, Esq., Capt. Gen. & Gov. in chief in and over her Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay and to the Honorable Her Majesty's Council for said Province — The humble petition of Thomas Odell. — Sheweth — That your poor petitioner, as is well known to all this Town has lain in Gaol several years for a fine which he never shall be able to pay; your Petitioner is sensible that most of the good people here are as weary of him as he is of his imprisonment and would very gladly get rid of him, as well to save the great charge he has much against his will put

the country to, as for other inconveniences which they apprehend may happen from an inclination he is unhappily suspected to have to mischief, now may it please your Ex^ly^ and Hon^d^ your poor petitioner is resolved for the future to turn and employ all his talent that way against her Majesty's enemies and by his courage and good behaviour endeavor to make some recompense to the country for what is past and to prevent any further charge if he have opportunity so to do which that he may have — Yr. Petitioner most humbly and earnestly Prays yr Ex^cy^ and Hon^ble^ to take this into your serious and charitable consideration and that he may be discharged from his Imprisonment and have the honor to serve Her Majesty in the present Expedition. And your Petitioner shall ever pray &c.

23rd Aug., 1710. THOMAS ODELL.

I wish that I had time to give you a detailed account of this remarkable rogue, who was the source of a good deal of anxiety to our fathers. The simple facts are these: — he was sentenced in 1704 to pay a fine of £300 and suffer a year's imprisonment for "counterfeiting and altering bills of credit." In November, 1708, he is still in gaol, and for some reason the guards of the prison being about to be dismissed, the question came up what should be done with Odell, apparently the only prisoner. The Governor wished to send him to the Castle, but Sewall and the Chief Justice objected that this put him "where a *Habeas Corpus* could not demand him." The Attorney General asks whether he "might not have the

Liberty of the yard upon Bail." Upon which Sewall very indignantly comments: "It is to me amazing, that Mr. Attorney should speak of Bailing such a man as Odell, who is in a manner *Hostis Humani Generis*."

A few months after the presentation of the above petition, on which no action appears to have been taken, he sends another to the General Court asking for his liberation, in which he speaks of his "being for some time loaded with irons."

Upon the back of this is endorsed the following: —

"*Whereas* [Thomas Odell was sentenced] to 12 months imprisonment and £300 fine for counterfeiting and altering bills of credit, and hath several times broken prison and made his escape and there is great reason to conclude that since he was committed he has been active in Contriving & Projecting & probably in perpetrating the most notorious burglary and Thefts, being a very dangerous person.

"*Resolved*, That for his better & more safe keeping, and for preventing the great and further mischief there is danger of his contriving and effecting if he remains in the said gaol [he shall be] sent to Her Majestie's Castle William here to be strictly confined until he perform the above-said sentence. John Clark, Sp."

In 1714 he again made his escape from gaol and "since breaking prison being violently suspected of carrying on the Wicked Practice" of counterfeiting bills of credit, the Governor issues a Proclamation, offering £30 re-

ward for his apprehension. I have not discovered any further traces of him.

The next day, August 24th, the General Court adjourns, all necessary business having been transacted. From this time to the day of the sailing of the expedition some three weeks later, there is the greatest activity in every department. The chief burden, however, falls upon Dudley, who is applied to for every thing, from granting commissions, securing armorers, chaplains and "chyrurgions," to getting tackle for the transports. There are numerous notes and memoranda of his, preserved in the State Archives, which give a very clear idea of the progress of affairs.

The burden and anxiety become at length so great that he falls sick and is confined to his bed. But his activity does not cease. Three times a day Mr. Secretary Addington dispatches an express to him at Roxbury, with papers to sign, with questions from the Council of War, and above all with requests and complaints from all kinds of dissatisfied persons. The greatest difficulty which he had to encounter was in respect to pilots and sailors. Maj. Stephen Sewall, the brother of the Judge, and William Gedney, the Sheriff of Essex County, had been for weeks endeavoring to get men. The sailors were exceedingly reluctant to go on this expedition, and fishermen inward bound to Marblehead went on board outward bound fishing vessels without landing, in order to escape impressment. One of Dudley's notes on this

subject closes almost in despair, "we must have saylors or we are undone." There is a pathetic tone, too, in a note to Addington, in which he begs him and Andrew Belcher, the Commissary General, to see the Council of War "every hour, that the Governor be not complained of, as I am sensible some will be glad."

At length all was ready, and on Monday, September 18th, "the fleet sayl'd from Nantasket at 12 o'clock," having on board according to the muster-rolls made up on the Saturday previous, "of the Country Troops, including all officers, whatsomever — 1523."

It may interest you to know what one of our Boston gentlemen thought was essential to his comfort during a six weeks' absence from home on this expedition to the wilds of Nova Scotia. He was John Ballantine,* the Lieut. Colonel of Sir Charles Hobby's regiment, and had the misfortune to be wrecked at the mouth of the Annapolis Basin, where he lost "his whole Equipage." On his return he petitions the General Court to be repaid for his loss, and appends a list of his goods, which is preserved in the State Archives and which I have copied as an interesting illustration of the customs of the earlier part of the last century.

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* It may be a mere coincidence, but it is a curious fact considering the "provision" of the gallant soldier mentioned in this list, that Tutor Leverett was obliged to publicly admonish a Harvard student named John Ballantine for drunkenness, a few years previous to this time. See Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., 1875–76, p. 224.

A Scarlet Suit trimd wth gold lace &c.	£30..00..00
A blew Suit trimd wth Silver lace A Stuff Suit, a cloth Cloak and Surtout A morning gown & 12 pr. worsted Stockings	20..00 00
20 holland Shirts	16..00..00
2 doz fine diaper Napkins, 4 large diaper Table Cloaths & 2 small do and 9 Towels	7..00..00
20 Moslin neckcloths & 6 silk hanckerchiefs	7..00..00
2 Wiggs	7..00..00
A feild bed, bedstead, Curtins, 2 blanketts, a Rugg, a pr. of Sheets & 2 fine pillow & a pillow	10..00..00
2 doz. pewter plates & 4 pewter dishes, a pr. of brass & a pr. Iron Candlesticks	5..00..00
Muggs & glasses	0..13..00
Tinware & gridiron & Spitt & Chafindysh	0.. 9..00
6 Silver Spoons, a Silver porringer, a Silver cup of a pint, & a Silver bason	15..00..00
An Edged hatt	1..14..00
An Oval table	0..10..00
A Silver-hilted Sword	6..00..00
A brass-hilted Sword & an Iron-hilted Sword	1..00..00
An Edged Skarf	4..00..00
5 new pair of Shoes & 1 new pr Slippers	1..19..00
A large Trunk & a small trunk	0..16..00
A large chest with drawers in ye bottom and a sealskin portmantle Trunk	1..03..00
	£135..04..00

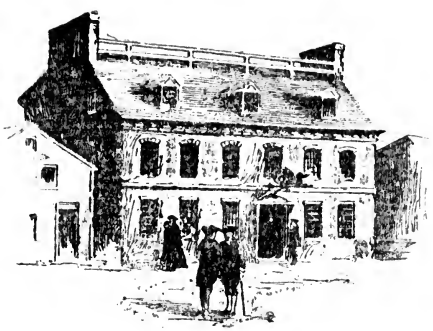
Thus far his "equipage;" now for what he terms in his "Memorial" his "provision," which enables us to form some clear idea of the "Treats" of which I have made mention:—

1 pipe fial [Fayal] wine	£10..00..00
1 quarter cask do	2..10..00
1 hhd Madera	15..00..00
2 quarter cask do	8..00..00
1 bb. Rum	4..00..00

7 gall. brandy	3..10..00
2 bbs beer	0..16..00
4 galls Cherry brandy	2..00..00
6 quarts Cinnamon water	1..10..00
4 Choats	2..08..00
6 doz. fowls	3..00..00
2lb Muscavado Sugar	4..00..00
90lb powder'd white	3..00..00
a Cheshire cheese, wt: 41d	2..00..00
17 bushs Indian Corn	2..11..00
12lb of Chocolate	1..10..00
	£65..15..00

5 hams of bacon	2 bbs Salt
1 Smal Sugr loaf	3 doz bottles
20lbs Carraintos & raisons	2 cakes of hard soap
4 panns potted beef	Nuttmeggs & other spice
A hamper of rusk	70 lbs butter
1 do of byskett	a box of Candles

The General Court allowed him £30.



THE GREEN DRAGON TAVERN.

FANEUIL HALL

BY

CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN.

Peter Zenger

FANEUIL HALL

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER, OLD STATE HOUSE, DECEMBER 10, 1895, BY

CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN.

WHEN we look at Bonner's Map of Boston, first issued in 1722, with emendations in 1733, '43 and '69, we see a compact town, with narrow, winding streets, occupying the territory between Beacon Hill and the water, extending from the North Battery to Essex street and Frog lane. It was a commercial town, with many wharves along the water front, — the most notable being Long wharf with its thousand or more legs extending like a huge centipede from the foot of King street far out into the harbor. The eastern side of Long wharf formed the entrance to the Town dock.

When we turn to the early records, we find that the Town dock originally was a cove, which in 1634 was

the chief landing-place for boats. It was natural that it should become the chief market-place. From Winthrop's "Journal" we learn that a market-place was established there, by order of the Court, as early as 1634. It was a convenient place, and a safe shelter for the fishermen who supplied the inhabitants with cod and mackerel, and for the farmers of Newtowne, Watertown and Cambridge, who came down the Charles in their boats with vegetables. It was equally convenient for the farmers of Roxbury and Dorchester, coming over the "Neck" with their teams. The topography made it the natural market-place and commercial centre of the town. A market-house was erected, but the exact date does not appear. It seems that there was much opposition to a market-building, but on what grounds is not wholly clear; possibly that it created a monopoly and was detrimental to the community, because of the danger "of the pernicious practice of forestalling."

At a town meeting held May 11, 1733, it was voted to assign three places for markets:

"That in the Vacent place at or near the Town Dock be one of the Places. That the Open place near the old North meeting House be another place for a market. That the Third place be at or near the Great Tree at the South end, near m^r^ Eliots House." *

* Boston Town Records, in Record Commissioners' Reports, xii: 44. The "Great Tree" was probably that later known as the "Liberty Tree."

It would seem that some structure used for market purposes had been standing on or near Dock Square for several years, as a committee had been appointed June 27, 1732, to "Receive any Proposals any may make for Demolishin or Hireing out the Old Buildings, Belonging to the Town in Dock Square."

The town was much concerned at this time about the condition of the fortifications necessary for its proper defence, and the meetings of the citizens were frequent and largely attended. On the 20th of March, 1733, they adjourned from the Town-house to the "Meeting-house in Church Green," where, after appropriating ten thousand pounds to fortify the town, they voted seven hundred pounds for the new markets.* The town records show there was much discussion as to the location of the market at the south part of the town, and the regulations to be adopted for the government of all of them; and notwithstanding the appropriation, the citizens were about equally divided on the policy of public market-places generally. It would seem that the one in Dock square, at any rate, was very unpopular, and the contention culminated in the demolition of the building by malcontent citizens "disguised like clergymen," one night in 1737.†

In no town in the Puritan Commonwealth were the people more keenly alive to the preservation of their

* Boston Town Records, in Record Commissioners' Reports, xii: 66.
† See 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., iii: 255.

rights and liberties than in Boston. They realized that a government of the people could only be maintained by a free discussion of every question affecting their interests. The town meeting was their parliament; the meeting-houses their parliament halls; but they were dependent upon the courtesy of the pew-holders for the use of the houses, when, as was often the case, the town hall was not large enough to accommodate the voters.

Under such circumstances, Peter Faneuil, son of a French refugee Huguenot, born in New Rochelle, N. Y., who at the age of forty had become the wealthiest citizen of Boston, seeing the needs of his fellow-townsmen, conceived the idea of erecting a building which should be less objectionable than its predecessors, and presenting it to the town. Three hundred and forty-seven influential citizens, among whom was Harrison Gray, petitioned the Selectmen to bring his plan before the town, setting forth that Peter Faneuil hath been generously "pleased to Offer at his Own proper cost and Charge, to Erect and Build a noble and compleat Structure or Edifice to be Improved for a Market, for the sole Use, Benefit and advantage of the Town."*

On the 4th of July, 1740, the Selectmen issued a Warrant calling a town meeting, to be held ten days later; the date of the Warrant was surely a most auspicious one, but it would appear from the subsequent

*The Record Commissioners' Report, xii: 259, has the Petition in full.

proceedings that the gift would hardly have been accepted had it not been that, both in the Petition and the Warrant, it was proposed to repeal the town by-law "so far as it Respects Buying Provisions out of the Market, ... that so all Persons may be at Liberty at all times to Buy in any Part of the Town."

When the citizens assembled, it was evident that the old opposition to a public market-house had by no means disappeared. So numerous were the voters that, as on former occasions, an adjournment was taken to the Brattle street Meeting-house, after voting "That the Thanks of the Town be given to Peter Faneuil for his Generous Offer." At the adjourned meeting in the afternoon, a "considerable debate" ensued. There were 727 voters present, of whom 367 voted to accept and 360 were opposed; and after instructing the Selectmen to

"Wait upon Peter Faneuil Esquire, and to Present the Thanks of this Town to Him, As Voted in the Forenoon: And also to Acquaint Him, that the Town have, by their Vote, come to a Resolution to Accept of his Generous Offer of Erecting a Market House on Dock Square, According to his Proposal, ... the Meeting was Dismiss'd."*

September 2, 1740, the Selectmen received from Faneuil, through Joshua Blanchard, plans for the market-house, and the construction of the building was

* Record Commissioners' Reports, xii : pp. 259–60.

begun soon afterward. These plans, which were drawn by the artist John Smibert, provided for a building on the town's land, which should cover the spot on which the Centre Market had formerly stood, and which was to be forty by one hundred feet,— just half the size of the present building. Then was disclosed Faneuil's project of erecting a structure which should be both a market and a free parliament house.

The building was completed in August, 1742, and on the 10th of September Samuel Ruggles, who had charge of its erection, delivered the keys to the Selectmen in the name of the donor. On Monday, September 13, the freeholders assembled formally to accept the gift. Thomas Cushing was chosen Moderator, and on motion of John Jeffries the thanks of the town were voted to Faneuil "for his Noble and Generous Benefaction;" and a committee consisting of the Hon. Adam Winthrop, Thomas Hutchinson, Hon. Edward Hutchinson, Hon. Samuel Waldo, and Hon. Ezekiel Lewis was chosen to draw up a vote of thanks, to be presented to the town for their approbation.

The record tells us that they forthwith withdrew "into One of the Lobbeys to do the same," and soon after reported at length. After reciting the previous acts of the citizens, accepting Faneuil's offer, they refer to the fact that the liberal donor has "at a very great Expence Erected a Noble Structure far exceeding his first Proposal, Inasmuch as it contains not only a large

and Sufficient Accommodation for a Market place, but has also Superadded a Spacious and most Beautiful Town Hall over it, and Several other Convenient Rooms, which may prove very Beneficial to the Town," and recommend the town to accept "with the Utmost Gratitude .... this most Generous and Noble Benefaction for the Uses and Intentions they are designed for;" and that a committee, consisting of the Moderator of the meeting, Thomas Cushing, and Hon. Adam Winthrop, Edward Hutchinson, Ezekiel Lewis and Samuel Waldo, with the Selectmen and Representatives of the town of Boston, Jacob Wendell, James Bowdoin, Andrew Oliver, Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham, Peter Chardon and Charles Apthorp, be appointed to

"Wait upon Peter Faneuil, Esq., in the name of the Town, to render him their Most hearty Thanks for so Bountiful a Gift, with their Prayers that this and other Expressions of his Bounty and Charity may be Abundantly Recompenced with the Divine Blessing."*

The motion was unanimously carried, and the record continues: —

"And then a Motion was made by Thomas Hutchinson Esq^r. that in Testimony of the Towns Gratitude to the said Peter Faneuil Esq^r. and to perpetuate his Memory the Town now pass a Vote that the Hall over the Market place, be named Faneuil Hall, and at all times hereafter be called and known by that Name. Which

* See Record Commissioners' Report, xii: pp. 306 *et seq.*

was accordingly Unanimously Voted in the Affirmative.

And then a Motion was made by Mr. William Price that as a further Testimony of the Towns Gratitude to the said Peter Faneuil Esq^{r}. The Picture of the said Peter Faneuil Esq^{r}. may be drawn in full Length and placed in the said Hall, at the Expence of the Town.

"Which was also Unanimously Voted in the Affirmative.

"And the Select Men are desired to take leave that the same be done accordingly."

At an adjourned meeting held four days later, the Selectmen reported that they had discharged the duty intrusted to them; to which Mr. Faneuil had "made Answer that it was an Honour Show'd him by the Town he could not Expect. He hoped what he had done would be for the Service of the whole Countrey, and in a particular manner of the Town of Boston," and consented to sit for "the Drawing of His Picture."

As John Smibert, the artist and designer of the Hall, was a personal friend of Faneuil's, there can be little doubt that he painted the "picture."* The original was

* The portrait which now hangs in the Hall was painted by Henry Sargent; it is a copy, with some slight changes, of one of smaller size presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, Oct. 29, 1835 [see their Proceedings, ii: 19], by Miss Jones (a granddaughter of Mary Anne Faneuil, Peter's sister, who married John Jones), in behalf of the heirs of Edward Jones. Mr. Arthur Dexter, in the "Memorial History of Boston," includes this among the paintings by Smibert, but the editor of that work adds a (?). The heirs of Mary Anne Faneuil still have her portrait, which is signed by Smibert; as it is a companion picture to that of her brother, and in style closely resembles it, it seems to confirm Mr. Dexter's assignment.

possibly carried away when Boston was evacuated by the British troops.*

The town also voted to place in the Hall, portraits of Gen. Henry S. Conway, and Col. Isaac Barré, both of whom were strong friends of the Colonies, "as a Standing Monument to all Posterity of the virtue and Justice of our Benefactors, and a lasting proof of our Gratitude." Later King George presented his likeness, and Governor William Shirley his. All these were probably lost in the fire, or at the time of the Evacuation.

The building was thus dedicated to free speech and the largest liberty of all the people, but the great-hearted donor did not long live after his gift was accepted; he died a few months later (March 3, 1743/4), at the age of forty-two, greatly lamented by his fellow-citizens. Schoolmaster John Lovell, of the Boston Latin School, pronounced his Eulogy in the Hall, March 14 (the first public use of the building after his death), in which the orator said: —

"To express your gratitude to your generous benefactor you have passed the most honorable Resolve to call the house by his name. But in vain, alas! would you perpetuate his memory by such frail materials: these walls, the present monument to his fame, shall moulder into dust. These foundations, however deeply laid, shall

* Another account says the portrait was destroyed by some of the citizens, in resentment, because several of the family who were Loyalists left the town when the British sailed away.

be forgotten; but his deeds, his charities, shall survive the ruins of nature. To have relieved the miseries of the distressed, to have stifled the cries of the orphan, and to have dried the widow's tears, are acts that shall embalm his memory for many generations on earth, and shall follow him beyond the limits of mortality where charity dwells.

"What now remains but my ardent wishes that this Hall may be sacred to the interests of truth, of justice, of loyalty, of honor, of liberty. May no private views, nor party broils ever enter within these walls; but may the same public spirit that glowed in the heart of the generous founder, influence all your debates, that society may reap the benefit of them."*

The Selectmen ordered that on the day of the funeral the bell on Faneuil Hall should be tolled from one o'clock until the ceremonies were concluded, and that a hatchment with the Faneuil arms be placed on the west end of the building. These arms, as described by the "Sexton of the Old School," were on a field argent (silver or white), a large heart gules (scarlet) on the centre, "truly a suitable emblem," with "seven stars equidistant from each other and from the margin of the escutcheon, extending from the sinister chief to the dexter base" (that is, around the upper edge and the left side of the shield); "on the sinister base a cross moline within an annulet" or small circle. These arms

* The Oration is printed in full in the Record Commissioners' Reports, xiv : pp. 14 *et seq.*

are chiselled on the easterly end of the Faneuil tomb, in the westerly corner of the Granary Burial-ground.

March 12, 1743–4, Moses Deshon asked the town to accept a carving of these arms, "Compleatly Finished & Gilt . . . . at a Considerable Expence of Time and Money," and order it to be placed in the Hall, "which will not only be a great Ornament to the Room, but a means of Perpetuating the Memory of the Worthy and Generous Donor." The town voted to do so, "making him such an Allowance for the same as shall . . . . be thought reasonable."*

The market did not at once become popular among the citizens, having been closed from time to time for longer or shorter periods, but the Hall above was constantly used. One of the earliest gatherings was on Oct. 10, 1744, to celebrate the King's Coronation-day "with a concert of music." In May, 1747, a series of concerts were given there, and on Election-day the Governor and Council dined there, thus inaugurating the long series of banquets for which the Hall has been famous. In 1760 it was illuminated to celebrate the reduction of Canada.

For twenty years the old building was used for town-meetings and public gatherings. Its interior was destroyed by fire January 13, 1761. At a town-meeting the following March, it was voted that the Hall should

* Record Commissioners' Reports, xiv: pp. 26, 36, 37.

be rebuilt, using the old walls, and a lottery was authorized to obtain the requisite funds. The dedication address was delivered by James Otis on the 14th of March, 1763. The famous grasshopper vane still surmounting the cupola, which was hammered out from sheet copper by Shem Drowne in May, 1742, and which had been thrown down by an earthquake and somewhat damaged in November, 1755, escaped the fire, and was restored to its place on the new Hall.

The rebuilding brings us to the period of the attempt of England to impose taxes upon the Colonies. Many town-meetings were convened in the Hall, but as the Old South Meeting-house had a much larger seating capacity, the meetings frequently adjourned to that edifice. Thus, not only by Master Lovell's dedication, but by the consideration of vital questions affecting the rights of the people, it acquired its appropriate name, "the Cradle of Liberty."

When the news came that the obnoxious Stamp Act had been repealed, the town voted (March 18, 1767) that the Hall should again be illuminated, and that the Selectmen should make provision for the people to drink the King's health. The *Boston Gazette* relates that "a profusion of wine and other liquors was prepared in Faneuil Hall, to collect the genuine sons of Liberty, to celebrate this happy festival." Besides what wine and liquors the Selectmen provided, John Hancock and other merchants kept open house, and it seems

probable that during the late hours of the night many of the citizens found that the streets were unusually crooked on that joyful occasion!

On August 1, the following year, the ever-watchful citizens discovering the intentions of the Ministry to obtain a revenue from the Colonies by indirect taxation, met in Faneuil Hall and voted not to import tea, glass, and other commodities from England. One month later, on September 7, they came together once more and appointed a committee to wait upon the Governor and inquire why troops had been ordered to Boston. September 13, they reassembled and voted that each inhabitant should provide himself with "a well fixed fire-lock musket, and ammunition, as the law required." The following week, Thursday, September 22, 1768, seventy delegates from sixty towns met in convention in the Hall, the numbers increasing the next day to one hundred from ninety-eight towns. The delegates from Boston were Samuel Adams, James Otis and John Hancock. The petty and incompetent Governor Bernard ordered them to disperse, but being free citizens, they paid no heed, and continued the convention till the 29th.

When the Ministry ordered troops to Boston, after the riot and damage to Governor Hutchinson and others, the Selectmen allowed the regiments to be quartered temporarily in the Hall, while barracks were being prepared.

Perhaps one of the most notable gatherings in the old Hall was that when Ebenezer Richardson was examined before Justices John Ruddock, Edmund Quincy, Richard Dana and Samuel Pemberton, for shooting Christopher Snider. Bancroft is the only historian who has mentioned it, and it seems to me that he has not fully comprehended what came of it. The merchants had agreed not to sell tea. More than four hundred housewives and one hundred and twenty-six young ladies signed an agreement in February, renouncing the use of tea until the Revenue Acts were repealed. There were some citizens — the royalists — who continued to use it. Theophilus Lillie, a merchant on Middle street (now included in Hanover street), had agreed not to sell the herb, but went back on his promise. On the morning of February 22, 1770, a post was found firmly planted in the ground in front of his house, upon which was his effigy, undoubtedly the work of some ship-carver. It soon attracted a crowd of citizens and school-boys.

Among the citizens was Ebenezer Richardson, who had the unenviable reputation of being an informer. We must not lose sight of the fact that the public, in view of the tyrannical laws enacted by Parliament through a long period, with the design to prevent the Colonies from manufacturing their own goods, had come to regard an evasion of the custom laws as no heinous offence. Richardson was a spy upon the importers. Doubtless wishing to make himself superserviceable to

the customs officials, he tried to persuade a charcoal peddler to run against the post with his team and knock it over, but in vain. Neither could he induce a teamster with a load of wood to run his sled against it. The school-boys began to chaff him, and then to snowball. Richardson responded with a brickbat; whereupon the boys pelted him with more balls, driving him to his home. Losing his self-possession, he opened a window and fired a shot into the crowd, slightly wounding Samuel Gore, and mortally wounding Christopher Snider, the son of a widow living in Frog Lane.

A crowd quickly gathered. The bell of Christ Church was rung, and soon all the bells were clanging. The excited people were ready to take summary vengeance, but the law took its course in Faneuil Hall, before the justices already named. On Sunday the ministers preached upon the homicide. On the day of Snider's funeral a vast crowd assembled at the Liberty tree, upon which were placards with Biblical mottoes: "Thou shalt not take satisfaction for the life of a murderer; he shall surely be put to death." "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not go unpunished."

The murdered boy's school-mates were his pall-bearers. The body was placed beneath the tree. Upon the pall were Latin inscriptions: "*Latet anguis in herba*" (A serpent is lurking in the grass); "*Haeret lateris lethalis arundo*" (The fatal dart has pierced his side); "*Innocentia nusquam in tuto*" (Innocence is nowhere safe).

All the bells were tolling. Mothers and maidens along the street were weeping for the afflicted mother. Old men uncovered their heads and bared their snow-white locks to the wintry air. All business ceased. More than six hundred of the school-boys, the apprentices, journeymen, magistrates, merchants, ministers, lawyers, physicians, honored citizens, — more than two thousand in all, followed in the funeral procession, to the Granary Burial-ground.

The funeral was during the last week in February. On the following 5th of March occurred the "Boston Massacre." There can be little question that this manifestation of the sympathies of the public on the day of the funeral had much to do with the firing of the troops upon the people a few days later. On the one hand it angered the soldiers, who, through idleness and lax discipline, had come to regard the town's-people with contempt, to treat them with contumely; on the other, it emboldened the ropemakers, apprentices and journeymen to resist the aggressions of the red-coats.

The historian who would get at the causes of the outbreak, or correctly portray the scene in front of this building on the night of the 5th of March, must go back to the scene in Faneuil Hall — the arraignment of Richardson; and beyond that to the effigy in front of Theophilus Lillie's house, and from thence to the enactment of laws by Parliament, designed to prevent the Colonies from engaging in manufacturing and com-

merce. On the day after the Massacre the people met in the Hall to demand the removal of the troops. The body of Attucks, one of the victims, was placed there, and there the funeral procession started.

During the months between the passage of the Port bill, which closed the harbor to commerce, when not a fishing-boat could land, or a gundalow float down the Charles or Mystic with provisions for the distressed people; when contributions of food were arriving from every one of the thirteen Colonies, the committee made their distribution from Faneuil Hall. We may think of Israel Putnam, a soldier who had fought for King George at Ticonderoga, driving a flock of sheep all the way from Connecticut to the market place around the Hall, holding conference with Maj. Small of the redcoats, his old companion in arms, dining with him at the Bunch of Grapes, and telling him some plain political truths, as they sip their Madeira.

During the siege of Boston we may think of the Hall as transformed into a theatre, and the amateur dramatists of the British regiments performing Gen. Burgoyne's comedy, "The Siege of Boston." On its first presentation there was a scene not put down in the bills. The audience suddenly heard distant musket-shots, increasing to volleys, and doubtless wondered how the stage manager had produced the illusion. An officer appeared in haste upon the stage and shouted that the Yankees were making an attack. It was so natural that

the officers in the audience pounded their applause with their swords, and the soldiers clapped their hands, thinking it a part of the play. "I tell you the Yankees are attacking us. Officers, to your regiments," shouted the man on the stage. The musketry increased, and the horizon in the direction of Charlestown was illuminated by burning buildings. The play had a sudden ending. The audacious Yankees from the regiments at Cobble Hill had crossed the mill-dam and attacked the outposts.

During the summer of 1778 a French fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and four frigates, under D'Estaing, arrived on the American coast with four thousand soldiers. After an abortive movement against New York the French commander entered Narraganset Bay, but sailed out again to give battle to the British. No engagement was had, and the fleet came to Boston to refit. In August John Hancock gave an elaborate entertainment to the officers in Faneuil Hall. Sentiments laudatory of the French King, Congress, Washington, the Army, and the Alliance of the two countries were drunk by the citizens, who expected great results from the coming of their allies, who, a few years before, had been their implacable foes.

Again, on October 3, 1781, when the fleet under De Grasse entered the harbor, the merchants of Boston gave a sumptuous banquet in the Hall. From the newspapers of the time we learn that after the dinner seventeen regular toasts were given at intervals of five

minutes, each sentiment being accompanied by the discharge of a cannon in the square. One would suppose that glasses drained seventeen times in one hour and a quarter would tend to make a company of several hundred gentlemen somewhat hilarious; but the newspapers assure us "that notwithstanding the largeness of the company the most perfect order and decorum was preserved throughout the whole," which shows that our fathers could not only contain seventeen glasses, but themselves as well.

In 1784 a similar banquet was given by the Boston merchants in honor of Lafayette. As the patriotic toasts were given, a train of artillery under the command of Major Davis fired salutes in Market Square, and during the festivities a portrait of Washington was unveiled amid great enthusiasm.

In May, 1805, the building was enlarged to double its former size, for although the Hall was capable of holding a thousand people, it was found to be too small for the necessities of the town. The architect selected was Charles Bulfinch. The old wall on the southerly side was retained and carried higher, and the general style of the former building was closely followed, even to the pilasters on the walls and the grasshopper on the cupola, which had been carefully preserved through all its vicissitudes.

The first notable banquet in the present Hall was that given September 5, 1812, by the town, to Isaac Hull

and the officers of the frigate Constitution, and those of the other war vessels in the harbor, and it commemorated an important event. The United States had been a nation just twenty-five years. The adoption of the Constitution bound the States together politically, but in sentiment the United States were hardly a nation. The people of the several States had no ardent love for the Union. Love of country — patriotism — the grand ideal which makes country superior to all other things — had not sprung up in the hearts of the people. The declaration of war with England was made on June 19, 1812. England had seized no less than 917 American merchant vessels; France had seized 558 ; the loss to American merchants aggregated more than $70,000,000. England was impressing American seamen into her naval service.

The people were becoming very angry, but they were divided in opinion. Some wanted to go to war both with England and France; others with England only, and others still thought it better to submit in silence until the nation was stronger. England had more than one thousand ships afloat ; the United States twenty. England had swept the fleets of France from the ocean, and was mistress of the seas. It is not to be wondered at that John Bull regarded the insignificant navy of this country as of little account. The English press had disparaged the Yankee nation and the Yankee frigates. England's wooden walls were of the stoutest

oak; the Yankee war-ships were no better than pine boards.

In August the frigate Constitution, having sent the Guerriere to the bottom of the sea, sailed into Boston harbor, joining the President, under Commodore Rodgers, the United States, commanded by Decatur, the Congress, commanded by Capt. Smith, the Hornet, by Lawrence, the Argus, by Sinclair.

On Saturday, September 5, the citizens, five hundred in number, assembled at the Exchange Coffee House, and marched in procession to Faneuil Hall. The President of the day was John Coffin Jones, with Samuel Dexter, Harrison Gray Otis, and other prominent citizens as Vice-presidents. The Hall was elaborately decorated. The *Chronicle* newspaper said: "A more pleasing and animating design and arrangement of appropriate decorations has never been exhibited in New England. The duties and hopes of Americans were most aptly concentrated in the various displays of Faith, Genius and Patriotism. It would require a *plate* with *annotations* to give a satisfactory view of the scenery."

As in previous banquets, there were seventeen regular sentiments. Just why that number should have been selected can only be surmised; possibly experience had shown our fathers that that was a safe number of potations.

The Vice-president, taking the chair upon the retirement of the President, gave the following toast: "The

iron colossus that bestrides the continent of Europe: may the nations no longer be blasted with its shadow."

Just what was regarded as "the iron colossus" I cannot say; it could hardly have been Napoleon; England's power was on the sea, and she was not bestriding Europe, only as making her influence felt in diplomacy. Ex-President John Adams, too feeble to be present, sent the following sentiment: "May every Commodore in our Navy soon be made an Admiral, and every Captain a Commodore, with ships and squadrons worthy of their commanders, and of the wealth, dignity and power of this country. *Proh dolor! Proh pudor!*"

It was a joyful banquet. The victory won by Isaac Hull was a great, inspiring event. It aroused the latent patriotism of the country in a remarkable degree. People began to comprehend that we were a nation with one flag, with a common destiny.

Aside from the town-meetings and the dinners of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, there were no notable gatherings of historic interest for several years. Lafayette, upon his second visit to this country, was entertained at the Exchange Coffee House.

On the completion of the dry dock at the Navy Yard, in 1835, President Jackson, accompanied by Secretary Cass, Secretary Levi Woodbury, and other members of his Cabinet, visited Boston and were entertained in the Hall. They went as far north as Concord, N. H. Of more historic interest than the visit of the President to

the Hall was a gathering, held a few weeks earlier, and largely attended by the merchants of Boston, to inform the world that they were opposed to any interference with the constitutional guarantees which protected the institution of slavery in the Southern States.

On January 1, 1831, William Lloyd Garrison, after his forty-nine days' imprisonment in Baltimore jail for writing an article denouncing a ship-captain from his own town of Newburyport for taking a cargo of slaves to New Orleans, after an ineffectual effort to obtain any meeting-house in this city, had started *The Liberator.* In 1833 the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed. It was the beginning of the agitation against an institution incorporated into the Constitutions of half the States of the Union, protected by the Constitution of the United States, and defended by doctors of divinity as ordained by Almighty God for the welfare of society.

The prejudice against the negro was intense throughout the Northern States. A negro might be a member of a church, but he could hear the gospel preached only from the negro pew, or the "nigger heaven," as the negro gallery in the Old South and in Christ Church was called.

Even after the lapse of two-thirds of a century, I am not quite able satisfactorily to account for the prevailing sentiment of the time. The fear was general that if the slaves were to be liberated, they would all hasten North,

and settle down upon this section of the country like a cloud of locusts; that there would be intermarriage between the races. "Do you want your daughter to marry a nigger?" was a stock argument on the part of those opposed to the Abolitionists. The idea that the human race was a brotherhood had not dawned upon the Christian world, much less had it come to the general public. Fifteen years later, Rufus Choate spoke of the Declaration of Independence as a collection of glittering generalities. Garrison, Whittier, and their associates, planted themselves on the brotherhood of man. But the American people had to see a quarter of a million of their bravest and best lay down their lives on the battle-field before they could comprehend the unity of the human race. At Wagner, on that memorable Saturday night, July 18, 1863, when the Massachusetts 54th Regiment — men who had been sold on the auction-blocks of Richmond, Charleston and Savannah — under their intrepid commander, Col. Robert G. Shaw, led their fellow-soldiers of the Anglo-Saxon race through the moat and up the glacis, facing the pitiless storm from the double-shotted Confederate cannon, then and there in the gloaming of that summer night, by their bravery, heroism and sacrifice, they who had no rights under the Constitution of the United States as declared by the Chief Justice of this Republic, compelled not only the people of this country but of the whole world to recognize them as brothers in the human family, and

entitled to all the privileges vouchsafed by Almighty God to all His creatures.

The meeting of those citizens of Boston in the "Cradle of Liberty," in 1835, to protest against any movement for the liberation of four millions of slaves, and that struggle on the glacis of Wagner twenty-eight years later, are two instructive scenes in the mighty drama, illustrating the advancement of the human race in its conception of the meaning of the loftiest Christian ideal — the brotherhood of man, the fatherhood of God. At that meeting the Mayor presided, speeches were made, and resolutions adopted, denouncing this handful of men and women who had formed themselves into an Anti-Slavery Society to bring about the abolition of slavery by peaceful means.

A few weeks later the ladies belonging to that Society were not permitted to hold their meeting, and Garrison was mobbed. From this edifice he was hustled to jail by the authorities, to save him from the fury of the mob. It was the era of mob violence throughout the Northern States.

We come to a historical evening in 1837. At Alton, Illinois, a mob had destroyed three printing-presses successively. A fourth had been obtained. Some of the citizens, not Abolitionists, feeling that a vital principle — the liberty of the press — was at stake, volunteered to defend it. The Mayor sanctioned their proceedings. A mob attacked the warehouse in which it was stored,

and shot the Rev. E. T. Lovejoy. Some of the citizens of Boston petitioned the Mayor and Aldermen for the use of Faneuil Hall, to denounce this assault upon the freedom of the press, the Rev. Dr. Channing heading the petition, which at first was refused but subsequently granted.

Several speeches had been made, the speakers dwelling upon the great principle involved, when the Attorney-General of the State, sitting in the front gallery, rose and said that the people of Alton had as much right to break Lovejoy's printing press and throw it into the river as the people of Boston had to throw the detested tea into the harbor, down by Griffin's wharf. His remarks were loudly applauded by a portion of the audience.

When he had finished, a tall young man, a graduate of Harvard, who had studied law, but who had not had much practice, Wendell Phillips by name, walked up the steps to the platform and said: "When I heard the gentleman lay down principles placing the murderers, incendiaries and rioters of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams [pointing to their portraits], I thought those pictured lips would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead. The gentleman said that he should sink into insignificance if he dared to gainsay the principle of these Resolutions. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered, on soil consecrated by the prayers

of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have yawned and swallowed him up!"

Attorney-General Austin has gone into insignificance, but Wendell Phillips still lives.

During that year forty Sac and Fox Indians, Black Hawk and Black Hawk Junior, who had been at war with the United States, but who had become the guests of the Republic, visited Boston, and were entertained in the Hall. They returned the compliment by giving a war-dance on the Common.

In 1840 steam connection was opened between Boston and Liverpool, and the citizens gave a grand banquet to Mr. Cunard in recognition of his commercial enterprise.

The following year was signalized by the visit of the Prince de Joinville, of France, to Boston, and a grand ball was given in the Hall in his honor. The Mayor's wife had the honor of his hand in the first dance. It was an occasion when the *crème de la crème* of Boston hobnobbed with royalty.

During 1842 two notable banquets were held in the Hall: the first, given to Lord Ashburton, the British Ambassador to settle the North-eastern boundary; the second, to Daniel Webster, in recognition of his services as Secretary of State. Mr. Webster had been appointed Secretary by President Harrison, and continued under Tyler, while the other members of the Cabinet, not liking Tyler's policy, resigned. The rela-

tions between this country and England had been greatly strained. The Canadian Government had organized an expedition which seized a steamboat on Lake Erie, and sent it over Niagara Falls. It was in reality an act of war, which greatly inflamed the country. Mr. Webster, by his pacific poise and diplomacy, had done much to avert a conflict which seemed imminent between the two countries; and the leading citizens, Harrison Gray Otis, Jeremiah Mason, Abbott Lawrence, and their associates, tendered him the banquet. The student of history will find much to reflect upon in his speech delivered on that occasion.

I cannot dwell upon the many assemblies of citizens in the Hall during the two decades preceding the outbreak of the Civil war, — a period of intense political excitement, beginning with the annexation of Texas, the Mexican war, and the election of General Taylor as President. In 1848 William H. Seward, then the rising statesman of the Empire State, and a tall, ungainly man with a homely countenance, a member of Congress but unknown to fame, Abraham Lincoln by name, made speeches in the Hall. The political mutations of that period were rapid and intense. The great Whig leaders of that hour, who greeted Seward and the uncouth lawyer on that platform, ten years later were their political opponents; while those who in 1848 were politically opposed to Seward and Lincoln became their staunch supporters.

In 1848 Daniel Webster was welcomed by the most enthusiastic applause to its platform. In 1850 the doors of the Cradle of Liberty were closed against him by the Mayor and Aldermen. Subsequently they were opened, "On golden hinges turning," to use the glowing words of Rufus Choate. The most impressive of all the scenes ever witnessed in the Hall was that in October, 1852, when it was draped in black upon the death of Webster; and I know of no eulogistic oratory to be compared with that which fell from the lips of Edward Everett: —

"Within that darkened chamber at Marshfield was witnessed a scene of which we shall not readily find a parallel. The serenity with which he stood in the presence of the King of Terrors, without trepidation or flutter, for hours and days of expectation; the thoughtfulness for public business when the sands were so nearly run; the hospitable care for the reception of friends who came to Marshfield; that affectionate and solemn leave separately taken, name by name, of wife, children, and friends and family, down to the humblest member of his household; the designation of the coming day, then near at hand, when all that was mortal of Daniel Webster would cease to exist; the dimly recollected strains of the funeral poetry of Gray, the last flash of the soaring intellect; the feebly murmured words of Holy Writ from the lips of the good physician, who, when all the resources of human art had been exhausted, had a drop of spiritual balm for the parting soul; the clasped hands; the dying prayer: Oh, my fellow-citi-

zens, that is a consummation over which the tears of pious sympathy will be shed ages after the glories of the forum and the Senate are forgotten.

"'His sufferings ended with the day,
Yet lived he at its close;
And breathed the long, long night away
In statue-like repose.
But ere the sun, in all his state,
Illum'd the eastern skies,
He passed through glory's golden gate,
And walked in Paradise.'"

A volume would hardly suffice to portray the many meetings in the Hall from 1850 to the present time; but among those who have gathered upon its platform are names illustrious in the history of the Commonwealth and of the country. Of the period antedating and including the Revolution, and before the enlargement of the Hall, are Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, John Adams, Edmund Quincy, Generals Gage, Burgoyne, Clinton, Howe, Lafayette, and the distinguished officers of the French allies of the Colonists, already mentioned.

Among the prominent men of the following century were Isaac Hull, James Lawrence, whose dying words were "Don't give up the ship;" Rodgers and his fellow officers; Presidents Monroe, Jackson, Tyler, Polk and Lincoln. Of the statesmen who have shaped political affairs, Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, Edward Everett, Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Sumner, John A.

Andrew, Charles Francis Adams, Caleb Cushing, Henry Wilson, James G. Blaine. Men whose oratory has thrilled applauding audiences: Wendell Phillips, Rufus Choate, George S. Hillard, Louis Kossuth. Men of the South: Howell Cobb, Jefferson Davis, John Slidell. Men whose souls were on fire: William Lloyd Garrison, William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker.

Its walls have echoed the notes of the "White Cockade," played by the fifers of King George's red-coated regiments, and the drum-beats of Washington's victorious troops. From its portals went forth the men of Middlesex and Essex, in obedience to the call of Abraham Lincoln, to maintain the authority of the Constitution.

From the day when Schoolmaster Lovell pronounced his funeral oration on the generous giver, and onward through that century, it was the cradle of the infant Republic; but from the day of its enlargement to the present hour it has been the palladium of Liberty; and it is incumbent not only upon the City of Boston, but upon the Bostonian Society, to see to its preservation as the people's parliament-house, forever dedicated to Freedom!

FANEUIL HALL IN 1760.

From an old Wood-cut.

BOSTON IN 1813,

REMINISCENCES OF AN OLD SCHOOL-BOY

BY

JOHN TUCKER PRINCE.

BOSTON IN 1813,

Reminiscences of an Old School-Boy

A PAPER READ TO THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY, COUNCIL CHAMBER, OLD STATE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 12, 1884, BY

JOHN TUCKER PRINCE.

I PROPOSE to give a few reminiscences of our City as it appeared to a school-boy seventy years ago. The great dramatist says "Old men forget, and some remember with advantage." Let me endeavor to do so, and recall my memories of that distant day. Seventy years ago carries us back to 1813, when I was a pupil in the old "West Writing School," in Chardon's Lane, now Chardon street, under the tuition of Masters Benjamin Holt in writing, and Joseph Mulliken in grammar. At that period there were but four Public Schools in Boston (besides the Latin School), and they were designated by their local position thus:

The North, under "Johnny" Tileston, as the boys called him, Writing Master, and Ezekiel Little Grammar Master, was in Love Lane at the North End, now called Tileston street in compliment to that ancient and devoted teacher; the South, in Common street, under Master Thomas Payson Grammar Master, and Rufus Webb Writing Master, on a portion of the land now occupied by the Brimmer School and its yard; the Centre School, in charge of Jonathan Snelling Writing Master,* and John Haskell Grammar Master, occupying first a portion of the Latin School-house on School street, of which William Biglow was Master, and subsequently the new building on Mason street; and the West School, which I attended. Of all these venerable structures, but one alone remains, the last mentioned, and that has been ignominiously converted into a club stable.

Seventy years ago! Even at that remote period Boston, though only a town, was like Tarsus of old, "no mean city," boasting as it did a population of upwards of 33,000. Sitting queen-like on her three hills, she looked down from her dome-capped capitol upon a harbor and bay unsurpassed for beauty and maritime facilities, and a surrounding series of suburbs rich in stately residences, and farms teeming with the fruits of the earth; her glance fell upon a homogeneous population,

* Jonathan Snelling was long employed in the Boston schools as a Writing Master, having served in the Public Latin School in that capacity from 1830 until his death, which occurred January 31, 1847.

for no influx of foreigners had then entered her gates, bringing with them their griefs and prejudices.

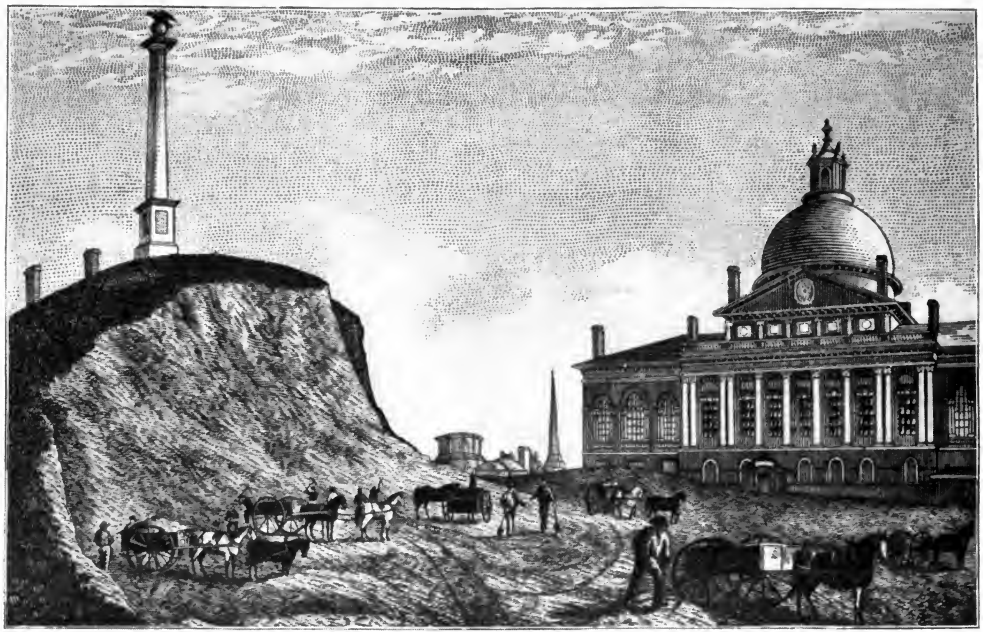
Three-score and ten years ago, Boston's pride, her noble "Common," was what it purported to be, common land held in fee simple by the bovine race, and upon its green sward they "chewed the cud of sweet and bitter fancy," or "stood ruminant," adding to the beauty of the landscape. The walks were simple foot-paths worn in the sod by repeated crossing, no one of which was as wide as the narrowest plank-walk of to-day. There were no trees on the Common proper but the Great Elm, and a gnarly pollard willow, which overhung the Frog-pond at an angle of forty-five degrees, beneath whose scant shade the cows would stand knee-deep, and ever and anon kick up a shower of muddy, fly-disturbing water. Several young elms bordered the walk crossing from the Burying-ground to Tremont street, and these made the entire number, both on the Common and the added portion purchased from the Foster family. Along the Mall on Tremont street, there were rows of English elms.

The Frog-pond was literally what its name denotes, uncurbed, with shelving shores, and believed by the youngsters of the period to be unfathomable; nay, it was even asserted by some of the wiser boys that a frigate might float therein! "Soon as the evening shades prevailed" the lady frogs set forth their melodious ditties, and their lovers replied with responsive croakings.

Flagstaff Hill, then as now, reared its head above the deep waters of the Pond, but then it was crowned with the redoubt thrown up by Earl Percy's troops during the British occupation of the town, as a "retort courteous" to Gen. Washington's batteries which lined the opposite shores of the Charles. In the very centre of that redoubt, which was levelled about fifty or sixty years ago, stands the beautiful Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. It was rare sport for the children to race up and down those Revolutionary earthworks.

Our State House on Beacon Hill, with its golden dome, was then just half its present [1884] size, having a large paved yard in its rear, with the necessary outbuildings and well; on this yard the added half was built at quite a recent period. At the time of which I speak its pavements reared an abundant crop of the weed known as green purslane, which would have supplied the tables for a regiment of Englishmen, and the place was a favorite resort for boys, particularly thirsty ones, — and who ever saw a playing boy who was not thirsty when a pump was in view? The well was a hundred feet deep, and yielded from its double-handled pump, into its chained copper can, a deliciously cool draft of pure "Adam's ale." But oh, how hard it was to get it to the surface, even with two at the brakes, which were shaped like the letter Y.

The Doric Hall was approached from this back-yard by three flights of stone steps; and no obstruction at



DEMOLITION OF BEACON HILL.

that day impeded the view from its doors across the Charles to Charlestown. About this time Mount Vernon street was dug down (as is well delineated in the series of colored lithographic views in the Bostonian Society's collection) to about eight or ten feet below the original grade; for a while this left the sidewalk, the State House yard, and its out-buildings and pump, perched up above the street. Of course, in thus reducing the grade, that of the neighboring territory had to conform; and the crown of Middlecot (now Bowdoin) street was made to succumb to the new level. Curiously, however, the owner of the house which stood opposite what was later known as Beacon-hill Place, and next north of the Swedenborgian Church, did not dig his cellar down to the grade of the street, but merely underpinned his front wall, and removed only just enough of the earth to admit of a flight of stairs, ascending which, from his front door, you landed on his cellar floor, and the blinds of the windows of the lower story, if opened, would swing against a bank of the original hill-top.

In 1813 the Malls were separated from the Common, and the cows were shut out from them by rude fences of post and rail; a slot was sawed out from the top of the post in the form of the letter V, into which was inserted, corner-wise, a square joist, its sharp corner upwards of course, and how hard it was, in the intervals of play, to attempt to rest by bestriding this rail! It was

like riding an antique farm-horse bareback. In later years several better styles of fence were substituted until, in 1836, Hon. Samuel T. Armstrong, then Mayor of Boston, had the present iron one erected, under the supervision of good old Deacon Safford, of the Old South Church. It was completed Dec. 16, 1836, and the inner fences removed.

How few, if any, of the present generation of Boston boys ever even heard of "the Wishing Stone," a famous boulder which afforded so much pleasure to the young men and maidens of the past. This was a large rock, oval in form, partly imbedded in the earth, about or very near the junction of the "Long path" of the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, with that from Winter street, near the Joy street entrance to the Common. It had been cleft in some ancient convulsion, and was covered with a coating of moss and lichens; here it had lain from time immemorial, and round its patriarchal sides every lad and lass who visited the Common was expected to run nine times, — mark you, nine times, or the charm would fail to have any potency, — and then, jumping on its venerable top, wish for what they would; and it never failed to supply the secret desire — except *when it failed!* And this source of so much innocent pleasure was by vandal hands and "villanous saltpetre" riven from its native bed and carted off! What private griefs they had, which made them do it, alas, I know not.

In this year Monsieur Duchesne, a very ingenious Frenchman driven from his native land because of his political opinions, and bereft of his property, came to Boston, and as a means of support carved from little blocks of wood minute fac-similes of all the buildings in the town, colored them, and placed them in position on a properly graded ground, and first exhibited them to an admiring public on Berry street; but misfortune followed him, and after years of travel it was found in a dilapidated condition in the West Indies, where it was bought by a Bostonian, brought back to our city, and I believe is still in existence, though by one account it is said to have been destroyed in the great fire of November, 1872.

Sometime between 1812 and 1815, or thereabouts, Pinckney street was dug through the further slope of Beacon Hill, leaving on either side a bank of about forty feet in height, adown which it was our pleasure to descend on the run, preserving our perpendicular by fixing our heels firmly in the earthy bluff. The tops of the hills, which were not at once removed, were crowned with a carpet of green turf, and from their grassy steeps the boys could, and did, pelt each other across the underlying street between them. Below them was open pasture land, strewn with huge boulders, and the weed stramonium, or "Devil's Apple," throve luxuriously. It was a mystery to wiser heads than ours how it came there. Here was land that had lain for

ages under a coating of from ten to forty feet of superincumbent earth, immediately after being exposed to the influences of sun and air by the shovels of the diggers, bringing forth a large crop of this hitherto unknown and unseemly weed, now extinct in that vicinity.

Here, too, were the springs of pure water, which afforded William Blackstone, the first settler, whose cottage stood near the shore just below, that copious supply which induced those of Charlestown to accept his invitation to settle on the peninsula. In 1813 these springs were running as freely as of old, yielding the sable laundresses of that neighborhood an unfailing supply for home consumption, and filling their sunken barrels for domestic use.

Just below, on what is now West Cedar street, then called George street, were two brick barns, in which the Concord Artillery were barracked, having come to town to assist in building Fort Strong on Noddle's Island.

Imagine the surprise of one of our citizens on some sharp, frosty morning, if he should go into Bowdoin Square, now surrounded by the Revere House, the Baptist Church, and other modern structures, its surface cut up by iron rails, and find it filled with country sleds, laden with well-deaconed firewood, or barrels of sweet cider bunged with well-whittled plugs wound with barley-straw; the hungry oxen munching their corn-stalk feed, and sending forth from their hides clouds of steaming sweat, the crisp winter air fast converting it into a

blanket of rime, not so comfortable as the modern one of wool. Imagine, I say, such a sight as this, meeting a citizen of to-day. Yet that was a thing of daily occurrence in the winter time in those days. But alas, even then, the joys of the rural farmers were of short duration, for the constables, "clothed in a little brief authority," would drive the suburbans and their loads of wood and cider to the wood market beneath the Paddock elms beside the old Granary Burial-ground. There was then no Tremont House, or Temple, to dispute their possession, and the clutter of corn-stalks. But that cider was a boon, when our fathers laid in their winter store, and we boys imbibed it drawn through well-selected barley-straws, choosing of course the sweetest; and when refined and bottled, it well deserved the praise that old Mr. Perrin May used to give to his, when he sent it to the sick, with the message, "Tell him it is like nectar."

At the time of which I am speaking we were in the midst of a war with the greatest maritime nation on the globe; a nation whose poet boasted that

"Britannia needs no bulwarks, no towers along the steep;
Her march is on the mountain wave; her home is on the deep."

She had just come out of a conflict with powerful Continental rivals, and was blockading our coast with her magnificent navy, manned with well-trained sailors, threatening our ports, and marauding the villages along

our shores. Our mercantile marine lay idle at our wharves, and the harbor was lined with fine ships and brigs, stripped to a girtline, their spars housed on deck, their lower mast-heads covered with boxes, and their decks roofed in or matted over; there they lay, poor, dumb representatives of a decayed commerce, along Charles street, Cambridge bridge, Front street (now Harrison avenue), anywhere, to save wharfage and dock dues. Squads of militia were daily coming into town to help build the forts, or defend them, and daily reports of intended attacks kept our people on the "anxious seat," and devising signals for night and day, to keep the fighters posted on the plans of the enemy.

Caleb Strong was then, and had been for several years, the Governor.* His headquarters were in a beautiful, large, square house occupying all the ground between Winter street and Hamilton place, having a garden around it laid out in true English style, with box-bordered beds of lovely flowers, and surrounded by a brick wall about three feet high. It had been occupied by Earl Percy, in the Revolution, as his headquarters, being in near proximity to the Royal Governor's quarters at the old Province House, and those of his principal officers about where the Music Hall stands, and not far from the building where we are met to-day. It had been built by Mr. Breck, a thriving merchant;

* He served 1800–1807 and again 1812–16.

appropriated by the British General until he was forced to evacuate the old town, it was now used by his popular successor. The politics of the day ran high, and the papers teemed with bitter invectives, equalled only by those of the renowned editors of "Eatanswill" fame, described by Dickens. But the war went on for "Free trade and sailors' rights."

During this exciting period my parents lived in Myrtle street, the house facing down Garden street, about a good stone's throw from the State House, and as family after family of our neighbors moved to the suburban towns to escape the advent of the red-coated troops and save their "worldly gear," boylike, I questioned my father as to his doing likewise, and his comforting reply was, "As soon as they get up as far as the State House we'll start too."

At that time all the houses on Myrtle street had flat roofs, covered with tar and gravel, and quite a journey east and west could be enjoyed upon them, by leaping the battlement walls. It was from the roof of our house that I saw the launch, from the Navy Yard ship-house, of the first United States line-of-battle ship, "Independence." Two unsuccessful attempts were made, at the second of which she emerged about one-third of her length and stuck fast; but a few days later she slid gracefully into her element, amid the cheers of a great multitude. Many years after, when "three deckers" had had their day, she was "razeed" and became a frigate. But the iron-clads of the present day would

make short work of one of those vessels which won the victories of the War of 1812.

Another peculiarity of that period, ere railroads were even dreamed of, was the arrival of the country "pungs," which brought the produce of New Hampshire, Vermont, and before the war even of Canada, to Boston markets. They came laden with barrels of ball-butter, cheese, frozen geese and turkeys, farm-fed pork, knit mittens and underwear, hose, "Shaker" flannels, etc.; these were either sold for cash, or bartered for West India or dry goods at the stores on Cambridge street, or down town, in exchange for a homeward bound cargo.

There are three Boston characters of 1813 to 1816, which have become obsolete: — the oysterman, the lobsterman, and the lamplighter. Of these, the first sallied forth with his well-filled bag, "soon as the evening shades prevailed," and with sonorous voice pitched in a minor key, yet musical withal, sent out his cry of "Oise, buy-ni'-oise: here's oise." As he marched along the streets, here and there a door would open, a large tray brought out or the brawny son of Cape Cod called in, and knife in hand he would deftly open and deposit upon the tray the toothsome bivalves resting on the half-shell, as desired. The lobsterman also, with his nicely painted barrow, always red within and blue without, walked his evening rounds like the watchman. His cry of "Lob, buy Lob," stirred up an appetite, and the maids were sent out to select and purchase the scarlet-

coated shellfish. These calls no longer wake the echoes of Boston streets in the long winter evenings.

The lamplighter, with torch in hand and ladder on shoulder, survived his companions for a time. His torch was mighty. Imagine a tin can holding about a quart of whale-oil, from which projects a tin pipe of one to two inches in diameter and fifteen inches or more in length; its aperture crowded with a wick of cotton yarn; this can, which had a handle, was carried with the pipe downward, thus allowing the oil to saturate the wick; when lighted, it produced abundant smoke, and a flame which the wind could not extinguish; the oil often dripped on the sidewalk, and then the torch would be raised for a while, to save leakage. The lamps, open tin cups or boxes with three wicks, were hung by wires in the lanterns which surmounted posts of stone or iron. Near the top of these posts was a projecting arm, against which the lighter placed his ladder, and ascended to apply his torch and light the lamps; then clasping his knees around the sides of his ladder, he slid swiftly down, a feat made easy by the lubrication to which ladder and clothing were constantly subjected. You can readily imagine the brilliant illumination these lamps supplied as compared with gas! When morning dawned they had usually burned out, leaving the lantern covered with soot, and necessitating a daily visit of the lamplighter to cleanse the glass and refill the cups. On the nights when the full moon was shining, or ought

to be, his task was light, whether the streets were or not.

What a curious thing it was that our Puritanical ancestors allowed money to be raised for almost every object, charitable, educational, and philanthropical, by the more recently denounced method of lotteries. When Faneuil Hall was to be rebuilt, after its partial destruction by fire, a large part of the needed funds was raised by the sale of lottery tickets, some of which bore the well-known signature of John Hancock; and a scrupulous person of to-day would blush to see how often men of note and prominence lent their names and aid to forward these hazardous investments. The daily newspapers of 1812 to '15 or '18 teem with advertisements of the different lotteries to be drawn.

Exchange street seemed to be the chosen abode of the sellers of these tickets. I could, but I shall not, name many firms and individuals engaged in this traffic, and thought none the less of therefor. Their signs were gorgeous. I remember one in particular, on that street, the dimensions of which must have been at least eight by ten feet, and represented the fickle goddess, with bandaged eyes, holding a cornucopia from which she was pouring coin to her suppliants, as she stood upon the periphery of a wheel. As a work of art, it was above the medium.

To those of you who have ever lived in a beleaguered town or city, the feelings of the people of the block-

aded port of Boston can be appreciated. Here we were, a sort of "pent-up Utica," excited and expectant; our shipping, as I have said, stripped and rotting at our wharves; our town filled with riotous foreign sailors, mostly Portuguese, to whom the saucy boys would cry "Carahoo! me rompy you!" and run from the threatened brickbat. Everything denoted war and its consequences; and the anxiety of the fathers was not lost upon the sons, who hungered for news. Well do I remember the *Blue Sunday* on which came word of the capture, almost in our harbor, of the beautiful frigate "Chesapeake," which I had visited with my father a few days before. Captain James Lawrence, her commander, was mortally wounded in that action. Never since, until Sumter was fired upon in 1861, have I seen the like.

In June, 1812, a pageant was enacted just below the window in the Council Chamber which looks down State street; it was my fortune to see it from one of those little round windows in the room above. Boston's favorite ship, built and launched from Hart's ship-yard, about where the East Boston Ferry slip is now situated, the frigate "Constitution," lovingly christened "Old Ironsides," under command of Capt. Isaac Hull, had captured and destroyed King George's frigate "Guerriere," Capt. James R. Dacres, and arrived in our harbor with her prisoners. The pageant was the procession of the victorious Hull and his gallant crew up Long Wharf

and State street, to participate in a banquet at the Exchange Coffee House, which then stood just opposite on the south.

In digging through the westerly side of Beacon Hill, while constructing Pinckney street, to which I have already referred, many huge rocks or boulders were uncovered, and were left for a while on the hillsides; these the vivid imagination of the boys of the neighborhood transformed into privateers, chalking upon them the names of some of the popular and successful vessels of that class — "The Saucy Jack," "The True Blue Yankee," "The Romp," etc., and holding them as "coigns of vantage," used their protection to fight mimic battles, stony ammunition being very plentiful; literally, these were "towers along the steep."

The United States army at this time consisted of only 35,000 men, and with this small force it was seriously proposed to invade Canada, whose local troops and militia were backed by reinforcements of veterans fresh from the Peninsular War, where they had fought under Sir John Moore and Wellington against the French. Meanwhile our sage legislators at Washington were wrangling over a call for an increase of the army, by 25,000 more men.

As Governor Strong had refused to allow our Massachusetts militia to leave the State, it was necessary to call for volunteers to guard the frontier, and the "Barracks" on Cambridge street, a long, low range of build-

ings about opposite Parkman's Market House, afterwards and for many years an organ factory, and still standing on the corner of North Grove street, was the recruiting station. From this the recruiting sergeant with drummer and fifer marched forth, tossing up Spanish dollars to fall on the drum-head, and crying loudly as a temptation to the gaping multitudes,

> "If any young man shall want to enlist,
> I'll give him a dollar right in his fist.
> Fall in, gentlemen, fall in."

As the number of volunteers increased, he would march them back to the Barracks, to sign, as they said, their death warrant, and don the uniform of a soldier.

October 25, 1812, the frigate "United States," under Captain Stephen Decatur, fought and captured the British frigate "Macedonian;" in December the "Constitution," under Commodore William Bainbridge, won new laurels by destroying the "Java" off the coast of Brazil. In September, 1813, the people were again gladdened by the news of the capture of the British vessel "The Boxer," off Portsmouth, by "The Enterprise," under Lieutenant William Burrows. These victories were duly repeated by the boys from their boulders, where now are Louisburg square, West Cedar and Mount Vernon streets.

The blockade of our coast from Maine to Louisiana, proclaimed by the British King, was enforced by a large

fleet of line-of-battle ships, frigates, and smaller vessels, under Admirals Sir George Cockburn and Sir John Borlasse Warren; the latter officer was very attentive to our good town, with the frigates "Belvidera," "Tenedos," "Shannon," and other craft, and was continually raiding the villages of our bay by boat expeditions, which landed parties on the coast demanding cattle, water, and stores of various kinds with more or less success, thus of course keeping up the anxiety of our people.

The boys of Boston were not stolid, but fed their patriotic fervor by frequent visits to the wharves to see an occasional privateer, returned from a successful cruise, with her long, midship eighteen or twenty-four-pounder gun, her raking masts, her beautiful lines, and her active crew, ready for a start to outsail the more cumbrous blockaders; occasionally the youngsters visited Copp's Hill, to view the work at the Navy Yard across the river, and listen to the "clink of hammers, closing rivets up, and giving dreadful note of preparation." The United States Marshal's auction sales of prize goods were also a frequent source of amusement.

At the corner of Mount Vernon and Hancock streets stood a three-story brick house, belonging, I think, to the State, and occupied by "Old Tower," the janitor of the State House; he had a son, inclined to imbibe, and when under the influence of liquor a perfect savage,—"Wolf Tower" he was called, I know not why, but when in his cups, the boys would irritate him by crying

"Wolf, kill a bear," and woe betide the luckless urchin who fell into his hands. Below this house was a long row of wooden sheds where the suburban legislators stabled their horses and vehicles; then came another three-story brick house, occupied by Jacob Kuhn, who for a long period served the State as Sergeant-at-arms. In the rear of this was what was left of Beacon Hill; Temple street had not then been dug down, but terminated at Derne street.

Localities were denoted by blocks of buildings. Thus North Row was the brick block in Ann street, near Lewis street; South Row was that owned by the Old South Society on Washington street, at the foot of School street; and West Row in Court street, between Stoddard street and Bowdoin square. Others again denoted their places of business by carved figures projecting from their store-fronts; thus Waterston & Pray were at the sign of the Leopard, in Union street; Dr. Ephraim Eliot, an apothecary, at St. Luke's Head, 7 Middle, now Hanover street; Joseph Powell, a druggist, at the sign of the Lion and Mortar, Cambridge street; William Wyman, leather-dresser, at the sign of the Deer and Glove, 50 Orange, now Washington, near Hollis street; "The Great Key" was a well-known sign in Ann street; and Thomas Hughes, the hatter, showed the Cocked Hat, at 72 Cornhill, now Washington, opposite Water street.

A few of these old carved signs have come down to us. Two of the clusters which once decorated the

Bunch of Grapes Tavern on King, now State street, have been preserved by the Freemasons, whose dinners were often held in that hostelry. The carved and gilded figure of Mercury, now owned by the Bostonian Society, and standing in this Council Chamber, is perhaps quite as ancient as are those. For fifty years it adorned the front of Mayor Frederick W. Lincoln's store in Commercial street, and tradition says it was a familiar sight above the Provincial Post office as long ago as 1750. Admiral Vernon in cocked hat, blue coat and ruffled shirt, with his red waistcoat and small clothes, still holds his quadrant on the corner of State and Broad streets.* This, it is said, was the work of Shem Drowne, who made the grasshopper vane on old Faneuil Hall. As late as 1828 the famous Green Dragon looked fiercely forth from a corner of the ancient tavern where Revere and his companions planned rebellion. The last of these carved signs of a former century that I shall mention is the Bell-in-Hand, which dates from 1795, and after various vicissitudes is now upheld in Williams court.

The attractions of the sailors' boarding-houses in Ann and Ship streets, now North street, were no less quaintly set forth on painted signs: —

> "Brother Sailor, please to stop
> And lend a hand to strap this block."

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* This figure is now (1906) in the window of Samuel Thaxter & Son, 35 Central street. — *Pub. Com.*

Or on another not far away: —

"This is the tree that never grew:
This is the bird that never flew:
This is the ship that never sailed,
And this the can that never failed."

It would puzzle an antiquary, perhaps, to expound the meaning of some of these enigmatic rhymes, but Jack and his companions needed no interpreter to tell them of the spiritual comfort they offered.

A tobacco-shop had this motto: —

"We three unite in one cause:
The one snuffs; the next smokes;
The third chaws."

A grocer displayed a radiant sun over his door, with the assurance that he had "The best groceries under the sun." Many of these also had a carved or painted device like those I have mentioned, which harmonized with the verses on the sign beneath.

At this time India street had not been filled in, although the stores were built; and to get from Long to India Wharf it was necessary to cross on a wooden platform, about four or five feet wide, in front of the stores. Central Wharf was not built, but between Long and India wharves were "island wharves," built of cob-work filled in with stone, on which were sheds for the storage of lime, plaster, and grindstones; these structures were only approachable by boats.

The number of master-mariners and mates out of employ because of the blockade, gave rise to the formation, in 1814, of an organization combining charitable purposes with a readiness to respond to a call for military service, which was called "The Sea Fencibles." They were armed with cutlasses and boarding-pikes, and with iron eighteen or twenty-four pounder cannon, and their caissons; their uniform was a tarpaulin hat, blue short jacket and trousers to match, and as they paraded with the rolling gait of the sailor, were the favorites of the Bostonians. Their gun-house was not far from the old Providence depot, and near the burying-ground at the foot of the Common; their target practice at City Point, South Boston, I often attended with my elder brothers. Had these stalwart sailors been called on for active duty, they would no doubt have proved formidable adversaries. Capt. Nehemiah W. Skillings was their first commander, and he was succeeded by many well-known master-mariners. They held together until returning peace took the bone and sinew of their organization to sea, and like a fire they finally expired for lack of fuel.

Another famous military company, which was organized in the autumn of 1812, was the "New England Guards." It was composed of some of the best citizens of Boston, and always maintained its high character for discipline and efficiency. Its first captain was Samuel Swett; George Sullivan was lieutenant, and Lemuel Blake ensign. In the ranks were enrolled such men as

Abbott Lawrence, Moses Grant, Jeffrey Richardson, James Dalton, and others of like standing in the community. Their uniform consisted of a double-breasted coat of dark blue, adorned with large gilt buttons, a white waistcoat, pantaloons of a lighter shade of blue than the coat, and high boots with black tassels; they wore a round hat with a black cockade of leather, having a golden eagle on its centre. For this company the Board of War ordered a complete battery of six-pounder brass cannon to be cast and mounted. Two of these old pieces are still preserved in the Representatives' Hall at the other end of this building.

On its first parade the company turned out with fifty-six men, and marched from Faneuil Hall through State street, Washington and Winter streets, to the residence of Gen. Arnold Welles, on Park street. He had formerly been a commander of the Cadets, and was always a warm friend and adviser of the Guards; on this occasion he presented them with a fine silk standard on which was inscribed the motto of the corps, "Our Nation's Honor the Bond of Union." He accompanied his elegant gift with a stirring address, in which he emphasized the significance of this motto. During the war they were often called on for duty at Fort Strong, on Noddle's Island, and elsewhere in the defences about the harbor.

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Governor Andrew ordered them into service to garrison Fort

Independence, and they responded with about one hundred and fifty men, with the famous "Dan Simpson" as their drummer, to whose music they had marched nearly half a century before. More than two-thirds of their number went into active service in the Union Army, and their last commander, Gen. Thomas G. Stevenson, fell in one of the battles of the Wilderness. His body was brought home for burial, and Boylston Hall, the armory of the corps, was draped in mourning. Many officers of the Second, including its Colonel, George H. Gordon — then commander of the Guards — the Twentieth, the Twenty-fourth and the Forty-fourth Regiments (the last two recruited under the auspices of the Guards and styled "New England Guard Regiments"), were drawn from its ranks. The company was so reduced by these constant calls and by the departure for the front of so many of its active members, that it was finally disbanded. It is safe to say that no other military organization in the State has had so fine a record.

But to return for a moment to its early days. It was the custom in those troublous times, when the company was out for drill in artillery practice, to march to the knoll at the end of the present parade-ground on the Common, place their guns and fire at a floating target set up in the Back Bay, about where Berkeley or Clarendon streets now are. The balls flew across Charles street, and in after years, when the water had been excluded from what had then become the "empty

basin," the boys occasionally visited the flats to exhume six-pound shot. During the visit of Gen. Lafayette to Boston, in 1824, the company paraded under Capt. Edward G. Loring, who had recently succeeded Capt. Franklin Dexter, and again took its guns to the Common. Lafayette was with them, and a shot which he aimed and fired from the hill, struck the bull's eye of their target. At the fiftieth anniversary dinner of the corps, in October, 1862, Capt. William H. Gardiner, a former commander of the company, gave a vivacious account of that famous hit. Other commanders of this splendid corps were George Tyler Bigelow, afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, J. Putnam Bradlee, George W. Lyman and Harrison Ritchie.

I spoke just now of the frigate "United States." Although of a beautiful model, she was so slow that she was dubbed "The Old Basket," or by some of her crew, "The Old Wagoner," and she was therefore avoided by naval commanders, in spite of her glorious record. But when Capt. Percival was put in command, "Mad Jack" as he was called, he took out of her, contrary to orders, about two hundred tons of kentledge, changing her trim, and she became the fastest ship in the navy.

How few Bostonians whose memories run back to the days of which I am speaking are aware of the existence of the "Prison Ship" in our harbor; but from my frequent visits on board of her, with my father, who was then United States Marshal, I can give an account of

her and her whereabouts. She was the sparless hull of a large ship, fenced above her bulwarks with wooden pickets, a marine guard pacing her deck, and well filled with the tars of the "fast-anchored isle," taken as prisoners of war by our naval vessels and privateers, who were held there waiting to be exchanged. Why did they not desert? Well, they knew better than to do so foolish a thing. Here they led an easy life, and lived "on the fat of the land," faring better than they had ever dreamed of. They "laughed and grew fat;" the Winchesters furnished such beef as had never passed their lips before, while Howe and Veazie, the cracker-bakers of that day, gave them their "daily bread," such as was eaten by our "upper ten." Try to run away? Not a bit of it; for here they read, and sang, and danced, and rigged their miniature vessels, and carved their beef-bone ornaments, or chains of wooden links, "happy as clams at high water."

My father used to tell the story of the auction sale of the cargo of a British prize ship; when her ship-stores were put up, Zeph. Spurr, a gigantic and popular truckman of the day, purchased several barrels of ship-bread, wherewith to feed his horses; but they, with true Yankee pluck, utterly refused to taste it! Is it any wonder, then, that they who fared sumptuously on board the Prison Ship should prefer her rations to those of King George's navy? Perhaps you will ask, "Where was this model ship kept?" She lay moored at the

end of the Causeway, near Charlestown bridge; a plank walk from Pond, now Endicott street, enabled visitors to go on board. And all this went on while our tars were being impressed into the British navy, under the insolent pretence that they were Englishmen, and forced to fight against their own flag, or were held in captivity in Dartmouth and Melville Island prisons, and scantily furnished with food fit only for swine. Such is war.

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

FOR

BUILDING THE FIRST TOWN HOUSE

BY

WALTER KENDALL WATKINS.

This was written between 23 March 1658 and 29 August, 1658.

Subsequent confusion allows us to say that it was written in 1656.

Wee have given a considerall sum by Capt Livine towards the Building of a towne house wherin shall not exceed the Building nor yet redundantly in yt will now considering the vse & Building of such a Structure, wee wose names are vnder written doe wose of selves & ayres executors ffor to giue towards the aboue sayde house and allsoe a vendit in the market place the seuerall sums vnder written

		£ s d
pd	Jo Endecott	2 — 10 — 00
pd	Edmund Ingersoll in Dorchester in Country pay	10 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	John Elsworth in goods and mony	010 = 00 — 00 pd
pd	Peter Oliver in goods and provisions	10 = 00 — 00
	John Barnard in goods or downe	03 — 00 — 00 d. 29 Aug. 1658
pd	James Oliver provided for a Vendit in goods & provision & mill	12 — 0 — 00 pd
	William Paine in goods or provision	15 · 00 00
pd	Richard Harber in goods & Cowe keeping	10 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Nathaniell Williams in goods	— — 03 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Sarah Jenter in provision	05 — 00 · 00 pd
pd	Henry Lemmon in goods	2 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Robert Morgan in Corne	05 — 00 — 00 pd
	Mr Glover in fruite goods	
paid	Theodore Atkinson will giue in Rate	005 : 00 : 00 pd
	Theodore Atkinson	— — 0 —
	Joseph Rock	— — —
paid	John Hull In English goods five	— 05 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Thomas Clarke in provision or goods	04 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Robert Turner	— — — 5 — — 0 pd
paid	Richard Brode in provisions	— 03 — 00 — 00 pd
pd	Robert Scott	— 0 . 2 . 10 — 00 pd
paid	Samuel Hutchinson in	5 · 00 — 00 pd
paid	John Groton in Corne in goods	— 3 : 00 — 00 pd

pd William Hudson Will: Gay in brick lyme boards £ s d

pd Libr[ar]y for timber & some o/s ——— 10=00=00

Jeremiah Dekrx: will pay in English goods or
pd equivalent, twenty pounds, provizo if he market
paid houses be erected in y[e] market place & roundell ——— 20=00=00

pd ~~Hawarde Backer~~ ——— ———

Wm Davis with pay in goods to corne
paid fifteene pounds provided y[e] market house
be erected in y[e] market place & a
coundiett also raised & finished ——— ——

pd Thomas Bucktrout ——— 02—00—00

Penn paid Jones John ——— 05—00—00

pd ~~pd~~ paid Jacob Shoals in pcssion ——— 12—00—00

paid Tho: Lake ½ for English goods & ½ for provisions ——— 09—00—00

pd Isaack Walker in English Goods & provisions ——— 03—00—00

paid Jo[hn] Sandwell 3[d] ——— 03—00—00

Rd: 4 of Nov[em]b[e]r Valt: Whaleshall in plumbe, or boards 05: 00: 00

paid Ed mad mattson ——— 1—0—0

paid Jo[hn] Williams ——— 0—10—0

paid Thomas Pearce ——— 00—10—0

paid Thomas Bligh ——— 00—15—00

paid Richard Gridley ——— 02—00—0

paid Jo[hn] Button ——— 04—00—0

Obtained Norgut

Edmond Randall in Edmond ——— 01—00—00

Robt Bartlett ——— 00—15—00

paid John Cousy ——— 00—7—00

paid Samuell makobe ——— 00—10—00

paid Richd Stanly ———

paid Rowland Stoy in Lieutenant Cooks Rund ——— 01: 00: 00

paid Ed wayte ——— 02—00—00

paid Philip Wyatton ~~upon the Longsands fish mark~~ ——— 02—00—00

paid Anyn[e]l Cowell ——— 1—0—0

paid Richard Woodd ——— 01—0—0

paid Joseph Whitlocks ——— 03—0—0

paid Tho Emons ——— 1—0—0

paid Thomas Tillott three days worke ——— 00—10—0

Humfrey Bradshaw two days worke ——— 00—10—0

Joseph Boulton Kilingh by gamell bonnit — 00-10-0
George Bromwich shagge woak — 00-04-0
pd William Hadley — 12-0-0
paid Henry Kemble — 00-10-0
paid Edmond Mattoyard — 01-00-0
paid Joshua Howes — 00-10-0
paid Francis Smith — 00-10-0
paid Francis Douse — 5-0-0
paid John Pitt — 4-00-0
paid Simon Eyre — 1-10-0
paid Comfort Starr — 01-00-00
paid Henry Phillips — 05-00-00
paid Henry Cordwainer Corn Rend — 10-00-00
paid Joseph Lovet — 03-00-00
paid George Munny Corn Rend — 03-00-00
paid Jno Joyliffe — 03-00-00
paid Amos Richardson — 02:00:00
pd Edmond Bardsley — 0-10-0
pd Edward Hooker — 1-0-0
paid Nicholas Phillips — 0-10-0
pd 1647 Thomas Harwood — 1-00-0
paid Thomas Beattie — 5-0-0
paid Thomas Baker in Iron worke — 01-00-0
paid John Biggs in Shinglers worke — 00-0
paid Jo: Marshall in Shoes — 01-0-0
paid Henry Allard Cordwainer — 01-00-00
paid Hugh Denny — 01-00-0
paid John Holmes — 0-0-0
paid Thomas Scotto — 1-0-0
paid William Hunt — 0-0-0
paid Edmd Lovell — 1-0-0
paid William Wade — 00-10-00
paid Will Taylor — 00-10-00
paid Jo: Blackhatch — 01-00-00
paid Edw Blower — 00-10-00
paid Saml. Perkins — 00-05-00
paid Samuell Cole — 02-00-00

paid Christopher Easton — 02 — 00 — 00

paid Robert Yarnold — 02 — 00 — 00

paid Henry Brickham — 10 — 00 — 00

paid Thomas Walker — 02 — 10 — 00

paid Nathaniell Reynolds — 01 — 00 — 00

Joyce Hawkins widow — 01 — 00 — 00

paid Arthur Mason — 00 — 10 — 00

paid Adam Barker lost — 00 — 10 — 00

paid James Davis Constable for Broad meare — 00 — 10 — 00

paid Daniel Twist — 01 — 00 — 00

paid Thomas Sling — 00 — 10 — 00

paid Edmund Jorkin in glass or money if he be in the Country wagon the same is to be granted — 01 — 00 — 00

paid William Gibson — 00 — 05 — 00

paid Jeremy Easton — 01 — 00 — 00

paid Edmund Parkin by Thomas Fox — 01 — 00 — 00

Michael Farrow in Ketton — 00 — 05 — 00

paid William English — in Sheep — 02 — 00 — 00

paid Joseph Rose Laundry Fellows — 01 — 0 — 0

paid Samuell Morden in Sheep — 00 — 10 — 0

paid Phillip Lucas merch in Towne — 01 — 00 — 00

paid Matthew Barnes — paid 1-2-3 — 1 — 00 — 00

paid Thomas Dowse — 01 — 00 — 0

paid William Cooper — 00 — 10 — 0

paid Bartholomew Hooper — 306 — 01 — 00 — 0

Edward Middlemore paid

Richard Wilson in Duntisborough paid 16 — 1 — 10 — 0

paid Edward Hodson — 2 — 00 — 00

paid James Johnson in Rutland Comarkes — 0 — 06 — 00

paid Hugh Mowgat promise to pay 5 pound Com ragg — 02 : 00 : 00

Ex prevelodg of our Lo Dean Sherborne — 10 — 00 — 00

Thomas Bumsted of Boston promise — 1 — 00 — 00

paid Nathaniell Duncan — 2 — . — .

paid Peter Duncan — 1 — 10 — 00

paid John Wilson — 02 — 10 — 0

paid Joseph Wilson — 2 — 00 — 00

SUBSCRIPTION LIST

FOR

BUILDING THE FIRST TOWN HOUSE

A PAPER PREPARED FOR THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY BY

WALTER KENDALL WATKINS.

THE early meetings of the Massachusetts Bay Company in England, were held at the house of the Governor in St. Swithin's Lane, London, or at the dwellings of other of the head men. After the transfer of the Patent and Government of the Company to New England, in 1629/30, the earliest meetings in Boston were at the mansion of Governor Winthrop on the site of the Exchange Building.* In the house of others of the principal men, gatherings of the townsmen were

* Matthew Cradock, Governor of the Massachusetts Company in England, and one of its most generous benefactors, did not come to this country.

also held until the completion of the First Church, on the Brazer's Building site. When a larger building was needed for Church and State, a church was built on the Rogers Building site.

In the earliest days of the town, no one was more interested in its welfare than Captain Robert Keayne, which is evidenced by his voluminous will by which the town benefited largely. An item in this will refers to the desirability of a house to be used by the Town and Country Government, and shared by the Artillery Company,* with conveniences for a market and conduit near by. To meet this a bequest of three hundred pounds in merchantable pay was made by the testator.

Captain Keayne died 23 March, 1655/6, and was buried on the north side of the King's Chapel Burial Ground. On 29 December, 1656, the Selectmen or Town's Commissioners took notice of his bequest and agreed to consider it at their next meeting, which came on 25 January, 1656/7, which they did.

* The "Ancient and Honorable Artillery," the oldest military organization in the country, was chartered March 13, 1638, as "The Military Company of the Massachusetts." In 1657 it was commonly known as "the Artillery Company in Boston." September 2, 1700, when the By-laws of 1657 were revised, the records, though recognizing the original name, style it "The Ancient and Honorable Company of the Artillery of the Massachusetts," no doubt because of its connection, from its foundation, with the Honorable Artillery Company of London. In these Biographic Notes it will be referred to as "The Ancients." Roberts's History of the Company (I: pp. 181–2) gives the names of forty-nine of its members who subscribed towards building the first Town-hall. To these may be added thirteen more whose names appear on the list in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

At a general town meeting, held 9 March, 1656/7, upon public notice from house to house, Captain Thomas Savage, Anthony Stoddard, Jeremy Houchin and Edward Hutchinson, Senior, were chosen a committee to consider the model of the Town House as concerning the charge thereof, and the most convenient place, "*as also to take the subscriptions of the inhabitants to propagate such a building*, and seasonably to make report to a publick townes meeting."

Agreeably to this vote subscription papers were started among the towns-people, and it was the good fortune of this Society to be able to purchase the principal Subscription List circulated in the early part of 1657. The heading is in a clerkly hand, which was that of one of the committee or some one employed by him.

Another list, not mentioned by Mr. Whitmore in his "Old State House Memorial," is preserved in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and we print it here in order to present in one volume the names of all the known subscribers to the building of the Town House: —

	£	s	
paid Robert Raynals	1	0	0
paid John Lake	01	10	00
paid Robert Sanderson	01	00	00
paid Raphfe Mason	01	00	0
paid Richard Carter by goodman Baker .	01	00	0
paid Mr John Anderson	02	00	0
paid Nathaniell Greene	01	10	0

paid Joseph Rocke six pounds . . .	06—00— 0
paid Gamaliel Waite	01—00—00
Mr Ransford	01—00—00
paid John Shaw fisherman	00—10—00
paid Mical Willis cutler	01—00—00
Thomas Leder	00—10—00
paid William Whitwel	01—10—00
paid Joseph Moore	01—00—00
paid Bartholomew Barloe	01—00—00
paid Heue Williams	02—00—00
Marke Hams	01—00—00
paid John Sweete	02—00—00
paid John Farnam in worke or other pay .	01—00—00
paid Tho: Clarke in Bondes at springe . .	10—00—00
paid Evan Thomas will pay in literedge .	01—10—00
paid John Baker	01—10—00
paid John Lewes	1— 0— 0
Deacon Trusdell	
paid Mr David Eavens pr Capt Oliver . .	2—00—00
paid William Browne	2—10—00
paid William Beamslleay	01—00—00
paid Zakary Phillips	01—00—00
paid Will[m] Wenborne	01—00—00
paid William Cotton	01—10—00
paid Alexander Becks	00 . 05 . 00
paid John Richards three pounds . . .	03—00—00
paid Edward Lane p[r]mise to pay by the hands of Lieu[t] Rich. Cooke five pounds and tenn shillings I say	5 . 10*s.*
paid Mr Bishop	2—00— 0
Mrs Richards Re 10s	1—10— 0
paid Alex: Adames promis	01—10—00
Mr Edward Belcher pr Mr Hill . .	10—00—00
paid Deacon Trusdell	01—00—00
pd William Brenton in [ ] . . .	10—00—00

paid Jo. Checkley	02—10— 0
Simon Lynde Five pounds . . .	£5 .. ..
paid Henry Blake	02—10— 0
paid Mr Henry Webb	20—00— 0
paid Capte Pendleton	05— 0 . 0
pd Richard Taylor	00—15— 0
John Parker, Shewmaker . . .	01—00— 0
paid Abraham Busby	02—10— 0
Mr Webb Shewmaker	00 . 10 . 0
paid Mr Houchin	05 . 00 . 00
paid Mr Alfford	01—10—00

In the same collection are other papers relating to the subject, which were printed by Mr. Whitmore, and which also appeared in the Appendix of the Memorial volume in 1866 on "The City Hall." One was the original Agreement, dated 1 August, 1657, for the erection of the building; another was the recital of the powers conferred on the Town's Commissioners, signed by them. Unfortunately since the copy was made, nearly half a century ago, the last portion of the Agreement has disappeared.

Another original paper in the collection was an account of extra expenses over and above the contract. By this we learn that the building was constructed ten inches longer and seven inches wider than the contract called for in the Agreement. The total extra cost amounted to £69: 10*s*.

The original Subscription List in the collections of the Bostonian Society was formerly in the possession

of Mr. John Farmer, the well known antiquary, who died at Concord, N. H., 13 August, 1838. He has noted on the paper his ideas as to its date. He assigns it to 1656, and it is possible that subscriptions were solicited previous to December, 1656, when the Selectmen first took notice of the bequest, and before the cost of the structure had been estimated by the Town's Committee.

After Mr. Farmer's death the original came into the possession of Mayor Joseph M. Wightman, who had it reproduced by lithography. On one of the reproductions he noted in pencil that twenty copies were printed on [bank] note paper.

The original owned by the Historical Society has a similar heading, but in a different handwriting and with a different mode of spelling. With the papers mentioned are others of a later date relating to the Town House, including some having reference to the rebuilding of 1711/12. One, dated 1667, is of interest as it shows the division of expenses, one-half being paid by "the country" [Colony], one-quarter each by the County and Town. Most of the signatures to the paper owned by the Society are autographs. Those that could readily be compared with the originals, have been noted. The difficulty experienced at the present time in obtaining access to the probate files of Suffolk County has rendered it impossible to devote the necessary time to identify the remainder.

An occasional disagreement with Messrs. Wightman and Whitmore in the identification of some of the names will be observed in the following short sketches of the subscribers: —

Governor JOHN ENDICOTT, as the head of the Colony, naturally starts the subscription with his signature. As chief magistrate he resided in Boston during the sessions of the General Court, his last residence being situated on what is now Tremont Row, and he also owned a house opposite, next to his father-in-law Jeremy Houchin, one of the town's committee to solicit subscriptions.

RICHARD BELLINGHAM was a son of William and Frances Bellingham of Aisthorpe, Lincolnshire, England. He was bred to the law, and in 1625 was elected Recorder of Boston, England. He had two houses in Boston, Mass. One was on Tremont Street, between Beacon Street and Pemberton Square; the other was on Washington Street near Adams Square. His summer house was on Parker Street, Chelsea, and has been added to and is now known as the Bellingham-Cary house. The autograph of Bellingham is inserted to follow Endicott, as the former was then Deputy-Governor. Endicott's payment was in cash, while Bellingham paid in country pay, *i. e.* wheat and barley 4/6, peas 4/0, rye 3/0, Indian corn 2/6 per bushel.

Third comes the autograph of EDWARD TYNG, a brewer and merchant, who came from London where he married in 1639 Mary, daughter of Francis Sears

of Leighton Buzzard, Bedfordshire, England. He was an officer in the militia, became a member of the "Ancients," and held the offices of Deputy and Assistant. He had lands at Dunstable, where he died in 1681, aged 81. His brewhouse and warehouse were near his house, which faced the harbor on the shore where Merchants Row now extends. In the fire of August, 1679, these were burnt and he removed to Dunstable. The buildings were not rebuilt before his death, and his widow sold the land to Thomas Clarke, the pewterer.

JOHN EVERED *alias* WEBB, merchant, was from Marlborough, Wiltshire, England, and came in 1635. He joined the "Ancients" in 1643. He resided for a time at Chelmsford; his house in Boston was on the north side of State Street, east of Exchange Street. In 1658 he is called Ensign John Webb. In 1668 in pursuing a whale he was caught in a rope, drawn into the sea and drowned.

PETER OLIVER, trader, was a son of Elder Thomas. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1643, and was their Captain in 1669. He died 11 April, 1670. He was one of the founders of the Old South Church. His house and land were on the west corner of Milk and Oliver Streets. The signature is an autograph.

JOHN BARRELL was a cooper from County Suffolk, England. He was an "Ancient" in 1643, and became Ensign of the company in 1656. He married a daughter of Deacon William Colbron, and his children inherited a

goodly portion of the deacon's estate. Barrell died 29 August, 1658, and his widow married Daniel Turrell. George, the father of John, died in 1643, leaving a house on the south side of Union Street where the son also lived. The signature is an autograph.

James Oliver was a merchant, and a son of Elder Thomas. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1640, and was Captain in 1656 and 1666; he was Captain of a Boston company in 1673, and at the Swamp Fight in 1675. He died in 1682. His house and garden were on State Street near the corner of Merchants Row. The house was destroyed by the great fire in the summer of 1679, and he sold the land to his nephew, Nathaniel Oliver in the following February. His signature is an autograph.

William Paine, merchant, at Ipswich, Mass., and later at Boston. He was also interested in the iron works at Saugus. He died in 1660, and among other bequests left twenty pounds to "the college at Cambridge." His house and land were at the North End, on what is now Commercial Street. The signature is an autograph.

Richard Parker, merchant, had his home lot on Court Street, just east of the Old Court House. In 1651 Adam Winthrop sold him a house in the yard of Governor Winthrop's house, near the spring. He also owned a house and three acres of pasture land on the south shore of the Mill Pond, where South Margin Street

runs. His daughter Anne married (1), John Manning; (2), William Gerrish; and on her father's death in 1673 she inherited this pasture, and sold it in 1682 to Isaac Waldron. His signature is an autograph.

NATHANIELL WILLIAMS, glover, died in 1662, and his widow Mary married Peter Brackett. Sergt. Williams bought in January, 1655/6, from Richard Pepys of Ashen, Essex, England,* the house, barn and stable on the lot formerly William Blackstone's, on Beacon Street, with the orchards and gardens of six acres or more. His shop was next the First Church. His signature is an autograph.

SARAH PARKER. John Parker of Taunton died 26 February, 1657, leaving a widow, Sarah, and owning a house in Boston. John Parker, carpenter, had a daughter Sarah and a son John, whose wife's name was Sarah. Sarah, a daughter of Richard Parker, married in March, 1659, John Paine.

HENRY POWNING, trader, was first at Dover, and was received into the Boston Church in 1648. He died in 1665, owning lands at Kittery. He was a witness to the agreement for the building of the Town House, 1 August, 1657. His signature is an autograph.

JOHN COGGAN was an early merchant of great prominence, who came from Devon, England, and set up the first brick shop in town on the north corner of Washington and State Streets. He became an "Ancient" in

* See Bostonian Society Publications, i: pp. 10, 11.

1638. He subscribed in 1635 to the fort on Fort Hill and in 1636 to the Free School. His second wife was the widow of Governor Winthrop. He was a liberal donor to Harvard College. He died 27 April, 1658, leaving a large estate; his widow died in 1660. The State Street house went to Joseph Robinson, his daughter Mary's son by her husband Thomas Robinson of Scituate. His signature is an autograph.

Theodore Atkinson was a feltmaker and hatter, and came from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, England. He became an "Ancient" in 1644. He owned a house and land on the north corner of Court and Washington Streets. His son Theodore's widow married Henry Deering, and the corner was known as "Deering's Corner" early in the eighteenth century. Theodore, the younger, was killed in the Narragansett fight in 1675, while the father lived to 1701, and was 89 years old at his death. Several namesakes in later generations were prominent in New Hampshire. His signature is an autograph.

Thomas Hawkins, shipwright, was a son of Thomas, also a shipwright, who died in 1648. His shipyard was on North Street, opposite the Ship Tavern, a building supposed to have been built by Hawkins, and which stood till 1866. The signature I believe to be an autograph.

John Hull, silversmith, joined the "Ancients" in 1660; he was Ensign of the company in 1663, Lieuten-

ant in 1664, and Captain in 1671 and 1678. He was Treasurer and Mint-master of the Colony. His house, which he inherited from his father, Robert Hull, was on the east side of Washington Street, about half-way between Summer and Bedford Streets; he also owned a farm "at Muddy River called Brookline," which name was adopted as that of the town. His signature is an autograph.

The next autograph is that of THOMAS CLARK of Dorchester in 1636. He had two daughters born there — Mehitable in 1640, and Elizabeth in 1642. In 1643 he had removed to Boston, his home lot and warehouse being on the north side of the cove into which the mill creek flowed. His house, when he died, was on what is now North Square, previously Clark Square. By trade he was a draper, but in time became interested in vessels and participated with others in adventures to the West Indies and to the northward, becoming a prominent merchant. He was especially interested in mills and land at York, Maine, and had a narrow escape from the Indians when Captain Thomas Lake lost his life there. He owned considerable land at the North End in Boston, and had an interest in the mills there and at one time owned one-eighth of Bendall's Dock.

He was a member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery, its Lieutenant in 1639 and 1651; Captain 1653 and 1656, and Sergeant Major of the Suffolk Regiment in 1673, then a rank as high as that of Colonel at

present. A Deputy to the General Court in 1651, he became Speaker in 1662, and in 1673 was chosen an Assistant. He was also a Commissioner and held other public offices.

His eldest daughter, Mehitable, married Humphrey Warren, who died in 1680; the younger daughter, Elizabeth, married in 1661, John Freake, who died from an explosion on a ship in Boston Harbor in 1675, and she afterwards married Elisha Hutchinson, grandfather of Governor Hutchinson.

Major Thomas Clark died 13 March, 1683. In his will after bequests to his widow and his daughters and sons-in-law, he mentions his sister Elizabeth Stoughton, widow of Israel. He also speaks of his kinsmen, making them overseers of his will, William Stoughton, cousin* William Tailer, who married Rebecca Stoughton, his niece. He also mentions a cousin Thomas Smith, a brother John Clark of Welton, and sister Anna Hanes. To the poor of Boston he left £50 and to those of Dorchester £20. To the company or ward in Boston which he commanded he left £10, to purchase arms. To the Church he gave £50, and to ten of his poor kindred £5 each, to be distributed by his brother John. In case his daughters left no descendants, £1,500 was to build a hospital in Boston.

A subscriber to the other list was another Thomas Clark, blacksmith, who was in Boston by 1640, when he

* The word "cousin" at this time often had the meaning of "nephew."

was admitted to the Church. His home lot, which he had purchased in 1640 from Thomas Paynter, was on the west side of Washington, between Winter and West Streets; this he sold in 1655 to Robert Walker.

A member of the "Ancients" in 1644, he was Fourth Sergeant; in 1645, Third, and in 1650, First; Clerk in 1653; was Second Sergeant in 1660, First again in 1661, and Ensign in 1662; later he became a Lieutenant, and in 1675 was Captain of a Boston company. Elected a Deputy to the General Court in 1673, he held the office for three years. From a locksmith or blacksmith he became a shopkeeper by 1654, when he bought half an acre between School and Bromfield Streets. Four years later he purchased half an acre further south, adjoining the Common.

In 1673 he acquired a lot on the corner of Washington and Court Streets, the Ames Building site, and erected a great house. The land had formerly belonged to Rev. Jose Glover, whose widow married Henry Dunster.

Thomas Clark held other lands in Boston, and at his death, in 1678, owned five houses. The largest of these, occupied in 1676 by Edward Shippen and valued at £700, he had deeded to his son Thomas Clark, mariner, to go to him after his father's death. The other houses in like manner he had given to his three daughters or their heirs. The eldest daughter was probably Leah, who married Thomas Baker, blacksmith. Their

daughter, Rachel Baker, married George Waldron, blacksmith, of Dover, N. H., Boston, and lastly Bristol, R. I. Deborah, a second daughter, married Nathaniel Byfield of Boston, one of the first settlers of Bristol. Their only surviving daughter, Deborah, married Edward Lyde. The third daughter, Elizabeth Clark, married —— Stevens, and at the time of her father's death was a widow.*

Thomas Clark, Senior, shopkeeper, in his will, mentions the above, and also a widow Ann.

ROBERT TURNER, vintner and innholder, had a house and garden on the west side of Washington Street, nearly opposite Water Street. In 1652 he made an exchange with Richard Fairbanks, taking his house and land on the opposite side of Washington Street and establishing there the "Blue Anchor Tavern." He joined the "Ancients" in 1640; was Ensign in 1661 and Lieutenant in 1662. His signature is an autograph.

RICHARD COOKE, tailor, was admitted to the Church in 1634. He joined the "Ancients" in 1643; was Ensign in 1666 and Lieutenant in 1668. His house and garden were on School Street, opposite the City Hall site. He died in 1673, leaving quite an estate. Among the bequests was one to "the new college at Cambridge," and £50 to the First Church. The bulk of his property went to his son Elisha Cooke, who was prominent later. His signature is an autograph.

* See Mass. Prov. Laws, Vol. viii : 341.

ROBERT SWIFT is the next name, as read by Mr. Wightman; but there was no Robert Swift of that period. ROBERT SCOT would be more acceptable, were it not that he died a few years previous. The name of ROBERT TUELLS, or TWELLS, might be suggested; he had children born in Boston about this time, and died in Braintree. He was an ancestor of Robert Twelves Hewes.

SAMUEL HUTCHINSON, merchant, a brother of the Rev. William Hutchinson, died in 1667. He owned an orchard on Fort Hill, and land at Portsmouth, R. I. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1652. His signature is probably an autograph.

JOSHUA SCOTTOW, merchant, had a homestead lot on the north side of Court, east of Hanover Street. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1645, and was its Clerk in 1650/1 and Ensign in 1657. He was one of the founders of the Old South Church. He was a Captain in the militia and active in King Philip's War. He died in January, 1698, aged 83 years. His signature is an autograph.

WILLIAM HUDSON, vintner, joined the "Ancients" in 1640. He was Lieutenant of a Boston company in 1654, and Captain 1661. After holding the rank of Fourth, Third, Second and First Sergeant in the "Ancients," he was Ensign in 1653, Lieutenant in 1656 and 1660, and Captain 1661. He died 6 December, 1680. He owned the Castle Tavern, which stood on the south

corner of Elm and Union Streets, and gave the former street its name of Hudson's Lane. This is the autograph of William Hudson, Junior, innholder; the "Memorial History," Vol. II: p. vi, erroneously gives it as that of his father, William Hudson, Senior, who was in England at this time.

William Hudson offered to pay in bricks, boards, lime, "literedge," or timber. On the other list, Evan Thomas, of the same trade as Hudson (a vintner), also offers to pay in "literedge." We are inclined to think this obsolete word signifies lighterage, or the carriage of materials: another suggestion is that it refers to the entertainment of man or beast, and a readiness to supply the straw bedding furnished to the workmen or their animals. Still another explanation has been proposed, that the word is "litorage" — the melting of lead for the building.

The next signature is the well known autograph of Hezekiah Usher, bookseller, who first resided at Cambridge. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1638, First Sergeant in 1663, and Ensign in 1664. In the winter of 1657/8 he went to England as an agent to buy a printing press and materials. His home lot was on Tremont Street opposite the King's Chapel Burial Ground. Disposing of this, he purchased in 1647 a house and garden on the northwest corner of State and Devonshire Streets, the latter street being known as Usher's Lane during the last half of the seventeenth

century. He died in 1676, leaving bequests to Harvard College, the churches of Cambridge and Boston, and the poor.

William Davis, apothecary, bought in 1645, from Valentine Hill, a house and garden on the west side of Washington Street, south of the First Church site. His autograph statement shows his nearness to the proposed building, and the benefit to him of the conduit. He died in 1676, when his Washington Street property went to his son Benjamin.

Thomas Buttolphe, leather-dresser and glover, came in 1635. His house and lot were on the west side of Washington Street being the fourth lot north of Court Street. He died in 1667, having just completed a new house which he left to his wife, his son Thomas receiving the old one as a legacy. He also had a pasture in "Centry Field." His signature is an autograph.

James Penn came with Winthrop and was his beadle. He was later Marshal, and also Ruling Elder of the Church. He died in 1671, leaving an annuity on land to Harvard College to maintain poor scholars, and also made a bequest to the Church. His home lot was on the south side of Milk Street near Devonshire Street. The land given to Harvard was at Beachmont. The signature in his minute handwriting is a characteristic one.

Jacob Sheafe, merchant, born at Cranbrook, Kent, England, was first at Roxbury. He married Margaret,

the daughter of Henry Webb, who was very wealthy. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1648, and was their clerk in 1652. He died 22 March, 1658/9; his inventory, amounting to £8,528: 8*s.*: 3*d.*, included one-quarter part of three mills at Roxbury. He owned a house and lands at Guildford, Conn. Margaret Sheafe inherited a large estate from her father. Sheafe's signature is an autograph.

THOMAS LAKE, merchant, was a member of the "Ancients" in 1653, Ensign in 1660, Lieutenant in 1661, and Captain in 1662. He was slain by the Indians at Kennebec, 14 August, 1676, and his remains were brought to Boston and buried in Copp's Hill in the following March. He was a man of wealth, his inventory amounting to £2,500. He dwelt in a "white house" in 1655, on the east side of Hanover Street, just north of the Mill Creek. His signature is an autograph.

ISAACK WAKER, shopkeeper, resided first at Salem. He became an "Ancient" in 1644. He owned lands at Nashaway, and died in 1674. He owned a house and land on the north corner of Union and North Streets, which was burnt in the 1679 fire. The widow Susanna sold the land to her son Isaac Walker after the fire. His signature is probably an autograph.

JOHN SUNDERLAND, parchment maker, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1658. He removed to Eastham and died there in 1703, aged 85 years. His home lot was on the south side of School Street, near the head.

In 1650 John Gallop sold him a lot on the west side of Hanover Street backing on the mill dam. Here he lived till his removal, conveying in 1664 to his son-in-law Matthew Armstrong part of his land and the newer or southern portion of his house. In "the Memorial History" (Vol. II: p. xviii) appears a signature manifestly not his, and he usually signed with his mark.

Robert Pateshall, merchant, was engaged in trade with Richard Leader, and occupied the latter's house on the south side of North Street. He died in 1671, owning land at Saco above the Falls, and at Kennebec. His nephew, Richard Pateshall, leather-dresser, was administrator of his estate. His signature is probably an autograph.

Thomas Matson, gunsmith, came from London in 1630, and was a follower of Wheelwright; he lived a while at Braintree, where he had land. His house and shop in Boston were on the west side of Hanover Street. Portland Street was first known as Matson's Lane. He died in 1677, an aged man.

John Williams, son of Robert Williams of Roxbury, died 6 October, 1658. Hugh Williams, feltmaker, who married Sarah Coitmore, had a brother John, a feltmaker, who was formerly of Burnaby Street, London. In 1663 Hugh sold his property in Boston to John, and went to Block Island. How early John came to Boston is uncertain, but he was here in 1670. John Williams, butcher, also appears in Boston about 1670, and in 1673

bought a house and land on the east side of Salem Street.

THOMAS EDSELL, turner, became an "Ancient" in 1652. In 1657 he occupied a cellar shop and chamber joining and belonging to the "great house" of the late Captain Robert Keayne, on the south corner of State and Washington Streets. In 1671 he occupied a house belonging to David Saywell. His signature is probably an autograph.

THOMAS BLIGH, sailmaker, also had a son Thomas who died in 1683, before his father. Bligh was the trumpeter of the town, and officiated on state occasions; in this office he was succeeded by his son Samuel. Bligh purchased a strip of land, fifty feet wide, running from Washington to Hawley Street. On the north half he built a house for his son Thomas, and one on the south for Samuel. The passage between ultimately became Franklin Street.

RICHARD GRIDLEY, brickmaker and bricklayer, was disarmed for his sympathy with Ann Hutchinson. He joined the "Ancients" in 1658. He subscribed to the Free School in 1636, and was a Captain in the Militia. His house was on the north side of Summer and east of High Street. Further north was Gridley's pasture. He died in 1674.

JOHN BUTTON, miller, in Boston 1633, was disarmed in 1637 as a follower of Wheelwright. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1643; previous to that

year he had an interest in the corn mills. He subscribed to the Free School in 1636. He had three houses and a garden, in all about an acre, on the north side of Elm Street. The signature is an autograph.

Benjamin Negus was a shop-keeper, and owned land on Long Island and at Muddy River. In 1672 he bought a house on the south side of State Street, opposite the Town house, between Captain Robert Keayne's and Henry Phillips's. He died in 1694, quite aged. His signature is an autograph.

James Everill, *not* Everett, shoemaker, had his home lot on the east side of Hanover Street between Elm and Union Street. On the corner of the last named street was the site of the "Blue Ball," the home of Benjamin Franklin. Everill obtained the reversion of some town land, now the site of Faneuil Hall and Dock Square, on which were some buildings, and this was the occasion, after his death, of protracted suits for their possession. In the fire of 1679 some of his houses were blown up, to prevent the spread of the conflagration. He died in 1683.

Robert Batterly, or Battelle, was a "transient" in Boston, where he died in December, 1658, not having paid his subscription.

John Coney, cooper, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1662, and was Second Sergeant in 1672. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Nash. In 1658 John Coney burned brick back of his house,

and for doing so was fined 40 shillings. Previous to 1656 Coney held land formerly Barnabas Fawer's, and shortly after purchased land of Matthew Gross and Matthew Barnes. It was located on the south side of the street running from the sea or harbor to the Mill Pond. This way soon became known as Coney's Lane, and is now Cross Street.

Samuel Mattock was the son of James Mattock, cooper, and of the same trade. He married Constance, daughter of Richard Fairbanks. In 1653 his father gave him a house and wharf, with a cooper's shop thereon, on the south side of North Street near the Drawbridge.

Richard Stanes, sailmaker, died in 1672, and his widow married John Hall in 1674. Staines's house and warehouse were on the north side of the Town Dock.

Rowland Story, shipwright, bought of Jarvis Ballard, in 1673, a house on the south side of North Street, formerly belonging to John Rhoades.

Richard Wayte, tailor, and Marshal or Sheriff, died in 1680. His home lot and house were on the east side of Washington Street, south of Milk Street, and ran through to Hawley Street. His signature is an autograph.

Philip Wharton, tobacconist, by his wife Mary had a daughter Rebecca in 1660. Disagreeing with his wife he left her, and they obtained a divorce. Wharton's house and shop were on the north side of North Street,

west of Cross Street. His wife was probably a daughter of Richard Gridley, as she took the name of Mary Gridley after her divorce and lived in a house near him. In 1677 Philip Wharton and *Mary Gridley* united in conveying a piece of land to John Harrison, ropemaker, near his house adjoining the Rope Field, near Fort Hill.

Augustine Clement, painter, came from Reading, England, and had an interest in lands at Wokingham, seven miles from Reading. He occupied part of a workshop in Boston which he disposed of in 1652. At the time of his death his dwelling house was in Boston, and consisted of an old part, three rooms over a cellar, and a new addition, making the front of the house. This went to his son Samuel. His daughter Elizabeth married William Sumner.

Richard Woodde, soap-boiler, first at Roxbury, was admitted an inhabitant of Boston, 26 January, 1651/2, upon his promise not to be offensive to the town by his trade. He was a son of Richard Woodie of Roxbury, who died 6 December, 1658, an old man. In 1658 he had a lease of Bird Island for sixty years, for the yearly payment of twelve pence or a bushel of salt. He was Lieutenant in 1673 of a Boston company. He had two daughters, Martha, wife of Richard Pateshall, and Mary, wife of John Dafforn. His house was near the "Blue Bell," on Batterymarch Street.

John Phillips, biscuit baker, was first at Dorchester. He died in 1683, leaving a daughter, Mary, who married

(1), George Munjoy, and (2), Robert Lawrence. Phillips was a deacon of the Second Church, and lived on the east side of Hanover Street near Prince Street.

THOMAS EMMONS, cordwainer, was in Newport in 1638. He was admitted an inhabitant of Boston in 1648. He died in May, 1664. He left two houses in Boston to his wife Martha, the one in which he dwelt and another in the tenure of John Andrews, cooper. Emmons's house stood on the north side of North Street near Cross Street.

THOMAS LITTELL was of Cambridge, and evidently made a contribution of labor on the Town house.

HUMPHREY BRADSHAW lived in Cambridge. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1642. He died at Menotomy, 9 May, 1682. Hls contribution was also in labor.

JOSEPH BOND paid his subscription by Samuel Bennett, *not* Lemist, and he was probably employed or connected in business with Bennett, as he witnessed deeds of the latter in 1657 and 1660. It is probable that he was the Joseph Bond from Haverhill, who served in King Philip's War, and later lived in Haverhill.

GEORGE BROMER, tailor, bought a house and an acre of land from James Stokes, and sold it in 1642 to Amos Richardson. This was on the north side of Summer Street, and "Richardson's Alley" became Hawley Street in later years, his land being east of that street. Bromer suffered banishment from the town, but in 1657 was re-

admitted with a caution as to his future behavior. He died in 1662, and in 1663 his widow married Thomas Ashley.

William Paddy, skinner and merchant, came from London to Plymouth, and thence to Boston, where he died 24 August, 1658. His grave-stone was found in 1830 below the street near the Old State House. His house was on the north side of North Street near the Drawbridge, — and his warehouse and wharf opposite, which were mortgaged by his son-in-law, Leonard Dowden, to Harvard College in 1681. He left a bequest of ten pounds to the poor of Boston. His signature is an autograph.

Henry Kemble, blacksmith, had a house on the west side of North Street, near the North Battery. He died in 1677, and later that year the widow was paid thirty pounds for her house blown up in the great fire at the North End in 1676. He owned considerable land at Cape Porpoise, Maine.

Thomas Makepeace, gentleman, of Dorchester, 1636, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1638. He died in 1667, aged about 75, owning lands in England. His estate in Boston was on the west side of Hanover Street, extending from Elm Street to the head of the street. His signature is an autograph.

Joshua Hewes, merchant, joined the "Ancients" in 1637, and the next year was Sergeant and assistant Clerk. He was Lieutenant of the Roxbury Train-band,

and in 1654 Ensign of the "Ancients." In recent years his gravestone was dug up in Post-office Square. He died in 1676. He lived for a time in Roxbury, where he owned land. He also owned the house and land which is now the site of St. Paul's Church, on Tremont Street.

FRANCIS SMITH, card-maker, was for a while at Roxbury. He owned a house on Union Street, near the head of the Town Dock, which he sold in 1667 to Habakkuk Glover. His daughter Elizabeth married (1), James Sanford; (2), George Hunniborne, and (3), —— Burgess. Smith usually made his mark (F. S.) in signing, in the shape of a monogram.

FRANCIS DOUSE, tanner, as an apprentice or workman to George Burdon, tanner, was allowed as an inhabitant in 1639. Douse's house and yard joined Burdon's on the north, and was on the south side of Elm Street. In the rear were his tan pits. The center of the square bounded by Elm, Hanover and Court Streets, in the early days, was composed of the tan yards of the leather dressers living on those streets. Douse died in 1680.

JOHN PEIRCE, mason, at an early date was located on the north side of Union, near Hanover Street, on land purchased of Thomas Walker. In 1688 he and his wife Isabel sold it to his son, Joseph Peirce, the tailor; after Joseph Peirce's death it became the property of his two daughters, Lydia, wife of Joseph Callender, tailor, and Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Payne, joiner.

SIMON EIRE, surgeon, was first at Watertown, coming from London. His house in Boston, which was on Court Street, next east of the prison, went at his death to his youngest son John and daughter Maria, as did also the farm in Watertown.

COMFORT STARR came from Ashford, Kent, England. He died 2 January, 1659. He was a physician. His house and lands were at the North End, between Hanover and Salem Streets.

HENRY PHILLIPS, butcher, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1640. He was first at Dedham and was an Ensign of the military company there in 1648. He died in 1686, leaving considerable real estate; his house, bought in 1657, was on the southwest corner of State and Devonshire Streets, and later became known as the "Rose and Crown Tavern." He also owned land on the "Neck," on which was a tavern after 1700, and known as the "Rose and Crown."

HENRY SHRIMPTON, brazier, was a brother of Edward, of Bethnal Green, London. In 1646 he bought property on State, corner of Exchange Street, from Anthony Stoddard, and the latter street became known as Shrimpton's Lane. The Royal Exchange Tavern stood on this site. He died in 1666, and left to each of his four daughters a thousand pounds and a house lot; the residue went to his son Samuel.

JOHN LOWELL, cooper, son of John of Newbury, lived also at Scituate and Rehoboth. His Boston house, on

the north side of State Street, he mortgaged in 1676, and in the great fire of 8 August, 1679, it was consumed, as were those of that part of the town from the Mill Creek to Oliver's Dock. He died in 1694.

GEORGE MUNJOY, mariner and ship-carpenter, was a son of John, of Abbotsham, near Bideford, Devon, England. He died in 1681, and his widow, Mary, daughter of Deacon John Phillips, married Robert Lawrence, merchant. He bought in 1657 the "Noah's Ark Tavern," built by Captain Thomas Hawkins on North Street.

JOHN JOYLIFFE was a son of John Joliffe of East Stour, Dorset, England. He married the widow of Robert Knight, previously the widow of Captain Thomas Cromwell. By her first marriage she became possessed of land now the Post Office site. Here John Joyliffe lived, and on the other side of Devonshire Street he had a garden. The street was then known as Joyliffe's Lane. He died in 1701, at the age of eighty-six, and had been blind and laboring under infirmities for several years.

AMOS RICHARDSON, tailor, acted as agent at one time for the sons of Gov. Winthrop. He went to Stonington, Conn., in 1666. His house and garden were on Summer Street, at Hawley Street. This property, on his death in 1683, went to his three daughters, of whom Sarah, the youngest, married Capt. Timothy Clarke, and the Summer Street estate came into their possession. On this location was the "Seven Star Inn," from which

Summer Street was at one time called Seven Star Lane.

Edmond Grenleff, dyer, was of Newbury, where he kept a house of entertainment in 1639. He was admitted an inhabitant of Boston in 1654. He occupied a house, formerly Henry Webb's, on the west side of Turner's Lane (now Devonshire Street), north of Water Street. He also leased from the town some land on the Post-office site, where he carried on his business. He died in 1671.

Edward Porter, chandler, was first at Roxbury. He died 1677. He came to Boston in 1655, and purchased of John Floyd a house and shop on the west side of Washington Street opposite Water Street, near the First Church, which had been the property of Robert Turner and then of Richard Fairbanks.

Nicolas Phillips, shop-keeper, died in March, 1670. His house was on the north side of North Street west of Cross Street.

Thomas Harwood, tailor, married in 1654, Rachel, daughter of John Smith, a tailor. She was the widow of Robert Woodward, and the Harwoods lived in the house formerly Woodward's, at the south corner of Bedford and Washington Streets. Harwood died previous to July, 1670, when his widow sold the estate to Edward Lillie, cooper.

Thomas Brattle, merchant, was at Charlestown in 1656, and removed to Boston the next year. He became

an "Ancient" in 1675, was Cornet of the Suffolk Troop 1670, Lieutenant, 1675, and Captain, 1676, in King Philip's War. He was a founder of the "Old South," and prominent in town affairs. He had a farm at Dunstable, a house at Penny Ferry, Charlestown, and a lot at Wormwood Point (where the New England Gas Works now are in Everett); land at Menotomy, on the Kennebec, at Narraganset, and Quinebaug. His Boston estate is commemorated by Brattle Square and Street, running through the pasture of his estate. The last came through his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Captain William Tyng.

Thomas Baker was a blacksmith, who, when he died in January, 1684, was "old and blind," but with a godly reputation. He was a brother of Richard Baker of Dorchester. He had a son John, and three daughters, Elizabeth, Sarah and Mary, all of whom married. In 1660 he bought Elder Thomas Oliver's house, on the north corner of Washington and Water Streets.

John Biggs, planter, was also at Ipswich and Exeter. He subscribed to the Free School in 1636. His house was on Court Street, opposite Court Square. He married a daughter of John Dassett, whose family name was given, in the early years of the town, to the alley which is now Franklin Avenue. Biggs died in 1666, and his widow married Captain John Minot of Dorchester. He was a member of the "Ancients" in 1641, and Second Sergeant in 1659. His signature is an autograph.

THOMAS MARSHALL, shoemaker and ferryman. His home lot was on the east side of Hanover Street, on both sides of the Mill Creek, where Blackstone Street now extends. His signature is an autograph.

HENRY ALLINE, Deacon of the First Church, was a carpenter, joiner and housewright. He married in 1648 Ann, the widow of William Teft, and thus came into possession of a house and half an acre on what is now the west corner of Summer and South Streets. Summer Street was then called Mill Street, and later Seven Star Lane. South Street was first known as Rope Lane. Alline lived and died in this house. He also owned half the Castle Tavern, on Batterymarch Street, and a house on Hanover Street near Portland Street. He was an "Ancient," a Selectman, and a member of the General Court. He died in 1696, leaving a widow, Judith, and three sons — Joseph, Henry, and John. The Castle Tavern estate was in the Alline family from 1674 to 1723; the site included that of the Mason Building in Liberty Square. His signature is an autograph; he first wrote ten shillings and then changed it to twenty.

HUGH DRURY, carpenter, was first at Sudbury. He joined the "Ancients" in 1659, and in 1675 was a Lieutenant of a Boston company. He died in 1689, and is buried in King's Chapel Burial Ground. His house and work shop were on the west side of Sudbury Street. He also owned one-half of the "Castle Tavern" on Batterymarch Street. His signature is an autograph.

JOHN COLLINS was perhaps the same who appeared in the list of Scotch prisoners who arrived in 1651. In 1663 John Collins, Jr., shoemaker, mortgaged his dwelling house near the Mill Creek to Habakkuk Glover, and John Collins, Sr., witnessed the deed. In 1665 John Collins, of Saybrook, Conn., cordwainer, sells this house through an agent to William Gibson, cordwainer. An inventory in 1670 of the estate of John Collins shows household goods, cows, etc., and mentions three apprentices.

THOMAS SCOTTO, joiner, was a brother of Joshua Scottow. His house and garden were on School Street, and this lot he sold to the town in 1645 for a school site. It is now the City Hall site. He died in 1661, and his son John died in 1679. In 1670 Mehitabell, eldest daughter, and in 1678 Sarah, his youngest daughter, sold their third interests in their father's house, which was on the south side of Dock Square, west of Devonshire Street.

NATHANIEL THORNE is Mr. Wightman's solution, but I make the name that of Nathanell Hun, son of George Hun, tanner. The son was a shoemaker, and married about 1650. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1662, and removed to Wethersfield about 1670. The Huns lived on the south side of Elm Street, near Hanover.

JOHN PEARS, set-work cooper, purchased a house and land on the north corner of Winter and Washington

Streets. When he died in 1661, one-half of this house was to go to his widow for life, and half for the education of his son Samuel, who eventually inherited it and followed his father's trade. John Pears also owned land in Dorchester.

WILLIAM READE, tailor, came from Batcombe, England, and settled at Weymouth. He came to Boston in 1646. He married as his second wife, in 1654, Ruth Crooke, and had a house and shop on the corner of Dock Square and Devonshire Street, which he bought in 1654 of Rev. John Wilson.

WILLIAM TAY, distiller, had lands at Billerica, and was Town Clerk there. He also owned lands at Muddy River. He, however, owned a house in Boston at the time of his death in 1683. It was located in Dock Square, east of Devonshire Street.

JOHN BLACKLACH was early at Winnisimmet, and sold his land and ferry rights to Richard Bellingham. In 1655 he held land near the Old State House site, which he sold to Jacob Sheafe, and Sheafe's widow sold to Henry Shrimpton. Blackleach was dismissed from the Boston church in 1661, and went to Hartford, Conn. He died at Wethersfield, Conn., 23 August 1683.

JOHN CLOUGH, having served an apprenticeship, had liberty in 1657 to pursue his calling in town. John Clough, Jr., feltmaker, was aged 47 years in 1673. He had bought, previous to 1669, land on the west side of

Washington Street which his descendants held in the middle of the next century. At that time a street through the land from Boylston Street south was called Clough Street, and is now included in Tremont Street.

SAMUEL DAVICE was first at Watertown, a planter. He became a tenant of a farm at Rumney Marsh, owned by Nicholas Parker. His wife was Anna. Samuel Davis, planter, and his wife Sarah had an interest in two acres on Long Island in 1668.

SAMUEL COLE, confectioner, comfitmaker and innholder, kept the first inn in town on Washington opposite Water Street. He owned land at Winnisimmet, and his granddaughter Sarah married John Senter, of Rumney Marsh. He was the ninth signer on the roll of the "Ancients" in 1637. He was disarmed in 1637 for his sympathy with Wheelwright. His second wife was Margaret, daughter of Isaac Green, of Mersey, Essex, England. His third wife was Ann, widow of Robert Keayne. The signature resembles Cole's autograph in all points except C; that letter he usually wrote in the style of the previous century.

CHRISTOPHER GIBSON, soap-boiler, was first in Dorchester, and removing to Boston went into the soap business with David Selleck. He gave land to Dorchester in 1646, and was one of the founders of the Second Church. His soap house was in the rear on the north side of State Street, east of Change Avenue. He died 3 October, 1674.

ROBERT NANNEY, merchant, came in 1635 from London, aged twenty-two. He married Katherine, daughter of Rev. John Wheelwright, and died in 1663. His widow then married Edward Naylor. His house and garden were on the south side of North Street, near the Drawbridge. The signature is an autograph.

HENRY BRIDGHAM, tanner, came from County Suffolk, England. He built in 1670 a house on the north side of Milk Street, and in the rear were his tan pits. These were uncovered a few years ago, while putting in the foundations of a building. He died in 1671, and the house was in the family for sixty-five years after. In the last century it was known as the "Julien House." Bridgham became a member of the "Ancients" in 1644. The signature is an autograph.

THOMAS WAKER, brickmaker, died in 1659. He left a widow, Ann, son Thomas, who was also a brickmaker, John, Samuel and Elizabeth. His house was on the east side of Hanover Street.

NATHANELL RAYNOLLS, shoemaker, son of Robert, owned the house and land inherited in 1670 from his father, located on Milk Street, where Benjamin Franklin was born. Nathaniel was one of the early settlers at Bristol, R. I. He died in 1708. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1658, and was Lieutenant of a foot company in Boston in 1675.

JOHN HAWKINS, mariner, married the widow of Humphrey Damerill, and in 1657 assigned his interest in the Damerill estate to a son, John Damerill.

Arthur Masson, biscuit-maker, had an acre and a half of land on what is now Tremont Street, between School and Winter Streets. He built a house on School Street on the site of the Niles Building, and a bake-house opposite. His granary was on Tremont Street opposite the Granary Burial Ground. He died 4 March, 1708, aged 77 years.

Ann Carter was the wife of Richard Carter, carpenter. His home lot was on the site of the Adams House; on his death this went to his only daughter, who married as her second husband Joseph Cowell. The Carters also owned a house and shops near the Town Dock, next south of the Castle Tavern, which was on the south corner of Elm and Union Streets. This went to the widow during life by agreement in 1671, previous to her marriage to John Hunt, Carter having died in 1668. Mrs. Carter seems to have had greater property interests than her husband.

James Davies, mariner, had a house and garden on the north side of Water Street, opposite the Post Office site, where stood the Simmons Building recently demolished. He also owned land on Beacon Street and part of Spectacle Island. He had several sons and a daughter, Joshebeth, who married John Wing. Wing thus acquired the Water Street estate on the death of Davies, and on Wing's death it went to a son, Cord Wing and two daughters. The widow, Joanna Davies, died in 1679, leaving property to the Wings, and another

daughter, Joanna, who married Richard Knight. A grandson, Robert Wing, inherited the Spectacle Island property.

DANIEL TURILL, blacksmith, came from Instow, Devon, England. He married for his second wife, 10 Nov., 1659, Mary, widow of John Barrell and daughter of Deacon William Colbron. He joined the "Ancients" in 1660, was Second Sergeant in 1666, and Lieutenant in 1676. He died in 1693. Located before marriage at his trade of an anchor-smith at the North End, he owned land there near the Second Church, and in 1659 he sold the town land which was used as a burial ground on Copp's Hill.

THOMAS FICH, cordwainer, in 1662 bought from Thomas Marshall, cordwainer, his house, shop and lean-to between Hanover and Marshall Streets.

EDMUND JACKLIN, glazier, held a homestead lot on the west side of Washington, half-way between Winter and Bromfield Streets. His house, at the time of his death in 1681, was near the head of the Town Dock, on the west side of Union Street. His daughter Susanna married Nicholas Hopping, of Rye, N. Y., and they conveyed their interest to her brother, Samuel Jacklin, glazier.

WILLIAM GIBSON, cordwainer, joined the "Ancients" in 1675, and was Second Sergeant in 1684. In 1670 he was occupying a house on the north side of Bedford, near Kingston Street, belonging to the Rev. James Allen.

JEREMY CUSHIN, mariner, was son of the emigrant Matthew Cushing, of Hingham. His house and land were on Richmond Street, adjoining the "Red Lion Inn," which stood on the corner of North Street. He seems to have left no children, his brother Daniel having inherited a share of his estate with others.

EDMUND JACKSON, shoemaker, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1646. His house and lot were on the corner of Sudbury and Hanover Streets, the site of the "Orange Tree Inn," which gave the name of Orange Tree Lane to the street now Hanover. He had three wives: (1), Martha ——; (2), Mary Gawdren, widow, a daughter of Samuel Cole; and (3), Elizabeth Pilkenton, who after he died in 1675 married William Beale, of Marblehead. At his death Jackson owned the house called the "Flower de Luce," on the north side of North Street, west of Cross.

MIELES TARNE, leather dresser, married in 1660 Elizabeth, widow of Robert Rice. The home lot of Rice was on the south side of Milk Street, opposite Post Office Square. In 1668 Tarne, with his wife and her son, Joshua Rice, mortgaged the property to the First Church. After his death, in 1676, the mortgage was discharged.

WILLIAM ENGLISH, cordwainer, was first at Ipswich, and was admitted to Boston in 1652. He died in 1682, and the next year his widow Mary sold his house to Fernando Gilligan, formerly of Belfast, Ireland. It was

on the west side of North Street, near the site of the "Salutation Tavern," and was previously the estate of William Beamsley.

Joseph Howe, cooper, married in 1673, Elizabeth, the widow of Edward Bunn, but did not obtain her former husband's estate. Howe's warehouse was on North Street, near Scottow's wharf.

Samuel Norden, shoemaker, occupied a house on North Street, moving in 1681 into a newly built one, owned by Samuel Sendall.

Robert Nash, butcher, had lived awhile in Charlestown. He died in 1661. His house and slaughter house were on the south side of Dock Square, where he made quite a nuisance of the Town Dock.

Matthew Barnes was the miller of the tide mills at the North End, owning a share in the land and mills. He was a Surveyor of highways, and died in Malden in 1667.

Thomas Dewer, tailor, was one of the founders of the Scots Charitable Society. He died in 1694, and administration was granted his son Sampson Dewer, cooper. His house and garden were on the south side of Union Street, half way between Hanover and Elm Streets, and were purchased in 1648 of Thomas Painter. He died in 1694.

William Corser, shoemaker, "seller of strong water and innholder," came in 1635. His house and garden were on the west side of Devonshire Street, half-way

between State and Water Streets. At the time of his death, in 1673, he also owned a house and land in Chelmsford. The signature is an autograph.

Bartholomew Cheever came from Canterbury, England, in 1637. He was a cordwainer by occupation. He was Lieutenant of one of the Boston military companies in 1682. He died 18 Dec., 1693. His house and land were on the southwest corner of Hanover and Blackstone Streets. He left no children, and the property went to a nephew whose descendants still retain it. He also owned other property, including a pasture at the corner of Sudbury and Portland Streets. The signature is an autograph.

Henry Messenger, joiner, was a member of the "Ancients" in 1658. He died in 1673. His house and garden were on Tremont Street, next north of King's Chapel Burying Ground. The signature is an autograph.

William Colbron of Brentwood, England, was one of the early subscribers to the Massachusetts Bay Company. Coming with Winthrop he was chosen a deacon the first year, and afterward became a ruling elder. Though sympathizing with Wheelwright he was not disturbed. His house was near the north corner of Washington and Boylston Streets, and his land extended as far south as Castle Street, as shown by a decision of the Supreme Court in the middle of the last century. Avery Street was laid out through his land, and was

first known as Colbron's Lane. The signature is an autograph.

EDWIN GOODWIN, lighterman and boatman, was in Boston as early as 1640. His homestead of half an acre was just west of Hanover on Commercial Street. He also owned land at Braintree. He died in 1694, an aged man. His signature is an autograph.

JAMES JOHNSON, glover, joined the "Ancients" in 1638; he was Third Sergeant in 1644, and Lieutenant in 1658. His home lot was on the corner of Court and the west side of Sudbury Street. He also had a garden on Tremont Street between West Street and Temple Place, and a house and land on the south side of Water Street. He was the original owner of the "Green Dragon Tavern" site and that of the "Blue Bell" on Batterymarch Street. The signature is an autograph.

JOHN NEWGAT, hatter, came from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, England. He died in 1665. He owned lands at Rumney Marsh and built a house there, which stood till within a short time near the Boulevard in Revere. His house in Boston was on the east side of Washington Street, between State Street and Dock Square, where he also had his shop, which was owned by Edward Gibbons.

THOMAS BUMSTED, brazier and pewterer, came to New England in 1640, and first lived at Roxbury. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1647. His house

and land were on the west side of Washington Street, next north of the corner of Court Street. He died 22 June, 1677. The signature is an autograph.

NATHANIEL DUNCAN, merchant, came in 1630, and was first at Dorchester. He became an "Ancient" in 1638. He was Lieutenant of the Dorchester train-band in 1636, and afterward Captain. He was an accountant, and was made Auditor by the General Court. He died in 1669. Previous to 1655 he had a house on the west side of Exchange Street, which he purchased of William Franklin. He had a grant of five hundred acres, called "Cedar Brook in Sudbury nigh Mendon." He also owned land in Dorchester. The signature is an autograph.

PETER DUNCAN, son of Nathaniel, became a member of the "Ancients" in 1654, and removed to Gloucester.

JOHN WISWALL, ironmonger, was first at Dorchester; he removed to Boston and became a ruling elder of the Church, and was also a Deputy to the General Court. He died in 1687. He owned lands in Dorchester, at Rumney Marsh, and in Boston. His house was on Milk Street, between Hawley and Arch Streets.

JOSEPH WISE, butcher, Roxbury, died 12 September, 1684, leaving a widow, and a son the Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich.

Of the builders of the Town House a few words might be said. Of Thomas Joy a lengthy account is given in

the printed genealogy of "Thomas Joy and his Descendants" in which some of the documents noted are printed. Of his equal partner Bartholomew Barnard not so much is in print. He was at York as early as 1636 and came to Boston about 1650. His first wife's name was Alice and she died between 1656 and 1663. About the latter date he had married a wife by the name of Jane. In 1658 he had built him a new house, on land at the North End which he had purchased in 1654. It was located on the north corner of North Street and Fleet Street. Three years before he had purchased land on Hanover, corner of Charter Street, which in 1665 he conveyed to his grandson Thomas, who was then at Southwark, near London, England. To his sons, Matthew and Richard Barnard, who were both carpenters, he gave a house and land during his life. On the land east of North Street on the water side he had a wharf and two warehouses, which were between Scarlett's wharf on the north and the Town Slip at the foot of Fleet Street on the south. In 1668 he mortgaged his dwelling, three shops, wharf, etc., to Major Robert Thompson, of London, but this was discharged the next year, when he sold his wharf. In 1671 Jane, his wife, was approved to keep a house of public entertainment "for the selling of coffee and chucaletta." The next year he had retired from active life, and in 1673 was licensed to sell cider as well, and later bottle ale and beer.

It was in 1673 that Barnard sold his house and shop on the corner to Edward Cox, mariner. On this corner in the next century was the Castle Tavern, which, during the siege of Boston, was used as a barracks and torn down for fuel. In 1785 the land was purchased by Joseph Austin, baker, and here a bakery was located which was used into the next century. In 1845 part of the lot was taken for the widening of Fleet and North Streets.

THOMAS HAWKINS, biscuit baker, was in Boston as early as 1638. He became a member of the "Ancients" in 1649. His house was first on the north side of Court Street next to the Rev. Jose Glover, who had a house on the corner of Washington Street. He also had land on Union Street, on the border of the Mill Pond. Here, on the south corner of Hanover Street, was his dwelling and bake-house. Later he kept an inn, and it was known as the "Bakers' Arms," afterwards the "Star Tavern." After his death, about 1678, his wife kept it. Later it was kept by Andrew Neal, and the meetings of the Scots Charitable Society were held here. In a copy of one deed signed by him his signature is "Hawkings"; in other deeds copied in the records it is "Haukins" and "Hawkins."

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